

Environmental campaigns against forest companies: What are the campaigns trying to achieve?

D. Gritten^{1,2,*}, J. R. González Olabarria¹, B. Mola-Yudego³, G. Domínguez¹

¹ Centre Tecnològic Forestal de Catalunya, CTFC, Crtra Sant Llorenç de Morunys, 25280 Solsona, Spain

² RECOFTC – The Center for People and Forests, Kasetsart Post Office PO Box 1111, Bangkok, 10903, Thailand

³ University of Eastern Finland, School of Forest Sciences, 80101 Joensuu, Finland

Abstract

Campaigns by environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOS) can have far reaching consequences in determining the policies of governments and corporations. This paper examines campaigns targeting forestry companies to determine what makes a successful campaign. Over forty ENGOS completed a questionnaire defining what they perceive to constitute a successful campaign. The responses were analysed using Analytical Hierarchy Process. The results showed that campaigns by ENGOS have two main targets: changes in laws and the target group implementing the campaign's recommendation(s). Achieving these targets, for most, constitute a successful campaign. Subsequently, representatives of seven ENGOS were questioned to attain their perspectives of the results in comparison to campaigns they are conducting against forest enterprises. They supported the results of the questionnaire, but also felt that there are various other factors that need to be considered (e.g. the campaign's timeframe and the possibility of having hidden targets) that increase the issue's complexity.

Key words: Analytical Hierarchy Process; corporate responsibility; ENGO campaigns; forest industry.

Resumen

Campañas medioambientales contra empresas forestales: ¿Cuál es el objetivo de estas campañas?

Campañas llevadas a cabo por organizaciones no gubernamentales ambientalistas (ONGsA) pueden tener importantes consecuencias a la hora de influenciar las políticas tanto de gobiernos como de corporaciones industriales. Este artículo se centra en el estudio de campañas cuyo blanco son las empresas madereras, analizando que condiciones deben cumplir dichas campañas para poder ser consideradas como exitosas. Para ello, más de cuarenta ONGsA rellenaron un cuestionario en el que se les pedía que indicaran su opinión sobre que define una campaña exitosa. Las respuestas fueron analizadas utilizando un Proceso Analítico Jerárquico (AHP). Los resultados mostraron que las campañas de las ONGsA tienen dos objetivos principales, obtener cambios en las leyes y que la compañía o gobierno objetivo de la campaña cumpla las recomendaciones propuestas. A posteriori, los representantes de siete ONGsA, con campañas ambientales en curso contra empresas madereras, fueron preguntados sobre si los resultados obtenidos a través del análisis AHP estaban en concordancia con las perspectivas para sus campañas ambientales. Como resultado, se obtuvo que si bien sus perspectivas coincidían con los resultados del análisis, existen otros factores a tener en cuenta (por ejemplo el marco temporal de la campaña y la posibilidad de afectar objetivos no explícitamente señalados) que aumentan la complejidad del problema.

Palabras clave: Proceso Analítico Jerárquico (AHP); responsabilidad corporativa; campañas de ONGs ambientales; industria forestal.

* Corresponding author: david.gritten@recoftc.org
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Abbreviations used: AHP: Analytical hierarchical process; ENGO: Environmental non-governmental organisation; FoE: Friends of the Earth; Friends of the Earth England, Wales and Northern Ireland (FoE EWNI); FANC: Finnish Association for Nature Conservation; RMT: Resource mobilisation theory; POS: Political opportunity structure theory.

Introduction

In recent decades forest industry around the world has come under increased scrutiny from environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOS) such as Friends of the Earth (FoE) and Greenpeace (Gritten and Mola-Yudego, 2010). ENGO scrutiny has at times greatly impacted the industry's operating practices (e.g. Sonnenfeld, 2002; Gritten and Kant, 2007). The impact is determined by numerous issues including the operating environment of the targeted company (e.g. location and type of customers, financiers, shareholders), and media coverage of the issue. A great deal of the impact is also determined by the ENGOS' strategies (Rucht, 1990), their salience (Gritten and Mola-Yudego, 2010), as well as their operating environment (e.g. political freedom) (Sonnenfeld, 2002).

