SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY ACTIVISM: WHY INDIVIDUALS ARE CHANGING THEIR LIFESTYLES TO CHANGE THE WORLD

Ву

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Social Responsibility Activism: Why Individuals Are Changing Their Lifestyles To Change The World

Thesis directed by Associate Professor Paul Wehr

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an investigation of a new form of collective action that I will refer to as *social responsibility activism*. With up to 50 million participants by some estimates, this type of activism has been able to fly below the radar of most social scientists and most of the mass media due to its unusual form. Individuals, acting on a set of progressive values, consciously choose to change everyday actions in the hopes of building a better world for themselves and others.

The roots of social responsibility activism reach into a number of contemporary social movements, notably environmentalism, simple living, socially responsible investing and business, and progressive and green politics. This type of activism avoids the confrontational approach of traditional political activism for a "no enemy" approach to social change that focuses on the impacts of everyday lifestyle choices. Social responsibility activism may point to a larger shift in the culture of activism from the political to the cultural, from the collective to the individual, from the confrontational idealism of the 60s to a strategic realism of the 90s.

Drawing largely on new social movements theory, this dissertation examines social responsibility activism through:

- Its history and evolution from various social movements
- Its lifestyle approach to social change
- The values of its core philosophy
- The actions its adherents take in their everyday lives
- The demographics of its adherents
- The organizations, literature and "influentials" guiding them

The dissertation concludes with a model for conceptualizing activism, perhaps better adapted for the investigation of current collective action than those social movement theory now provides.

This research utilizes a variety of research methods including preliminary field research, a content analysis of primary sources (social responsibility literature, organizational records, web sites), a mail survey of social responsibility activists and a number of interviews with "influentials" shaping this new kind of activism.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to every human being on the planet.

May it collect less dust than most.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GJM Global Justice Movement

BSR Business for Social Responsibility

CEP Council On Economic Priorities

CSR Corporate Social Responsibility

CC Cultural Creative

NSM New Social Movements

RM Resource Mobilization

SAI Social Accountability International

SIF Social Investment Forum

SMO Social Movement Organization

SR Social Responsibility

SRI Socially Responsible Investing

SRVO Social Responsibility Value Organization

TSM Traditional Social Movement

VSM Voluntary Simplicity Movement

I. INTRODUCTION

- In 1996, Kaagen Research Associates identified a segment of 50 million Americans as "socially responsible" in their purchasing and investing activities (Co-op America, 2000).
- In 2000, sociologist Paul Ray, using survey research over the past 13 years, classified 50 million Americans as "Cultural Creatives": people who "are seeking to reintegrate their values into their everyday lives and are ready to take action on a wide range of social, environmental and spiritual concerns" (Paul Ray, 2000).
- In 2001, one out of every eight dollars invested in mutual funds (over \$2 trillion) was invested in socially and environmentally screened funds. The amount managed in professional, socially responsible funds tripled from 1997-1999 (Social Investment Forum, 2001).

I always suspected that my dissertation would have something to do with how a group of people are trying, in their own way, to change the world for the better. As a sociologist, I come from something of a utilitarian perspective. I believe that the ultimate purpose of sociology is to understand the social world in order to use that knowledge to improve our collective lot on this planet. From this perspective, knowledge without subsequent application is merely a form of sophisticated intellectual entertainment.

I am also a product of a generation that came of age during the rise of the environmental movement. While much of the groundwork for the environmental movement had been laid by older movements in the 1960s, environmentalists reintroduced the importance of holistic thinking, mainstream accessibility, and practical action to the field of social change. In light of this sociological perspective, my interest in the following project should become clear.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, *environmental responsibility* became a buzzword that moved people to consider the environmental impacts of everything from how we do business and how we create government to how we make choices in our daily lives. This widespread environmental consciousness helped make possible such things as The Clean Air Act, The Body Shop, and recycling. Around the same time, another, lesser-known concept began to show up in more limited social movement circles.

Social responsibility, was first utilized as a term that, in many ways, complemented environmental responsibility. Social responsibility encompassed an awareness of the social impacts of any given general practice, and it was increasingly used to examine the impacts of business and investing in particular. Issues like human rights, poverty, and the advancement of women and minorities were all seen as significantly affected by the economic sector. The term quickly grew to encompass an even wider range of social sectors and issues, finally including environmental concerns, so that, in the end, both environmental and social responsibility were included under the heading of social responsibility.

Like its environmental cousin, social responsibility soon began to affect the consciousness of many individuals, albeit on a much smaller scale than environmentalism. Following the model of personal, environmentally responsible behaviors like recycling, a handful of organizations and authors began to generate everyday, alternative actions that were more socially responsible than their common counterparts. In this way the focus of this project, social responsibility activism was born.

Social responsibility (SR) activism is a phenomenon that involves millions of individuals, in relative isolation from one another, taking actions in their everyday lives to help bring about what they see as a more socially (and environmentally) responsible world. Operating on a common set of socially progressive values and actions, participants choose to engage in social change in a quieter, less confrontational way than typical activists, and, as a consequence, engender almost no attention from media.

At the core of SR activism lies the goal of creating a critical consciousness in individuals that helps them to understand the connection between seemingly mundane, everyday decisions and persisting global conditions. It is this focus on the everyday as a realm for social change, combined with actions that are directed at mobilizing individuals rather than groups, that makes this phenomenon of unique interest to social science.

These uncommon characteristics immediately raise a number of questions for sociologists. If individuals with no formal coordination are taking action in order to realize a collective impact, is this collective or individual behavior? If the people involved don't behave like activists and may not even consider themselves activists, do we still label this activism? Does this phenomenon constitute a kind of new social movement or is it different enough that we should create a new term for it?

