

ENVIRONMENTAL AND RELATED INTEREST
GROUPS IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to provide information on interest groups or voluntary organisations which involve themselves in environmental conservation. The primary aim was to identify and list all those groups which together make up the environmental lobby in South Africa. Further aims were to determine the environmental orientation and characteristics of the groups, and to determine the degree of involvement they offer to the general public.

The groups which were identified as comprising the environmental lobby are listed in a detailed form in Part 2 of this study. They appear to concentrate largely on the conservation of the natural environment. The results of the study suggest that the environmental lobby contains a relatively small number of groups which register limited support. This support is drawn largely from the white section of the population. The groups themselves are well organised, but in general display a low financial base. A greater reliance appears to be made on the development of specialist skills than on the promotion of group cohesion and the generation of public support. It is believed that this may have led to the restriction of opportunities for general public involvement in group activities.

It is suggested that groups in the lobby need to expand their interests to include conservation of the built environment, and so increase their appeal to the public. The opportunities for public involvement in group activities at all levels also need to be increased.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTEREST GROUPS AND SOCIETY

Interest group activity is directly related to the nature of the political, economic and social structure of the society within which it operates (Castles, 1967). Organised interest groups, which are free to form and articulate their interests, are regarded as characteristic of economically developed, democratic societies (Wootton, 1970), and it is under such conditions that they play their most significant role. Interest groups functioning under other sets of social, economic and political conditions have their form and activities circumscribed to varying degrees and limitations are placed on the role they are able to play. Interest groups with an environmental orientation have not escaped these influences.

1.2 INTEREST GROUPS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

1.2.1 The Conservation Lobby

Interest groups advocating concern for the environment are not the recent phenomenon that the present upsurge in public interest in the issue would suggest (Kimber & Richardson, 1974b), but have existed in a variety of forms since the turn of the century. The roots of the Conservation Lobby emerged in the democracies of Western Europe and North America as early as the mid-nineteenth century, when accelerating economic development increased the demand for natural resources and so posed a threat to wilderness areas (including forests and waterbodies) and their attendant wildlife.

In Europe, development pressures also threatened existing amenities, and buildings and sites of historical, cultural and architectural significance were being lost or degraded. Attempts by concerned members of the public to counteract these pressures saw the emergence of groups such as the British Commons, Openspaces and Footpaths Preservation Society (1865), the American Fisheries Society (1870), the National Audubon Society (1885), the Sierra Club (1892) and the Society for the Protection of the Fauna of the Empire (1903).

The growth of these and similar groups continued through the first half of the century, but was in no way remarkable; nor could the Conservation Lobby, despite its successes, claim to be a broadly based popular movement. The corresponding development of Government Agencies dealing with natural resources at this time may well have alleviated general public concern for conservation measures, and so slowed the growth of popular support for private groups. In addition, the social and economic disarray generated by two World Wars created problems of a global nature and solutions to these problems were regarded as more pressing than nature conservation. It was not until the close of the Second World War that the Conservation Lobby achieved global standing with the establishment of the International Union for the protection of Nature (1948) (Nicholson, 1972). This body is now known as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN).

From this time onwards the Lobby began to attract a broader base of support: a trend which was to culminate in what is now known as the environmental revolution (Nicholson, 1972).

1.2.2 The Environmental Revolution

The environmental revolution, an extension and elaboration of the Conservation Lobby (Henning, 1974), is the product of a global rise in public concern for the environment. It manifested itself - as did its predecessors - in the industrialised democracies of Western Europe and North America. The extensive establishment and growth of interest groups in the 1960's and 1970's whose aims were the propagation of concern and understanding of the human environment to ensure the survival of mankind, marked the beginning of this movement. While the establishment of environmentally orientated interest groups was not new, the global approach (Kimber & Richardson, 1974 b), the broadening of the concept of environment, and the prominence achieved by the groups, all were.

The emergence of the environment as a topic of general public concern has been ascribed to a number of factors. It has been suggested that the absence of competing social problems (poverty, racial tension) in the affluent period which followed the Second World War allowed the increasing problems of the environment to capture public attention (Sandbach, 1980). Increasing levels of urbanisation and accelerated population growth, together with the cumulative effects of industrially derived environmental

degradation, forced the narrow and often specific concerns of the Conservation Lobby to broaden and embrace a holistic ecological approach (Henning, 1974). This shift in focus led to the evolution of a growing belief that the world, and hence people, faced a catastrophe unless immediate efforts were made to halt and rectify deterioration of the environment. An accompanying disillusionment with science and technology prompted alternative lifestyles which incorporated a love and understanding of the human environment, and required the restructuring of existing social and economic orders.

A significant contributor to this heightened public awareness was the increased news media coverage of environmental matters, in particular pollution, which was highlighted by increasing levels of atmospheric pollution in large urban centres, and the Torrey Canyon (1967) and Santa Barbara (1969) oilspills. An important role was played by the strong visual impact made through photographs and television to which the subject matter was admirably suited (Nicholson, 1972). The awe-inspiring view of the earth from space helped foster an awareness of the finiteness and delicacy of the human environment.

The publication in 1962 of Rachel Carson's Silent Spring is credited with imparting a major impetus to the environmental movement. The book provided one of the best and most widely read accounts of what ecology means to ordinary people. It was followed by a number of popular writings which outlined

with increasing urgency the effects of man's activities on both man and his environment, and the word 'ecology' entered the public vocabulary (Barbour, 1980).

Accompanied by a growing belief in the importance of public involvement in planning and decision-making (Sandbach, 1978), this situation led to the establishment of numerous environmental interest groups and revitalised the Conservation Lobby. Today the two sets of groups are regarded as a single movement.

The movement reached its peak in the United States with a nation-wide co-ordination of interest group activity culminating in the first 'Earth Day' on April 22, 1970 (Albrecht, 1976), and globally in the United Nations 'Conference on the Human Environment' held in Stockholm in 1972.

1.2.3 Environmental Interest Groups and Society

The emergence of the environmental movement in the economically advanced democracies of Western Europe and North America endowed its constituent interest groups with characteristics and an influence which were not always shared by groups which formed in other parts of the world. Similarly, the combination of stimuli which triggered the environmental revolution was particular to a certain stage of socio-economic development, and strongly influenced the orientation of the resultant interest groups. While many environmental problems are common

to all countries regardless of their political structure or level of economic development, there are others which are a direct result of the prevailing set of social, political and economic conditions.

As a result, while a general outline of the environmental revolution and its constituent groups can be determined, the particulars in each country will be different.

1.3 THE ENVIRONMENTAL LOBBY AND SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

In South Africa a rich endowment of natural resources, a strong British influence, and an ostensibly democratic political system have resulted in what appears to be a replication of the general trend of environmental interest group development. This is an early establishment of groups, a slow but steady growth increasing after the Second World War, and a rapid multiplication of groups with the advent of the environmental revolution. However, while interest groups have long been present in South African Society, the political situation with its official doctrine of separate development, and the resultant complex socio-economic and racial structure of our society, have produced a far from ideal climate for general interest group growth. Legislation contributes both directly and indirectly to limitations on free association with groups (Wollheim, 1978), and together with the structure of the Government strongly influences the tactics employed by groups. In addition, the existence of a strong development

dichotomy has presented the country with the problems of both developing and developed societies.

It is inevitable that such factors have influenced the nature of the South African environmental lobby through their effects on interest group orientation, support and tactics.

1.4 . OBJECTS OF THE STUDY

The primary object of this study is to identify and describe the set of interest groups whose objects are the protection, conservation and maintenance of the human environment in South Africa.

Secondary objectives are to determine the orientation and scale of interest group activity, the form and structure assumed by such groups, and to measure the degree of involvement offered to the public.

GROUP THEORY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Every individual has specific interests and goals, the protection or achievement of which are important to him. The articulation of such interests through the medium of organised groups of like-minded individuals has led to the development of a broad assemblage of interest groups (Harris, 1968).

These voluntary groupings can be seen as the response of concerned and motivated individuals to perceived needs or causes which have been ignored or inadequately catered for by existing agencies. While people join interest groups because of shared interests or commitment to the group's objectives, it has been argued (Best, 1973; Wilson 1981) that membership is maintained through the byproducts of the group effort. Many groups devote most of their attention to the provision of services for their members, and only occasionally make demands of the administrative system (Kimber & Richardson, 1974 a). Groups which hope to persist must offer incentives for members to continue to provide their support. They must offer some form of benefit, which unlike the 'political' benefits achieved by the group, are not available to non-members (Best, 1973).

The study of interest groups has for some time formed an integral part of political and social analyses. Considerable debate has ranged around the terminology and criteria appropriate for the description and investigation of such groups. Terms employed to describe the groups have included - amenity, interest, organised, pressure and voluntary (Wilson, 1981; Kimber & Richardson, 1974a; Truman, 1972; Berry, 1977).

The groups under consideration have included all non-government organisations promoting their interests - from business corporations to agricultural, conservation and reform lobbies. Numerous, and often very fine distinctions, have been made regarding the labels employed, and the sets of groups they described. For the purpose of this study the term 'interest group' as defined by Truman (1972), appears to be the most suitable.

"An interest group is any group that, on the basis of one or more shared attitudes, makes certain claims on other groups in the society, for the establishment, maintenance or enhancement of forms of behaviour that are implied by shared attitudes".

2.1.1 Classification

Interest groups have developed in a variety of forms, so the population of groups can be divided into sets in a number of ways. Division can be based on the nature of their objectives, the appeal of their goals (specific or universal), the time span of their goals, and the nature of their membership, to name but a few. While groups have been classified on the

basis of all of the above, there has been an almost universal recognition of the distinction between those groups whose objective is to further some sectional interest, and those which are promoting a general cause.

Sectional Interest Groups

This category is often said to contain the 'true' interest groups. Such groups generally have clear-cut, often material goals, and aim to protect, develop or enhance the interests of a particular section of society (Kimber & Richardson, 1974a). They have also been called protective groups (Harris, 1968) and specific groups.

Public Interest Groups

The second category of groups is distinguished from the 'true' interest groups by the nature of the causes espoused, and the motivational base of their memberships (Berry, 1977). Public interest groups seek a collective good, the achievement of which will not selectively benefit the membership of the group. These groups have also been labelled as promotional (Kimber & Richardson, 1974a), attitudinal (Castles, 1967) and cause (Harris, 1968) groups. Such groups try to persuade people, regardless of their sectional affiliations, to subscribe to their point of view. They need not restrict their membership to particular sections of society in order to reflect faithfully the cause they are promoting as the cause is of

universal appeal (Potter, 1958). Some groups may in fact have no members, but are supported by foundations and bequests while they attempt to develop latent interests in society.

2.1.2 Life Cycle

Groups are dynamic entities. They may become static in time, in which event they are unlikely to persist as functional bodies; but the majority undergo a series of changes. These changes usually follow a distinct pattern. Albrecht (1976) has outlined a basic group life cycle which traces the development of an interest group. This is a general pattern and several variations are possible. Groups may stagnate at any of the stages outlined, or they may undergo what Bowman (1975) has called 'marasmus' - a rapid decline into uselessness when their initial zeal meets with little immediate success.

The stages of development are:

- 1) Origin from pockets of frustration or dissatisfaction with the present
 - (a) social order
 - (b) status of the specific interest
 - (c) agencies operating in the area of interest
- 2) Development of belief that a different state of affairs is both desirable and possible.
- 3) Development of appreciation that organised action is likely to be productive.

- 4) Evolution of an interest group devoted to the attainment of a certain vision.
- 5) Development of values and goals, adoption of strategies.
- 6) The established interest group undergoes one or more of the following stages.
 - (a) Co-opted by a larger group
 - (b) Vigorously suppressed - unable to operate with any effect
 - (c) Loses momentum
 - (d) Develops into an organised functioning group
 - (e) Achieves objective - become quiescent or disbands
 - (f) Shifts focus and objectives

It is important to recognise that more than 'provocative stimuli' (Butcher et al, 1980) are necessary to promote the formation of an interest group. Motivated individuals, or the development of a collective will to act, are essential prerequisites for group development.

It is a fact widely recognised by workers in this field (Potter, 1970; Holtzmann, 1966; Berry, 1977; Ippolito et al, 1976) that interest groups are predominantly middle and upper class in composition. The interest group population has a definite class bias, with membership strongly correlated to measures of wealth and education. Group involvement appears restricted to that section of the population whose affluence allows leisure time to become involved in more than the day to day necessities of living, and whose

education promotes the pursuit of broader interests.

Much of the public, particularly lower income, occupational and status groups, remains outside the interest group system. While this is particularly true of sectional interest groups, it often holds true for public interest groups, despite the broader appeal of the causes they promote.

The existence of such a condition creates a limited base from which groups can hope to draw support. The considerable number of interest groups which exist at any one time means that groups must share members, and those promoting similar causes must compete for members. Interest group members often support a variety of causes, and this phenomenon of 'multiple-membership' (Holtzman, 1966) creates a built-in restraint on the ability of interest group leaders to marshal the energies of their followers. In addition, the majority of interest group members tend to be inactive and provide the group with little more than numerical, and perhaps financial strength.

2.1.3 Determining Interest Group Efficacy

Little consensus exists regarding the best approach to measuring interest group influence. Considerable methodological difficulties are involved in such an exercise, and case studies of specific groups have seldom used common criteria (Berry, 1977). Self appraisals are insufficient and prone to bias, and a measurement cannot be reached by adding up the

totals of group achievement, since groups may be competing against each other in an attempt to influence their targets (Kimber & Richardson, 1974a). Perhaps the most significant of the problems involved is the one outlined by Berry (1977):

"... the problem of distinguishing the influence of interest groups upon policy makers, as distinct from other influences such as the press, general public opinion, and other political elites..." (p 285)

While an obvious and replicable pattern of success amongst interest groups appears to be elusive, a direction for study is provided by the existence of certain common factors amongst successful groups. These suggest the use of a checklist of factors whose presence or absence is likely to affect the potential of a group to achieve its goals. Several workers have listed the attributes or characteristics which they feel are likely to influence the effectiveness of, and success achieved by, an interest group. The form of these listings (Truman, 1972; Kimber & Richardson, 1974a; Henning, 1974) indicates clearly that while the identification of the important factors is not an impossible task, determination of their relative importance provides considerable difficulty. The majority of workers have been hesitant to pass judgement in this respect. While some factors are important to all interest groups, others will vary in importance depending on the objectives of the groups, and the conditions under which they operate.

The following factors are held to be the most important. The order of their presentation does not reflect their relative importance.

2.1.3.1 Resources

The importance of group resources or endowments, together with their easy conversion and efficient use is widely acknowledged. Wootton(1970) goes so far as to state that all other things being equal, the group which has the most versatile set of endowments will be best suited to achieve its goals. Many workers have however, not been explicit regarding what they mean by resources, and others have used the term generically. It has been used to indicate everything from finances, expert knowledge, prestige, internal organisation, and access to authorities (Berry, 1977; Best, 1973; Wilson, 1981; Wootton, 1970). This usage has given the term little value. The components need to be considered separately.

2.1.3.2 Internal Organisation*

Without some level of organisation a group has no form. Organisation, implying varying degrees of participation (Truman, 1972), the structuring of separate roles, and the division of labour and responsibility between members, officers and staff (Holtzman, 1966), is essential if a group is to be functional. Organisation provides a systematic means of marshalling and controlling the group's resources. It

provides a tool for the articulation of claims for a group, and it provides a point of access for those outside the group (Holtzman, 1966). It also helps to ensure that a group will persist. Most official leaders of voluntary organisations are people who have other jobs most of the time, so the administrative chores of the group are left to others (Margolis, 1970). It is important that these chores be performed efficiently within a sound organisational structure, otherwise the group becomes weak, and is unlikely to persist in a functional form.

The form that this internal structure assumes, whether or not it conforms to a democratic mould, and its appropriateness to the group's objectives, affects the way in which the group is viewed by outsiders (Butcher et al, 1980). Holtzman (1966) stresses that a group which is organised has a decided advantage over comparable unorganised groups. He is, however, careful to indicate that no one-to-one relationship exists between organisation and group effectiveness.

2.1.3.3 Cohesion

Credibility is of particular importance to an interest group; its ability to operate effectively is controlled to a remarkable degree by its perceived legitimacy (Best, 1973). In order to obtain standing in the eyes of the authorities whom it hopes to influence an interest group must present an image of strong internal unity or cohesion. The leadership can then claim to be representative of group opinion. Truman (1972) found that the

importance attached to the implications regarding group cohesion was such that most groups are careful to reveal as little as possible to the outsider concerning internal unity.

It has been suggested that a prime requisite for group cohesion is members satisfaction with the leadership (Luttbeg, 1974). Almost all organised groups tend to be oligarchical, with an active minority controlling the internal government, and the membership playing only a peripheral role. This situation will not cause problems (in fact it is likely to increase efficiency) provided the leaders do not espouse policies which fail to correspond with those of the members. The potential for loss of cohesion is high when leaders extend the range of their public opinions to those increasingly peripheral to the principle purposes of the group (Holtzmann, 1966).

The group must also appear to conform to widely held attitudes regarding democratic procedures. Regular group interaction (meetings, newsletters) serves to promote cohesion by ensuring that the membership is cognisant of the official group attitudes regarding specific issues, and so remain in touch with the leadership.

Disclosure of internal disagreement can be extremely disadvantageous to a group since those in opposition to the group's claims can correctly claim that policies or views presented by the leadership are not representative of group opinion. Improvements in internal cohesion do not eradicate the problem entirely, as

future statements by the leadership will be subjected to close scrutiny (Holtzman, 1966).

Small, single-issue, ad hoc groups are thought to reflect public opinion most accurately, but the ad hoc nature of such groups does not convey legitimacy or credibility to the authorities, and hence access to decision makers is limited. In order to improve access the ad hoc group must expand its appeal to increase its membership (and hence representativeness). But in expanding its appeal, the group no longer reflects a truly united opinion on a single issue (Best, 1973).

2.1.3.4 Finance

It has been suggested that the availability of money is possibly the one factor which can reliably be used to predict interest group success (Barr, 1968). A sound financial base is a prerequisite for effective administration, communication and co-ordination of a group's activities. Lack of finance seriously restricts the strategies and tactics open to a group, and so places a limit on group activities.

The sources of funding can also be important. The financial base of most groups is provided by membership subscriptions, added to which may be donations, gifts, bequests and legacies. Groups may also be registered as fundraising organisations, or receive grants from statutory bodies or government departments.

Groups that receive a substantial percentage of their funds from a single concern may be obliged to operate under certain constraints (Berry, 1977). This is particularly true of those groups who receive funding from government sources.

2.1.3.5 Skills

The organisational, political, technical and professional expertise which a group can marshal plays a significant role in controlling the strategies and tactics open to it. Good leadership, particularly in small groups where this role is often a representative one, is very important. It demands the involvement of individuals who are capable of original and innovative thought, and who are accustomed to control and organisation (Barr, 1968). It is usually easier to find leaders for ad hoc battles, than for permanent groups, which involve a continuing commitment. (Kimber & Richardson, 1974a).

Most public interest groups benefit from an unusually high willingness of their members to provide voluntary services, and the proportion of members who are active is also high (Wilson, 1981). Despite the important role played by volunteers, some groups have begun to have professional staffs. Such groups believe that dedication to the interests of the group is no longer sufficient to qualify those people who are required to present the objectives of the group to the public and decision-makers (Castles, 1967).

As the issues to which such groups respond increase in complexity, the level at which a group can hope to become involved, from registering opposition, to the provision of reasoned alternatives, depends very much on the skills available to it. A realistic response requires a high order of professionalism; to achieve this, groups must be able to purchase the necessary expertise, or draw upon their staff, members or volunteered professional services. A group which gains a reputation as a source of sound technical knowledge stands a good chance of being consulted by decision-makers, and may even be granted permanent consultative status (Kimber & Richardson, 1974a; Truman, 1972). Enthusiasm for the cause must be accompanied by the skills necessary to protect it.

2.1.3.6 Other Factors

- (a) Membership. This has been attributed with varying importance. While a large membership may be of value to an interest group by providing a strong financial base and allowing it to claim representation of a significant section of society, many groups effectively discourage high membership by displaying stringent membership requirements, while others have no members at all.
- (b) Access to decision-makers
- (c) Good relations with the mass media
- Necessary for the presentation of group interests, these factors are largely dependent on group cohesion and skills.

- (d) Factors peculiar to the decision-makers. These are independent of the group, and there is often little that can be done to counteract them.
- i) Regulation of resource opportunities, particularly finance, but in certain instances membership.
 - ii) Access - the structure of the government may be such that points of access are limited and rigidly defined (Truman, 1972).

2.1.4 Interest Group Tactics

The tactics which are employed by interest groups are to a certain degree predetermined. The tactics accepted by both groups and decision makers are in themselves limited. A number of criteria can be identified as significant in controlling a group's choice of tactics. These include the nature of the group and its objectives, the nature of the target, the political climate within which the group operates, and the nature and activities of any other interest groups operating in the same field (Wootton, 1970). While it is apparent that a group's strategy will be largely dictated by its objectives, the nature of the group, its structure and support, and its resources, will act as strong controls on the tactics open to the group. Similarly the nature of the targets the group hopes to influence will exert some control. Different targets may display different points of access to the outsider. The identification and cultivation of these

points, together with an understanding of the control structure within the target, will be reflected in the group's selected tactics. The attitudes of decision makers and their susceptibility or aversion to certain tactics, will also influence their use of a group.

All interest group activity is ultimately aimed at the establishment of some desired condition through eliciting a favourable disposition from the relevant decision-makers. Two strategies are open to interest groups. One is to influence the decision makers through the force of public opinion, and the other is to approach them directly. In some instances, should both strategies prove unsatisfactory, recourse can be made to courts of law. This step is, however, dependent on a number of factors, and in most instances is not an option realistically open to interest groups.