Through campaigns ENGOS are trying to bring about a more just and equal society, and trying to increase commitment to caring for the environment (Rootes, 2004). The campaigns mobilise a group of actors to achieve an aim (della Porta and Rucht, 2002). Like other social movements, the campaigns by ENGOS target the holders of power (Tilly, 1999). Hence a corporate accountability movement has grown in response to the fact that corporations, including forestry companies, have become increasingly powerful (e.g. John and Thomson, 2003), but also as a result of the failure of governments on issues of sustainability (Ruggie, 2003). Whereas in the past the focus was more on bringing about change through targeting governments there has been a trend of ENGOS increasingly focussing on corporations (Sonnenfeld, 2002; Gritten and Kant, 2007). This is because corporations have come to dominate the policy agendas of national governments and international organisations (John and Thomson, 2003), as well as having significant impact on landscapes and communities (Humphreys 2006). With this in mind, this paper focuses on campaigns against forest corporations.

In order to achieve the specific target(s) of the campaigns ENGOS often form coalitions with their peers (e.g. Gritten and Mola-Yudego, 2010). In this context, the research presented in this paper originated out of an informal coalition of ENGOS campaigning against the practices of a forestry company in Indonesia (see Gritten and Kant, 2007). This coalition had broadly similar aims of getting the company to operate in a more sustainable manner. One of the groups defined their campaign as a complete failure even though it had achieved various positive outcomes including attaining

significant media coverage and the target company implementing many of the campaign's recommendations, whilst another group felt that their campaign, with broadly similar targets, was a moderate success. This leads onto the question of whether the groups had different definitions of what constitutes a successful campaign.

This paper will examine whether ENGOS are conducting corporate campaigns to achieve tangible, short term targets, such as the target company changing its practices (Goodwin and Jasper, 2004) and changes in government policy (Guigni, 1999), or have broader targets including changing societal values (Dalton *et al.*, 2005), as well as having an ultimate goal of increasing the group's power, legitimacy and urgency (Mitchell *et al.*, 1997; Gritten and Saastamoinen 2011). This makes it difficult to determine a campaign's success. Research into the impact and success of social movements (including ENGOS), including by Gamson (1990) and Banaszak (1996), has tended to focus on policy repercussions, which is prevalent in research in this area (Guigni, 1999; Manheim, 2001). Amenta *et al.* (1992), for example, define success as co-optation or recognition by opponents, policy gains that benefit the group and finally the challengers became part of the political system. A clear trend in previous research is that campaigns, including against forestry companies, often greatly differ to each other, for example, from the tactics employed (e.g. Rootes, 2004; Gritten and Kant, 2007; Sarkki and Heikkinen, 2010) to the ideological basis for the campaigns (e.g. Guigni, 1998; 1999). However, it is unclear whether these differences are also reflected in how each group perceives success.

McAdam *et al.* (1996) feel that ENGOS must overcome certain barriers to achieve change (e.g. attracting new and keeping current recruits, generating media coverage and mobilising the support of the general public). However, the research presented here adopts the hypothesis that ENGOS, when conducting campaigns, often have these barriers as the campaign's goals. Viewing this from the perspective of resource mobilisation (RMT) (e.g. McCarthy and Zeld, 1977; McAdam *et al.*, 1996) and political opportunity structure theories (POS) (Tarrow 1994) ENGOS need to create an environment that is conducive to change. For RMT it is the ability to gather resources to plan and successfully carry out campaigns, while for POS it has having a political environment that facilitates change. In other words the campaigns are a battle as part of an overall war, for example, targeting a pulp and paper

company in Indonesia to halt deforestation affecting the whole country.

This paper sets out to develop the previous work to determine if ENGOs have a common perception of what deems a campaign against a corporation to be successful. For this purpose, a set of questionnaires, sent to ENGOs campaigning against forest companies, and interviews were analysed to determine which criteria had to be considered to define the success of a campaign and to what extent. The analysis relies on quantitative methods, to determine the relative importance of different criteria in respect to others, and qualitative methods, to further explore this issue. The implications of the work include research contributing to a better understanding of the relationship between ENGOs and forest industry, including the strategies employed by the ENGOs, and in assisting forest industry in its interactions with stakeholders, including ENGOs.

Material and Methods

Various qualitative and quantitative steps were taken to achieve the aims of the paper. The process was designed to use the results of the quantitative area of the study (steps 1-3) as a basis for the qualitative work (step 4), i.e. in getting specific information from interviews of ENGO representatives. The process included the following steps:

1. Identify a set of criteria that define a campaign's success in which their relative importance is going to be measured.
2. Identify appropriate senior ENGO representatives to participate in the study.
3. Prepare and send a questionnaire to the ENGO representatives to attain their opinion on the importance of the selected criteria. Analyse the relative importance of each of the selected criteria in respect to the others using quantitative methods.
4. Conduct interviews with campaign managers (or equivalent) of selected ENGOs to ascertain their views on the results of the first stages of the study, and garner additional information.