I come to this research project with some built in tension between my role as an engaged participant and my role as an objective researcher. My 14 years of personal observation and action have, on the one hand, provided me with an expertise in the subject that gives me unique qualifications as a researcher. On the other hand, this same intimate familiarity with the material, complicates my

impartiality as a social scientist. While I have taken steps to counter personal biases, the tension between the role of observer and proponent should be duly noted at the outset.

I am utilizing the term, social responsibility activism, to describe this phenomenon as it has yet to be otherwise identified by social researchers. "Social responsibility" is the obvious choice as it is the term used by participants, authors and organizations to talk about what they are pursuing. "Activism" is added with the understanding that what I am studying may not be activism in the usual sense of the term. In fact, the difficulty in categorizing this phenomenon increases in that it shows some characteristics of an autonomous social movement. Somewhere in the area between activism, social movement and alternative lifestyle lies SR activism.

I employ a multi-method approach in my research, both as a way to cover the wide range of questions related to a phenomenon on which no empirical investigations have been previously done and as a way triangulate my findings by having most questions covered by more than one research method. In-depth interviews, a survey questionnaire and content analysis are each used in order to uncover the history, evolution, values, membership, strategies and tactics of SR activism. The study focuses on three major data sources: 1) a representative set of core and peripheral SR books and SR organization web sites, 2) the members of a single SR organization, and 3) several people in leadership roles that have influenced the evolution SR activism. Most of the questions have been converted into a series of preliminary hypotheses that are stated in the methods chapter and then revisited during data analysis.

While most of the theory used to ground this study comes from social movements literature, particular new social movements (NSM) research, postmodern theories are integrated as a way of explaining many of the eccentricities of SR activism. While the question of social movement status hangs over much of the study, it has been deliberately tabled until the end so that all of the data collected may be brought to bear upon the answer.

The aim of this study is by no means to produce a conclusive analysis of SR activism, rather it is intended to provide a foundation of empirical research upon which further research can build. It should prove valuable information to scholars investigating potential new social movements and other contemporary social change phenomena as well as postmodern theorists searching for empirical data on evolving expressions of postmodern social behavior. The results of the study will also be disseminated to the research participants in an effort to encourage general participation in research and provide a tool for participant self-reflection.

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the literature traditionally addresses the theoretical and empirical literature in which the study is grounded. In this case, however, the literature base is not an obvious choice. It could be argued, that there is in fact no literature in sociology that adequately explains this type of hybrid collective-individual behavior. The animal that is SR activism shows traits that indicate it may, in part, be a member of the social movement species, but it is different enough from the rest of the kind observed by sociologists, that we may be seeing a postmodern mutation of the species that deserves a new classification. Accordingly, this review revolves around two centers. First, there is an exploration of postmodernist theories that explain much of the context for the rise of SR activism as something different.

Second, I address new social movements (NSM) theory as the nearest social behavior classification sociology has to offer. The chapter ends with two NSM theorists, Touraine and Habermas, whose ideas offer partial explanations of the role SR activism plays in the present.

Postmodernism and New Social Movements

In reviewing the literature appropriate for studying SR activism, I was originally pulled toward postmodernist theory. It seemed to me that the emergence of SR activism had to be tied to the new societal structures described by theorists of postmodernism. Hyper-individualism (Bellah et al. 1985, Galtung 1990, Putnam 2001, Strathern 1992), information overload (Baudrillard 1995, Globerman 1999, Postman 1986, Shenk 1997, Weise 2000, Wersig 1998), the consumption of symbols

(Baudrillard 1995, Beck 1994, Edgell 1999, Frank 1997, Giddens 1990), a distrust of institutions (Rosenau 1992), a philosophy of subjectivism and customization (Lyotard 1984, Weinstein and Weinstein 1993), and the rejection of metanarratives (Lyotard, 1984) all appeared to encourage this new kind of activism. Ultimately, however, I decided that this relatively new theoretical base lacked the integration I was looking for in a foundation for a practical model to test the significance of this form of behavior. At most, postmodernism would provide a secondary literature to work from.

I then began investigating the theories of social movements. At first, reading the traditional resource mobilization (RM) literature, it seemed that my subject was quite different from 20th century social movements. In fact, I was not sure that this new kind of activism was a movement at all. Then I began to read new social movements (NSM) theorists who were defining a different breed of movement: less centralized, less organized, culturally focused, making use of both individual and collective forms of action. Many of these theorists have integrated pieces of postmodernism into their conception of what a "new social movement" looks like. While I could not yet classify SR activism as a true social movement, as the new social movements literature used both postmodern ideas and more individual forms of action, I concluded that this would be a more solid theoretical base than either the postmodern or resource mobilization paradigms.

Social Conditions in Advanced Capitalism

To identify and explain the social structures that have helped bring about SR activism, I use several postmodern social theories. While I am not a postmodernist, I do find that these theories describe and explain many social structural changes the

best. Modernism and postmodernism describe distinct stages in the evolution of societies (see Table 2.1). I see modernism and postmodernism not as dichotomous concepts that describe specific stages of societal development, but as states at opposite ends of a continuum. As with Weber's "ideal types" (1903-1917), no society fits perfectly into modern or postmodern but rather is found at a particular point between depending on how various social forces are developing and affecting the general population. As a context for SR activism, I will identify some of the recent social conditions in western societies that may have contributed to the rise of this new form of behavior.

TABLE 2.1 MODERN VS. POSTMODERN

MODERN	POSTMODERN
Dichotomous Thinking	Relativism
Logic, Science, Reason	Expression, Values, Culture
Objectivity	Subjectivity
Centralized Power	Decentralized Power
Manufacturing-based economy	Information-based economy
Material Interests	Post-material Interests
Empiricism, Rationalism	Idealism
One Truth	Many Truths / No Truth
Nation-States	Global Systems
Objective Reality	Socially Constructed Reality

Extreme Individualism

While the rights of the individual have long been a source of pride for western civilization, instrumental in such powerful inventions as democracy, social theorists have noted that an increase in personal freedom has resulted in a decline in the

individual's connection to a larger set of values, the community, and his/her role within it (Bellah 1985, Galtung 1990, Putnam 2001). The tension between individual and collective good has given way to the rights of the individual consistently trumping the collective good, the latter assumed to be taken care of by "the invisible hand" of advanced capitalism through pursuit of personal goals, what Bellah (1985) calls *utilitarian individualism*.