It has been suggested that sectional groups typically engage in the direct approach, and eschew overt attempts to force issues, while public groups embrace the public approach (Castles, 1967). Other workers have suggested that the smaller and poorer groups as well as those with more technical concerns will concentrate on direct lobbying, while the larger and richer groups will employ both strategies (Holtzmann, 1966). While most groups will employ a variety of tactics at the same time, it appears that public interest groups, which usually attract broader support than sectional groups because

of the wider appeal of their causes, are more likely to record success with public campaigns. This does not mean that certain sectional groups will not attempt to attract public support, or that public interest groups will not employ the direct approach. The direct approach requires access to decision makers and groups who are not granted access in any form may have little choice but to resort to the public campaign (Kimber & Richardson, 1974b).

2.1.4.1 Influencing the Public

Public Opinion

The term public opinion is commonly used to denote the aggregate of views individuals hold concerning matters that affect or interest their communities (Katz et al, 1960). This public seldom, if ever, includes the entire society, and its opinion is not synonymous with majority opinion. There may be no majority opinion regarding many issues, all too often insufficient people are aware of, or can be brought to hold an opinion on, the salient issue. Similarly, the public which an interest group attempts to influence, is only a small section of the entire population. It is a collection of individuals outside the group who are aware, or can be made aware (in the sense that they form an opinion) of the group's objectives. The group's public contains three elements:

- 1) Those individuals who identify strongly with the interest group and its objectives. They often join the group.

- 2) People who are well informed, are familiar with the issues of importance to the group, and who hold considered, reasoned opinions regarding the issues. They will support the group without joining it.

- 3) People who hold strong views on issues highlighted by the group although they are poorly informed regarding these issues. The intensity of their opinion comes from some symbol, word or reference group, rather than from a reasoned view (Lane & Sears, 1964). Their support is for the issue under consideration, rather than the group, and is likely to be of limited duration.

According to Truman (1972), for an interest group

"... public opinion is not a collective and essentially rational entity, but an aggregate of the more or less rational opinions, held by those individuals who, on a given issue, make up the public." (p 260)

Influencing Opinions

The interest group is an intermediary institution between individuals and decision makers (Ippolito et al, 1976). The greater the section of the population that can be made aware of an interest group's activities and beliefs, the greater the group's public, and hence the opinion it can claim to represent. The standing of an interest group is affected by the size of its public. Groups therefore involve themselves in informing

and educating the public, often allocating a substantial portion of their resources towards this end.

Those groups whose prime objective is the education of the public, rather than influencing decision makers, will concentrate entirely on this field.

The public can be approached in two ways. Attempts can be made to educate the public properly; to provide people with a steady flow of factual and relevant information which will allow them to form their own considered opinions. This involves the use of considerable resources of the group, is an ongoing process, and the audience to which such information can be directed is limited. Alternatively, a group can attempt to gain the temporary support of large sections of the population, and so generate strong public opinion for short periods. This can be done by concentrating on the emotional aspects of issues, and making personalised appeals. To ensure public interest at crucial moments in the group's projects, the general concerns of the group need to be kept before the public eye. Continuous exposure, albeit low key, is therefore necessary.

Ideally, interest groups would like to convert, and not simply generate periodic support from, as large a section of the population as possible. Groups employ both tactics, the allocation of resources between the two depending on the universality or specificity of the cause being promoted.

The tools at a group's disposal for public communication are not as numerous as those used for within group communication. While a group can to a certain extent be aware in which quarters its potential converts and public lie, its attention must also be directed towards the general public. Organised groups take care in directing their energies into the appropriate areas, and tailor their selection of media channels to match those sections of the population they hope to influence. Promotion of their issues and the provision of detailed information in specialist or exclusive periodicals and journals is open only to the larger or well-endowed groups. The use of the mass media is open to all groups.

The Mass Media

In countries with commercial broadcasting systems (i.e. systems which are not government sponsored) radio and television have provided opportunities for groups to promote their causes and furnish the public with information relating to pertinent issues.

In areas where these facilities are unavailable, in that groups are obliged to court a measure of government approval before getting their views aired, the press has developed into the vehicle most widely employed by interest groups.

The Press

A press responsive to the aims of an interest group is a valuable asset for any group. A good relationship with

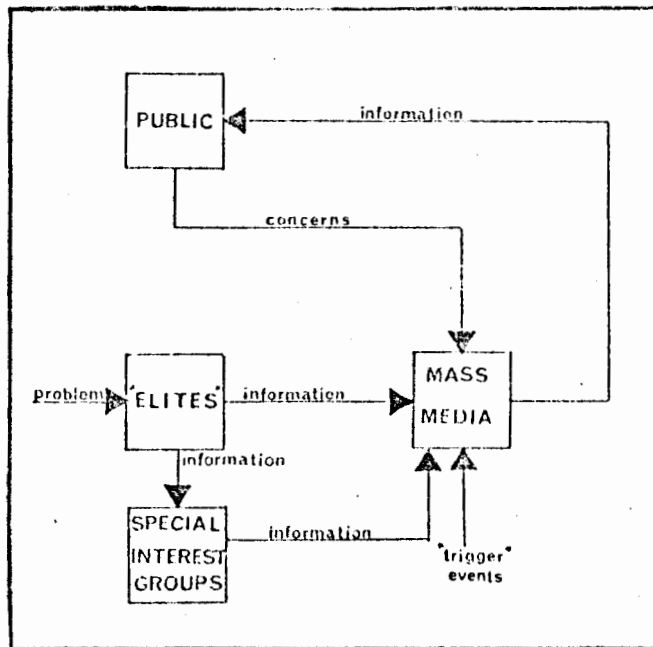
the press is essential for generating favourable coverage of the group and propogating its research and information.

Generation of newspaper coverage generally requires only moderate resource expenditure, but has high potential payoffs. It can be done in a number of ways. The most common method is through the press release. These usually relate to a project the group is working on, or some issue felt to be of concern to the public. Press conferences are a less frequently used device since a group must have information of some note before it can hope to attract reporters to its conference. Advertisements can also be taken, but these involve expenditure, the order of which may be prohibitive to small groups. The cultivation of a sympathetic reporter is a tactic frequently employed in an attempt to generate routine coverage of a group's activities (Berry, 1977).

Tactics which can also be used to attract the attention of the press are mass meetings, public marches and other forms of public demonstration. Coverage of these demonstrations will gain publicity for the group's cause, and so expand public awareness of the issue. However, the use of these tactics involves considerable organisation on the part of the group, and a political climate which is tolerant of public demonstrations.

A model outlining mass media - interest group relationships has been developed by Parlour and Schatzow (1978). (See Figure 2.1)

Figure 2.1 : Model of the relationship between the mass media, interest groups and the public.



According to this model the problem or issue is first perceived by opinion leaders who communicate their concern to the media, to existing interest groups, or use it to develop a new interest group. The combined effects of elite concern, interest group pressure and possibly trigger events, produce a mass media response. This results in the communication of the issue to the public. The generation of public concern re-inforces the perceptions of the media about the gravity of the issue, and the need to reflect this in their coverage.

Interest groups and the media play reciprocal roles. The groups provide copy while the press, apart from providing coverage, may uncover additional material for the groups. Press coverage may

also promote the establishment of ad hoc action groups.

Other Tactics

Apart from generating coverage, mass meetings also serve as a medium of public education. Petitions, posters, pamphlets and carstickers are media increasingly used to bring issues to the attention of the public. Making people aware of issues is often sufficient to promote the formation of an opinion.

2.1.4.2 Influencing Decision-makers

Lobbying

"... lobbying is the stimulation and transmission of a communication by someone other than a citizen acting on his/her own behalf, directed at a governmental decision-maker with the hope of influencing his decision..."

(Berry, 1977 p 11).

The concept of lobbying has different implications in different countries, and it has undergone a change in meaning through time. Whereas lobby initially described the place where influence was sought to be exercised, it is now used to categorise those people, interests or groups which seek to exercise influence (Harris, 1968). The process of lobbying has been refined and developed, and covers a wide range of activities involved in bringing the view of the

concerned party to the ears of the decision-maker. Under certain political systems it has reached a remarkable level of sophistication, and involves professional lobbyists with legislation regulating their activities, while under others it is practised on so informal a level that there is often a failure to recognise it as such.

The most important control over lobbying by interest groups is access.

Access

In order for communication to take place between an interest group and a decision-maker there must exist a willingness on the part of the decision-maker to listen: the interest group must be granted access. A certain level of access may be institutionalised, points may be explicitly established within the formal framework of the government. In this way most interest groups will be able to present their view at some level of the decision-making hierarchy. But unless interest groups have established a number of points of access, they can seldom hope for real or ongoing attention for their claims.

Once established, access provides the opportunity to lobby, so the development and improvement of access is a tactic common to all interest groups (Truman, 1972). Any interest

group which hopes to succeed in communicating its ideas will therefore attempt to identify, at all levels of authority, target individuals and officials who are receptive to, and in a position to effectively respond to, lobbying (Nichol, 1981). Once the relevant points of access have been identified, they require maintenance to ensure their availability in the future. Access can be cultivated by keeping officials who have shown an interest informed on any development in the area of concern.

The degree of access enjoyed by a group at any single time is the result of a combination of factors. Important in this respect are the perceived representativeness of the group, the credibility of its policy and its status as a well informed body. These factors contribute to the legitimacy of the group, which in turn affects its standing in the eyes of the decision-makers. Groups therefore strive to be accredited with the specialist skills and competence necessary for the formulation of policy (Kimber & Richardson, 1974b). The ideal level of access for an interest group is to be granted consultative status, as a result of which it will be invited to participate in policy formulation, and may be granted representation, sometimes permanent, on a number of committees, boards or councils.

Direct and Indirect Approaches

Contact between interest groups and decision-makers can be divided into direct and indirect lobbying. The former involves direct communication between the lobbyist and the decision-maker, and the latter the methods whereby the group lobbys through its members.

Direct Lobbying. Personal contact is widely regarded as the best lobbying tactic (Berry, 1977). It is strongly controlled by access and involves private meetings and testifying before committees and councils. It is usually aimed at activating the converted, convincing the neutrals or working with those who are wavering (Holtzman, 1966). Very few interest groups attempt to influence directly those whom they consider to be their opponents.

Indirect Lobbying involves using members, as opposed to group officials and staff, to approach decision-makers. Influential members may act as lobbyists and approach decision-makers whom they know or have contact with under different circumstances. Members may be encouraged to approach or write letters to their government representatives. The efficacy of the latter approach depends on the accountability of the representatives to their constituencies, in some political systems this is negligible. In general the indirect approach is less effective than direct lobbying, and is seldom the only tactic employed.

2.2 ENVIRONMENTAL INTEREST GROUPS

2.2.1 Characteristics

Interest groups expressing concern for various aspects of the environment have the considerable advantage of advocating policies which appear to further the public good, rather than the material benefits of a particular section of society (Wilson, 1981) and as such attract the attention of both the public and decision-makers. A healthy and unpolluted environment is advantageous to everybody, thus any group acting to promote the attainment of such a state should attract a broad spectrum of support, as many people will be potential activists (Bowman, 1975). It would appear therefore that environmental interest groups are public rather than sectional groups, but on closer inspection this is not strictly true.

The environmental movement contains both environmentalists and conservationists (Henning, 1974; Bowman, 1975). The latter group, which existed prior to the emergence of the environmental movement has been strengthened and modified by it, and is supported largely by the middle and upper classes. While the results of its labours are in theory available to everybody, the areas in which it operates, the preservation and conservation of natural amenities, wilderness and wild life, have long been the preserve of the higher socio-economic groups. The benefits therefore tend to be exclusive rather than universal, and the groups sectional rather than public.

The concerns of the environmentalists, who emerged later have been broader and more general. Their central message has been the need for change - social, economic, political and institutional, based upon the holistic principles of ecology, to ensure the survival of both man and his environment (Henning, 1974). Consequently their appeal has been broader, and initially they generated support from all socio-economic and age groups. These have been true public interest groups. Some of their support proved to be temporary, and the more radical and militant groups rapidly lost support or disappeared once the initial flush of public enthusiasm began to wane.

This is not to say that all conservation groups are sectional and all environmental groups public, or that a group cannot be both conservational and environmental. The advent of the environmental movement saw many of the existing conservation groups undergo a considerable modification of their objectives in an attempt to view the environment holistically. Original interests began to be promoted in a broader framework, and the longstanding dichotomy within the Conservation Lobby between individuals promoting conservation for wise use, management and recreation, and those promoting it for the purposes of appreciation and preservation (Margolis, 1970), began to weaken.

What has emerged is a confused collection of public, sectional, environmental and conservation groups, with the distinctions between them rapidly blurring. While it is still possible to distinguish between conservationists and environmentalists, there is increasing overlap in their objectives and activities. Many of the larger or national groups are public in nature, with affiliated branches or local groups pursuing sectional interests. Despite the relatively universal nature of its appeal, the environmental movement appears to conform to interest group theory in that its membership displays a distinct class bias, and in particular a strong correlation with high levels of education (Harry et al, 1969; Sandbach, 1980).

The environmental movement has not been that of poor men (Margolis, 1970). The groups which have recorded notable successes have usually had a sound financial base, management by skilled administrative staffs, and high levels of within-group communication. Many of them have been registered as fundraising bodies, and the usually tax-free status of donations has considerably enhanced group patronage (Berry, 1977). Member involvement, characteristically high in public interest groups, has also been surprisingly strong in the more sectional groups. The revitalised conservation groups have devoted considerable attention to programmes which bring their members into direct contact with the

environment, and local groups have attracted volunteers as people respond to protect their immediate environment. Communication has been maintained through the publication of newspapers, journals, magazines and newsletters.

In contrast to these large persistent organisations, many ad hoc groups have been organised to oppose individual issues, their lives deliberately limited to single campaigns (Kimber & Richardson, 1974b).

While groups of all scales have proliferated in the industrialized developed nations, this has not been the case in the developing countries. In the latter the initial reaction to the environmental movement ranged from indifference to suspicion, and was followed by lip-service to the ideals of environmentalism (Wilson, 1971). Ideologically the environmental movement is seen as anti-development, and so can hope to attract little broad support in regions where accelerated economic and industrial development is believed to be the solution to wide-spread poverty. In such areas it has become the preserve of the affluent, and the most successful groups have been those affiliated with, or part of, international environmental organisations.

2.2.2 Tactics

The focus of the environmental movement has been two-fold. It has concentrated on increasing public awareness and

understanding of environmental issues and it has attempted to develop a favourable Government attitude, and hence decisions and legislation favourable to the environment. Work towards the former objective has given rise to concentration on educational and propoganda techniques, with extensive employment of the mass media, and to the development of a remarkably sophisticated lobbying system. In both instances the environmental movement has largely dealt in specifics (Margolis, 1970) despite its professedly holistic approach. This situation has arisen out of the formidable obstacles encountered by groups promoting comprehensive, system-orientated programmes (Bowman, 1975). The interests of such groups have been labelled idealistic and irrational as the intended benefits are often intangible, long range and widely diffused, while the attendant costs are tangible, immediate and specific. In the words of Bowman (1975), "collective benefits are less valuable in bargaining than specific benefits".

The environmental movement grew out of the America and British Conservation Lobbies (Nicholson, 1972) and as a result displays characteristics which reflect its development under strongly democratic systems. These are particularly evident in the tactics employed by its constituent groups, and include the great value ascribed to popular opinion and its public expression, belief in the public accountability of decision-makers and elected representatives, and public involvement in planning.

Public education and the popularisation of environmental issues was initially accorded the lion's share of interest group attention, an ideal medium being provided by a currently sympathetic press. The mobilisation of public opinion was undertaken to force decision-makers to consider the interests of environmental groups. The rallies, demonstrations and public protests of the Civil Rights and Anti-War Movements of the 1960's were employed towards this end (Barbour, 1980). Their use became less frequent as the environmental movement established itself, and a reversion towards the more traditional forms of public education and lobbying occurred. In those countries where the movement was established at a later date the need for such tactics was seldom felt, as the relevance of environmental issues was already widely accepted by decision-makers.

While the education of the public was undertaken by some groups, others concentrated on approaching decision-makers in an attempt to influence the outcome of specific issues. The existence of statutory provisions for public participation in planning and development issues helped provide the access many of the interest groups required, and allowed them to devote their resources towards the development of the skills necessary for meaningful participation. The path towards this was not smooth. Despite their considerable resources many interest groups tackled problems incorrectly, and often antagonised decision-makers with their 'all or nothing' approach. This approach has tended to disappear as groups have become more pragmatic and realistic.

Nevertheless its legacy remains as the movement has not completely lost the negative, "anti-everything fanatic" image ascribed to it by poorly-informed or hostile members of the public (Bowman, 1975). As access has improved with time, lobbying has become more sophisticated, resulting in increased dialogue, consultation and compromise. Not all groups have enjoyed the same degree of access to decision-makers, and the failure to gain access has been described as partly responsible for the demise of the more militant and radical groups.

The resolution of issues through recourse to the courts is a tactic which has largely been restricted to the United States of America, where the legal system is such that this may be a viable approach for an interest group. In fact it has proved so successful that several interest groups have been established to work primarily through the legal system. However, differing legal systems have effectively prevented this approach from becoming a tactic common to the global environmental movement.

The problems of unco-ordinated and sporadic action were keenly felt with the rapid proliferation of interest groups. The complexity of environmental issues led to the establishment of groups with over-lapping areas of concern, which led to competition for support and members, and conflicting representations to the public and decision-makers. This weakened the illusion that any of the groups spoke for the 'public interest' (Wilson, 1981), and reduced their status and influence. A rapid

appreciation of the value inherent in a co-ordinated approach led to the development of a variety of co-ordinating bodies and promoted the establishment of coalitions to fight particular issues across a broad front. The international environmental interest groups have provided a particularly valuable service in this respect. In general co-ordinated activity has greatly increased the lobbying success of interest groups, although some efforts to combine the divergent beliefs of a number of groups under the single banner of the environment have met with little success.

Success has been recorded by groups of all sizes and inclinations, not only by the more conservative, affluent or larger groups. This is a result of the fact that success is not determined solely by the nature and structure of the interest group in question. Of particular importance are the nature of the issue under contention, and the value systems of the decision-makers, which affect their perception of and responsiveness to the interests of the group (Henning, 1974). Criteria which have proved influential in enhancing success have been singled out by workers in this field. The most generally applicable are listed below:

- (1) Finance; adequate funding; capacity to raise funds
- (2) Number and spread of members
- (3) Degree of unity among members

- (4) The ability to organise public pressure
 - (5) Professional and trained staff
 - (6) Access to information; sources of factual data
 - (7) Advance intelligence; Vigilance
 - (8) Rational argument; development of alternatives
 - (9) Access to decision-makers at all levels
 - (10) Good relations with legislators and administrators
 - (11) Good relations with the mass media
- (Enloe, 1975; Henning, 1974; Kimber & Richardson, 1974b)

2.2.3 Conclusions

In the decade following its rapid rise to global prominence the environmental movement has undergone a series of notable changes. It has passed through the extremely crucial and testing phase of leaving behind what Nicholson (1972) has called the "period of missionary exhortation and protest" and has assumed a responsible and constructive role in the development of a healthy environment. Throughout the existence of the movement, 'environmentalism' has variously been labelled as social movement, a set of ideas based on ecology, a back to nature philosophy, or simply an increased interest in environmental matters (Sandbach, 1980). Whatever the applicability of these definitions, it has become increasingly evident that the principles, and a great many of the results of the environmental movement, will remain with us. Interest group activity may cease to grow, and media coverage may be eclipsed by more immediate economic and social issues, but it is unlikely that any future development will escape consideration

of its attendant environmental implications. Such considerations are also unlikely to be merely emotional reactions on parochial, sectional or sentimental groups (Nicholson, 1972), but rather objective, reasoned approaches to problems.

Although mass public interest may now be diverted into other areas the work of environmental interest groups is incomplete despite the often comprehensive policy and legislative changes which their activity has been largely instrumental in bringing about. If they are to have any value such changes must be enforced, and this requires constant vigilance, a task to which many interest groups are admirably suited, being independent of both Government and Industry. This fact has been appreciated by some Governments, to the extent that they encourage the development of responsible environmental interest groups (EPA, 1972).

While public opinion surveys and media analyses have indicated that interest in the environment appears to be on the decline, interest group activity does not support this view. A study of environmental interest group membership in the United States and the United Kingdom (Sandbach, 1980) has shown a steady increase, together with a proliferation of small organisations protecting local amenities. (See Table 2.1)

Table 2.1: Growth of membership of various leading U.K. environmental societies

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Conservation Society	200	380	800	1,200	2,800	5,700	8,320	8,734	7,400	6,915	6,474	
Ramblers Assoc.		14,000					26,000					30,000
Friends of the Earth									5,000	5,000	5,000	6,000
The Soil Assoc. Home Membership at 31 Dec.				3,232	3,637	3,806	3,729	3,795	3,558	3,623	3,779	3,974 at 31 May
National Trust	164,527			176,970	226,200	278,300	346,000	428,384	463,556	539,285	548,657	
Society for the Promotion of Nature												
Conservation			35,000	42,500	55,500	63,500	75,000	84,500	97,000	100,000	109,000	
The Royal Soc. for the Protection of Birds	31,738	35,917	41,260	52,911	65,577	81,223	108,268	138,467	165,716	180,725	204,416	244,841 (June)
The Council for the Protection of Rural England		15,000			20,695				27,100			28,446

(After Sandbach, 1978).

For many of the larger revitalised conservation groups this growth in membership shows little sign of levelling off. A notable development since the advent of the movement has been a shift in the nature of the interest groups which are attracting most support. The fastest growing societies have all been involved in active conservation rather than environmental politics and most of the more radical groups have disappeared (Sandbach, 1978).

Concern for the environment has not been confined to those groups which make up the environmental lobby. A considerable number of other organisations, in particular scientific, professional and civic bodies, display a strong degree of interest in the environment.

This is a generalised outline of the environmental movement and not all aspects hold in all countries. This is particularly true of the developing countries where the political systems may not promote interest group activity, and the economic situation is such that environmental matters are not regarded as of fundamental importance.