Selection of the criteria

The criteria used in the study were selected based on questionnaires sent to campaign leaders of two ENGOs engaged in international campaigns. The cri-

teria they selected were expanded upon by the authors, with the guidance of various academics:

- A. Changes in international and national laws, regulations and policies as result of campaign.
- B. Campaign leads to debate in national parliament/ important public bodies (even if the debates are inconclusive).
- C. Company's customers respond positively to campaign.
- D. Company's shareholders and lenders respond positively to campaign.
- E. High level of positive coverage of campaign in the national media.
- F. High level of positive coverage of campaign in the international media.
- G. Target group implements recommendation(s) of campaign.
- H. High level of public awareness of campaign.
- I. Campaign leads to other ENGOs targeting company.
- J. Home government of ENGO responds directly to campaign.
- K. Company meets with associates and customers in direct response to campaign.

Subsequently five campaign leaders from ENGOs conducting national and international campaigns were asked to comment on the 11 criteria. As a result the criteria were reduced to seven, with H, I, J and K being discarded (because of overlapping and redundancy).

Selection of the judges

The sample frame was groups that conducted international and/or national oriented campaigns against forestry companies. They were used for both the qualitative and quantitative areas of the research.

The ENGOs taking part in the research were taken from a database of national and international ENGOs created by the authors (groups only campaigning on local issues were not included). The database includes the national offices of international ENGOs (e.g. WWF and FoE). The database was compiled over a two year period of research into the relationship between forest industry and ENGOs.

Those completing the questionnaire were asked to define what makes a successful campaign. They were requested to do so reflecting their position as representatives of the selected ENGO (managerial position within the group).

Analysis of the criteria

The methodology selected to determine the value that the representatives of the ENGOs gave to the criteria for defining success was analytical hierarchical process (AHP) (Saaty, 1980; 2008). AHP has been widely used in complex multi-criteria decision making, such as the analysis of preferences in complex problems with various criteria (Varis, 1989; Choo and Wedley, 2004), as it provides reliable and comprehensive numerical information about the relative importance of each criterion. In other words it allows the comparison of criteria enabling the respondent to illustrate the importance they place on each option. Additionally, pairwise comparison methods, which are an integral part of AHP, as opposed to direct rating, have been found to be more suitable for collecting quantitative data (Naudé *et al.* 1993) and are often used to estimate the preference values of alternatives regarding a specific issue, hence its value here. Furthermore, AHP provides information regarding the consistency of the respondents' answers.

A questionnaire, in a pairwise comparison format, was sent to 223 environmental groups conducting campaigns against forest companies, a reminder was sent out two weeks after the initial questionnaire was sent. Representatives of 42 groups completed and returned the questionnaire. The questionnaire allowed the ENGO representatives to compare pairs of criteria and express their opinion about the relative importance of one criterion compared to another, from equally prefer to extremely prefer (equal, moderately more, strongly prefer, very strongly prefer, extremely prefer) being subsequently converted into numerical values (1, 3, 5, 7, 9) to allow the numerical processing required by AHP. The pairs of criteria were compared in a way that the criteria were compared with each other (A-B, A-C... F-G) giving a total of 21 comparisons per respondent, about the relative importance of each of criteria with respect to the others.

The questionnaire was developed in such way that firstly the person questioned was asked which of the two criteria in each pair they felt to be the more important, and secondly mark the relative level of importance. In this way if A was considered to be strongly preferred to B, the relative importance of A respect to B was considered to be 7, and the relative importance of B respect to A was considered to be 1/7.

The results of the comparisons were later used to create a matrix of pairwise ratios whose rows are the ratios of the relative importance of each criteria with

respect to the others, represented in the columns. The result of averaging the rows of the normalised matrix, by dividing the each of the values of the matrix by the sum of its column, provides an eigenvector that is an approximation of the relative weight of each criteria. Additionally, AHP is able to estimate the consistency of the answers of each person responding the questionnaire, and compare it with a purely random judgement. This estimation of a consistency ratio is based on the assumption that if somebody prefers A to B, and B to C, A should therefore be preferred to C.

Once the weight of each criterion was obtained, their priority weights were ascertained through either comparing the obtained values for each criterion with the Laplace criterion (1/number of criteria) or with the values obtained for the remaining criteria. This was done using the one-sample t-test and paired-sample t-test.

The analysis of the results was broken down into three different groups of judges/experts; one being the whole set of experts, with the other two groups being a result of splitting that group into those that only conduct national oriented campaigns and those that do both international and national campaigns.