This postmodern rejection of all meta-narratives, of anything beyond one's personal frame of reference, leads people to pursue meaning through personal expression particularly by consuming the appropriate goods and services (Giddens 1990, Beck 1994). The responsibility of the individual is thus reduced to that of simply managing his/her own affairs (Strathern 1992). As Durkheim (1893) noted, however, this weakening of the collective consciousness tends to leave emptiness where there was once meaning, resulting in growing anomie.

SR activism appears to offer a way for people to generate life-meaning by reconnecting to collective consciousness through specific, ethically-minded actions. Because these actions are individual in nature they do not conflict as much with this sense of heightened individualism as would being a member (follower) of a social movement organization which would imply support for both its ideology and the action it takes. Additionally, SR activism works through a kind of personal customization of ethics and actions that fits nicely with the pursuit of meaning through personal expression encouraged in the larger, individually-oriented society.

Information Overload

As U.S. society has advanced technologically, our ability to disseminate and receive information has increased exponentially (Weise 2000). Television and the

Internet in particular bring us previously unimaginable amounts of information. Our selectivity, however, has not increased correspondingly nor has the quality of the information engulfing us kept pace with its volume. Thus, Americans find themselves awash in a sea of often incomplete, irrelevant, and unclear information about everything from the latest stock fluctuations to famine in remote parts of the globe, something Shenk (1997) calls "data smog": more information than we need or could ever use. In addition, as Wersig (1998) noted, while the overall amount of knowledge that society generates is exploding, the amount of it that any one person can master is rapidly shrinking as a fraction of the total accumulated.

A majority of Americans now get their information about what goes on in the world not from direct experience but from television news (Globerman 1999).

Because nightly news programs must compete with more entertaining options, they are often compelled to run the more sensational of the news stories available which are more often than not focused on violence, scandal, disaster and other generally negative events (Klite et al, 1998). These waves of negative imagery cannot be absorbed as is, so most viewers subconsciously suppress their reactions, something that increases their fear of others and numbs them emotionally to events occurring in the world (Postman 1986). Information that cannot be acted upon leads to a sense of personal powerlessness regarding these disturbing realities and a generalized fear and mistrust of others, leading to increasing isolation. Increasingly Americans seek refuge in the explosion of entertainment available to them through television (Postman 1986) until particular shows and characters may become more "real" for people than the information they receive about real world events – what Baudrillard (1994) calls *hyperreality*.

SR activism appears to permit re-engagement for people feeling powerless before the overwhelming social problems they are exposed to through the mass media news. Individual actions to produce change become sounding boards for the emotional strings that are plucked by compelling stories of the real world social problems. This "doing" instead of just "watching" is empowering in that it allows people to begin to organize some of the information they are confronted with into meaningful categories around which ethical stances and practical solutions can be created. In a sense, SR activism tries to provide some glimmer of hope in a world that is increasingly framed as hopeless.

Hyper-Consumption

With the rise of multinational corporations to positions of international prominence within economics, politics and culture, there has been a corresponding shift in the population away from being merely citizens and towards being citizen-consumers (Bennett 2001). Consumption has been adopted not as just a fulfillment of needs but is now a vital form of personal expression. This has moved far beyond Veblen's original concept of conspicuous consumption as a linear status symbol (Edgell 1999) into a form of consumption reflecting not just status, but values, personality, heritage, political orientation, a representation of the uniqueness of each individual (Frank 1997).

Along with other facets of postmodern life, SR activism has begun to move activism from the political to the economic and cultural realms. SR activism permits personal expression through consumption by harnessing the economic muscle of the citizen-consumer for specific political and economic ends. As a form of conscientious capitalism, SR activists shift their dollars away from purely profit driven corporations

to more socially responsible enterprises. Thus can people express their social values with their dollars while influencing corporate-business culture to shift its practice.

While the postmodern cultural context provides insight into the broad structural forces shaping SR activism, to gain more specific insight into its workings, it is important to ground this form of behavior within the theoretical framework of its closest relatives, social movements.

Introduction to Social Movement Theory

Social movement theory has developed within the larger field of collective behavior in sociology. It is arguably the most thoroughly tested of the recognized types of collective behavior: riots, fads, fashions, panics, crazes, rumors, and social movements.

Beginning in the 1940's, classical social movement theory saw participation in social movements as a characteristically deviant and irrational behavior. (Gurr 1970) Social movements were seen to emerge from a kind of structural strain that was not being addressed by the normal institutions of society. They were seen, more often than not, as an indicator of an unhealthy society.

Resource Mobilization Theory

By the early 1970s, largely in reaction to the narrowness of these early theories and emerging from the reevaluation of the 1960s taking place within the academic world, a new explanatory paradigm for social movements arose based on two assumptions. First, social movements were an inherently rational form of collective behavior by which participants met interests and grievances that were otherwise unaddressed by the host society (Diani and Eyerman 1992). Second, the

success of any given social movement is based on how well it can attract and exploit available sociopolitical resources including money, people, social networks, media, and government (Gamson 1990). This second assumption recognized that emerging "structures of political opportunity" (Eisinger, 1973) create the structural conditions which sustain social movements, but they alone do not determine the formation and success of movements which require a careful and deliberate mobilization of resources by a number of social movement organizations. Social movement organizations (SMOs), in this view, are the fundamental units of analysis (rather than the popular membership of the movement), and in fact, the most relevant component of any social movement (Dalton, 1994).