2.3 SOUTH AFRICAN INTEREST GROUPS

2.3.1 Introduction

Interest group development is not something that has been actively encouraged in South Africa. The notable lack of success of all but a few favoured groups (Harris, 1971) is testament to the existence of conditions which severely hamper group efficacy. While there are no laws which directly restrict the membership or activities of private voluntary organisations (it is only in political parties and trade unions that the separation of different race groups is required by law) the indirect effects of legislation are considerable, as are those of Government recommended policy, and the force of custom (Wollheim, 1978). Added to these influences is the multi-racial nature of the South African population which has slowed the development of widely shared interests and concerns, a prerequisite for the development of public interest groups (in particular those relating to the environment). This situation has been exacerbated by the official doctrine of separate development which operates by emphasising the

incompatibility of racial and cultural differences.

2.3.2 General Restraints

The most pervasive restraint on interest group formation is that introduced by that body of legislation which acts to reduce contact between people of different race groups (controls on place of residence, occupation and mobility). Such restrictions greatly increase the difficulty of attracting a widespread base of support for issues, and effectively channel interest group activity into the sphere of the sectional rather than the public. The existence of a marked development dichotomy which has created a strong race/socio-economic class structure in an already culturally divided society, means that many issues which would appear to be of universal appeal, and so transcend racial differences, are in reality of pertinence to only a small section of the population. It is widely acknowledged that interest group membership displays a class bias (Potter, 1958; Holtzman, 1966; Berry, 1977; Ippolito et al, 1976). with support lying at the upper end of the socio-economic gradient. In South Africa such a position is occupied by the white sector of the population.

The Government policy of separate development is often actively embraced despite the fact that it is not legally enforceable with respect to such groups, and has given rise to groups which voluntarily maintain a racial bar in their membership. These 'closed' groups have often benefitted from Government assistance which has been withheld from 'open' (all race)

groups which form against Government policy (Wollheim, 1978).

The combination of these facts has resulted in the domination of interest group activity (excluding that where legislation makes provision for separate organisations for each race group) by the white section of the population, and by sectional rather than public groups. The quiescent and conservative nature of the white South African public, and its tendency to avoid exhibitionism and extrovert behaviour, has combined with Government imposed restraints (Harris, 1968; Dargie, 1978) to delimit quite decisively the tactics employed by interest groups.

2.3.3 Influences on Tactics

"... there are many who hold that the ordinary layman is rarely in a position to judge what is best, even for himself, and that professional expertise can better serve his interests." City Engineer, Cape Town (Morris, 1974).

Public participation in planning and decision making is not encouraged. Interest groups attempting to influence and educate public opinion attract the attention of decision-makers and encounter a number of severe obstacles. Not only are the difficulties of mobilising public opinion substantial, but little credibility is given to public opinion (Dargie, 1978) and few channels exist for its expression once it has been mobilised.

While the public of sectional groups is reasonably easy to determine and reach, that of public groups is less so. Attempts must be made to reach all sections of the population which introduces problems of language and literacy (Harris, 1968), and necessitates the use of several media channels. Media such as public rallies, mass meetings and protest marches, which would help to obviate some of these problems, are both rigidly controlled by legislation and unfamiliar to the more conservative white population.

The lack of success registered by tactics such as silent protest, petitions and letters has limited their use. As a result it is the press which has emerged as the central and most effective medium for the expression of interest group opinion (Harris, 1968).

The general lack of success recorded by attempts to reach decision-makers via the public has directed the energies of most interest groups in the direction of lobbying, often to the complete exclusion of the public approach, although lobbying has its attendant restraints.

The excessive influence of favoured groups (which are often drawn in to the Government apparatus through permanent representation on committees and control boards), the strength of economic interests, and the tendency of the Government to react against pressure from below (Harris, 1968) all act against groups attempting to gain access to decision-makers.

The strong degree of party discipline which makes members of parliament more answerable to their parties than their constituencies (Dargie, 1978), the power and cohesion of the Cabinet, the power vested in Cabinet Ministers (Harris, 1968) and the hierarchical and rigidly channelled lines of communication, severely restrict the points of access open to interest groups.

The effective reduction of access brought about by these factors has influenced both the nature and lobbying of interest groups. The structure adopted by the more successful groups has often been very similar to the model common to Government organisations, a tacit recognition of the need to work within the existing system for maximum effect (Dargie, 1978). The tactics employed also reflect this recognition, every effort is made to maintain credibility, establish legitimacy and acquire consultative status. This has led to the stressing of 'expert' (if minority) opinion, extensive 'consultation', and the commissioning of reports. Groups, particularly those of a sectional nature, often display a lack of reliance on public support, and instead direct their energies to refining the organisation and skills of the group.

PREDICTING INTEREST GROUP EFFICACY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

While the best way of determining the effectiveness of a particular interest group is to undertake a case study of the group in question, workers in the field of interest group analysis have identified certain key attributes which are believed to influence the likelihood of a group achieving success (Best, 1973; Barr, 1968; Holtzmann, 1966; Kimber & Richardson, 1974b; Truman, 1972). The existence of such measurable attributes allows the formation of predictions regarding a group's potential for success. While the importance of specific attributes may vary according to the nature and objects of interest groups and the conditions under which they operate, there are several attributes which appear to be common to all interest groups. These are organisation, finance, cohesion or unity, and skills.

An understanding of the relative importance of these central attributes to groups in a particular lobby will provide insight into the nature of the groups and help explain the form they have adopted. There are nevertheless difficulties in objectively ranking these central attributes which must be considered together rather than individually. Any method of ranking must take this problem into account.

A measure of the relative importance of these central attributes to groups in the South African environmental lobby was obtained using the technique of conjoint analysis.

3.2 CONJOINT ANALYSIS

Conjoint analysis is one of several techniques which have been developed to measure psychological judgements (Green & Tull, 1978). Although its theoretical development in the behavioural sciences is of relatively recent origin (Luce & Turkey, 1964), the technique has been applied to a wide range of problems. In particular, these have included marketing problems involving evaluations of multi-attribute products. In such instances it is used to understand, quantify and so predict the judgements of consumers regarding the importance or utility of various attributes of a product (Green & Wind, 1975; Johnson, 1974; Pekelman & Sen, 1979). The procedure can, however, be used with any explicit judgemental criterion (Green & Wind, 1975).

The conjoint analysis technique involves the computation of a set of utility scales (part-worth utilities) for each attribute from a respondent's (or group's) overall judgements regarding a set of multi-attribute alternatives. These utility scales are derived using a monotonic analysis of variance (MONANOVA). A utility range for each attribute is derived

from the utility scales, and these ranges can be compared since they are expressed in a common unit. This allows a ranking of the attributes in order of their relative importance to the respondent in terms of the judgement criterion (Green & Wind, 1975). The technique is a conjoint one in that it can measure the relative values of attributes considered jointly which might be unmeasurable considered singly (Johnson, 1974).

In this study, each member of a carefully selected panel was asked to judge which of a series of hypothetical interest groups displayed the most advantageous combination of attribute levels for an environmental group operating in South Africa. While it is obvious that the group with the highest potential efficacy will be one which displays high levels of all the attributes, the likelihood of any actual group being able to develop such levels is low. It therefore becomes necessary to determine how respondents value different levels of each attribute as contributors to environmental group efficacy, and the extent to which they would forgo a high level of one attribute to achieve a high level of another (Johnson, 1974).

3.3 ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

3.3.1 Construction of Group Profiles

A set of hypothetical group profiles was drawn up where each group was described in terms of the 4 central attributes which appear to be of general significance in influencing interest

group efficacy. Each attribute was clearly defined in an attempt to ensure that all the respondents interpreted them in a similar manner.

(1) Organisation

This implies varying degrees of participation by group members, the structuring of separate roles, and the division of labour and responsibility (Holtzmann, 1966; Truman, 1972). It is important that the basic administrative chores are performed efficiently (volunteer or permanent staff) otherwise a group is unlikely to persist in a working form for very long. Many projects and programmes require a considerable degree of organisation and co-ordination, and the level of sophistication of an interest group's organisation will be reflected in the nature of the programmes it undertakes.

(2) Finance

Organisation and co-ordination require a certain amount of money. The funds available to a group will determine such things as the level of within group communication (newsletters, magazines and journals), and the scope of projects undertaken (from simply maintaining a visible profile to mounting public awareness campaigns). Group tactics are influenced by the availability of funds.

(3) Cohesion

Representativeness is of particular importance to the standing of a group (Best, 1973). An image of strong internal unity or cohesion adds weight to claims by group leaders that they are representative of shared opinions. A prime requisite for cohesion appears to member satisfaction with the leadership (Luttbeg, 1974). This can be promoted by regular group interaction (meetings newsletters) which will ensure that the membership is cognisant of leadership positions and official group attitudes. Almost all interest groups tend to be oligarchical (Holtzman, 1966) with an active minority controlling internal government, so it is important that membership-leadership communication channels exist and are seen to be functional.

(4) Skills

The organisational, political, professional and technical expertise which a group can marshal plays a significant role in controlling the strategies open to the group. As the issues to which such groups respond increase in complexity the level at which a group can respond (simply registering opposition or providing reasoned alternatives) depends very much on available skills.

Each attribute was indicated to be present in a group profile at one of three levels - high, medium or low (Figure 3.1). It was assumed that environmental interest groups could be adequately described using this reductionist approach (Green & Wind, 1975) whereby hypothetical groups are described using only 4 attributes.

Figure 3.1 : Hypothetical group profiles

GROUP A	0022	GROUP F	2102
High: Organisation, Finance		High: Cohesion	
Medium:		Medium: Finance	
Low: Cohesion, Skills		Low: Organisation, Skills	

The combination of attribute levels in each profile, and the minimum number of profiles necessary for a meaningful computation of utility ranges (where 4 attributes are considered at 3 levels), were determined from Table 3.1 (Cochran & Cox, 1950).

Table 3.1 : Balanced group of sets for 3^4 factorial

*

0000	0011	0022	0012	0020	0001	0021	0002	0010
1011	1022	1000	1020	1001	1012	1002	1010	1021
2022	2000	2011	2001	2012	2020	2010	2021	2002
0121	0102	0110	0100	0111	0122	0112	0120	0101
1102	1110	1121	1111	1122	1100	1120	1101	1112
2110	2121	2102	2122	2100	2111	2101	2112	2120
0212	0220	0201	0221	0202	0210	0200	0211	0222
1220	1201	1212	1202	1210	1221	1211	1222	1200
2201	2212	2220	2210	2221	2202	2222	2200	2211

(After Cochrane & Cox, 1950)

Three level interactions confounded.

0 = high 1 = medium 2 = low

Table 3.1 lists the 81 different attribute level combinations (units) which exist when 4 factors are considered at 3 levels. The minimum number of different combinations (units) which can be employed to generate predictions was found to be 9 (one column), (Cochran & Cox, 1950).

Any of the columns can be used for this purpose. The column selected for this study (*) was chosen because it did not contain the units which would generate profiles with all 4 attributes present at the same level (0000), (1111), (2222). These profiles were avoided since they would tend to be ranked first (0000) and last (2222) by respondents. The use of 'mixed' profiles forces respondents to make trade-offs between the different attributes, and so provides the programme with more information concerning the preferences of respondents.

More accurate solutions are generated as the number of profiles (attribute level combinations) evaluated increases (Green & Wind, 1975), but a large number of profiles introduces problems for the respondents attempting to rank them, and increases the risk of meaningless trade-offs.

3.3.2 Selection of Respondents

A panel of respondents was selected on the basis of their known involvement with environmental issues and with interest groups. The panel, listed in Appendix A, included both leaders and administrators of environmental groups, as well as individuals outside the lobby who had interacted (either officially or professionally) with one or more environmental groups.

A panel was employed in the place of a single expert because of the need to represent the considerable range of interest groups which form the environmental lobby, and the need to obtain greater objectivity in the assessment process. The use of a panel or group of respondents allows a pooling of preference ratings, and the calculation of one overall utility function for each attribute (Moore, 1980).

3.3.3 Determination of Attribute Rankings

Each respondent was provided with an outline of the objects of the exercise, detailed definitions of the attributes under consideration, and a set of nine cards each containing a hypothetical group profile (Appendix B). The respondents were asked to consider the groups described on the cards, and then to rank the groups in order of the most advantageous to the least advantageous combination of attribute levels. The ranked data were then subject to a standard conjoint analysis computer programme where the algorithms determined a numerical representation of the utility range of each attribute. (These ranges

are derived from the utility scales determined for each level of each attribute - See 3.2).

3.4 RESULTS

The computed utility range of each attribute is presented in Table 3.2. A comparison of the ranges (which are expressed in a common unit) indicates a division of the attributes into two sets. The first set, consisting of skills and organisation, is regarded by the respondents as more significant than the second set, consisting of cohesion and finance.

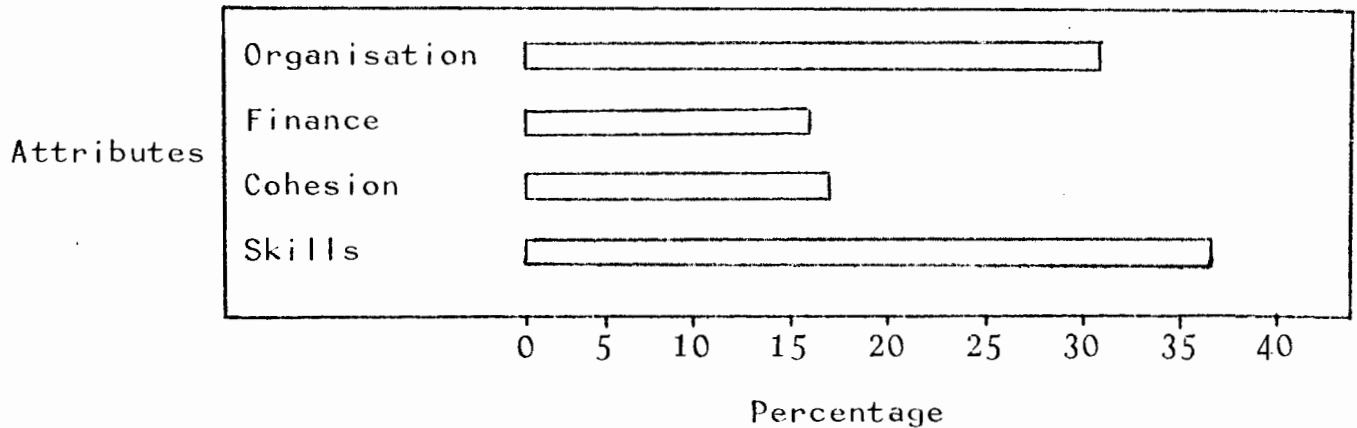
Table 3.2 : Attribute utility ranges and rank

Attribute	Utility range	Rank
Organisation	1.738	2
Finance	0.895	4
Cohesion	0.954	3
Skills	2.074	1

While a ranking of the attributes can be obtained from these utility ranges, the differences within the two sets of attributes are so small that it is more meaningful to consider the relative importance of the sets. The relative importance is illustrated by the histogram in Figure 3.2 where the percentage each attribute

contributed to the total utility is shown.

Figure 3.2 : Relative importance of the attributes



The respondent panel has assigned some 68% or two thirds of the total utility to the attributes of skills and organisation, while those of finance and cohesion are regarded as contributing only 32% or one third of the utility. . The assignation of such values suggests that the panel regards skills and organisation as twice as influential as finance and cohesion in determining the effectiveness of an environmental interest group in South Africa.

The respondents were also asked to comment on any problems they encountered while ranking the groups. It appears that several respondents regarded leadership as the single most important factor influencing group efficacy. Since it was not presented as a separate attribute (but was presumed, in compiling the profiles, to be included under skills) the respondents were divided in their allocation of its value

between skills and organisation. This division of utility may be in part responsible for the allocation of high utility to both skills and organisation (bearing in mind that these attributes are important in their own right). If the location of leadership under skills had been clearly indicated (more detailed attribute definitions) more marked differences in utility between the attributes may have emerged. If leadership had been presented as a separate attribute, the entire pattern may have been altered.

Some of the respondents also stated that finance, while not a prime consideration in the light of the objects of many South African environmental interest groups, and therefore of relatively low utility was a function of the other attributes, in particular organisation. They felt that the development of a high level of organisation was likely to ensure the generation of adequate funding for a group. The belief in this interdependence of attributes may have influenced their allocation of utility between the attributes.

The exact effects of these two problems on the allocation of utility between the attributes can only be speculative. While they do not negate the results of the analysis, they force any predictions made from them to be extremely general. Apart from these problems, the respondents were in agreement with the general importance and applicability of the attributes under discussion, and experienced little difficulty in making trade-offs between the different group profiles.

3.5 CONCLUSIONS

The results of the analysis indicate that the technique was able to generate a measure of the relative importance of the attributes, organisation, finance, cohesion and skills, to the efficacy of environmental interest groups operating in South Africa. While the ranking of the attributes is not decisive, and is likely to have been influenced by difficulties in attribute interpretation and the question of inter-linkages, a direction for further study is provided by the generation of two distinct sets of attributes of different significance or utility.

The greater importance accorded to skills and organisation over finance and cohesion is in keeping with the trend outlined in the consideration of South African interest groups in Chapter 2. There it was recognised that such groups, in their attempts to establish credibility and improve access through the acquisition of consultive status, tend to concentrate on refining their skills and organisation rather than on the generation of widespread support, although the latter is seldom ignored.

The pattern which has emerged here suggests the existence of several possible trends amongst groups in the environmental lobby. These are the development of a sound organisational structure, emphasis on the acquisition of skills and professional opinion, a lack of reliance on finance (with

little concentration in this direction over and above the need for general running expenses) and a limited effort to recruit new members or provide opportunities for general public involvement.

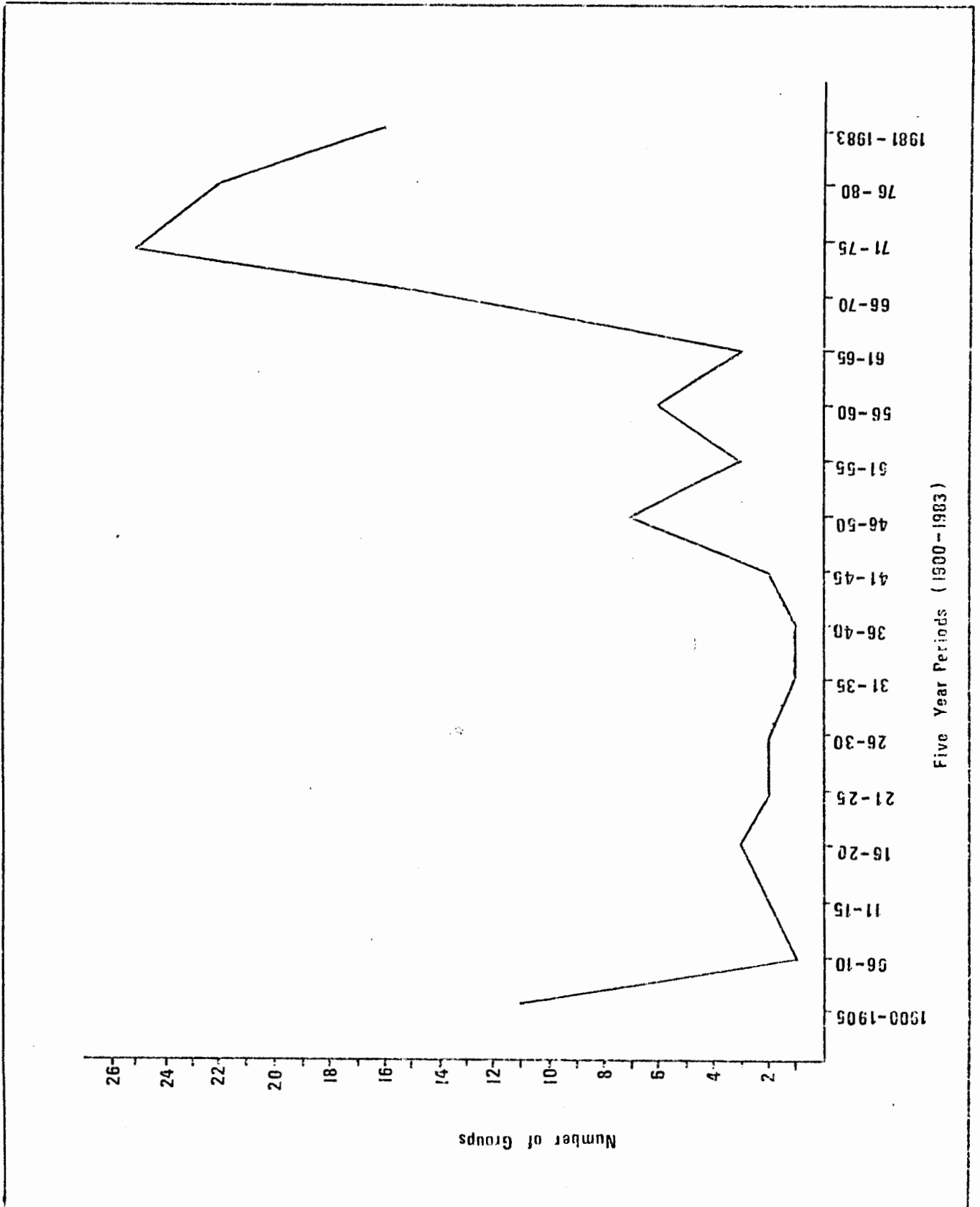
The results of this analysis are used in Chapter 5 in the discussion on the form and structure which environmental interest groups in South Africa have adopted.

THE RISE OF ENVIRONMENTAL INTEREST GROUPS IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In South Africa public concern for the environment manifested itself at a relatively early stage. As a result, interest group involvement in this field has a considerable history. As elsewhere a distinction can be made between early conservation groups (in South Africa a very heterogeneous assemblage of organisations) and the later environmental groups whose establishment heralded the arrival of the environmental revolution (Nicholson, 1972). Although the early groups (pre 1965) were extremely varied in their concerns, they concentrated largely on the natural or physical environment, and little attention was directed towards the protection or conservation of the built environment. It was the environmental revolution, with its concentration on the human environment, that saw rapid growth in the appreciation of the need to conserve the built and urban environment, and a corresponding rise in the number of interest groups devoted to this end. Although the environmental revolution appears to be past its peak (see Figure 4.1) a strong interest group involvement remains and a degree of interest in environmental concerns is being displayed by groups outside the lobby.