Qualitative research method

For the qualitative aspect of the research, representatives of seven ENGOs (Table 1) were questioned to ascertain the aims and perceived success of a campaign they were running against a forestry enterprise, this was done in the context of the findings of the quantitative area of the research (Table 4). The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format. This format allowed the interviewees to speak their minds and elaborate on issues they felt were important regarding the research, while also ensuring they addressed particular questions related to the findings of the quantitative part of the research. One of the campaign leaders was unable to be interviewed and chose instead to complete a questionnaire (and a follow-up questionnaire).

The focus campaigns, four against APRIL, an Asian pulp and paper company, and three against Metsähalitus, a Finnish Government owned forestry enterprise, were selected to allow the comparison of the different views of the representatives on the same issue; namely a shared target. Furthermore, representatives of an additional four ENGOs were interviewed as background to the research: Forest Watch International (Indonesia), the Nature Conservancy Indonesia, an

Table 1. Groups questioned for the qualitative area of research

Group questioned	Campaign target	Position of interviewee regarding campaign	International (I) or national (N) campaign
Friends of the Earth (FoE) England, Wales and Northern Ireland (EWN1)	APRIL	Campaign leader	I
Robin Wood	APRIL	Campaign leader	I
FoE Finland	APRIL	Campaign leader	I
WWF Indonesia	APRIL	Campaign leader	N
Greenpeace Finland	Metsähallitus	Campaign Press officer	N
WWF Finland	Metsähallitus	Head of Forestry	N
Finnish Association for Nature Conservation (FANC)	Metsähallitus	Lead Campaigner (Forest specialist)	N

Indonesian ENGO that wished to remain anonymous and a former campaign leader of Greenpeace UK.

A further qualitative method was the validation of the results of the questionnaire by asking those that had completed the questionnaire to comment on the findings, resulting in ten of the respondents of the pairwise comparison providing additional information on the reasoning behind their responses.

Background to featured campaigns

The position of the four ENGOs that have been campaigning against APRIL (Table 1) was based on the fact that they felt that the company was operating in an unsustainable manner; including destroying natural rainforest rich in biodiversity and denying the rights of indigenous communities.

Robin Wood’s campaign against APRIL is market based, targeting APRIL’s clients including Papier Union. The aim of the campaign is to get APRIL to cut its pulp production capacity to sustainable levels¹.

FoE EWN1 launched their campaign in 2001. Their campaign focused on getting APRIL to improve its operations, making them more sustainable. FoE EWN1 used the market to pressure APRIL; targeting paper merchants in the UK selling APRIL’s products and financial institutions offering services to the company (see: http://www.foe.co.uk/campaigns/corporates/case_studies/april/).

FoE Finland launched their campaign in 1997, criticising UPM-Kymmene’s (UPM) close relationship with the Asian company hoping to pressurise UPM into

confronting APRIL on its operations (see: <http://www.maanystavat.fi/april/>).

WWF Indonesia has been engaging with APRIL since 2000, trying to get the company to be more responsible in its operations. Its campaign against APRIL fits within the environmental group’s work on species and forest conservation in Riau province, Sumatra (<http://www.wwf.or.id/>).

The campaigns against Metsähallitus cover social and ecological issues:

Greenpeace Finland’s campaign, its largest ever, has two key aims, protecting the natural old growth forest and the rights and livelihood of the Sámi reindeer herders. Hence they are campaigning against Metsähallitus which has been operating in Upper Lapland felling old growth forests (see: <http://weblog.greenpeace.org/forestrescue/index.html>).

FANC’s campaign is similar in focus to that of Greenpeace, namely to conserve the old forests and protect the rights of the reindeer herders both of which, they feel, are threatened by Metsähallitus (see: <http://www.sll.fi/tiedotus/tiedotteet/>).

WWF Finland’s campaign against Metsähallitus is not a central issue for them as their focus is more on biodiversity issues, nevertheless they have been campaigning about Metsähallitus’ operations. Their campaign focuses on concern for the enterprise’s logging in forests that are close to their natural state, which impact on the region’s biodiversity. They are also concerned with the logging’s restricting the multiple uses of the forests, especially concerning reindeer herding and nature tourism (http://www.wwf.fi/wwf/www/uploads/pdf/forestlapland_wwffinposition_feb2007.pdf).

¹ For more information: <http://www.umwelt.org/robin-wood/index.htm>

Results

Analysis of the pairwise comparison

The results of the pairwise comparison are presented in three formats, depending on the scope of the ENGOs (Figure 1 A, B, C).