Resource mobilization has proven itself to be a very popular and powerful paradigm for U.S. social movements researchers (Buechler 1995). A number of influential American theorists arose in the field including William Gamson (1975), John McCarthy (1973), Doug McAdam (1982), Anthony Oberschall (1973), Charles Tilly (1978), and Mayer Zald (1970), each of whom soon became well-known for their research within this new resource mobilization (RM) paradigm. RM theory remains the most widely accepted social movement paradigm in the U.S.

New Social Movements Theory

While RM theory and its several variants remained popular in the U.S., a competing paradigm arose in the late 1980's from Europe. Originally a reaction Marxism's inability to explain social movements that were not based strictly on economic interest (e.g., the environmental movement as compared to the labor movement), this alternative paradigm attempted to explain why these new types of

movements arose. Scholars such as William Gamson (1988), Bert Klandermans (1988), Alberto Melucci (1982), and Claus Offe (1985), began to study the values that drive social movements, the collective identities of their members, and how their grievances and alternatives they proposed were being influenced by larger changes in the social structure.

New social movements theory (NSM) points out that many social movements in western, more postmodern societies display characteristics fundamentally different from those of earlier social movements, that include: a rejection of metanarratives, strategies that combine personal and collective actions, a set of post-materialist goals (Klandermans and Tarrow 1988), a cultural rather than political focus, and a decentralized form of organization (Tracy 1999). NSM theory is currently the most widely accepted social movement paradigm in Europe and has a growing number of adherents in the U.S.

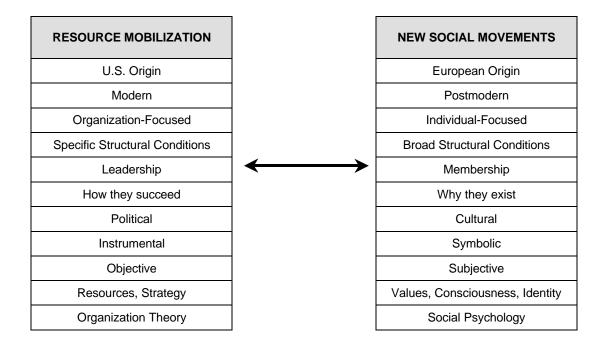
Resource Mobilization Theory vs. New Social Movements Theory

To fully understand NSM's unique approach, we must note how it differs from the more widely recognized RM theory. Many comparisons have been made of these two social movement paradigms as they vie for status, but most of them have been piecemeal efforts. I have, in Table 2.2, organized a number of these attributes for comparison based on the work of Cohen 1985; Zald and McCarthy 1987; Goldberg 1991; Johnston, Larana, and Gusfield 1994; Darnovsky et al. 1995; Hart 1996; Melucci 1997; and Della Porta and Diani 1999.

In sum, RM theorists are interested in SMOs, how they are organized, their leadership, factors that lead to their success and failure, the efficient and inefficient use of resources, objective measurements of movement characteristics, the

exploitation of specific structural opportunities, political strategies, and instrumental actions. In contrast, NSM theorists are interested in movement members, the socio-psychological factors that lead people to identify with and join a movement, the broad structural conditions that lead to emergence of a movement, the subjective viewpoints and ideologies of membership, and the symbolic aspects of actions taken.

TABLE 2.2 CONTENDING SOCIAL MOVEMENT PARADIGMS



Characteristics of New Social Movements

In recent years, a number of RM theorists have been broadening their definition of a social movement to accommodate some unique aspects of the "postmodern" social movements that are more recent subjects of interest.

Conversely, NSM theorists have differentiated between social movements previously studied and these newer movements displaying characteristics not adequately explained by RM theory. This "difference" is perhaps the most controversial aspect of

NSM theory, that there is something "new" about these movements that sets them apart from those "traditional social movements" (TSMs) studied in the past. NSM theorists have attempted to define the differences between "traditional" and "new" social movements (TSMs and NSMs). The attributes compared in Table 2.3 are drawn from the work of Buechler 1995; Cohen 1985; Gamson 1988, 1992; Garner 1996; Melucci 1994, 1995; Mertig 2001; Steinmetz 1994; and Sutton 2000.

TRADITIONAL **NEW** SOCIAL MOVEMENTS **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS** Political Focus Cultural Focus In Early Capitalist Societies In Advanced Capitalist Societies Pre-1960's Movements Post-1960's Movements Class-Based Participants Cross-Class Participants¹ Class-Based Issues Non-Class Or Cross-Class Issues Materialist Goals Postmaterialist Goals Accept "Rational" Metanarratives Reject "Rational" Metanarratives Conventional Forms of Activism Unconventional Forms of Activism Institutional Action Direct Action Collective Action Collective AND Individual Action

TABLE 2.3 TRADITIONAL VS. NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

NSM theorists argue that while TSMs tend to focus on political change (e.g., laws, government representatives, political institutions), NSMs focus more on cultural change (e.g., symbolic actions, counterculture, economic strategies)² Typically,

Individual Lifestyle

Decentralized Organization

¹ Some theorists assert that there is a specific class of people that these new social movements are drawing their membership from well-educated, middle-class, service sector workers, but recent findings have found no evidence for this.

Political Involvement

Centralized Organization

² The term "cultural" is not well-defined and as such has become something of a catch-phrase that includes most non-political elements in the society.