Figure 4.1 : Number of environmental groups established in South Africa for five year periods from 1900 - 1983



4.1.1 Identification of Groups

One of the main objects of this study was to identify and list all the environmentally orientated interest groups which form the environmental lobby in South Africa, and to determine their orientation (which areas of the environment they served). This documentation forms part 2 of this study. In compiling the list an attempt was therefore made to include not only functional groups, but short-lived action committees and, where they could be identified, groups which are no longer extant, but which once played a role.

Prior to compilation of the list it was decided that all groups should be voluntary (non-governmental) and involved in some form of environmental conservation where the definitions of environment and conservation were taken to be the following:

Environment : That complex of interacting physical, biological, manmade and cultural factors which control and influence, either directly or indirectly, the lives of human beings.

Conservation : Any action which promotes the exercise of restraint and good husbandry in the use of natural and human resources to maintain, preserve, and restore environmental quality.

A comprehensive listing was obtained by consulting environmental co-ordinating groups, environmental directories (Gough, 1980; SADE, 1980), newspaper files and environmental reporters.

The resulting list was sent to prominent conservationists (both private individuals and Government officials) and to the larger groups with requests for addition and comment. In addition, each interest group on the list was sent a questionnaire which included a request for the names of any other environmentally orientated interest groups with which they had come into contact. A total of 127 groups were identified in this manner. They are listed chronologically in Appendix C. Of these, 82 were functional groups whose main interests were environmental conservation, and were taken to form the environmental lobby.

4.2 THE HISTORY OF INTEREST GROUP DEVELOPMENT

4.2.1 Early Groups and the Conservation Lobby 1877 - 1965

4.2.1.1 Nature Conservation Groups

The extremely rich flora and fauna of Southern Africa has always attracted a great deal of attention, and it was in this respect that the first interest group activity developed. One tenth of the world's avian population is to be found on the subcontinent, together with a profusion of large mammals, the occurrence of some species in spectacular numbers, and the unique Cape flora (Hey, 1977). A rapidly growing human population and the seemingly endless nature of natural resources

led to overexploitation. The deterioration of the veld and the accompanying disappearance of game, despite the existence of laws protecting these resources, prompted the formation of a number of groups whose gentlemen members expressed alarm at this state of affairs. These groups were known as Game Protection Associations (GPA's), the earliest being established in Natal in 1883, with the objects of preserving the wild game of the colony and securing prosecutions against all breakers of game laws (Pringle, 1982). Protection Associations sprang up in several parts of the country, a considerable number being formed at the close of the Anglo-Boer War, but all were shortlived. The first successful group was the Transvaal GPA (1902), which was the forerunner of the Wildlife Protection Society of South Africa (1926): the present Wildlife Society of Southern Africa. Although based in the Transvaal the latter was intended to be, and has become, a national body with regional and local branches.

While the Wildlife Society has come to represent conservation for the purposes of protection and appreciation, its origins lay in the GPA's whose prominent supporters were sportsmen and hunters (the Griqualand West GPA was originally known as the South African Sportsmens Association). The concerns of these early conservationists re-emerged with the formation of the South African Hunters and Game Conservation Association (1949) whose objects included both the promotion of 'true amateur sportsmanship according to the rules of game hunting', and the conservation, protection and replenishment of flora

and fauna. As elsewhere, conservationists were divided in their objectives.

The remarkably diverse flora of the South Western Cape had attracted attention from the earliest days of the Colony, but this attention had been concentrated on description, identification and collection of the flora, rather than on its actual conservation. The first group to concern itself with the protection of the flora was a local body, the Caledon Wildflower Society (1892), and it was followed by the South African National Society (1905). The latter was formed with the object of preserving places of natural beauty and historic interest in South Africa (Bassett, 1980), and as such was a forerunner of the environmental groups, concerning itself with both the natural and manmade aspects of the environment. From its inception it had two major goals, one of which was the creation of an indigenous botanic garden. This was realised in 1913 with the creation of the National Botanic Gardens at Kirstenbosch. This gave rise to another interest group, the Botanical Society of South Africa. This was formed to provide public and financial support for the Gardens and this remained its main objective until 1938, when it was proposed that the Botanical Society act as the central voluntary organisation in all matters relating to the conservation of South African flora (Compton, 1938).

The development of other groups soon followed and included the Wildflower Protection Society (1920) which aimed to preserve the native plants of South Africa in their natural surroundings: this society grew out of the Wildflower Protection Committee (1912) under the aegis of the Mountain Club of South Africa (EMP, 1983). Today the Wildflower Protection Society forms the Flora Conservation Committee of the Botanical Society. A number of local groups also developed at this period and these included the Darling Wildflower Society (1917), the Hermanus Botanical Society (1924) and the Eastern Province Wildflower Society (1954). In many instances these groups grew from annual flower shows and exhibitions held in rural areas by local church and womens' groups. Their development saw a shift from flower arranging to public education, the establishment of local collections and the protection of special areas on farms. Concern for the indigenous vegetation was not restricted to the Cape flora. The Botanical Society developed branches in other provinces, and the Tree Society of South Africa (1948) was established in the Transvaal. Its objects included the fostering of interest in trees and shrubs, and the education of the public to appreciate, plant and conserve indigenous trees.

4.2.1.2 Amateur, Scientific and Naturalist groups

Few of the early interest groups which involved themselves with the environment would have regarded themselves as environmental

or conservation groups as we understand the terms today. Significant amongst these are the series of amateur, scientific and naturalist groups which emerged in the first half of this century. Characterised by specific concerns (birds, fish, shells) these groups involved themselves in recording, collecting, research, education and preservation. Almost all began as local groups and while many of them persist in this form, the growth and expansion of others has led to the formation of major environmental groups.

Perhaps the most important group to emerge in this manner is the South African Ornithological Society (1930). Its roots lie in the South African Ornithological Union which held its inaugural meeting in 1904. At this time it defined its objectives as the 'advancement of the science of ornithology, and in particular South African ornithology' (Ashton, 1980).

The Union was dissolved in 1916 when its members joined with those of the Transvaal Biological Society (1907) to form the South African Biological Society. The latter reached its peak in the 1920's, becoming dormant by the end of the decade, and 1930 saw the establishment of the South African Ornithological Society. In its early days the Society was mainly involved in public education, and centered its activities around its

publications. With the formation of branches (1947) and affiliation with other bird groups such as the Cape Bird Club (1948), the Natal Bird Club (1949) and the Eastern Cape Wildbird Society (1950), work was begun on conservation issues and the society adopted a national approach. It broadened its scope, increased its linkages with other groups displaying appropriate interests, and developed a close relationship with provincial nature conservation authorities as it gained status as a well informed body (Ashton, 1980). The Society established an international connection through its membership of the South African National Branch of the International Council for Bird Preservation. A voluntary organisation, the Council's membership is restricted to institutions, societies or associations interested in the preservation of wildbirds based on biological principles.

The South African Association for Marine Biological Research (1951), established by the Wildlife Society and other concerned individuals in response to the need for research and public education in the field of marine resources (Pringle, 1982) has emerged as a group of considerable importance. Today it manages the Durban Aquarium and Dolphinarium, together with the Oceanographic Research Institute (1959).

Other groups which have persisted include the Royal Society of South Africa (1877), originally the South African Philosophical Society which publishes research relating to scientific aspects of the environment; the Cape Natural History Club (1922)

which over the years has enjoyed the membership of many leading professional and amateur scientists (Brown, 1977); and the Piscatorial Society (1931), which grew from the Western Districts Game and Trout Protection Association. Younger groups include the Eastern Province Freshwater Fish Conservancy (1957), the Conchological Society (1958), and the Outeniqua Naturalists Club (1965).

4.2.1.3 The National Veldtrust and the South African Nature Union

An interest group with a slightly different origin, the National Veld Trust (1943), has played a significant role in the past but is less prominent today. While all the larger voluntary organisations have maintained contact with Provincial or Government Departments particular to their interests, the relationship between the Veld Trust and the Department of Agriculture has been most pronounced. The specific task of the Veld Trust has been the promotion of the conservation and proper utilization of the soil and allied agricultural resources. It developed in close conjunction with the Department of Agriculture on whose expertise it drew, and from whom it received an annual grant-in-aid to supplement its resources. With the Trust's post-revolution shift in emphasis from soil conservation to a broader field of interest, government sponsorship passed to the Department of Environmental Affairs (du Preez, 1980).

The diversity of South African environmental interests, and the scattered and fragmented nature of interest group involvement seriously restricted the effectiveness of voluntary conservation efforts in South Africa. The need for a co-ordinated approach towards the environment, and some degree of formalisation of relations between interest groups and government was keenly felt. These problems had been recognised at an early stage, and at the time of the GPA's it had been stated that " independence and autonomy are highly desirable, but wildlife problems are so involved that only a powerful national body is competent to deal with them effectively " (Pringle, 1982).

The emergence of national societies (with regional and local branches or affiliates) catering for the conservation of flora, fauna and avifauna is testimony to attempts to overcome this situation. The problems nevertheless remained and it was not until 1959 that growing awareness amongst conservationists of the need for action across a broad front, and for co-operation between government and private agencies to ensure such action was effective, led to the establishment of the first voluntary co-operative body, the South African Nature Union (1959). The object of the Union was to pool the resources of, and provide a central forum for, all agencies concerned with the conservational, educational, scientific, recreational and leisure-time use of nature. Membership was restricted to properly constituted governing bodies of interest groups concerned with the above objectives, and related

Governmental and Provincial Authorities were well represented. The Union functioned sporadically until 1974 when it was replaced by the Habitat Council.

4.2.1.4 Archaeological, Architectural and Historical groups

The richness of the natural environment coupled with an erroneous belief in the paucity of our architectural and urban heritage had, by the first half of the century, led to a concentration of interest group activity in the natural environment. The little public attention which was directed towards the man-made environment was divided between archaeological, architectural and historical groups. The earliest interest group involved with the built environment was the South African National Society (1905). The stimuli for founding this society were threats to the Castle in Cape Town and a rapidly dwindling rock art heritage (Bassett, 1980). The Society was instrumental in exerting pressure on the Authorities to pass legislation protecting natural and historical monuments, in particular the Bushman Protection Act (1911). This archaeological interest was continued by the South African Archaeological Society (1945), a research orientated group whose objects included the conservation and rescue of archaeological sites, materials, collections and records.

The South African National Society was also interested in the preservation of specimens of old Colonial architecture,

and the maintenance of records where such buildings and artifacts could not be saved. The few architecturally orientated interest groups which emerged at this time embraced this approach of research, documentation and compilation of building registers because restoration work was seldom within their means. The Old Pretoria Society (1948) concentrated on tracing historically interesting buildings and places, and on the collection of authentic data concerning them. The Architectural Heritage Committees which were being established by the Provincial Institutes of Architects worked on the identification and listing of significant buildings. The Vernacular Architecture Society (1964) concentrated on research and the promotion of the study of South African vernacular architecture and its associated material culture.

The best known group to emerge in this field was the Simon van der Stel Foundation. The need for a group which could purchase and restore architecturally and historically significant buildings had always been recognised, and the idea of a Foundation had been put forward in 1955. It was not until 1959, when the Foundation was launched under the auspices of the Suid Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns, that this was realised. The Foundation attracted broad public and financial support, developed regional and local branches, and acted as a focal point for the growing number of local preservation and restoration committees and

groups. It provided encouragement, advice and occasionally financial assistance. Although it has become one of the larger interest groups involved with the environment, the Simon van der Stel Foundation has not experienced the strong growth in public commitment that has been recorded by the nature conservation groups.

The role played by historical groups has been an important one in terms of the collection of records, and the stimulation of public interest.

Prominent in this respect have been the groups of the historically well documented Eastern Cape: the Lower Albany Historical Society (1958), the Historical Society of Port Elizabeth (1959) and the Border Historical Society (1960). Although their roles were not intended to be that of active conservation, some groups emerged as strong contenders in this field, a notable example being the Simon's Town Historical Society (1960) with its efforts to protect the Martello Tower.

4.2.2 The Environmental Revolution and Later Groups 1965 - 1983

4.2.2.1 Introduction

Public concern for the environment, manifested in the establishment of interest groups, increased dramatically with the advent of what is now known as the environmental

revolution (Nicholson, 1972). In South Africa, environmental interest group activity had been growing steadily since the end of the Second World War (See Figure 4.1) and the early years of the revolution were unremarkable in the light of the existing trend of interest group growth. It was not until the latter half of the 1960's that the environmental revolution began to have a noticeable effect, with the establishment of five times as many interest groups in the second half of the decade compared to the first. (See Table 4.1). The start of the environmental revolution in South Africa is therefore taken as 1965.

The revolution triggered interest group activity in a number of different directions, of these, the following have been regarded as significant.

4.2.2.2 Revitalisation of the Conservation Lobby

A notable feature of the environmental revolution was the high coverage afforded environmental matters by the media. This mass stimulation of public attention triggered a resurgence of interest in existing groups, the most prominent of which were the nature conservation groups, which consequently experienced increases in membership. (See Table 4.2) The holistic approach of the revolution and its focus on the complexity and interrelatedness of the environment encouraged conservation groups to shift the focus of their objectives.

Table 4.1 : Establishment dates of environmentally orientated interest groups

Date	Number of groups
Pre 1900	5
1901 - 1905	11
1906 - 1910	1
1911 - 1915	2
1916 - 1920	3
1921 - 1925	2
1926 - 1930	2
1931 - 1935	1
1936 - 1940	1
1941 - 1945	2
1946 - 1950	7
1951 - 1955	3
1956 - 1960	6
1961 - 1965	3
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
1966 - 1970	15
1971 - 1975	25
1976 - 1980	22
1981 - 1983	16

Table 4.2 : Growth in membership of nature conservation groups during the period of the environmental revolution

Group	1960	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Wildlife Society	3 714	5 460	6 071	(6 979)	7 887	8 121	8 554
Botanical Society	4 579	5 398	5 784	6 128	6 347	6 619	6 787
Ornithological Society	906	1 650	1 767	1 856	1 936	1 977	2 182
Total	9 199	12 508	13 622	(14 963)	16 170	16 717	17 523

() Estimated

Although they retained their central interests they no longer viewed them in isolation, but rather as part of a larger system.

The growth enjoyed by these societies, and recognition of the importance of public involvement in environmental matters prompted the formation of a large number of new groups. The majority of these were local bodies and included nature conservation societies such as those of False Bay (1969), Sandton (1971) and Kleinmond (1975); wildflower groups such as those at Clanwilliam (1971), Betty's Bay (1973), Simon's Town (1980), and Villiersdorp (1983); and ornithological societies, Northern Transvaal (1970), and Bloemfontein (1977). Other groups emerged to cater for specific issues. Examples of these include the Save the Garden Route Committee - SAGROCOM (1973) and the Knysna Vigilance Committee (1975) which were concerned with the impact of a proposed freeway and associated development along the Garden Route. Similarly the Society for Action on the Natural Environment (1974) and its successor, the Sandy Bay Conservation Trust (1981), opposed development proposals for Sandy Bay.

Among these new groups were a number of national organisations which attracted wide support. These include the South African National Foundation for the Conservation of Coastal Birds - SANCCOB (1968) and the Rehabilitation of Wildlife Trust - (1979), both of which maintain rescue and rehabilitation centres;

also the Dendrological Foundation (1979) and Society (1981). The new national bodies also included a number of groups whose financial base and international connections set them apart from other groups. Prominent amongst these was the South African Nature Foundation - SANF (1968). As the representative of the World Wildlife Fund in Southern Africa, the Foundation co-operates with 27 other countries in the interests of nature conservation around the globe (SANF, 1980). Its aims are to assist in nature conservation in all its forms, to educate the public in this respect, and to raise and distribute funds for conservation projects. In gaining a monetary commitment from major South African financial houses and business corporations, the Foundation has helped increase private sector participation in environmental matters. Other groups of this type include the Endangered Wildlife Trust (1973), a member of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, and the Dolphin Action and Protection Group (1977), an affiliate of the International League for the Protection of Cetaceans.

4.2.2.3 Growth of Urban Groups

While the first half of the century had seen the built environment neglected by interest groups, public interest in this area had begun to develop by the middle of the century (witness the Simon van der Stel Foundation), and the environmental revolution provided the necessary stimulus for its continued growth.

It has been suggested that one of the factors responsible for the emergence of the environmental revolution was the deterioration of the urban environment, brought about by unplanned expansion and industrially derived pollution (Henning, 1974). This situation gave rise to a series of groups whose aims were to control pollution, upgrade urban areas and restore areas of architectural and historical significance.

Although urban renewal groups have failed to materialise in any significant form in South Africa, both anti-pollution and architectural preservation groups have developed.

The anti-pollution groups are mainly large scale concerns such as the Clean Cape Association (1966), now replaced by the Fairest Cape Campaign (1980), the National Association for Clean Air (1969), and Keep South Africa Tidy/Beautiful (1971) and its affiliates Keep Johannesburg Tidy (1980) and Keep Durban Tidy (1980). These groups are funded almost exclusively by business interests and Government or Municipal grants, and usually maintain permanent professional staff. Exceptions to this norm, such as the South African Council for Conservation and Anti-pollution (1972), do occur. Many small community groups also involve themselves in clean-up campaigns, but this is seldom their central objective.

The stimuli which the environmental revolution provided for restoration and architectural preservation groups were

emphasis on public involvement, and a broadened concept of the environment which stressed the importance of both natural and manmade elements in human surroundings.

Groups which formed to operate in this area adopted a variety of tactics. The identification of significant sites and the compilation of building registers was continued by groups such as the Wellington Cultural Society (1971) and Urban Action (1971) - a collection of architects, townplanners and professional people in allied fields. A number of committees were formed to play a watchdog role in an attempt to ensure that the architectural unity or ambience of certain areas was preserved. Groups of this type include the Long Street Association (1982) and the Wynberg Village Area Conservation Committee (1982).

A considerable number of action committees emerged to fight for the preservation of a specific building or site. The majority were shortlived, persisting only as long as the issue under contention remained unresolved. They often attracted a great deal of public support although the actual business of the committee was undertaken by a small working group. Prominent amongst the more successful groups have been the Save Arniston Campaign (1976) and Pretoria's Citizens Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of Church Square (1976), while less successful campaigns include the attempt to Save the Edwardian Village in Germiston (1982) and Pietermaritzburg's Leighton Street Action Committee (1982).

These groups have played an important role in increasing public involvement (albeit temporarily) in urban issues, but perhaps the most important contribution has been made by those groups which have undertaken restoration work. Unfortunately the number of these groups is extremely small. Active groups include the Johannesburg Historical Foundation (1976) and the Barberton Restoration Fund (1978), and potentially active groups are the Stanford Conservation Trust (1981) and the Historic House Owners Association (1983). A notable contribution has been made by groups which have registered themselves as companies - Historic Homes of South Africa Ltd. (1966) and Historic Grahamstown Inc. (1968). These companies work on a business basis and set out to acquire, restore and lease properties of historical and architectural merit, and so obviate demolition and loss. The leading restoration role nevertheless continues to be played by the Simon van der Stel Foundation and interest group growth in this area requires further stimulation.

4.2.2.4 The Emergence of Environmental Groups

The environmental revolution was epitomised by two concerns: the need to consider the total human environment (and not only the natural or physical elements), and the pressing nature of the need for change to ensure its conservation, and the survival of mankind. The articulation of these needs saw the development of 'environmental groups', two forms of which emerged.

The more radical form consisted of groups which advocated substantial changes to the existing social, political and economic orders. While they initially attracted wide support, their anti-growth and anti-development notions, idealistic aims and often militant approach, brought about their decline because of a lack of sustained support. This form of group never established itself in South Africa, the only possible contender being a branch of the Friends of the Earth - FOE (1975), which existed for a brief period (Smith, 1975).

The second form consisted of groups which resembled conservation groups, but devoted their attention to both man-made and natural elements of the locality, or issue, with which they were concerned. Groups of this form have proved successful in South Africa, and a considerable number have been established. They include organisations such as the Society for the Protection of the Environment (1970), the Magaliesberg Protection Association (1975), the National Environmental Awareness Council (1977) and the Cape Peninsula Conservation Trust - CAPTRUST (1978). Of these groups a number of community based organisations such as the Zwartkops Trust (1969), the Outeniqualand Trust (1970) and the Kowie Trust (1973), have proved surprisingly effective. Their object has been to foster environmental awareness in the local community and to promote conservation through the encouragement of positive development (regarded as development which does not disturb the environment or

destroy existing amenities). Their effectiveness is thought to lie in the motivation of their members, whose immediate environment is involved and the close contact maintained with Local Authorities. The success of these groups has prompted the establishment of similar bodies such as the Port Elizabeth Beachfront Protection Group (1978), a CAPTRUST branch for Hout Bay and Llandudno (1981) and the Save Gordons Bay Society (1982).

The increased realization of the importance of public involvement highlighted a need for environmental education. While many existing groups had devoted part of their energies towards broader education of their members and the public, the only group which had been established specifically for this purpose had been the Wilderness Leadership School Trust (1963). This organisation took groups of children on educational trails. The environmental revolution saw several new groups formed with this end in mind. They included the Wilderness Trust (1972), which provided educational trails; the South African Nature Conservation Centre (1975) with lecture halls, standing exhibitions and a teachers media centre; Koeberg Alert (1980); and the Environmental Education Association of South Africa (1983), an organisation for those professionally involved with environmental education.

4.2.2.5 The Development of Co-ordinating Bodies

The proliferation of interest groups following the environmental revolution emphasised the problem of unco-ordinated and sporadic voluntary action. The establishment of groups with overlapping areas of concern had led to an often unrecognised competition for support and members. This situation weakened the claim that any of the groups spoke for the 'public interest' (Wilson, 1981). A result was the uncertainty of Authorities regarding the validity and usefulness of dialogue or consultation with such groups. Similarly, representations to State or Provincial Departments were often in conflict with one another, which proved to be a problem for both sides. Small groups, often with limited resources, wasted time and resources in the duplication of work already performed by other groups.

The need for a co-ordinated approach by voluntary organisations had been recognised before the environmental revolution, and an attempt at introducing a measure of co-ordination had been made with the establishment of the South African Nature Union in 1959. The aim of this body was, however, not only the co-ordination of all voluntary conservation efforts, but effective interaction of all agencies interested in all aspects of the natural environment.