The analyses of all 42 valid responses shows that the ENGOs strongly favoured criteria A “Changes in international and national laws, regulations and policies as result of campaign” and G “Target group implements recommendation(s) of campaign”, whilst positive coverage in the media (criteria E and F) and debate in national parliament (B) were seen to be the least important indicators of success (Figure 1 A).

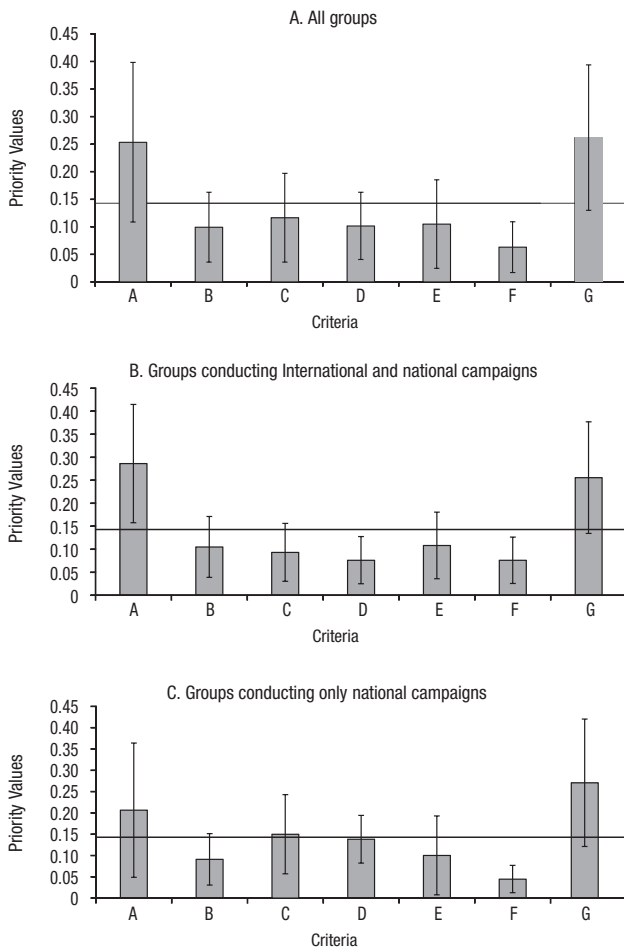


Figure 1. Obtained values for criteria and standard deviation according to groups: (A) All groups, (B) conducting both international and national campaigns and (C) conducting only national campaigns. The horizontal lines indicate the laplace criterion (1/number of criteria (0.143)).

When analysing the results it is clear that the findings differ according to whether the group conducts both international and national campaigns or solely national campaigns. Groups with an international focus, whilst still rating criteria A and G as the most important, placed more emphasis on coverage in the international media than their national oriented counterparts (Figures 1 B and C). Whilst the nationally oriented groups placed more emphasis on criteria C (Company’s customers respond positively to campaign) and D (Company’s shareholders and lenders respond positively to campaign) than the international/national oriented groups. Groups conducting both international and national campaigns rate A higher than those conducting only national campaigns. All the mean criteria values showed significant differences, at the 0.05 level, when tested against the Laplace decision criterion (0.143) in all cases except for those organisations only doing national campaigns criteria C and D were not significantly different to the 0.143 value.

Table 2 shows that, particularly for those doing both national and international campaigns, criterion A is significantly different to the ones obtained for the other

Table 2. Significance test for comparison of each criterion with each other (with a confidence interval of 95%) Asterisks highlights most significant. *** = highly significant, ** = significant and * = quite significant

	All groups	Groups doing both international and national campaigns	Groups only doing national campaigns
A - B	0.000***	0.000***	0.004**
A - C	0.000***	0.000***	0.326
A - D	0.000***	0.000***	0.184
A - E	0.000***	0.000***	0.074
A - F	0.000***	0.000***	0.001***
A - G	0.826	0.513	0.337
B - C	0.375	0.610	0.078
B - D	0.889	0.180	0.076
B - E	0.725	0.856	0.767
B - F	0.002**	0.067	0.007**
B - G	0.000***	0.000***	0.002**
C - D	0.185	0.161	0.590
C - E	0.529	0.513	0.100
C - F	0.002**	0.359	0.001**
C - G	0.000***	0.000***	0.026*
D - E	0.856	0.171	0.176
D - F	0.014	0.989	0.000***
D - G	0.000***	0.000***	0.003**
E - F	0.001**	0.012*	0.027*
E - G	0.000***	0.000***	0.003**
F - G	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***