TSMs are seen as common in early capitalist, modern, industrial societies (e.g., pre-1960s in the U.S.) while NSMs develop more commonly in advanced capitalist. postmodern, information societies (e.g. post-1960's in the U.S.). While TSMs draw their participants particularly from oppressed economic classes rallying around issues that have a strong connection to "materialist" values such as raising their social class and a redistribution of wealth, NSMs draw their participants from every class responding to "postmaterialist" issues that have more to do with general collective goods than instrumental material interests. While TSMs tend to see right and wrong as something that is based in objective reality and thus accept one ideological paradigm over another, NSMs tend to emphasize the subjective reality of individuals, distrusting political paradigms claiming to explain everything, and as a result, build more individual autonomy into their movements. While TSMs tend to use more conventional forms of political participation and activism that are focused on influencing institutional action such as voting, protesting, and letter writing campaigns, NSMs tend to utilize more direct and unconventional forms of action that attempt to bypass many of the conventional institutional channels and focus more on lifestyle issues such as living by example, changing diet, and altering how they spend3. TSMs tend to emphasize collective actions, coordinated by centralized organizational structures while NSMs place more emphasis on individual actions often with little or no coordination from any organizing body. Without well-defined SMOs, NSMs often rely on informal, temporary networks to mobilize adherents.

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³ It's important to note that there are movements like the Greens which are exceptions in that they engage in both conventional, political actions and less conventional, lifestyle-focused actions.

From a synthesis of the various characteristics noted by NSM theorists (Table 2.2), I have defined a new social movement as:

A social movement begun post-1960's which focuses on changing cultural aspects of a society by empowering a broad range of people to implement postmaterialist values through a range of individual, lifestyle-based actions while allowing for differing personal perspectives.

This last part of the definition, "through a range of individual, lifestyle-based actions while allowing for differing personal perspectives", leads me to that section of my theory and literature review explaining how SR activism relates to our current knowledge of the different types of activism used in social movements.

Forms of Activism

While the social movements literature in sociology grows rapidly, very little of it concerned the types of member participation movements utilized. This concern is known as social movement *tactics*, or more specifically as *forms of protest* or *repertoires of collective action*.

Doug McAdam (1982) authored a key work on the subject while studying tactical innovation in the civil rights movement. McAdam asserts that the most basic function of social movement participants is to overcome their political impotence within the existing political structures through alternative channels of influence to create new leverage around their particular set of grievances. His research indicates that a movement's use of disruptive tactics in this process increases the likelihood of its achieving success, but to maintain itself, the movement must be able to either institutionalize tactical success (e.g., the signing of the Civil Rights Act, the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency) or consistently innovate tactically to remain

one step ahead of the opposition's "tactical adaptation". Furthermore, as the political establishment creates a united front of opposition, movement groups are more likely to lose their ability to invent new tactics.

McAdam also notes that "truly mass protest activity had to await the introduction of a protest tactic available to smaller groups of people" (McAdam, 1982). In the case of the civil rights movement, this arrived with the invention of the "sit-in". He points out that a key factor in the success of sit-ins in the 60s was the accessibility of the tactic to almost anyone in any geographic location.

More recently, Della Porta and Diani (1999) suggest that the "technology" of new forms of protest evolves slowly, relying for the most part on tried and true techniques recycled from one activist generation to the next. This reaffirms Tilly's discovery that:

Contenders experiment constantly with new forms in the search for tactical advantage, but do so in small ways, at the edge of well-established actions. Few innovations endure beyond a single cluster of events; they endure chiefly when associated with a substantial new advantage for one or more actors (Tilly, 1986).

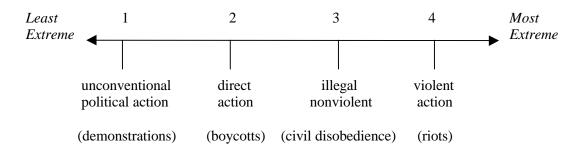
Della Porta and Diani (1999) also note that the "repertoire of collective action" utilized by a particular social movement is largely dependent on the cultural and material resources available to them in their specific historical, cultural, and social context.

The most studied of these social movement tactics are long-used forms of protest, such as:

Strikes Civil Disobedience
Sit-ins Litigation
Boycotts Petitions
Demonstrations Lobbying
Riots Negotiation

Although social movement researchers often refer to the tactics of particular movements, only a few have worked at a typology of protest forms. Russell Dalton (1988) suggests that social movement tactics form a continuum based on the degree to which they challenge "business as usual" (Figure 2.1):

FIGURE 2.1 DALTON'S CONTINUUM OF ACTION



While Dalton's action continuum (Figure 2.1) focuses primarily on political action, Della Porta and Diani (1999) observe that most movements have combined the goals of changing external political realities and transforming value systems. This is taken even further by Dalton (1994), who argues that environmental groups, specifically, are more likely to encourage actions aimed at value expression than political mobilization. Melucci (1984) and Della Porta (1996) have noted that social movement tactics tend to shift back and forth between overt political forms of action and countercultural activity depending on their successes and the political opportunity structures in place.

Movement actions often must fulfill two, often conflicting, objectives simultaneously: threatening elites and winning over the public (Della Porta and Diani, 1999). Often the success of a particular form of protest is measured by the amount of media coverage achieved (Gitlin, 1980). Barnes, et al (1979) note that less

disruptive, institutionalized forms of protest are more likely to find public approval, than are either nonviolent direct actions or violent actions. This can lead to a situation where public approval for the goals of a movement is much higher than support for the tactics used to achieve them, as in the case of the peace movement in Great Britain (Rochon, 1988).

This need for approval reaches beyond the perception among the general public as movements also keep an eye on each other as potential partners for a number of cross-movement issues. In fact, the greater the possibility for social movement alliances, the more movements will pay attention to the preferences of potential supporters (Lipsky, 1965).

Touraine and Habermas

Two NSM theorists, Alain Touraine and Jurgen Habermas, stand out as providing particularly relevant theories integrating postmodernism and social movement theory that may better explain the emergence of SR activism. Touraine argues that postindustrial society is increasingly a product of reflective social action, or self-management (1977). Social actors begin to create both the knowledge and the tools to allow them to produce and reproduce society according to their own ideologies and interests, to take an active role in creating their own history – what Touraine calls "historicity". It is the struggle to control this function that pits the popular class, consumers/clients, against the dominant class, managers/technocrats. This struggle takes place in the realm of culture and the popular class creates NSMs as vectors from which they can engage in it (Touraine 1981, 1985).