The first truly effective co-ordinating body was the Co-ordinating Council for Nature Conservation in the Cape - CCNCC (1970). This council was founded to act on behalf of

Cape Societies who wanted joint action on pressing environmental problems. The Council was a manifestation of the idea that in areas where voluntary organisations co-operate the interests of the broader group are articulated more clearly and effectively. In addition, the strength each group can marshal is cumulative, so that a large section of the population appears to stand as one for certain common objectives (Holtzman, 1966). By liaising together groups can share resources, avoid duplication, and create a forum for the exchange of views and expertise. The Council rapidly attracted member societies and today is an active body, keeping its members up to date with environmental developments, and bringing to the notice of the authorities pertinent environmental issues and related public opinion. The success of the Council led to the founding of a similar body in the Eastern Cape. The Co-ordinating Council for Nature Conservation in the Eastern Cape - CCNCEC (1973) regards one of its central activities, apart from co-ordination, as serving a watchdog function for environmental issues not covered directly by specific interest groups. The effectiveness of such regional co-ordination emphasised the need for co-ordination at a national level.

In 1972, the National Veld Trust and the South African Nature Union called a meeting to which all environmentally concerned non-government organisations in South Africa were invited, for the purpose of forming a national co-ordinating council.

The meeting unanimously agreed to form the Council for the Habitat - a co-ordinating council for all non-governmental organisations concerned with environmental preservation and improvement in South Africa. The inaugural meeting was held in 1974. Membership is open to any interest group or other body whose aims and objectives are acceptable to the Council. Various Government Departments frequently seek the views of the council and representation is granted to the Council on several Government Committees, Boards and Commissions.

A measure of co-ordination is also provided by the South African Nature Foundation, which is responsible for raising and distributing much of the funding for projects and programmes undertaken by smaller interest groups. The Naval Hill Conservation Board (1981) which operates in Bloemfontein, and CAPTRUST, also co-ordinate activities through administration of funds raised for conservation purposes.

4.2.2.6 Related Interest Groups

The widespread concern for the environment generated by the environmental revolution was not restricted to groups forming the environmental lobby. A considerable number of other interest groups, among them youth, professional, scientific, agricultural, recreational and business organisations, began to display varying degrees of interest in the environment. In some instances amendments to the constitutions of such groups have ensured some form of ongoing environmental commitment.

Social, youth and community groups have become increasingly active in awareness and clean-up campaigns, often working with the established anti-pollution groups; outdoor recreational groups have carried these concerns into the rural areas.

Many professional and scientific organisations play an important role in research and the dissemination of environmental information. A number of such groups have made significant contributions through organising symposia and furnishing specialist information on the environment (Hey, 1977).

An increased awareness of their responsibilities towards the environment led members of the professional planning disciplines to establish an environmental co-ordinating body in 1974. Known as the Environmental Planning Professions Interdisciplinary Committee (EPPIC) the body is concerned with defining the functions and responsibilities of its members, and drawing up a set of guide-lines to assist them in taking environmental aspects into account in an effective manner (EPPIC, 1983).

It has been shown that South African environmental interest groups begun in the first half of the century had low increments until 1965, when groups expanded rapidly in scope and

number. The study of the environmental orientation and characteristics of groups in the environmental lobby, and groups related to the lobby, forms the next chapter.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOUTH AFRICAN ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

There are two types of South African interest groups involved in some form of environmental conservation. These are interest groups whose main objects are environmental conservation (Set A); and interest groups whose direct concerns are not the environment and its conservation, but whose interests include this field (Set B). Groups in the first set were taken as comprising the South African environmental lobby, and those in the second set are regarded as environmentally related interest groups outside the lobby. The existence of these two sets necessitated the collection and analysis of two separate data sets.

5.1.1 Data Collection

Data collection was centered around four objectives:

- (1) Identification of the orientation (and scale) of the environmental activity undertaken by a group.
- (2) Description of the form and structure common to the groups (group characteristics).
- (3) Determination of the role offered to members (a measure of the degree of involvement offered to the public).
- (4) Group self assessment.

The relevant data was collected using mailed questionnaires. Two factors prompted the use of this method: the accessibility of the respondents, and the nature of the data being collected. Interest groups involved in environmental conservation were found to be distributed throughout the country, a fact which rendered the use of interviews or personally administered questionnaires impractical in terms of cost and time. In addition, much of the data being sought was elicited through questions which demanded considered, rather than immediate, answers and consultation of documents or discussion amongst group office-bearers.

It was hoped that the main disadvantage of this method, the low response rate, typically 20 - 40% (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1976) would be overcome by the nature of the population being sampled. Research has shown that the co-operation of a respondent is a function of interest in the topic : of how important he judges the questionnaire to be (Forcese & Richer, 1973) and of his education and socio-economic status (Goode & Hatt, 1952). Interest group membership typically displays a strong socio-economic class bias (Potter, 1958; Holtzman, 1966; Berry, 1977; Ippolito et al, 1976) and in environmental groups membership also displays a strong correlation with high levels of education (Harry, 1969; Sandbach, 1980). In addition, interest groups, by their very nature, consist of people with a strong degree of interest in the issues under consideration.

A follow-up campaign of reminder letters, and where possible telephone calls, was also employed to generate a high response rate in the available time.

5.1.2 Questionnaire Construction

A separate questionnaire was drawn up for each sample. While that for Set A (Appendix D), groups in the environmental lobby concentrated on the collection of data relating to all four objectives, the questionnaire for Set B (Appendix E), related interest groups was a modified version of the first questionnaire and it concentrated on the environmental activities of the groups rather than on their structure or form. While the level of sophistication and the structure of Set B groups will affect their environmental activities, the choice of structure at the time of the group's establishment was not made with the promotion of environmental interests in mind. In addition, the central objectives of the groups included in Set B are so diverse that little information of general applicability to environmental interests is likely to be gained from attempts to identify structural patterns within this sample.

The factual nature of the data sought in both questionnaires suggested the employment of highly structured questionnaires and the use of closed questions. Structured or closed questions, which present all possible alternatives for the respondent to choose from (Goode & Hatt, 1952) are the

most effective form of question for a self-administered questionnaire. They are also useful when the researcher has a good idea of the likely responses, as they produce greater uniformity among respondents in the specific dimensions in which the investigator is interested (Phillips, 1971).

5.1.3 Environmental Categories

A central concern of the study was to determine the environmental orientation of the groups which make up the environmental lobby. In effect, to determine which of the numerous elements which together form the human environment, are served by interest groups. Categories of environmental activity were identified prior to an examination of the interest groups, by considering the history of environmental interest group development. The following progression was identified, and was used to outline six categories of environmental activity. (Table 5.1)

Table 5.1 : Environmental categories

Category	Environmental activity	Subdivisions
A	Conservation of the human environment	1) National approach 2) Localised approach 3) Co-ordination
B	Nature conservation	1) Flora 2) Fauna 3) Avifauna
C	Conservation of the built environment	1) Archaeological 2) Architectural 3) Historical
D	Anti-pollution	1) Aquatic 2) Atmospheric 3) Edaphic
E	Environmental education	1) Active instruction 2) Dissemination of information
F	Research, management and planning	1) Research 2) Management 3) Planning

The listing of environmentally orientated interest groups identified a total of 127 organisations. Of these groups 31 were no longer extant, 9 were branches of other groups and 14 proved to be related groups outside the environmental lobby. The remaining 73 groups included 2 business concerns (which did not qualify for inclusion in the sample), and 6 groups established in late 1982 or in 1983 which were not functioning at the time of sampling. Questionnaires were therefore sent to 65 groups, responses are shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 : Response to mailed questionnaire (Sample A)

Completed	45
Uncompleted	20
Response rate	69 %

The 45 groups which form the sample are identified in Appendix F.

5.1.4 Sampling Bias

No discernable trends could be identified among the 20 groups which failed to complete the questionnaire. The groups were divided in locality between the Cape (11), the

Transvaal (7) and Natal (2), and half were presumed from their names to be orientated towards nature conservation.

5.2 THE SOUTH AFRICAN ENVIRONMENTAL LOBBY

5.2.1 Environmental Orientation

Each interest group was asked to provide a copy of its constitution (or equivalent document) and to list its environmental interests. Consideration of these allowed classification of each group according to the orientation of its concerns (Table 5.3). Where the interests of a group were extremely diverse, classification was based upon what appeared to be the central object, and in cases where group interests had expanded with time, the group was classified according to its original objectives. From the Table 5.3 it appears that environmental interest group activity is orientated primarily towards nature conservation (42% of groups) and conservation of the human environment (31% of groups).

Table 5.3 : Interest Group Orientation

Category	Environmental Activity	% of Groups
A	Conservation of the Human Environment	31.0
B	Nature Conservation	42.0
C	Conservation of the Built Environment	7.0
D	Anti-pollution	4.5
E	Environmental Education	11.0
F	Research, Management and Planning	4.5

The relatively small degree of group attention that is concentrated directly on the built environment (7% of groups), and on environmental education (11% of groups) is boosted by the fact that groups concentrating on the human environment direct their attention to both natural and manmade (built) elements in human surroundings, and of the 73% of groups interested in the natural and human environment some 38% include among their objects the education of the public. Anti-pollution activities (4.5% of groups), and research, management and planning (4.5% of groups) appear to receive least direct attention from interest groups.

The relationship between interest group orientation and date of establishment (Table 5.6) appears to conform with the global trend of environmental interest group development. That is, an early concentration on nature conservation (the Conservation Lobby) with some attention directed towards architectural preservation, and following the environmental revolution (1965), a rekindling of interest in nature conservation, the growth of environmental groups (including co-ordinating bodies), and a broadening of environmental concerns.

Table 5.4 : Interest group orientation and date of establishment in terms of numbers of groups

		Category					
		A	B	C	D	E	F
Date	1900 - 1965	0	8	2	0	1	0
	1966 - 1983	14	11	1	2	4	2

5.2.1.1 Scale of Activity

Interest groups operate at a number of different scales : locally, regionally, nationally or at varying combinations of these levels. The proportion of environmental interest groups operating at each scale in South Africa is shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 : Scale of interest group activity

Area of activity	% of groups
Local only	24
Local and Regional	27
Regional only	7
National only	4
Local, regional and national	38
Type of activity promoted	
Local	87
Regional	71
National	42

From Table 5.5 it appears that the majority of groups undertake some form of activity at a local level (87%). This suggests a strong degree of very localised support for environmental issues, manifested either in the form of numerous small groups, or as local branches of national groups.

The relatively high level of regionally orientated group activity (71%) is largely the result of locally based groups expanding their interests to surrounding areas, often through the medium of regional interest group co-ordinating bodies.

The high percentage of groups operating at all three levels (38%) indicates appreciation of the need for a broadly based approach to counter the complexity of many environmental problems. The fact that almost half the groups in the sample display some degree of involvement on a national scale (42%) is a reflection on the level of group involvement in co-ordinating bodies.

Only 27% of the groups in the sample had developed branches. This means that the majority of local groups pursuing regional or national interests do so at a distance, or via another group. The intensity of involvement offered by such channels must be lower than that offered by direct contact.

5.2.1.2 Area of Activity

Interest groups have been listed according to the main geographical area in which they operate. (Table 5.6)
Groups which articulate their interests with equal intensity in all four provinces are listed as operating nationally.

Table 5.6 : Geographical distribution of interest group activity

Geographical Area	% of groups
National	18
Transvaal	20
Natal	7
Orange Free State	2
Eastern Cape	22
South-western Cape	31

The original listing of environmental groups, from which the sample was drawn, was thought to display a possible bias towards groups located in the Cape. Even allowing for possible bias, there still appears to be a notable concentration of environmental interest group activity in the Cape (52% of groups).

The greater physical area of the Cape Province, and its remarkably diverse endowment of natural resources, in particular the Cape flora, may well be responsible for this concentration of interest group activity. It may also be

a reflection of the South African environmental lobby's concentration on the natural and related elements of the environment, rather than on the urban (built) and social elements. Anti-pollution and urban-environment groups, which should proliferate in densely populated and highly urbanised areas (and which should substantially increase the number of groups operating in Natal and the Transvaal) are largely absent from the lobby.

5.2.1.3 Summary of Orientation of South African Environmental Groups

South African environmental interest group activity appears to be directed primarily towards the conservation of the natural environment. This fact is enhanced by the concentration of interest group activity in the Cape Province, an area displaying a remarkable range of natural resources. In addition, groups appear to channel a large proportion of their energies towards local issues, with the maintenance of regional and national links through environmental interest group co-ordinating bodies.

While local bodies are the form of interest group most likely to stimulate grassroots support and encourage individual involvement, the provisions of the Group Areas Act ensure that the majority of such groups promote the environmental interests of discrete sections of the population, rather

than widely shared concerns. This situation is likely to generate sectional, rather than public, interest groups.

5.2.2 Form and Structure

A consideration of interest group theory in Chapter 2 identified four attributes (organisation, finance, cohesion and skills) which can be used to outline the form and structure an interest group assumes. Without adequate levels of these attributes a group's chances of successfully meeting its objectives are considerably reduced. A measure of the relative importance of these four attributes to interest groups in the South African environmental lobby was obtained using the technique of conjoint analysis. The results (Table 3.1) indicated a greater concentration by South African groups on development of sound organisational structures and the availability of skills, than on high levels of finance and strong group cohesion (unity).

Of these attributes, a measure of the level of organisation and finance present within the sample groups may be obtained by considering a breakdown of their components; but valid measures of the levels of cohesion and skills are less easily obtained. While exhaustive questions may provide some information regarding the cohesion of a group, the detailed and intimate nature of such questions is unlikely to generate a willing or completely valid response from the majority of groups. Similarly, while the availability of certain skills

can be identified (technical, professional), the existence and level of other skills (political, lobbying) are difficult to determine without a comprehensive case study of each group in the sample.

5.2.2.1 Organisation

The following components have been regarded as contributing towards a high level of group organisation.

(1) Constitution

A written constitution provides a clear outline of the operational structure and objects of the group. 96% of the groups in the sample had a written constitution.

(2) Staff and Officebearers

Sound administration is a prerequisite for the efficient functioning of any interest group, and is typically undertaken by voluntary staff, although an increasing number of interest groups are turning towards professional staff (Castles, 1967). The use of permanent and voluntary staff by interest groups is shown in Table 5.7

Table 5.7 : The use of permanent and voluntary staff

Form of staff	% of groups
Voluntary staff only	67
Voluntary and permanent staff	15
Permanent staff only	18
Voluntary staff	82
Permanent staff	33

From Table 5.7 it appears that the majority of interest groups (82%) rely to some degree on the services of voluntary staff. While this is characteristic of interest groups, the fact that permanent staff are employed by one third of the groups indicates a growing level of professionalism amongst such groups, and is a measure of the importance attributed to a sound administrative base. The size of permanent staffs is however small, with only 6% of such groups employing more than five people.

(3) Decision-making

A systematic and regular form of joint decision-making is necessary to ensure the formation of reasoned, pertinent policy; to prevent domination by a single individual; and to maintain the interest group function of individuals working together to achieve their desired ends. The types of management bodies common to groups in the sample, and

the frequency of their meeting are shown in Tables 5.8 and 5.9.

Where groups display several levels of management (e.g. an executive committee and a board of trustees) the level which exerts most control has been listed.

Table 5.8 : Forms of interest group management

Form of management	% of groups
Executive committee/council	80
National council	9
Board of trustees/governors	11

All groups in the sample display some form of joint decision-making apparatus. The majority appear to favour an annually elected executive committee over two to three year appointments used by some national councils (typical of the larger groups) and the near permanency of control vested in boards of trustees or governors. The size of such bodies is highly variable, and while the majority consist of 8 - 10 members group constitutions specify a range from 4 to 25 members.

Table 5.9 : Frequency of management meetings

Frequency (p.a.)	% of groups
Irregular	11
< 4	15
4 - 8	44
> 8	29

The frequency with which management bodies meet appears to be high, with some 73% of groups meeting 4 or more times a year.

(4) Subcommittees

The establishment of provisions for the formation and control of subcommittees catering for specific group projects, or project co-ordination, reflects a highly structured level of group internal organisation.

The formation of subcommittees was provided for in the constitutions of 44% of the groups, yet only 29% employed them at the time of sampling. This limited employment of subcommittees, although constitutionally provided for, may be indicative of either a strong level of control vested in the central management, the quiescent nature of the groups, the limited activities of the groups, or the size of the groups.

In the light of the well developed organisational structure it is most likely that the restricted use of subcommittees is a reflection on the existence of strong central control within the groups (highly oligarchical), and possibly the small size of many of the groups.

(5) Affiliation

The complexity and scale of many environmental problems call for a combined approach by interest groups, and co-operation between voluntary and government conservation efforts. While the autonomy of groups is important, the establishment of links providing for interaction with other bodies allows for the exchange of views and information, the expansion of group interests and mounting programmes across a broad front. It may also improve group access to both decision-makers and the public; interest group co-ordinating bodies in particular are playing an increasingly important role in the maintenance of regular contact between interest groups and Government.

Table 5.10 : Interest group affiliation

Affiliation	% of groups
Other interest groups	36
International interest groups	16
Interest group co-ordinating body	73
Government body	4
Unaffiliated	13

Table 5.10 indicates that the majority of interest groups are affiliated with a co-ordinating body (73%). This is particularly advantageous in two respects; it provides the many locally orientated groups in the lobby with links to regional and national concerns, and it increases their contact with Government bodies (only 4% of groups are directly affiliated with a Government body). Direct links between groups within the lobby are not high (36%), but a considerable number of informal connections are likely to exist. Contact with groups in the international lobby is low (16%) but since such contact is a workable proposition only for the larger or national bodies, this level of contact is likely to be adequate.

(6) Registration

Registration as a company (incorporated not for gain) or as a trust is advantageous for those interest groups whose objects require the raising, administration and expenditure of considerable amounts of money or control of fixed property. It is also advantageous in conveying a sense of control and legitimacy to potential donors and to agencies with which the groups interact. For the many forms of environmental conservation which do not require substantial funding such registration will be largely unnecessary. In the light of the relatively low level of importance attributed to finance in environmental interest groups by the conjoint analysis panel, the majority of groups are likely to be unregistered.

Registration as a Company incorporated not for gain in terms of Section 21 of the Companies Act (1973) requires that a group :

- i) sets out the purpose for which it is formed in a Memorandum of Association, and its powers, authorities and manner of internal organisation in an Article of Association, both of which are legally binding documents
- ii) applies its income and profits solely toward the promotion of its objects
- iii) has a limited liability for its members i.e. the company is liable for all debts, legal actions etc. and not the individual members.

Registration as a trust in terms of Section 4 of the Trust Moneys Protection Act (1934) is undertaken to provide for the administration of assets by a board of trustees. Most trusts involve a severance of administration from enjoyment (Honoré, 1976) and depending on their objects, may be accorded partial exemption from taxation. The addition of the term 'trust' to the name of an interest group does not necessarily mean that the group is a registered trust, but may be used to convey a sense of responsibility vested in the group, and its management or administration of (environmental) resources for the benefit of others.

Table 5.11 : Interest group registration

Registration	% of groups
Unregistered	75
Registered	25
(a) Company	16
(b) Trust	9

Only 25% of the sample groups are registered as either a company or a trust. Of these groups, some 16% are also registered with the Director of Fundraising and 7%, while not registered fund-raisers, include among their objects the provision of financial assistance for conservation projects. As such, registration as either a company or a trust appears to be employed primarily for financial purposes, and the majority of groups are unregistered.

5.2.2.2 Finance

Interest groups catering for the conservation of the environment are extremely diverse in terms of the activities they undertake. While some measure of funding will be necessary to ensure the efficient administration of a group, its objects may be such that further finance is unnecessary and unsolicited. The results of the conjoint analysis suggested that South African environmental interest

groups are likely to direct less of their energies towards the generation of high levels of finance, and more towards the development of other significant attributes (skills, organisation). The implication is that apart from those groups whose central objects are the generation and distribution of funds for conservation projects, environmental interest groups will display moderate financial assets, relatively low levels of expenditure, and possibly a reliance on restricted sources of funding.

Nevertheless, the heterogeneous nature of the sample (particularly in terms of group size and objects) effectively prevents the adoption of any single figure as a norm to determine the levels of finance (high, medium or low) common to groups in the sample.

Financial records for 22% of the groups in the sample were unavailable due to; failure to keep records (7%), the groups being of such recent establishment that no records existed (9%), and refusal to provide records on the grounds that such information was confidential (6%). The financial status of the remaining groups is shown in Table 5.12

Table 5.12 : Financial status of groups
(where N = 35)

Groups assets (1981*)	% of groups	% of total sample assets
< R2 000	38	1
R 2 000 - R 10 000	30	3
R10 001 - R 25 000	8	5
R25 001 - R 50 000	8	8
R50 001 - R100 000	8	18
> R100 000	8	65

* The financial years of groups differed, and records were received for the year ending in February, March, September, October, November and December.

From Table 5.12 it is apparent that the sample groups can be divided into two sets. The first set contains 76% of the groups but represents only 9% of the total sample assets, while the second set contains only 24% of the groups but represents 91% of the total sample assets. The majority of groups in the first set, and hence in the sample (68%) display assets of less than R10 000. This suggests that the financial base, and hence income, of the majority of groups is likely to be no more than adequate, leaving in most cases relatively little money for expenditure over and above general costs. This suggestion is re-inforced when annual group expenditure is considered.

A measure of group expenditure for 1981 was calculated in Table 5.13 by subtracting all administrative expenses from the total expenditure of each group for that year. Administrative expenses were taken to include (where applicable) the following : audit, accountancy and affiliation fees, bank charges, postage, rent, repairs and maintenance, stationary, subscriptions, telephones and wages and salaries. Where group expenditure was not provided in a detailed form, general costs were taken as administrative expenses.

Table 5.13 : Group expenditure for 1981
(where N = 35)

Expenditure *	% of groups
< R500	37
R 501 - R 2 000	20
R 2 001 - R 10 000	20
R 10 001 - R 50 000	14
R 50 001 - R100 000	3
R100 001 - R500 000	3
> R500 000	3

*Annual expenditure minus administrative expenses.