Table 3. Number of times each criterion was selected as most important

Criteria	ENGOS conducting international and national campaigns	ENGOS conducting only national campaigns	All campaigns
A. Changes in international and national laws, regulations and policies as result of campaign	13	4	17
B. Campaign leads to national debate in parliament/important public bodies (even if the debates are inconclusive).	0	0	0
C. Company's customers respond positively to campaign.	0	2	2
D. Company's shareholders and lenders respond positively to campaign.	0	0	0
E. High level of positive coverage of campaign in the national media.	0	2	2
F. High level of positive coverage of campaign in the international media	0	0	0
G. Target group implements recommendation(s) of campaign	12	9	21

criteria, except G. Whilst G is significantly different to the other criteria except A for all groups. For criterion F, a significantly smaller value was obtained when compared to the other criteria (except D), for all groups. However this significance is reduced for those that conduct both international and national campaigns.

AHP measures the consistency of the responses. This showed that even though there were some responses that were inconsistent (Consistency Ratio, CR <10%) they did not affect the results of the research.

It is also worth examining which criterion was seen to be the most important in terms of the number of organisations that rated each of the criteria as the highest (Table 3). As expected, criteria A and G are valued highest by most of the groups.

Comments on the results of the pairwise comparison by the original respondents

When asked to comment on the results the respondents supported the findings. However, various issues were raised regarding how ENGOS work in differing ways concerning the scale of the campaign and also its timeframe, which determine whether a campaign was perceived as successful. Another point raised in this area of the research was the relevance of personality, with some believing that campaigns are driven by individuals and therefore it is not the group themselves but the campaign leader, for example, that would decide on the campaigns aims and whether they are achieved. This differs to a comment by some declining to complete the pairwise comparison believing that a response from the group's central office would provide an answer to cover all its member groups.

Comparison of featured campaigns

The featured campaigns allow the comparison of their aims and perceived success (Table 4), with particular value being in comparing the campaigns with shared corporate targets. All groups, excluding WWF Finland, placed the strongest emphasis on criterion G (target implementing recommendation(s)). WWF Finland placed more emphasis on raising the profile of this issue in conjunction with other forestry related issues in Finland.

Discussion

The research set out to determine, from the perspective of ENGOS, what makes a successful campaign. The quantitative results were in line with expectations and also previous work; with criteria A (legal changes) (e.g. Amenta and Young, 1999; Manheim, 2001; Ruggie, 2003) and G (response by the target corporation) (Goodwin and Jasper, 2004) being the most favoured. As Tilly (1999) put it, campaigns are targeting the power holders and therefore response by the ultimate power holders (state and corporations) would entail a successful campaign. One respondent felt that criteria B to F are the means to the end, the end being criteria A and G, this is supported by Manheim (2001) who felt that getting the support of stakeholders, which is achieved through criteria B to F, is vital for influencing corporations. When commenting on the results of the pairwise comparison one of the respondents went further saying that criteria B to G were tools for achieving criteria A, which was invariably the target of a campaign.

Table 4. Aims and perception of success of seven campaigns, based on interviews and questionnaires with campaign leaders. (+++ = most important aim/complete success, ++ = notable aim/notable success, + = minor priority/minor success, 0 = not important/not achieved) (MH = Metsähallitus)

	Robin Wood/ APRIL		FoE EWNI/ APRIL		FoE Finland/ APRIL		WWF Indonesia/ APRIL		Greenpeace Finland/ MH		FANC/ MH		WWF Finland/ MH	
	Aim	Success	Aim	Success	Aim	Success	Aim	Success	Aim	Success	Aim	Success	Aim	Success
A. Changes in laws	+	0	++	0	+	0	+	+	+++	0	++	0	+	0
B. Debate in parliament	0	0	+	0	+	0	+	++	++	+	+	+	+++	++
C. Customers respond positively	++	+	++	++	++	+	+	++	++	+	++	+	0	0
D. Shareholders and lenders respond positively	0	0	++	++	++	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0
E. Positive coverage in national media	++	+	++	++	++	++	+	++	++	++	++	+	+	++
F. Positive coverage in international media	+	0	+	+	0	0	+	+	++	++	0	0	0	0
G. Target implements recommendation(s)	+++	0	+++	+	+++	0	+++	++	+++	+	+++	+	+	0

The qualitative results of the research, however, showed the complexity regarding what ENGOS are trying to achieve, a view supported by Rucht (1999) and della Porta and Diani (2006). For example, FoE Finland's campaign against APRIL had an unstated long term aim of improving the distribution of profits of the pulp and paper industry in Indonesia, with emphasis placed on indigenous peoples (questionnaire APRIL campaign leader FoE Finland).