Touraine also suggests that no single social movement represents a future

social order, rather NSMs begin to form a united front simply because they are in opposition to the present social order (1988). He also notes a shift from materialistic to cultural, public to private struggles that result in a kind of individualism that may hinder collective action (Touraine 1985). Another difficulty is that NSMs are caught in a system that seeks to maximize growth in the form of production, money, power and information while their members wish to defend and expand their individuality (Touraine 1992).

SR activism provides a set of individual actions that enable adherents to take responsibility for the local and global impacts of their everyday lives and tailor them in a way that helps shape the world in accordance with their own social values. In effect, allowing them to reproduce society according to their own ideologies and interests by focusing on their individual contribution to the realm of culture. SR activism also provides a "multiple front" approach to social change rather than relying on a single social movement issue or camp to succeed and resolve the postmaterialist social issues important to citizens-consumers.

Jurgen Habermas (1984-1987) focuses on a similar societal dichotomy that distinguishes between money, power, and instrumental rationality on the one hand ("system") and normative, communicative, meaningful discourse on the other ("lifeworld"). As the system colonizes the lifeworld, more and more power is transferred away from individuals and their values and into the hands of institutions and experts whose decisions are guided by money and power, completely detached from the responsibility and accountability of the lifeworld. Habermas places NSMs "at the seams between system and lifeworld" (1981) where they focus on issues of quality of life, cultural reproduction, and a critique of the general growth paradigm.

While he places hope in NSMs as a force that will bring about broad social transformation and possibly a legitimation crisis for advanced capitalism, Habermas has produced little in the way of evidence to back these claims.

How do NSM's reconcile this struggle for individualism and increased personal control over history with their need to represent some kind of coherent opposition to the capitalist paradigm of economic growth? SR activism suggests a possible solution in its lifestyle-focused, customizable, individual actions that work within mainstream culture and economics to promote a wide spectrum of postmaterialist NSM values. As SR activism focuses on changing some of the basic economic structures that drive capitalism (e.g. corporate social responsibility), it may also indicate the beginnings of a counter-colonization of parts of the system by the lifeworld.

Theoretical Questions

While current social movements literature provides a substantial theoretical base to work from, there remain missing pieces to be created. With this study of SR activism I hope to shed light on some of these questions. There are four in particular that I will attempt to answer:

New Forms of Activism

Social movement research discusses forms of activism limited mainly to actions that are political, direct, collective, confrontational, and time and result specific. I would like to expand this discussion of tactics to include the forms we see being utilized increasingly in contemporary movements, including:

Individual-Based Actions - Biking to Work

Non-Confrontational Actions - Investing in SR Mutual Funds

Cultural / Value Expressive Actions - Eating Less Meat

Long-Term Behavior Based Actions - Recycling

Such forms are used extensively in SR activism and in environmentalism, animal rights protection, and the voluntary simplicity movement. Once these forms of actions are recognized and added into the possibilities of what makes up a repertoire of collective action, we can then utilize this expanded repertoire to better understand the extent to which movements, past and present, have used these tactics.

New Social Movement Criteria

The current criteria determining social movement status remain unclear. This is especially the case since NSM theory has expanded the playing field. Exactly what new social movements are and how they function differently from traditional social movements has yet to be fully explained. I would like to begin creating specific criteria that can be used by researchers to clearly distinguish what is and is not a social movement based on my study of SR activism. This should allow others to more easily identify potential NSMs.

New Social Movements Unifier

Several NSM theorists (Mertig and Dunlap 1995, Scott 1990, Sutton 2000) have observed that the values of NSMs, when combined, comprise a coherent ideological paradigm. They propose that the adoption of this new paradigm by mainstream America is the long-term goal of each of the separate movements. These same theorists have speculated that a single movement could emerge as a unifier of the others, bringing them together as a powerful force to begin this major paradigm shift.

While most of the speculators have suggested the environmental and green movements as the unifier-to-be, I will examine SR activism as third possibility.

Tensions Within and Between Movement Strategies

This research will also shed more light on a number of tensions that have arisen within the strategies social movements use to accomplish social change. Is it better if a label is accepted by only the few and dedicated (e.g., vegetarian), or is it better if the majority of the population adopts that label, however watered down it may become (e.g., environmentalist)? Should people be required to coordinate their actions with large groups to magnify their potential impacts, or should movements be focusing their energies on translating their actions so that they can be taken on a more accessible, individual basis? What are the costs and benefits of switching from a strategy dedicated to changing political structures to one geared toward social change at a cultural level? Are the energies of movement organizers better spent in focusing on specific social change issues, or should they be trying to put forward a more comprehensive platform that recognizes the interconnected nature of their issues. We can summarize these tensions with the following list:

Narrow vs. broad collective identities - vegetarian vs. environmentalist

Individual vs. collective action - SR shopping vs. sit-ins

Political vs. <u>cultural</u> movements - global justice vs. voluntary simplicity

<u>Holistic</u> vs. specific focus - Greens vs. animal rights

In each of the cases above, the ends of the continua that SR activism represents have been underlined (broad collective identity, individual action, culturally oriented, and holistically focused).

III. METHODOLOGY

Because SR activism has never been the subject of academic investigation, it was not readily apparent which research method would yield the richest potential data. In the end, I concluded that a multi-method approach would permit the most useful analysis. I use three methods in this research: content analysis, a questionnaire survey and key informant interviewing, all applied after years of anecdotal field observation. That preliminary research had permitted me to observe emerging activism patterns and collect much SR literature. It laid the groundwork for a rigorous investigation of SR activism and its place in social activism generally. The content analysis was chosen both because of my access to much SR literature and to counter-balance my more subjective participation in the activism itself. The mail survey provided access to the attitudes, motivations, behaviors and demographics of people participating in SR activism. The interviews with SR "influentials" helped answer questions not addressed by the other two methods such as how SR activism evolved historically.