Only 23% of the groups appear to spend more than R10 000 pa directly on environmental conservation, whereas of the 77% of groups spending less than this amount, some 57% spend under R2000 pa. Expenditure levels are directly related to group objects (many of which may be financially independent) and group income. A consideration of the different sources of income employed by groups (Table 5.14) and the identification of each group's major source (Table 5.15) helps to explain, in part, the generally low group expenditure.

From Table 5.14 it is apparent that the majority of groups derive their income from a limited number of sources, in particular from subscriptions, donations and interest from their investments, assets or accounts. Only a quarter of the groups are registered fund-raisers in terms of the Fund-raising Act (1978), a figure in keeping with the equally low registration as either a company or a trust (Table 5.11). Such groups are registered under Section 4 of the Fundraising Act which grants them authority to collect contributions from the public, where the definitions of 'collect' and 'contributions' are:

Collect : in relation to contributions, means in any manner whatsoever soliciting, accepting, collecting or obtaining contributions from the public, or attempting so to collect or obtain.

Contributions : means movable or immovable goods, including money or anything that can be exchanged for or converted into money, which is not transferred in fulfilment of a legally enforceable obligation (except a donation or gift) and the mere transfer of which does not confer the right to claim any consideration (except any consideration in relation to any competition contest, game, scheme, arrangement or system in connection with which any prize may be won).

Table 5.14 : Sources of group income
(where N = 35)

Source	% of groups
Subscriptions	89
Donations	86
Interest	66
Registered fundraising	26
Fundraising (sales, shows)	20
Government/municipal grants	17
Publications	17
Bequests	8
Rentals	6
Investments	3

Table 5.15 : Main source of group income

(where N = 35)

Source	% of groups
Subscriptions	60
Donations	23
Fundraising*	11
Government grant	6

*Both registered and casual.

It appears from Table 5.15 that the majority of groups (83%) rely on the public for their financial support; either in the form of membership subscriptions, or donations from concerned individuals or bodies. Basing group funding on membership is unlikely to generate high levels of finance unless the group membership is large or the subscriptions very high.

Groups which rely on grants from Government agencies for their main source of income are very few in number (6%) as such grants may involve obligations, or require the group to operate under certain constraints (Berry, 1977).

A number of groups (17%) do however use such grants as additions to their income from other sources (Table 5.14).

5.2.2.3 Cohesion

The reluctance of many groups to provide information regarding their internal unity or cohesion (Truman, 1972) to people outside the group, and the difficulties involved in measuring the attribute even when groups are prepared to provide some information, forces consideration of the mechanisms through which cohesion can be promoted.

Cohesion will exist when all the members in a group hold similar opinions regarding issues pertinent to the group, and the manner in which they should be resolved. When leaders and members diverge on such issues, the potential for loss of cohesion is high.

(1) Member satisfaction with the leadership

To prevent the development of strong differences between members and leadership, channels must exist through which members can express their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the leadership. Such channels include the right to vote, and periodic elections. Where these channels are absent members can express their dissatisfaction by voting 'with their feet' (Berry, 1977) and leaving the group. However, since a number of factors may be responsible for bringing about a decline in group membership at any given time, and losses may be hidden by the addition of new members, this is a difficult measure to use with any validity.

The voting rights of group members are presented in Table 5.16 from which it is apparent that although the majority of groups (73%) grant voting rights to all their members, a quarter of the groups (27%) restrict voting in some way. This is a surprising figure in the light of the nature and purported role of interest groups.

Table 5.16 : Voting rights of group members

Voting rights	% of groups
All classes of member can vote	73
Certain classes have no votes	16
No members can vote *	11

*Includes those groups which have no members.

While all members with voting rights may express their opinions on general issues (typically at the AGM), the frequency of such elections will effect a measure of control over their influence on office-bearers. The frequency of interest group elections is shown in Table 5.17.

Table 5.17 : Frequency of group elections

Frequency	% of groups
Annually	64
Biennially	9
Triennially	7
Not applicable *	20

* Applies to those groups whose officebearers hold their positions permanently, or who are chosen from a board of trustees (usually by the trustees themselves); and includes those groups which have no members.

While the majority of groups hold elections annually (64%) or on a regular basis (16%), the number of groups which allow their members no electoral role (20%) is relatively high when the function of interest groups is considered.

(2) Within-group communication

A common group opinion and attitudes can only develop and be maintained if members are aware of, and regularly consulted on, leadership positions and official group attitudes. Such a situation is promoted by regular group interaction. The forms of within-group communication employed by groups in the sample are shown in Table 5.18.

Table 5.18 : Forms of within-group communication

Form	% of groups
Annual general meeting (report)	82
Other meetings	49
Newsletters	73
Magazine / Journal	27
Other *	15
No communication	9

* Includes occasional papers, symposia proceedings, information sheets and research reports.

From Table 5.18 it appears that the majority of groups communicate with their members through the annual general meeting or through newsletters. Other general meetings are less regularly employed (49% of groups), as are magazines or journals (27% of groups). Those groups which display no form of within-group communication are groups which have no members. This is either deliberate or because of their recent establishment. The frequency with which meetings and written contact are employed by groups are shown in Tables 5.19 and 5.20.

Table 5.19 : Frequency of general meetings

Frequency (pa)	% of groups
AGM only	33
Irregular/variable	20
≤ 6	11
> 6	18
None	18

Those groups that employ general meetings on a regular basis over and above the Annual General Meeting (29% of groups) appear to do so with a high frequency, with some 18% of groups holding general meetings more than 6 times a year.

Table 5.20 : Frequency of newsletters or journals

Frequency (pa)	% of groups
Irregular	5
< 4	24
Quarterly	33
> 4	14
None	24

Where groups produce both a newsletter and a journal (25% of groups) the frequency tabulated is that of the more regular publication.

Newsletters and journals are employed by the majority of groups (71%) on a regular basis. While their use may be greater than that of meetings, their frequency tends to be lower. Within-group communication is present in a regular form in almost three quarters of the groups. In a number of the groups this is well developed, with regular general meetings and newsletters.

5.2.2.4 Skills

It has been suggested that South African environmental interest groups concentrate a large proportion of their energies on development of a high level of skills, but the problems involved in measuring the level of skills

present in a group make it difficult to assess the validity of this prediction.

A rough measure of skills can be obtained by considering the employment of easily identifiable skills (professional, technical), and determining the sources from which a group draws such skills. It must be stressed however that any measure derived in this way will be extremely crude. While almost all the groups in the sample claim to use professional and technical skills, the sources from which these are drawn vary. These sources have been identified in Table 5.21 and it appears that professional and technical expertise are provided mainly by members (78% of groups) or volunteered by bodies and individuals outside the group (69% of groups). The former is a reflection on the calibre of group membership, which augurs well for the availability of leadership and administrative skills, while the latter is indicative of external interest in the activities of the group.

Table 5.21 : Sources of professional and technical skills

Source	% of groups
Staff members	18
Members	78
Volunteered services	69
Other *	22

* Includes Government and Provincial Departments, Municipalities, the CSIR, Universities and other interest groups.

While the employment of professional staff (only 18% of groups), must theoretically provide the best source of skills in terms of availability and level of commitment, services offered by both members and people outside the group are extremely valuable.

5.2.2.5 Summary of Form and Structure of South African Environmental Groups

The general level of organisation displayed by groups in the sample appears to be high. The majority of groups have written constitutions, a regular and joint form of decision-making (possibly highly oligarchical in many instances because of the low reliance made on subcommittees), and are affiliated with a co-ordinating body. Administration is largely undertaken by voluntary staff, but the employment of permanent staff by a third of the groups suggests a movement towards professionalisation. In addition, registration as either a trust or a company has been undertaken by those groups whose main objects include the financing of conservation projects.

Although the highly heterogeneous nature of the sample prevented direct financial comparisons between groups the sample does appear to contain two financially distinct sets of groups. The first and larger of the sets contains the majority of the groups but represents only a small percentage of the total sample assets, while the second set, containing only a

small number of the groups, represents a very large percentage of the total assets.

The suggestion, derived from this pattern, that the majority of groups will display no more than adequate funding, is re-inforced by the levels of expenditure displayed by the groups, and the widespread reliance on membership as a major source of income. Although not low, most group finances do not qualify to be called high, and should be regarded as medium, where this is taken to mean adequate.

The difficulties associated with the measurement of group cohesion and skills resulted in the use of indicators in an attempt to determine the levels in which these attributes were present. A consideration of the mechanisms through which cohesion is promoted suggests that although such channels exist in the majority of groups they are not always fully developed. Forms of within-group communication were present in a large number of groups, and while not always regularly employed were in some instances highly developed. In considering the availability of channels for members to express their opinions regarding the leadership, the number of groups which had restricted voting rights, or which allowed their members no electoral role, were relatively high in the light of the purported interest group function of providing a mechanism for individuals to work together to achieve shared interests.

The greatest difficulty was encountered in attempts to identify and measure the skills available to groups in the sample. A very simple measure was derived by considering the availability of professional and technical staff, which the majority of groups claimed to use. The sources to which the groups turned for these skills proved in most cases to be the member body and volunteered services, the moderate financial base of the majority of groups precluding a general reliance on professional staff. The number of groups who were able to turn to volunteered services suggests the existence of a well developed skill-resource base, with respect to professional and technical expertise. While the existence of a membership able to provide the group with technical and professional skills is a further reflection on the skills base, and on the calibre of the members, no real conclusions can be drawn regarding the existence of leadership, political, or lobbying skills, without studying the nature of the success (if any) recorded by each group.

5.2.3 Public Involvement

Interest groups are the response of concerned and motivated individuals to needs which are perceived as neglected or inadequately served by other agencies. As such they provide a medium for public involvement in issues, a means whereby an individual can express her/his beliefs and concerns in an active manner, and work to achieve the ends she/he regards as desirable.

In reality, public involvement in interest groups may be considerably restricted. Groups may restrict membership either directly (membership requirements) or indirectly (specific recruitment channels), and may restrict the roles members can play. In South Africa the question of race must be added to these restrictions. While there are a number of groups which voluntarily comply with the Government policy of separate development by restricting their membership to one race group (Wollheim, 1978) all interest groups, even those which ignore official policy, are affected by the physical separation of the different population groups.

A measure of the size of environmental interest group support is provided in Table 5.22. This excludes that 7% of the sample groups who refused, on confidential grounds, or because of their recent establishment, to provide membership records.

Table 5.22 : Interest group membership
(where N = 41)

		Number of members	% of groups
Co-ordinating Bodies	≤ 20		5
	> 20		5
Other groups	0		7
	1 - 100		25
	101 - 250		19
	251 - 500		19
	501 - 1 000		7
	1 001 - 5 000		7
	5 001 - 10 000		3
	> 20 000		3

From Table 5.22 it appears that the membership base of the majority of groups is small, with 70% of the groups (excluding co-ordinating bodies) having less than 500 members, and only 6% of the groups having more than 5000 members. The small size of the groups is likely to be a reflection on both the localised base of many groups, and limited public involvement in environmental issues. While support for interest groups in general lies mainly in the middle and upper socio-economic classes, the number of supporters for environmental groups is still small.

(1) Restrictions on membership

Membership can be restricted in a number of ways. Direct restrictions are introduced by the specification of membership requirements (professional, residential qualifications etc.) or may be based purely on numbers or race. Groups with membership requirements are regarded as closed. Table 5.23 shows the proportion of open and closed groups present in the sample. Commitment to the principles and objectives of the group has not been regarded as a membership requirement (it is assumed that individuals request membership because of the existence of such a commitment), nor has the payment of subscriptions or membership fees, except where these exceed R50 pa. Closed groups are those groups which deliberately restrict membership to a certain number of people or to groups rather than individuals, and those which display professional, residential and financial qualifications. Groups which deliberately have no members

(apart from a management committee) have been included as closed groups. Racial specifications have not been included.

Table 5.23 : Membership requirements

Requirement	% of groups
Open	67
Closed	33

One third of the sample groups appear to deliberately restrict their membership in some way. The introduction of such restrictions has in most cases been undertaken to increase the efficacy of the group (sectional groups hoping to attract highly motivated members whose immediate environment is under consideration, co-ordinating bodies working with other groups rather than individuals) but does effectively exclude large sections of the population.

Because of the universal nature of the issues under consideration restrictions based on racial lines should theoretically be very few with respect to groups dealing with the environment. Those groups which operate nationally must hope to attract as broad a base of support as possible, and groups hoping to co-ordinate the environmental efforts of others cannot afford to ignore any active group if they hope to be effective. It is only those groups which are community

based which are likely, in the light of the spatial structure of South African society, to be racially distinct. However, while none of the groups in the sample displayed constitutionally entrenched racial bars, their membership tended to be racially distinct. The racial structure of the groups is shown in Table 5.24.

Table 5.24 : The racial structure of the groups

Racial structure	% of groups
Open to all races	71
Multi-racial (members of all races)	31
Racially restricted	24

While the majority of groups claim to be open to all races, the number of groups who actually have members from different racial groups is very much smaller. Those groups which are racially restricted are largely community based organisations, and for many of them the question of being multi-racial had never actually arisen, and so no attempts had been made to attract or dissuade members from other races.

Restrictions on membership can also be introduced indirectly, in particular through the use of select recruitment channels. The concentration on certain channels, to the exclusion of others, will have a direct influence on the nature of the membership body.

While many groups appeal to the public at large, they are also likely to employ more select channels as they attempt to reach directly those sections of the population which they believe contain potential members. The employment of such tactics, often unrecognised as such, is likely to act as an effective racial membership bar. The recruitment channels employed by groups in the sample are shown in Table 5.25 .

Table 5.25 : Membership recruitment channels

Recruitment channel	% of groups
Personal invitation	22
Word of mouth	96
Advertisements	29
Press, radio coverage	18
Other *	20
Not applicable	7

*Includes circulars to ratepayers, lectures, displays and publications.

The most common form of member recruitment appears to be word of mouth (in effect members recruiting new members),

a technique which tends to attract the same class of people as are already members, and is therefore unlikely to broaden the nature of group support. The use of personal invitations will increase this trend (unless the purpose is exactly the opposite), as will advertisements, if they are carefully placed.

Advertisements in the mass media and press and radio coverage are far less exclusive, and will reach a much wider section of the population, although the existence of linguistically distinct mass media forms in South Africa means that the whole population will not automatically be reached. Recruitment channels are not applicable to those groups with no members.

(2) Restrictions on participation

Once achieved, membership does not automatically open the way to significant involvement in group activities. The constitutional structure of a group may be such that restrictions are placed upon the voting rights of members (Table 5.16), their eligibility for election as office-bearers or to the management body (Table 5.26), and their opportunities for election (Table 5.17).

Table 5.26 : Member eligibility for election

Eligibility	% of groups
All members	73
Members restricted	9
No members	18

Although members in the majority of groups (73%) are all eligible for election, a quarter of the groups (27%) limit the eligibility of their members in some way. This is similar to the restrictions placed on voting rights (Table 5.16).

The forms of participation, apart from management, which a group offers are variable, and members may often be encouraged to channel their energies in as single direction.

Table 5.27 : Forms of member participation

Form	% of groups
Nominal	64
Financial	38
Active	60
Not applicable	7

More than half the groups appear to encourage nominal support (granting the group 'representative' power) and/or some form of active support, where this includes participation in group projects or programmes. The number of groups which encourage their members to play a financial role is very much smaller.

(3) Public visibility

Groups do not attempt to attract public attention only in the hope of gaining new members. Public visibility is equally important in attracting the attention of decision-makers, and in stimulating general public interest in the issue with which the group is concerned. Maintenance of public visibility involves the employment of tactics which bring the group to the public's notice. This can be done in two ways; by producing material for public consumption, and by publicising the group's activities. The production of material for public consumption (that which is not restricted to the members only) by groups in the sample is shown in Table 5.28.

Table 5.28 : The production of material for public consumption

Material	% of groups
Magazines	27
Pamphlets	29
Carstickers	9

Group activities can be publicised by approaching a public representative (Member of Parliament, Member of the Provincial Council), or the press. The employment of these tactics by groups in the sample is shown in Table 5.29.

Table 5.29 : Publicisation of activities

Method	% of groups
Approach public representatives	47
Issue press statements	71
(a) On group projects	56
(b) On general issues	56

The production of material for public consumption is low, but the majority of groups publicise their activities in some manner.

5.2.3.1 Summary of Public Involvement in South African Environmental Groups

The level of public support recorded by environmental interest groups does not appear to be very high. The majority of groups are small organisations with less than 500 members, and the few groups which can boast of more than 1000 members are all national bodies who draw members from the entire country; which implies that they too are relatively small.

The small size of the groups, while reflecting limited public involvement in environmental issues, is also thought to be the result of many of the groups being locally-orientated or sectional bodies, and therefore having limited appeal. Restrictions on membership, which are inherent directly in a third of the groups, and indirectly in many more, contribute to this situation. Added to these restrictions is the pervasive influence of race, in particular its effects on custom and socio-economic status, which cause the population from which interest groups draw their support to be predominantly white.

The forms of participation which a group offers also affect group membership, as they are a consideration influencing an individual joining a group. While research has shown that the majority of interest group members are inactive (Berry, 1977), the image presented by a group influences potential members. A group must appear to offer its supporters an active role, even if this role is not adopted by the majority of members. Such a role is not offered by all groups in the sample.

The maintenance of a public profile by groups in the sample appears to be undertaken primarily by publicising group activities and opinions, rather than through the production of material for public consumption. It is suggested that the low employment of the latter tactic is related to the moderate financial status of many of the groups.

5.2.4 Self Assessment

Two measures of group self assessment were included in the questionnaire sent to environmental groups in South Africa. The first measure required the groups to state whether or not their activity had increased over time, and to provide a reason for their judgements. This information was collected to determine if South African environmental groups reflect the pattern which has emerged in the global environmental movement. This is one of continuing growth of interest group activities and membership despite the fall off in public interest (Sandbach, 1978). The results of the assessment are shown in Table 5.30. While many of the groups felt that their activities had increased with time, they did not represent a substantial majority. A quarter of the groups felt that their activity had remained at a constant level rather than increased. Very few groups recorded a decrease. A number of the groups felt that they could not make such a judgement, or that their establishment was so recent that their judgement would be without value.

Table 5.30 : Changes in interest group activity (1970 - 1980)

Change	% of groups
Increased	58
Constant	24
Decreased	7
Not assessed	11

Groups which claimed an increase based their judgements mainly on increases in membership, and on increases in the number of projects or programmes being undertaken. Changes in group membership over this period are shown in Table 5.31. Information on membership numbers was not provided by 11% of the groups (some of which had no members). Groups established after 1977 have been listed separately although their formation represents a growth in the number of environmental interest group supporters.

Table 5.31 : Changes in interest group membership

Membership	% of groups
Increased	51
Constant	2
Decreased	9
Formed after 1977	27
No information	11

Of the groups studied the majority (51%) displayed a membership increase. This confirms the result of the group self assessment. When considered together with the number of groups established after 1977 (27%) a general growth in membership is seen, this pattern reflects the global trend.

Many of the groups which maintained that their activity had remained constant through this period failed to provide reasons for their judgements. The few groups who did furnish reasons felt that their output had been unchanged.

Groups which recorded a decrease in activity ascribed this to loss of members or to the fact that the issue which prompted their establishment had been resolved.

The second measure required that the groups assess the impact their activities had made on their members, on the general public, and on the local authorities. This was undertaken to determine in which quarter groups felt they made their greatest impact. A general consideration of South African interest groups in Chapter 2 had indicated that many groups direct their attention towards decision-makers rather than the public. This pattern had been extended to environmental interest groups by the results of the conjoint analysis which assigned greater importance to skills than to group cohesion. Although it was realised that groups might experience difficulty assessing a general impact in these areas, and that any measure derived in this way would of necessity be fairly crude, it was felt that some measure could be obtained in this manner. Some 85% of the groups produced an assessment. The results are shown in Table 5.32.

Table 5.32 : Assessment of group impact

	Low	Medium	High	No assessment	
Members	4	25	56	15	% of groups
Public	51	11	18	20	
Authorities	15	34	36	15	

From the results it appears that the majority of groups believe that they make a far higher impact on their members than they do on the public. While this is likely to be typical of all interest groups, apart from those whose central aims are public education, two thirds of the groups also indicated a moderate to high impact on local authorities. Although not conclusive in any way, this may be taken to indicate that a considerable amount of attention is directed by groups towards decision-makers.

5.2.4.1 Summary of Self Assessment by South African Environmental Groups

Any measures based on self assessment meet with two problems. The first is that the respondents may experience difficulty in assessing the factors under consideration, and the second is that the measure will lack objectivity. Each respondent will assess the factors using criteria relevant to him, and not necessarily common to other respondents in the sample. A

sufficiently high response rate (80-90%) overcame the first problem, and it was hoped that the common base of the respondents (all environmental interest groups) would work towards reducing the second.

An assessment of the state of the environmental lobby indicated that the activities of South African groups had not declined over time. In the majority of cases they have increased, and a smaller number have remained constant. Coupled with the general increase in membership recorded by the older groups, and the steady establishment of new groups, this suggests that groups in the lobby were undergoing steady growth. Although perhaps less vigorous than that in other environmental lobbies, this conforms with the pattern which has emerged in the global environmental movement.

An assessment of the areas in which groups felt they had made their greatest impact produced a standard pattern. This was one of a high impact on members, and a lower impact on the public. However, the number of groups which felt that they had also made a notable impact on the authorities, was high. It is thought that this could be used to support the suggestion that South African interest groups direct a great deal of attention towards decision-makers.