Though positive coverage in the national (E) and international media (F) did not feature strongly in the qualitative results, if combined they are quite prominent. Media plays an important role in achieving the stated targets of the example campaigns (Table 4). This view is supported by previous work (Deephouse, 2000; Gamson, 2004; Sarkki and Heikkinen, 2010). For example, Gamson (2004) sees it as important for generating funding for the group, and linked to this is the issue of survival of the group often taking preference over achieving the campaigns' stated targets (della Porta and Diani, 2006). Furthermore, positive media coverage is vital for putting the group in a position of power (Gamson, 2004), not just for the current campaign but also for future ones (King, 2008), for instance building their reputation which would give them a competitive advantage (Deephouse, 2000) over their targets. Additionally it provides an advantage over other ENGOS in the race for funding and membership. Therefore as the groups are attempting to shape public opinion as well as cultural practices (King, 2008), it could be seen that media coverage is a goal as well as a tool. Gritten and

Mola-Yudego (2010) found that ENGOS targeting forestry companies were greatly influenced by the potential media coverage that the campaign would garner, including considering the profile of the company as well as its location (considering the environmental and social impact of the company's operations). The same authors also found that international media coverage of forest conflicts was relatively low, even if the conflict was intense or had a great deal of potential negative impact (Gritten *et al.* 2012).

It should be acknowledged that the research presented here has some limitations: Firstly, from a statistical point of view there was a low rate of completion of the pairwise comparison questionnaire. It should be noted, however, that similar studies (also using pairwise comparison) of experts (as opposed to say the general public) have similar response rates (González *et al.* 2007, with 16 respondents out of 100). Additionally, over 50 groups provided reasons for not completing the questionnaire, with some of the reasons being relevant to the results of the research. For example, five national offices felt that it would be better if the international head office completed the questionnaire as the answer would be the same for the whole organisation, while nine felt that the questionnaire was not applicable as the responses would depend on the campaign. This conflicting response highlights the differences that exist between and within groups, which is partially reflected in the results of the research. It should, however be noted that the design of the research set out to use the quantitative area as a basis for the qualitative area of the work.

A second limitation is the size of the database used for this research: 223 groups is far from being a complete coverage of ENGOs. However, Rohrschneider and Dalton (2002) utilised a database of 248 ENGOs in their research into cooperation between groups, indicating the validity of the sample for the research presented here.

A further limitation is the relatively few focus campaigns that were included in the qualitative side of the research. As previously mentioned, the groups were selected to allow a comparison of views regarding shared targets (APRIL and Metsähallitus), which is a valid method for determining the impacts of campaigns (Guigni, 1999). A true theoretical base cannot be provided by questioning such a limited number of ENGO representatives, but they are a good illustration of the complexity of what determines success as well expanding on the results of the pairwise comparison.

The methodology, AHP, selected for the quantitative area of the research proved to be a suitable tool for determining of the importance of the criteria. The possibility of presenting structured information that is easy to evaluate, present and understand facilitated the collection of data as well as its analysis. AHP has, however, been criticised regarding the requirements it places on the respondents in terms of time and effort (Millet, 1998).

A brief examination of the literature related to the focus campaigns allows a comparison of the stated aims of the campaigns and the perceived level of success (Table 4), as well as the actual results. The APRIL campaigns are seen, by Gritten and Kant (2007) and Raitzer (2008), to have been reasonably successful, with the company taking various measures to improve the sustainability of its operations (stated aim of all four groups), as well as its partner (UPM-Kymmene) (aim of FoE Finland) and customers (paper merchants) (aim of FoE EWNI and Robin Wood) reducing their links with the company. However, APRIL is still using non-plantation timber in its mills and has unresolved disputes with local communities over land rights (Gritten and Mola-Yudego, 2010). FANC and Greenpeace's campaign against Metsähallitus could be defined as being partially successful in that Metsähallitus introduced a temporary moratorium on felling in the conflict area (Kyllönen *et al.* 2006). However, the Finnish Government has taken very little legislative action on the issue (Lawrence 2007).

There are various dimensions to environmental campaigns that often make them complex (Rucht, 1999;

della Porta and Diani, 2006). This makes it difficult to determine the success; for example, who are the judges of success (Rucht, 1990; Guigni, 1998; della Porta and Diani, 2006), the different levels of idealism that exist within the environmental movement (Rootes, 2004) and the background and personality of the campaign leaders (Gerlach, 2001).