The multi-method approach was utilized for two reasons. First, no single method provided the breadth and depth of information I needed to answer the numerous questions posed by my earlier field observations. Each method was particularly useful for certain types of questions (Table 3.1) about SR activism.

TABLE 3.1 METHODS AND QUESTION TYPES

METHOD	QUESTION TYPES	
Key Informant Interviews	Origins, History, and Evolution	
Content Analysis	Values, Goals, Strategies, Actions, Leadership	
Survey Questionnaire	Membership Characteristics, Behaviors and Motivations	

Second, since SR activism has not been studied previously, it is important that emerging data be cross-checked with other data sources to assure its validity. Using three different methods allowed me to triangulate most of the data collected with more than one source, thus increasing its potential accuracy. Table 3.2 links each subject with specific questions and methods chosen to best elicit data sought for that subject. Similar subject areas are grouped and shaded to indicate the primary method of data collection used, something also indicated by underlining the method. The two subject areas not shaded involve questions with "no best method" there, all three methods were relied upon equally.

TABLE 3.2 A MULTI-METHOD APPROACH

HISTORY	Where did SR activism come from? What role have social movements played in its history? How does SR activism compare with similar new social movements?	Interviews: SR activism influentials Content analysis: literature & organizations
VALUES	What are the core issues of concern for SR activism? How common are they across literature & organizations? How do these values relate to social movements?	Content analysis: literature & organizations Survey: SR activists
GOALS	What are the goals of the SR activism?	Content analysis: literature & organizations Interviews: SR activism influentials
STRATEGIES	What kind of strategies does SR activism use to achieve its goals? How does it compare to the strategies of other social movements? How does SR activism try to appeal to people to get involved?	Content analysis: literature & organizations Interviews: SR activism influentials
LEADERSHIP	Who is organizing this kind of activism? What role do SR organizations play in SR activism? How do SR organizations relate to each other?	Content analysis: literature & organizations Interviews: SR activism influentials
ACTIONS	What are the actions that SR activists are encouraged to take?	Content analysis: literature & organizations
SIZE	How many SR activists are there? How do we define who is and is not an SR activist?	Survey: SR activists Content analysis: literature & organizations
DEMOGRAPHICS	Who are the people involved in this kind of activism? How do they differ from the population and from other new social movements? Is this a white, upper-middle class, bourgeois form of activism?	<u>Survev: SR activists</u> Interviews: SR activism influentials
CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL	Do SR activists favor cultural activism while avoiding political activism?	Survey: SR activists Interviews: SR activism influentials
TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS?	To what degree do SR activists support ALL of the core values of SR activism? Which values are the most important?	Survey: SR activists
ARE THEY TAKING ACTIONS?	To what degree are SR activists taking SR actions? Which life-areas are they most likely to take action in?	Survey: SR activists
RESOURCES	What sources of information are encouraging SR activists to take their actions?	Survey: SR activists
MOTIVATIONS	What is motivating people to become SR activists?	Survey: SR activists
SELF-IDENTIFICATION	Do SR activists acknowledge being part of a larger SR movement?	Survey: SR activists
LABELS	Do SR identify with traditional progressive labels? Which ones? Do SR activists try to avoid labels?	Survey: SR activists
NSM UNIFIER?	Is SR activism a candidate for a unifier of new social movements?	Content analysis: literature & organizations Interviews: SR activism influentials Survey: SR activists
SOCIAL MOVEMENT STATUS?	Is SR activism a social movement?	Content analysis: literature & organizations Interviews: SR activism influentials Survey: SR activists

Prior Field Research

During my prior field research, my role resembled what Adler and Adler (1987) call an "opportunistic member-researcher". With the longitudinal participant observation that role entailed, I brought to this project a familiarity of SR activism and cultivated a sense of its historical development. Thus I avoided the early pitfalls

associated with "complete member-researchers" who are previously uninvolved in the subject, its practices and the worldviews of its members (Adler and Adler 1987). I should note, however, that my participatory research of SR activism is atypical: I have recently published a resource book for SR activists and have thus had at least a small influence on its development, and because of the individual nature of SR activism there have been no group meetings, protests, or other activist events for me to attend. So, I have been both more and less actively engaged with the subject of my research than most participatory field researchers. A better term for the approach I utilized in that first phase has been created by Crabtree and Miller (1992). Their "immersion/crystallization approach" involves the immersion of the investigator in the research material over an extended period of time, whose findings come then from a combination of analytical reflection and intuitive crystallization of meaning. I now summarize this initial stage of my study.

I began my preliminary observations and investigation, in 1988, as an undergraduate studying international relations at the University of Southern California, an interest emerging from my experiences living and studying abroad. I was intrigued when, in a local bookstore, I happened upon a small paperback book that seemed to be applying a global perspective to something as mundane as going to the supermarket. The book was titled *Shopping For A Better World: A Quick And Easy Guide To Socially Responsible Supermarket Shopping*.

Environmentalism was already a prominent movement, but here was a book that saw environmental protection as just one of ten important value categories to base one's personal life on. Familiar with books like 50 Simple Things You Can Do To Save The Earth and the popularity of recycling, I had long suspected that one of

the major appeals of the environmental movement was its ability to translate often seemingly impractical philosophies into simple, concrete actions that anyone could take. You did not have to be an expert on environmental problems to throw a can in a bag or screw in an energy-saving light bulb. The environment was also a truly global issue, one that affected every living thing on the planet. In my eyes, *Shopping For A Better World* was adopting those same simplification ideas and taking them one step further. Surely there were more problems in the world than just environmental ones — human rights, poverty, discrimination, urban decay, and so on. What was needed was a way to present all of them as vulnerable to the same simple, concrete, remedial actions that the environmental movement had provided. Shopping was a great start. Everybody shops. But was that it?