5.2.5 General Conclusions

The activity of the South African environmental lobby appears to be orientated primarily towards nature conservation. While a number of facts are likely to be responsible for this, including the personal inclinations of the originators of the groups, there are two considerations which are thought to be particularly important. The first is the remarkable richness of the country's natural resources. It is felt that these are likely to have attracted the attention of interest groups under any circumstances. The second is related to the state of the country's economic development. It has been shown (Wilson, 1971) that in developing countries the environmental movement is regarded as being for the wealthy, and as anti-development. In such instances environmental activities have tended to become the preserve of the economically advanced section of the population, and have found expression predominantly in the area of nature conservation. South Africa is a developing country which displays a racially based development dichotomy, with the white population group representing the economically advanced classes. The bulk of environmental interest group activity is therefore undertaken by the white population. The national goal of economic development means that if private or voluntary environmental aspirations are to be satisfied, they must be tailored to co-exist with development efforts, or be directed into other areas, particularly where these are a-political. It is suggested that South

African environmental interest group activity has tended to concentrate largely on those 'other areas' (with some exceptions), but that a move is beginning to be made towards broadening environmental interests, and increasing their relevance to a greater section of the population.

This development dichotomy has also influenced the racial structure of the support many of the groups receive. The population from which interest groups in general draw their support displays a class bias independent of any deliberate restrictions and when class is defined largely by race, interest groups are likely to draw their support from a single race. The local scale of many of the interest group activities, when combined with the effects of the Group Areas Act, re-enforce the racially distinct nature of the support.

From a consideration of the traits displayed by general South African interest groups (Chapter 2), the results of the conjoint analysis (Chapter 3) and the key attributes outlined by environmental interest group workers, it was predicted that South African environmental interest groups would concentrate more on the development of skills and a functional structure, than on the generation of widespread support and the promotion of group unity. It was also suggested that the groups, unless their objects were financially based, would not

display high levels of funding. From the study of the group characteristics it appears that organisational structures are in general well developed, and that interest group activity is well co-ordinated. The difficulties of establishing meaningful and regular access with decision-makers under our present socio-political system has meant that any group which wishes to be taken seriously, and make some progress towards its objectives, must provide a point of contact for individuals outside the group. A well developed organisational structure is important in this respect.

While the majority of groups display a joint decision-making mechanism, it is felt that this may not entirely prevent domination by a single individual, particularly in smaller groups. The typically oligarchical nature of group government, while efficient, works for the development of such domination rather than against it.

Registration as a trust, or a company, by the financially-orientated groups adds to the generally high level of organisation, while its low level of use (25% of groups) as with the low level of registration as fundraising bodies (26% of groups) contribute to the belief that many environmental interest groups pursue objectives independent of financial considerations. This belief is confirmed by the low levels of expenditure displayed

by the majority of groups.

The prediction that group cohesion would receive less attention than the acquisition of skills and the development of a sound organisational structure, while possibly true (the mechanisms for the promotion of cohesion are not fully developed in all groups) does not appear to mean that cohesion will necessarily be low. Mechanisms promoting cohesion were evident in most groups, and were regularly employed in a number of instances. What did emerge was that a number of groups actually restrict these mechanisms, as opposed to using them infrequently. This was surprising in the light of the purported role of interest groups.

Several reasons are thought to be responsible for the allocation of a high utility to skills by the conjoint analysis panel. The increasing complexity of environmental issues requires that any group which hopes to be granted access to decision-makers be able to show that it contains the skills and competence necessary for constructive participation. In addition access to the decision makers for expression of public opinion is not often granted. Groups must have something to contribute apart from the shared opinions of their members. A simple measure of skills indicated that the availability of professional and technical skills was high. From this

it was presumed that skills are in general well developed. A more detailed investigation of interest group activities is necessary to confirm this. When groups were asked to assess the impact that they felt they had made on decision-makers, the majority of groups felt that they had made a moderate to high impact. The chances are that it is only a skilled group which will record a high impact.

Public support for environmental interest groups appears to be limited. The listing of environmentally orientated interest groups identified 127 groups (Appendix C, Part 2) of which 82 were functional (including affiliates).

While this list is likely to be incomplete the number of groups omitted is thought to be very small.

The population from which interest groups draw their support consists mainly of the higher socio-economic classes. In South Africa these are taken to be the white sector of the population, some 4.5 million people. This means that there is only one environmental interest group for every 55 000 potential members. Yet more than half the groups have less than 500 members, and almost all the groups have less than 1 000 members. When compared with other lobbies in the environmental movement - in Britain 1 in 10 adults are members of an environmental group (Lowe & Godyer, 1983) - this represents a very low level of support. This level may be increased by

including the members of those groups which are related to the environmental lobby, but it cannot be claimed that people join these groups to take part in conservation activities. The groups also appear to be racially distinct. While few of the groups directly restrict membership to a single race group, the number of groups which actually have members from all races is small.

It is felt that the local orientation of much group activity, while in many respects a sound base for environmental activities, turns many groups into sectional bodies as they tend to promote the interests of discrete groups within the population. By their very nature sectional groups cannot hope to attract widespread support. The effects of the Group Areas Act ensures that this support is usually composed of a single race group. The force of custom is a pervasive influence: many groups do not make any attempts to recruit members from other race groups. The groups most likely to display a multi-racial membership, as opposed to simply having no racial bars to membership, are the large national groups. These groups are among the few which record support from all races.

The number of groups which display some form of membership restriction (33% of groups are closed) is quite high. Although such restrictions are based on a considerable range of grounds - professional, financial, residential, etc., they have in general been adopted to promote group efficacy. It is less

easy to account for the indirect restrictions imposed on membership, in particular the employment of select recruitment channels. The majority of groups place a considerable reliance on word of mouth, a tactic not generally successful in increasing the range of members, although successful in increasing numbers. While most groups will concentrate on those channels leading to where they feel their potential members lie, it is customary for groups with a broad appeal to also approach a wider public. Environmental concerns are theoretically of relevance to everybody, people of all classes and races. While the moderate financial base of many groups may limit the recruitment channels open to them, a currently sympathetic mass media, in particular the press, provides a ready connection with the public. Even if the group does not expect to recruit many new members, it is important that it keep in the public eye if it hopes to generate public opinion in its favour when issues are being contended. Although not usually responsive to public opinion, decision-makers are beginning to appreciate the strength of public opinion on certain issues. Public visibility can be maintained by ostensibly recruiting across a wide spectrum. It can also be developed by approaching public representatives or the press. The majority of groups appear to use press statements, although the frequency with which this is done is thought to be highly variable. Only half the groups claim to approach public representatives. This may be related to the strong degree of party discipline which exists, making Members of Parliament more answerable

to their parties than their constituencies (Dargie, 1978). The production of material for public consumption is undertaken by far fewer groups. It is felt that this may be related to the moderate financial base many of the groups display.

Restrictions on member participation are displayed in a number of forms by groups in the sample, and many of the groups appear to channel member involvement into specific areas. Restrictions on eligibility for election, and on the electoral role of members are displayed by a surprising number of groups (25% of groups) when the function of interest groups is considered; that of providing a means for individuals to work together to achieve shared aims. It is tentatively suggested that in this manner greater opportunities may be provided for skilled individuals to participate in group activities, than for members of the general public. The fact that 40% of the groups do not encourage active support, but turn to their members for a numerical strength, and less occasionally financial support, encourages this belief. Nevertheless, the increase in membership recorded by many of the older groups, the continued establishment of new groups, and the feeling expressed by many groups that their activities have increased over time, may reflect a move to involve a greater number of people in a greater range of environmental activities.

5.3 ENVIRONMENTALLY RELATED INTEREST GROUPS

5.3.1 Introduction

The listing of interest groups concerned with the environment identified two sets of groups. The second set, environmentally related interest groups, contained 14 groups whose direct concerns were not environmental conservation, but whose interests included this field. This set of groups was subsequently expanded through reference to the sources of the original list, environmental directories, environmental co-ordinating bodies, and newspaper files. Those groups which had originally been omitted from the list on the grounds that their main objects were not environmental conservation, were now included.

The questionnaire used to collect information from these groups was not as detailed as that used for groups within the environmental lobby. Greater concentration was placed on the environmental orientation and activities of the groups than on their structure, or the role they provided for their members. It was felt that the structure of these groups was not developed for the promotion of environmental interests, nor were such groups established to provide the public with opportunities to participate in environmental conservation.

Questionnaires were sent to 76 groups. The response to the questionnaires is shown in Table 5.33.

Table 5.33 : Response to mailed questionnaire (Sample B)

Returned	53
Completed	37
Returned response rate	70%
Completed response rate	49%

Of the 53 replies received, 16 were from groups which stated that although they were interested in environmental conservation, they did not manifest their interest in any definite way.

The 37 groups which form the sample are listed in Appendix G. These groups proved to be extremely diverse in terms of their field of interest (Table 5.34), but displayed a measure of similarity in terms of their orientation. More than half the groups proved to be some form of controlling or coordinating body.

Table 5.34 : Related group interests

Interests	% of groups
Professional	24
Scientific	24
Agriculture	14
Sport	11
Youth	8
Development	8
Other *	11

* Includes business, residents and womens groups.

No trends could be identified among the groups which failed to return the questionnaire.

5.3.2 Environmental Orientation

Each group was asked to provide that section of its constitution which outlined its environmental role (if applicable) and to list its environmental activities. This material was used to determine the environmental orientation of each group, this is shown in Table 5.35.

Table 5.35 : Environmental orientation of related groups

Category	Environmental activity	% of groups
A	Conservation of the human environment	11
B	Nature conservation	8
C	Conservation of the built environment	8
D	Anti-pollution	11
E	Environmental education	24
F	Research , management and planning	38

From the results it appears that research, management, planning and education receive most attention from related interest groups (62%). Very little attention is directed towards nature conservation , or conservation of the built environment per se.

5.3.2.1 Forms of Activity

The manner in which the groups manifest their environmental interest is shown in Table 5.36.

Table 5.36 : Manifestation of environmental interests

Form	% of groups
Action orientated programmes	40
Dissemination of information	100
(a) to members	100
(b) to the public	87
Public support for issues	43

The environmental activities of the groups appear to be based primarily on the dissemination of information. While this is directed mainly at members, a large number of groups also include the public in their audience. Far less attention is given by the groups to action orientated programmes.

5.3.2.2 Scale of Activity

A consideration of the scale at which the groups operated (Table 5.37) indicates a concentration at regional and national levels. This is in keeping with the co-ordination and controlling function of many of the groups.

Table 5.37 : Scale of interest group activity

Scale	% of groups
Local	8
Regional	35
National	57

5.3.2.3 Area of Activity

The determination of the geographical areas in which the groups operate was not undertaken. It was presumed to have a greater bearing on the articulation of the central interests of the groups than on their environmental activities.

5.3.2.4 Summary

The environmental activities of related interest groups appear to be directed largely towards research, management, planning and education. It is suggested that involvement is greatest in these fields because the form of the activities undertaken is, in many cases, consistent with existing group activities. This is the dissemination of information rather than programmes which are action orientated. The groups in the sample operate mainly at a regional or national level. While in keeping with the controlling and co-ordinating function of many of the groups, this is likely to have influenced the orientation of their environmental interests. Practical conservation measures are most effective when undertaken on a local scale. The efficacy of the dissemination of information, research, and the generation of management plans is less dependent on the geographical scale at which they are undertaken.

5.3.3 Form and Structure

The identification and analysis of structural characteristics common to the groups was believed to be of little value to this study. The great diversity of group objects, and the development of features catering for their realisation rather than for environmental interests was responsible for this belief. There are nevertheless some group characteristics which have a direct bearing on the environmental activities of the groups. The following are believed to be important:

(1) Constitutional references to environmental activities. The number of groups which contain a clause in their constitution relating to or outlining their environmental interests is shown in Table 5.38.

Table 5.38 : Constitutional reference to environmental activities

Environmental clause	% of groups
Present	35
Absent	65

Only a third of the groups display any form of constitutional reference to their environmental activities. The majority of the groups have no binding commitment in this direction. Their interests are likely to have developed solely as a response to concern for the environment.

(2) Subdivisions or committees devoted to the promotion of environmental interests.

The establishment of a formal structure for the articulation of environmental interests by the groups is shown in Table 5.39.

Table 5.39 : Environmental subcommittees

Subcommittee	% of groups
Present	19
Absent	81

It is apparent from the table that less than a quarter of the groups have formal subcommittees working in environmental fields. The majority of groups contain no set structure for the control of their environmental activities.

(3) Affiliation with an environmental group

The establishment of contact with environmental groups provide related groups with links to the environmental lobby. Such contact will keep the group up to date with environmental developments and help to channel its involvement into relevant areas. Group affiliation is shown in Table 5.40.

Table 5.40 : Group affiliation

Affiliation	% of groups
Environmental co-ordinating body *	70
Environmental interest group	11
Unaffiliated	22

* Includes the Habitat Council, EPPIC and CCNCC

The majority of groups are affiliated to some form of environmental group. In general this tends to be to a co-ordinating body.

5.3.3.1 Summary

The degree of formal commitment to environmental issues displayed by related groups does not appear to be very high. The number of groups which contain an environmental clause in their constitution, or have established a committee to deal with these interests, is low. The level of affiliation displayed by the groups is very much higher. While such affiliation augurs well for the environmental commitment of the groups, it does not in itself confer a meaningful involvement in environmental issues on a group. At the time of sampling a number of groups were found to be affiliated to an environmental co-ordinating body, but undertake no other form of environmental activity.

5.3.4 Self Assessment

Each group was asked to consider whether or not its environmental activities had increased over time. Groups were also asked to provide reasons for their assessments. While a large majority of groups claimed to have increased their environmental activity, the reasons put forward to justify the judgements indicated that in many cases the total activities of the group had been considered, not simply the environmental activities. This prevented the assessments from being applicable to this study.

5.3.5 General Conclusions

An extremely diverse range of groups outside the environmental lobby involve themselves in some form of environmental conservation activity. The greatest number of these related groups are professional and scientific bodies. As a result, the environmental orientation of related groups tends to be towards, and in the form of, those activities which are consistent with the interests of scientific and professional bodies. Involvement therefore centres around the dissemination of information on environmental research, management and planning to group members, and in a surprising number of instances to the public. Activities such as these are also in keeping with the scale (regional and national) at which such groups appear to operate.

A number of related groups do however involve themselves in action orientated environmental programmes. Such programmes are thought to be directed more towards nature conservation and anti-pollution activities. Such groups tend to operate on a smaller scale, often through branches, and include youth, sport and residents groups.

The level of formal commitment displayed by related groups towards their environmental concerns is not high, but some form of contact with the environmental lobby appears to be fairly typical.

It is suggested that the environmental interests of related groups will be maintained, or will grow with time, despite the general absence of formal structures for their maintenance. This belief is prompted by the ongoing growth recorded by groups within the lobby.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

The consideration of environmental interest groups undertaken in this study suggests that while the South African environmental lobby displays a number of similarities with the global movement, some notable differences have developed. It is suggested that these differences are related to the economic, political and social structure of South African society.

The image of the South African environmental lobby which emerges is one of a small but well organised movement with limited support drawn mainly from the white section of the population. Its activities are concentrated largely in the sphere of nature conservation, and are mainly on a local scale. The nature and form of the Government has prevented the groups from using public pressure to gain access, and it is thought that groups consequently concentrate on the acquisition and use of specialist skills.

The history and sequence of the development of the groups follows that of the American and British lobbies quite closely, although on a smaller scale and with less diversity. The environmental revolution, although delayed in its arrival, made a significant impact, and the ongoing growth of support and involvement displayed by the groups is consistent with the trend displayed by the global movement.

Differences emerge when the orientation, form and nature of the support of the groups are considered.

The orientation of the majority of groups is towards some form of nature conservation (included here is conservation of the human environment). The great diversity of environmental interests which accompanied the environmental revolution in other countries, while present, are not well developed. The prevalence of nature conservation interests is thought to be linked to both the great environmental diversity present in the country, and the existence of a racially based development dichotomy within the population. The groups reflect the interests of the small, white, economically developed section of the population. The interests of such classes in developing countries are typically directed towards nature conservation.

The structure common to groups in the lobby is a well organised co-ordinated one, and appears to be based on a high level of skills. The groups differ from their counterparts in other environmental lobbies in that their financial bases are seldom more than adequate to cover group expenses, and a greater concentration is placed on the acquisition of specialist skills than on the development of widespread support or a high level of group cohesion. Operation within a socio-political system which grants little credibility to public opinion and which tends to react against pressure from below, has forced groups to embrace this specialist

approach to be granted access to decision-makers.

The size of the South African environmental lobby and the level of public involvement in the constituent groups are both small. There is only one environmental group for every 55 000 potential members, and the majority of groups contain less than 500 members. In addition, the structure of the group membership shows a strong racial bias, and the roles offered to members are in some cases restricted. Several factors are thought to have contributed to this limited level of involvement and its racial bias. They include : the nature conservation orientation of the majority of groups, which in a developing country prevents the issues being tackled from being pertinent to the majority of the population, and the sectional nature of many of the groups, which prevents their attracting wide support. The Government's policy of separate development, and its exacerbating effect on the development dichotomy which effectively places the majority of the black population at the bottom of the socio-economic gradient, therefore excluding them from the interest group population, has also played a significant role.

It is suggested that the tactics employed by the groups, which are strongly influenced by the factors controlling access, may have led to the opportunities for individual involvement in group activities being affected by the skills a person has to offer. While general support from the public

is never discouraged, specialist support may be more actively recruited and provided with opportunities for participation in environmental conservation activities.

The interests of the environmental lobby are expanded by the activities of environmentally related groups. These groups increase the amount of interest group attention directed towards environmental research, management, planning and education. It is felt that they do not significantly increase the amount or range of support for the environmental movement as people do not join such groups in the hope of participating in environmental conservation.

If the results of environmental interest group activities are to be of benefit to everybody, action must be undertaken on an objective, reasoned and professional (skilled) base, and not for emotional, parochial or sectional reasons. However, this does not mean that involvement in group activities should be restricted or should appeal to only those who have the necessary skills to offer. If environmental activities and their results have no relevance for the majority of the population, no lasting progress will be made. What is needed is a move to expand the pertinence of environmental conservation to a greater section of the population, and to increase the opportunities for public involvement in interest group activities.

The majority of people will identify with groups which concern themselves with issues which affect their immediate environment. They are less interested in the protection of environments with which they have no contact. The protection of endangered species, and the declaration of nature areas cannot logically be expected to be important to the thousands of people whose only known environment is an urban one. It is suggested that what is needed is the promotion of interest groups advocating urban orientated conservation, anti-pollution and renewal activities. Such groups should also provide opportunities for member involvement at all levels.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CONJOINT ANALYSIS

Panel of Respondents

- 1 Mrs G Fagan (Architectural restoration work)
- 2 Mr G Oliver (Fairest Cape Campaign)
- 3 Advocate R MacWilliam (Environmental law, environmental interest group member)
- 4 Mr W McLeod (Chamber of Commerce, Cape Town)
- 5 Mr E Adler (National Veldtrust)
- 6 Mrs J Kanty (City councillor, Clean Cape Association)
- 7 Ms S Bayne (Former staff member Wildlife Society of Southern Africa)
- 8 Mr J Millar (Cape Department of Nature Conservation)
- 9 Mr B Bassett (Professional officer, National Monuments Council)
- 10 Mr R Souttar (South African Nature Foundation)
- 11 Professor A Hall (CCNCC, CAPTRUST)
- 12 Professor E Moll (Botanist, former environmental interest group member)
- 13 Mr J Gregg (EPPIC)
- 14 Mrs A Swanepoel (Botanical Society of South Africa)
- 15 Mr G Binkes (Vernacular Architecture Society)

APPENDIX B

CONJOINT ANALYSIS

Handout to Respondents

PREDICTING INTEREST GROUP EFFICACY

Interest Group : any group that, on the basis of one or more shared attitudes, makes certain claims on other groups in the society, for the establishment, maintenance or enhancement of forms of behaviour that are implied by shared attitudes.

Interest groups that have developed in response to some environmental condition have recorded varying degrees of success in their projects and programmes.

While the influence which an interest group wields and the success which it records are to a certain degree related to the topic with which it is concerned, researchers have identified a number of factors whose presence is likely to promote success for such a group. While the identification of these factors has been relatively easy, their ranking in order of importance has proved less so.

This exercise is an attempt to determine the relative importance of a number of factors in controlling the success of interest groups involved in environmental matters. You have been given a collection of cards. Each card describes an interest group in terms of four attributes -

these are

ORGANISATION

FINANCE

COHESION

SKILLS

These attributes have been measure on a three point scale -

HIGH

MEDIUM

LOW.

You are asked to consider the groups described on the cards, and then to rank the cards. Place the card describing the group with the most advantageous combination of attribute levels first, and that with the least advantageous combination last.

You are not required to provide your reasons for the ranking you have decided upon.

ATTRIBUTES

ORGANISATION

Implies varying degrees of participation of group members - the structuring of separate roles, the division of labour, and of responsibility.

It is important that the basic administrative chores are performed efficiently - volunteer or permanent staff, otherwise a group is unlikely to exist in a working form for very long.

Many projects and programmes require a considerable degree of organisation and co-ordination - the level of sophistication of the interest group's internal organisation will be reflected in the nature of the programmes it undertakes.

FINANCE

Organisation and co-ordination requires a certain minimum amount of money. The funds available to a group will determine such things as the level of within-group communication - from infrequent newsletters to polished magazines and journals, and the scope of programmes undertaken - from simply maintaining a visible profile, to mounting public awareness campaigns. Group tactics are strongly controlled by the availability of funds.

COHESION

Representativeness is of particular importance to the standing of an interest group. An image of strong internal unity / cohesion adds weight to claims by group leaders that they are truly representative of group opinion.

A prime requisite for cohesion appears to be member satisfaction with the leadership. This can be promoted by regular group interaction (meetings, newsletters), which will ensure that the membership is cognisant of leadership positions and official group attitudes.

Almost all interest groups tend to be oligarchical, with an active minority controlling internal government, so it is important that membership-leadership communication channels exist, and are seen to be functional.

SKILLS

The organisational, political, technical and professional expertise which a group can marshal plays a significant role in controlling the strategies open to it. As the issues to which such groups respond increase in complexity, the level at which a group can respond - simply registering opposition, or providing reasoned alternatives, depends very much on available skills.