An example of the complexity is demonstrated in the strategies of the focus ENGOs (as illustrated in Table 4). WWF sees corporations as being at the heart of the problem, for example regarding deforestation, but also central to the solution and so believe that to achieve progress partnerships between themselves, governments and corporations are required (WWF, 2007). Furthermore, they also adopt a more stepwise approach on issues such as forest certification and are willing to acknowledge progress as well as accepting that companies, like APRIL, will take time to improve their operations (Jurgens, 2006). Murphy and Bendell (1997) believe that the issue of tactics and progress of the target is a dilemma for all ENGOs, specifically whether to accept only radical change or change in incremental steps. The creation of these partnerships signifies that the group's aims on this issue have, at least, been partially co-opted by their partner and through this partnership become more integrated into the system. Amenta *et al.* (1992) include these two criteria as part of defining movement success, with the third criteria being policy gains that benefit the group. This may explain the quite differing perceptions of success that the campaign leaders have regarding their campaigns against APRIL. This in turn will greatly affect how the forestry companies respond to each ENGO campaign, which is a possible area of future research: specifically how do forestry companies respond to the different strategies (so called carrot and stick, Gritten and Kant 2007) of the ENGOs.

Murphy and Bendell (1997) believe that it is increasingly likely that some ENGOs have employees with no ideological commitment to the cause, which is reflected in how the groups operate and hence their perceptions of success. This returns to the motivation for this research, namely how ENGOs see success, here the difference may be explained by their values, including whether their pursuit is idealist in nature or more pragmatic. This view is supported by de-Shalit (2001), who points out that some activists will only accept total change, believing that compromise is a failure.

Within an ENGO, as well as within the movement itself, there will be considerable differences of opinion

between the activists, board of directors as well as donors, and their inter-relationship as to a campaign's success (Brulle *et al.*, 2007). This research was based on questionnaires and interviews of those in managerial positions within the target ENGOs, this naturally leads to a pointer of future research of determining what the activists within a group, as well as its donors and board of directors, see as successful campaign.

The theory of stakeholder salience (Mitchell *et al.*, 1997) puts it that stakeholders (including ENGOs) need a combination of power, legitimacy and urgency to have salience in their interaction with corporations, and this is something that fluctuates and therefore the ENGOs need to continuously work on improving it. Campaigns, it could be said, are tools to attain these three attributes whether for the short term (achieving the stated target) or for the long term of increasing the ENGO's salience with regards to other campaigns (den Hond and de Bakker, 2007). In accordance with RMT the groups, through campaigns, are attempting to mobilise people, money and other resources in order to strengthen their power, legitimacy and urgency. For example, the representative of FANC stated that significant differences existed within the group over the campaign's aims; with the headquarters in Helsinki placing as much emphasis on the rights of Sámi reindeer herders as conserving old growth forests. While the group's regional office in Lapland played down the Sámi land rights issue (interview lead campaigner FANC), the result was different perceptions within the group of the campaign's overall success. These differences were the result of ensuring organisational survival as the Lapland office did not wish to jeopardise its position by pushing for Sámi rights, that would likely have been unpopular with many locals (interview lead campaigner FANC), which could have undermined the group's claims of legitimacy and diminished its power. This is an illustration of the group considering the potential barriers that it must overcome to achieve change (McAdam *et al.*, 1996), both in the long and short term.

Conclusion

The research presented in this paper provides a better understanding of ENGO campaigns against forestry companies. On one level, reflected in the findings of the quantitative research, is that campaign's success is based on changing governmental policy and target

company implementing campaign's recommendation(s). It could be interpreted that the campaigns against forest corporations are primarily focusing on the state level, understandable considering the nature of the resource, and that targeting corporations is a means to this end, which is partially reflected in the quantitative results. However, the focus campaigns illustrate the complex factors that influence whether a campaign is a success, including the background of the ENGO and the campaign leaders, the interests of the group as well as the true aims of the campaign.

The findings of the research complement previous work regarding the interaction between forestry companies and ENGOs, and opens up new areas for discussion and further study, including an issue that is only touched upon in this paper; the ethical dimension of environmental campaigns, and how companies respond. Specifically are ENGOs acting in an unethical manner if they fail to acknowledge progress by the target company, and failing to recognise the limits that companies are able to go regarding attaining the balance between the pursuit of profit and following the demands of the campaigns? Or is the ENGO admitting progress by the corporation something that will fundamentally weaken the campaigns and the ENGO itself? Examination of these questions as well as whether a confrontational or collaborative stance reflects in how a group defines a successful campaign, as well as how the targeted forestry company responds, would merit further research.

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