Hypothetical Group Profiles

GROUP A	0022
HIGH	: ORGANISATION, FINANCE
MEDIUM	:
LOW	: COHESION, SKILLS

GROUP B	1000
HIGH	: FINANCE, COHESION, SKILLS
MEDIUM	: ORGANISATION
LOW	:

GROUP C	2011
HIGH	: FINANCE
MEDIUM	: COHESION, SKILLS
LOW	: ORGANISATION

GROUP D	0110
HIGH	: ORGANISATION, SKILLS
MEDIUM	: FINANCE, COHESION
LOW	:

GROUP E 1121

HIGH :

MEDIUM : ORGANISATION, FINANCE, SKILLS

LOW : COHESION

GROUP F 2102

HIGH : COHESION

MEDIUM : FINANCE

LOW : ORGANISATION, SKILLS

GROUP G 0201

HIGH : ORGANISATION, COHESION

MEDIUM : SKILLS

LOW : FINANCE

GROUP H 1212

HIGH :

MEDIUM : ORGANISATION, COHESION

LOW : FINANCE, SKILLS

GROUP 1	2220
HIGH	: SKILLS
MEDIUM	:
LOW	: ORGANISATION, FINANCE, COHESION

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF ENVIRONMENTALLY ORIENTATED INTEREST GROUPS

* No longer extant

** Now incorporated in another group

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name of Group</u>
1877	South African Philosophical Society (Royal Society)
1883	Natal Game Preservation Association*
1885	South African Sportsmens Association* (Griqualand West Game Preservation Association)
1886	Western Districts Game Preservation Association*
1892	Caledon Wildflower Society
1902	Transvaal Game Protection Association ** Western Districts Game and Trout Preservation Association & 7 other Game Protection Associations *
1904	South African Ornithological Union **
1905	South African National Society
1907	Transvaal Biological Society *
1912	Wildflower Protection Committee **
1913	Botanical Society of South Africa
1916	South African Biological Society (South African Ornithological Union & Transvaal Biological Society)
1917	Darling Wildflower Protection Society

- 1920 Wildflower Protection Society of South Africa **
(Wildflower Protection Committee)
- 1922 Cape Natural History Club
- 1924 Hermanus Botanical Society
- 1926 Wildlife Protection Society of South Africa
(Transvaal Game Preservation Association)
- 1930 Southern African Ornithological Society
- 1931 Piscatorial Society (Western Districts Game and
Trout Preservation Association)
- 1937 Institute of Water Pollution Control (South African
Branch)
- 1943 National Veld Trust
- 1945 South African Archaeological Society
- 1946 Natal Society for the Preservation of Wildlife and
Natural Resources **
- 1948 Cape Bird Club
Old Pretoria Society
Tree Society of Southern Africa
- 1949 Natal Bird Club
South African Hunters and Game Conservation Society

- 1950 Eastern Cape Wildbird Society
- 1952 South African Association for Marine Biological Research
International Council for Bird Preservation (South
African Branch)
- 1954 Eastern Province Wildflower Society
- 1957 Eastern Province Freshwater Fish Conservancy
- 1958 Conchological Society
Zoological Society of South Africa
- 1959 Simon van der Stel Foundation
South African Nature Union *
- 1960 Cradock Foundation
- 1963 Wilderness Leadership School Trust
- 1964 Vernacular Architecture Society
- 1965 Outeniqua Naturalists Club
- 1966 Clean Cape Association *
Historic Homes of South Africa Ltd.
Rustenburg Committee for the Preservation of Historic
Buildings
- 1968 Historic Grahamstown Ltd.
South African National Foundation for the Conservation
of Coastal Birds
South African Nature Foundation

- 1969 False Bay Conservation Society *
National Association for Clean Air
Zwartkops Trust
- 1970 Co-ordinating Council for Nature Conservation in the Cape
George Cato House Preservation Committee (Durban)
Northern Transvaal Ornithological Society
Outeniqualand Trust
Society for the Protection of the Environment
Southern African Wildlife Management Association
- 1971 Clanwilliam Wildflower Society
Keep South Africa Tidy / Beautiful
Sandton Nature Conservation Society
Urban Action (Johannesburg)
Wellington Cultural Society
- 1972 Bushmans-Kariega Trust
South African Council for Conservation and
Anti-pollution
Wilderness Trust
- 1973 Betty's Bay Wildflower Society
Co-ordinating Council for Nature Conservation in the
Eastern Cape
Endangered Wildlife Trust
Kowie Trust
Parktown Association
Save the Garden Route Committee

- 1974 Environmental Planning Professions Interdisciplinary
Committee
Society for Action on the Natural Environment *
Habitat Council
Habitat Working Group
- 1975 Beauty without Cruelty
Friends of the Earth *
Game Farmers Association
Kleinmond Nature Conservation Society
Knysna Vigilance Committee
Magaliesberg Protection Association
South African Nature Conservation Centre
- 1976 Bloemfontein Ornithological Society
Citizens Committee for the Preservation and Restoration
of Church Square *
Johannesburg Historical Foundation
Save Arniston Campaign *
- 1977 Bloemfontein Bird Club
Dolphin Action and Protection Group
Eastern Cape Angling Conservation Council
Institute of South African Architects Heritage Committee
National Environmental Awareness Council
- 1978 Barberton Restoration Fund
Cape Peninsula Conservation Trust
Kleinmond Ecological Society
Port Elizabeth Beachfront Protection Group

- 1979 Centre for the Rehabilitation of Wildlife
Dendrological Foundation
Johannesburg Metropolitan Action Group
- 1980 Fairest Cape Campaign
Kalk Bay / Muizenberg Conservation Trust
Keep Durban Tidy
Keep Johannesburg tidy
Koeberg Alert
Simon's Town Flora Conservation Group
- 1981 Braamfontein Spruit Trust
CAPTRUST Hout Bay / Llandudno
Dendrological Society
East Cape Game Management Association
Naval Hill Conservation Board
Sandy Bay Conservation Trust
St Francis Bay - Kromme Trust
Stanford Conservation Trust
- 1982 Environmental Education Association of South Africa
Friends of the Pilanesberg
Leighton Street Action Committee (Pietermaritzburg) *
Long Street Association (Cape Town)
Save Gordons Bay Society
Wynberg Village Area Conservation Committee
- 1983 Historic House Owners Association
Villiersdorp Wildflower Society

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SAMPLE A

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

School of Environmental Studies

QUESTIONNAIRE CONCERNING THE ROLE OF VOLUNTARY (NON-GOVERNMENTAL) ORGANISATIONS ACTIVE IN ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

A study is being undertaken on the emergence of an environmental awareness/consciousness amongst the public in South Africa, in particular the role played by voluntary organisations in introducing, fostering and promoting awareness and concern for the environment. It is therefore necessary to identify and describe all the voluntary organisations which play a role (to a greater or lesser extent) in environmental conservation. This includes professional bodies, localised action committees and national organisations, as well as groups which were once active in this field, but no longer operate.

Your organisation has been identified as one which has an interest in this field. You are therefore requested to complete this questionnaire as fully as possible, and return

it to :

The School of Environmental Studies
University of Cape Town
Private Bag
RONDEBOSCH
7700

INSTRUCTIONS

- (1) Where a question gives a choice of alternatives, please ring the correct answer.
- (2) Please ignore those questions which are not relevant to your organisation.
- (3) Should insufficient space have been allocated for your answer to any particular question, please use the extra space at the back of the questionnaire, and indicate the question number clearly.

You are asked to include the following material with this questionnaire when you return it.

- (1) A copy of your constitution, list of aims/terms of reference, or those sections which outline your position with respect to environmental conservation.
- (2) A copy of the Annual Report or Chairmans Address for 1981.
- (3) A copy of the Annual Balance Sheet / Financial Statement, or Treasurers Report to the AGM, for 1981.

A NAME

- 1.1 The name of your organisation
-
- 1.2 Should the name have been different in the past, please give the original name
-
- 2 The date of the establishment of the organisation
-

3 Is your organisation

(a) Affiliated with any other organisation ? YES/NO

If YES, please name the organisation(s)

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

(b) A branch or subdivision of any other organisation?

YES/NO

If YES, please give the name of the organisation

.....

B STRUCTURE

1 STAFF / OFFICE BEARERS

1.1 Do you employ permanent staff ? YES/NO

If YES, Please indicate the size of the staff

(a) Full time

(b) Part time

(c) Professional

1.2 If your staff are not permanent employees, but voluntary office bearers

(a) Do they hold their positions ANNUALLY/PERMANENTLY

(b) Are they elected from an executive committee ? YES/NO

1.3 Should your staff structure differ from either of the above, please indicate the differences below.

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

2 REGISTRATION

2.1 Is your organisation registered

- (a) As a company ? YES/NO
- (b) With the Director of Fundraising ? YES/NO

3 MEMBERSHIP

3.1 What was the original number of members at the time of the organisations establishment ?

.....

3.2 If your organisation was established

- (a) Prior to 1965, please give membership numbers at five year intervals until 1965, then give membership numbers for the last seventeen years.
- (b) After 1965, please give membership numbers for each year of its existence.

A separate sheet is provided for the answers to this question, and is headed MEMBERSHIP NUMBERS.

3.3 Membership numbers for 1981

- (a) Total number of members
- (b) Percentage that are 'active'

4 ORGANISATION

4.1 Do you elect an executive committee ? YES/NO
If YES

- (a) Are all members eligible for election ? YES/NO
- (b) Do most members vote ? YES/NO

5 COMMUNICATION

5.1 How often are meetings held

- (a) Of the executive committee
- (b) Of general members

6 PARTICIPATION

6.1 When the organisation undertakes a project or programme in what manner do members participate ?

- (a) Financial support YES/NO
- (b) Nominal support YES/NO
- (c) Active support YES/NO
- (d) Other (Please elaborate)
-
-
-

7 RECRUITMENT

7.1 How does the organisation recruit new members ?

- (a) Advertising YES/NO
- If YES, Please indicate the mediums in which the advertisements appear
-
-
-
-
- (b) Word of mouth YES/NO

(c) Other (Please elaborate)

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

7.2 Are there any requirements for membership ? YES/NO

If YES, please indicate the requirements below.

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

C ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVITIES

1.1 Please list the specific areas of interest your organisation has in this field.

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

1.2 Does your organisation have specific subdivisions relating solely to any of the above interests ? YES/NO

If YES, Please indicate these subdivisions

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

1.3 Does your organisation have branches in different parts of the country ? YES/NO

If YES, please indicate the number of branches
.....

2 PROJECTS/PROGRAMMES

How are projects or programmes decided upon ? Does the organisation

2.1 Respond to issues which have become topical ? YES/NO

2.2 Actively look for issues to pursue ? YES/NO

If YES, what sources are used ?

(a) The mass media YES/NO

(b) Government gazettes YES/NO

(c) Word of mouth YES/NO

(d) Other (Please elaborate)

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

Is this task allocated to a specific member or office bearer ? YES/NO

2.3 Respond to issues raised by members ? YES/NO

2.4 Other (Please elaborate)

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

3 Does the organisation have a policy of actively writing to or approaching local MPC's and MP's when public issues arise ? YES/NO

4 Does the organisation give press releases ? YES/NO
If YES, are these related to

(a) Projects on which the organisation is working? YES/NO

(b) Issues which it feels should be drawn to the attention of the public ? YES/NO

(c) Other (please elaborate)
.....
.....
.....

5 Does the organisation produce or publish any material? YES/NO

If YES, does it produce/publish

5.1 A newsletter YES/NO

If YES

(a) How frequently

5.2 A journal/magazine YES/NO

If YES, please supply the following particulars

(a) Name/Title
.....

(b) Editor(s)

(c) Frequency of publication

(d) Number of subscribers

5.3 Posters/pamphlets YES/NO

5.4 Other (Please elaborate)
.....
.....
.....

6 How widespread is the activity of the organisation ?

Please indicate whether the organisation

6.1 Concentrates primarily on local issues YES/NO

6.2 Concentrates on local and regional issues YES/NO

6.3 Concentrates on regional issues YES/NO

If YES, please indicate the geographical extent
of the region

.....

6.4 Concentrates on national issues YES/NO

6.5 Is active at all three of the above levels YES/NO

7 How does the organisation obtain professional or
technical advice, should the need arise in a
project ?

Does the organisation turn to

(a) Professional employees/staff , YES/NO

(b) Professional members YES/NO

(c) Volunteered professional services YES/NO

(d) Other (Please elaborate)

.....

.....

.....

8 SELF ASSESSMENT

8.1 Has your organisations activity in this field

- (a) Increased YES/NO
- (b) Remained constant YES/NO
- (c) Declined YES/NO

over the period 1970 to 1980 ?

8.2 What factors were considered in arriving at this answer ?

.....

.....

.....

8.3 Please assess your organisation on the degree of impact it has made in the following areas.

Rank the impact on a scale of 1 (negligable) to 5 (strong).

- (a) The general public
- (b) Your own members
- (c) Local authorities
- (d) Specific conservation issues

8.4 Please name your most successful project/programme.

.....

.....

.....

9 Contact with other organisations.

When undertaking projects or programmes it is possible that your organisation may have had contact with other organizations active in this field. Please list the names of any such organisations.

.....

Please remember to include the following material with this questionnaire when you return it.

- (1) A copy of your constitution, list of aims/terms of reference, or those sections which outline your position with respect to environmental conservation.
- (2) A copy of the Annual Report or Chairmans Address for 1981.
- (3) A copy of the Annual Balance Sheet / Financial Statement, or Treasurers Report to the AGM, for 1981.

MEMBERSHIP NUMBERS

1900	.....	1935	.....
1905	.....	1940	.....
1910	.....	1945	.....
1915	.....	1950	.....
1920	.....	1955	.....
1925	.....	1960	.....
1930	.....	
1965	.....	
1966	.....	
1967	.....	
1968	.....	
1969	.....	
1970	.....	
1971	.....	
1972	.....	
1973	.....	
1974	.....	
1975	.....	
1976	.....	
1977	.....	
1978	.....	
1979	.....	
1980	.....	
1981	.....	
1982	.....	(if available)	

Name of Society

.....

APPENDIX E

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SAMPLE B

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

School of Environmental Studies

QUESTIONNAIRE CONCERNING PRIVATE OR VOLUNTARY (NON-GOVERNMENTAL) SCIENTIFIC, PROFESSIONAL AND GENERAL ORGANIZATIONS, WHOSE INTERESTS INCLUDE ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION.

A study is being undertaken on the emergence of an environmental awareness/consciousness amongst the public in South Africa, in particular the role played by voluntary organisations in introducing, fostering and promoting awareness and concern for the environment. It is therefore necessary to identify and describe the environmental role of all such organisations.

Your organisation has been identified as one which has an interest in this field. You are therefore requested to complete this questionnaire as fully as possible, and return it to :

The School of Environmental Studies
University of Cape Town
Private Bag
RONDEBOSCH
7700

INSTRUCTIONS

- (1) Where a question gives a choice of alternatives please ring the correct answer.
- (2) Please ignore those questions which are not relevant to your organisation.
- (3) Should insufficient space have been allocated for your answer to any particular question, please use the extra space at the back of the questionnaire, and indicate the question number clearly.

You are asked to include the following material with this questionnaire when you return it.

- (1) A copy of your constitution, list of aims/terms of reference, or those sections of the above material which relate to your role in environmental conservation.
- (2) A copy of the Annual Report, or Chairmans Address, for 1981.

A NAME

- 1 The full name of your organisation
-
- 2 The date of the establishment of the organisation
-
- 3 Is your organisation
- (a) Affiliated with any other organisation ? YES/NO
- If YES, please name the organisation(s)
-
-
-

B STRUCTURE

1 STAFF / OFFICE BEARERS

1.1 Do you employ permanent staff ? YES/NO

If YES, please indicate the size of the staff

(a) Full time

(b) Part time

(c) Professional

1.2 If your staff are not permanent employees, but voluntary office bearers

(a) Do they hold their positions ANNUALLY/PERMANENTLY

(b) Are they elected from an executive committee? YES/NO

1.3 Should your staff structure differ from either of the above, please indicate the differences below

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

2 MEMBERSHIP

2.1 Please give number for the following years

1970	1976
1971	1977
1972	1978
1973	1979
1974	1980
1975	1981

2.2 Are there any requirements for membership ? YES/NO

If YES, Please indicate the requirements below

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

3 COMMUNICATION

3.1 In what way does the organisation communicate with members ?

(a) Meetings YES/NO

If YES, please indicate the frequency of meetings

.....

(b) Newsletters YES/NO

If YES, how often are they sent out ?

.....

(c) Other (Please elaborate)

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.....
.....

4 RECRUITMENT

4.1 In what ways are new members recruited ?

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C ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVITIES

1 Within this field, what are the specific areas of interest ?

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.....
.....

2 Does your organisation have specific subdivisions relating to any of the above interests ? YES/NO
IF YES, please indicate these subdivisions

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

3 Does your organisation have branches in different parts of the country ? YES/NO
If YES, please indicate the number of branches

.....

4 PROJECTS/PROGRAMMES

4.1 In what manner are your interests in the field of environmental conservation manifested ?

(a) Action orientated projects ? YES/NO

(b) The dissemination of information ? YES/NO

If YES

To members of the organisation YES/NO

To the public YES/NO

(c) Public support for issues ? YES/NO

(d) Other (Please elaborate)

.....

.....

.....

5 How are the issues brought to the attention of the organisation ?

.....

.....

.....

.....

6 On what scale is the activity of the organisation, in this field ?

(a) Local YES/NO

(b) Regional YES/NO

(c) National YES/NO

(d) All of the above YES/NO

7 Does the organisation publish any material in relation to this field ? YES/NO

If YES, please give particulars of the publication.

- (a) Name
(b) Editor(s)
(c) Frequency of publication

8 SELF ASSESSMENT

8.1 Do you think your activity in this field has

- (a) Increased YES/NO
(b) Remained constant YES/NO
(c) Declined YES/NO

over the period 1970 to 1980 ?

8.2 What factors were considered in arriving at this answer ?

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

8.3 Please assess your organisation on the degree of impact it has made in the following areas.

Rank the impact on a scale of 1 (negligable) to 5 (strong).

- (a) The general public
(b) Your own members
(c) Local authorities
(d) Specific conservation issues

8.4 Please name your most successful project/programme in this field.

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

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

Please remember to include the following material with this questionnaire, when you return it.

- (1) A copy of your constitution, or those sections relating to your role in environmental conservation.
- (2) A copy of the Annual Report, or Chairmans Address, for 1981.

APPENDIX F

GROUPS FORMING SAMPLE A

(Groups from the environmental lobby)

- 1 Betty's Bay Wildflower Society
- 2 Botanical Society of South Africa
- 3 Bushmans-Kariega Trust
- 4 Cape Peninsula Conservation Trust (CAPTRUST)
- 5 CAPTRUST Hout Bay / Llandudno
- 6 Centre for the Rehabilitation of Wildlife (CROW)
- 7 Co-ordinating Council for Nature Conservation in the Cape (CCNCC)
- 8 Co-ordinating Council for Nature Conservation in Eastern Cape (CCNCEC)
- 9 Dendrological Foundation
- 10 Dendrological Society
- 11 Dolphin Action and Protection Group
- 12 East Cape Game Management Association
- 13 Eastern Province Wildflower Society
- 14 Endangered Wildlife Trust (EWT)
- 15 Environmental Education Association of South Africa
- 16 Habitat Council
- 17 Habitat Working Group
- 18 Hermanus Botanical Society
- 19 Keep South Africa Tidy / Beautiful
- 20 Kleinmond Ecological Society
- 21 Kleinmond Nature Conservation Society
- 22 Koeberg Alert

- 23 Kowie Trust
- 24 Magaliesberg Protection Association
- 25 National Association for Clean Air (NACA)
- 26 National Veld Trust
- 27 Naval Hill Conservation Board
- 28 Outeniqua Naturalists Club
- 29 Outeniqualand Trust
- 30 Parktown Association
- 31 Port Elizabeth Beachfront Protection Group
- 32 Sandton Nature Conservation Society
- 33 Save the Garden Route Committee (SAGROCOM)
- 34 Simon's Town Flora Conservation Committee
- 35 Simon van der Stel Foundation
- 36 Society for the Protection of the Environment (SPE)
- 37 South African National Foundation for the Conservation
of Coastal Birds (SANCCOB)
- 38 South African Nature Conservation Centre
- 39 Southern African Ornithological Society (SAOS)
- 40 Tree Society of South Africa (TSSA)
- 41 Veracular Architecture Society
- 42 Wilderness Leadership School Trust
- 43 Wilderness Trust
- 44 Wildlife Society of Southern Africa
- 45 Zwartkops Trust

APPENDIX G

GROUPS FORMING SAMPLE B

(Environmentally related groups)

- 1 Boy Scouts of South Africa
- 2 Cape Provincial Institute of Architects
- 3 Cape Tourism Authority (CAPTOUR)
- 4 Central Council of Landsurveyors of the Republic of South Africa
- 5 Durban and Coast Horticultural Society
- 6 Eastern Province Freshwater Fish Conservancy
- 7 Environmental and Development Agency (EDA)
- 8 Environmental Planning Professions Interdisciplinary Committee (EPPIC)
- 9 Food Gardens Unlimited
- 10 Game Farmers Association
- 11 Game Rangers Association
- 12 Girl Guides Association of South Africa
- 13 Grasslands Society of South Africa
- 14 Institute of South African Architects
- 15 Institute of Water Pollution Control (South African Branch)
- 16 Johannesburg Hiking Club
- 17 Limnological Society of South Africa
- 18 National Council of Women of South Africa
- 19 Royal Society of South Africa
- 20 Sandton Civic Foundation

- 21 South African Acoustics Institute
- 22 South African Agricultural Union
- 23 South African Archaeological Society
- 24 South African Association of Consulting Engineers
- 25 South African Association for Marine Biological
Research (SAAMBR)
- 26 South African Geographical Society
- 27 South African Institute of Electrical Engineers
- 28 South African Institute of Forestry
- 29 South African Institution of Civil Engineers
- 30 South African Protea Producers and Exporters
Association (SAPPEX)
- 31 South African Womens Agricultural Union
- 32 Tugela Basin Development Association
- 33 UCT Mountain and Ski Club
- 34 Vaal River Catchment Association (VAALCO)
- 35 Voortrekkers
- 36 Western Province Underwater Union
- 37 Zoological Society of Southern Africa