My next encounter with SR activism came in 1990, when I came upon a second book with the same philosophy and approach as *Shopping For A Better World*. This one was titled *How To Make The World A Better Place: A Guide To Doing Good*, and it differed from *Shopping* in that its scope went far beyond shopping. Banking, investing, traveling, eating, the remedial actions one could take around the same set of issues had been expanded into many of an average person's life areas. I began to wonder if these books were a part of something larger – same issues, same approach. Perhaps there was a movement taking shape that was applying the experience of the environmental movement in a way that would resonate with the public as recycling did. Or perhaps social movements were adopting pieces of this new approach, and there were people more interested in the actions than the social movements themselves. I began collecting books, magazines, articles, newsletters, web sites and anything else I could find suggesting that there

was something beyond a couple of books developing. My collecting netted boxes of material.

My graduate training as a sociologist has now provided me with an intellectual framework for a serious study of SR activism. I had collected much material which I and several colleagues have been analyzing for several years. Our work produced *The Better World Handbook: From Good Intentions to Everyday Actions* (Jones, Haenfler, and Johnson 2001). Writing the book allowed me to explore SR literature and organizations more thoroughly. I began to see the patterns of SR values and actions emerge from the resources and, with the book completed, I was more interested, and better prepared, to investigate the sociological character and social significance of this new form of activism.

As SR activism is highly individual in nature, there are no study circles, member group meetings, or organized events to attend. People take SR actions on their own guided by a set of literature, organizations and influentials that provide them with the tools. So my participant observation, although deep, differs from a fully active member of the animal rights movement or the Libertarian Party.

In sum, my field research for this study includes 14 years of preliminary observations, participation and data collection. In that time, I have personally taken many SR actions, been a member of several SR organizations, collected 5 standard-size moving boxes and over 200 megabytes of informational material on SR activism, and compiled an extensive collection of SR books, magazines, newsletters and flyers. In analyzing this material, I have looked for emerging patterns, themes and typologies that I have then refined and organized for the present analysis.

Document Analysis

Given its relatively recent emergence, much of the evidence of SR activism's existence is to be found in literature published over the past 15 to 20 years. For the most part, these authors have been more concerned with facilitating actions than political and theoretical discussion. Written evidence also includes documents produced by a small number of SR organizations appearing as early as 1969. There are no master membership lists for organizations encouraging SR activism per se, although such organizations do keep lists of their members.

The first stage of the present project consisted of analyzing the content of print resources (i.e. document analysis) that focused specifically on SR activism. I looked at both witting and unwitting evidence (that is, information that the author(s) intended to convey and information that can be gleaned due to language, omission, and style) in these documents to answer the bulk of my research questions (see Analysis section below). I used this technique for three reasons: 1) This is a relatively new phenomenon and thus provides good document sources, 2) The research will be easily replicable for others who want to re-test my hypotheses, 3) It can answer a wide range of fundamental questions about a potential new form of activism that cannot be answered as efficiently through other techniques.

I analyzed two types of social artifacts: SR books and SR organization internet sites. I used non-probability sampling to select texts that would be most useful to analyze with the sampling method fitting particular questions and data sources. For example, with the question, "What is the literature of SR activism?" I constructed an original sampling frame using detailed searches of titles at two major, online booksellers, amazon.com and barnesandnoble.com, for the eight phrases that

emerged from the analysis of the data collected in my preliminary field research: socially responsible, social responsibility, better world, world a better place, make a difference, making a difference, you can do and you can take. Utilizing a snowball sampling method, one work referring to another, starting with the basic criteria that the literature included should focus on individual, lifestyle actions for social change. I then added the secondary criteria of an orientation towards a broad set of values that mirror those of NSMs and a broad range of areas within one's life in which the actions can be taken (For the resulting core and peripheral bodies of literature see Appendices A, B, C and D). I then focused my analysis on the four texts that met all the above criteria so that I was able to answer more difficult questions like, "According to the literature, what are the core issues with which SR activism is concerned?"

I employed a similar sampling process to select SR organizations by utilizing two major internet search engines, Google and Metacrawler. In this case, only two resulting organizations were able to meet all three criteria (core organizations) and two organizations were able to pass two of the three criteria (peripheral organizations). Table 3.3 provides a list of the data sources I analyzed in my research (see also Appendix A):

TABLE 3.3 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS DATA SOURCES

Core Organizations	Co-op America Working Assets	(www.coopamerica.org) (www.workingassets.com)
Peripheral Organizations	Social Investment Forum Business for Social Responsibility	(www.socialinvest.org) (www.bsr.org)
Hollender, Jeffrey. 1989, 1995. How To Make The Place: 116 Ways You Can Make Difference. New Y & Co. Council on Economic Priorities. 1988, 1990, 1994, 2 for a Better World: The Quick and Easy Guide to Al Responsible Shopping. New York: CEP Books. Jones, Ellis, Ross Haenfler and Brett Johnson. 200 World Handbook: From Good Intentions to Everyda Gabriola Island, B.C.: New Society Publishers. Zimmerman, Richard. 1991. What Can I Do To Make Positive Action Sourcebook. New York: Penguin Books.		1990, 1994, 2000. Shopping y Guide to All Your Socially Books. ohnson. 2001. The Better is to Everyday Actions.

The content material has been analyzed according to Glaser and Strauss' (1967) grounded theory approach whereby emergent themes are constantly compared to the textual data until a saturation point is reached. Almost all of my coding for the content analysis is based on manifest (actual) rather than latent (implied) content, resulting in data organized into nominal categories which are based on the question being answered but generated from the content itself (e.g., gay rights emerging as a core issue of concern from a survey of the literature). I focused in particular on the following 11 questions in my document analysis:

- 1. What are the core issues of concern for SR activism?
- 2. How common are they across literature and organizations?
- 3. How do these values relate to social movements?

- 4. What are the goals of the SR activism?
- 5. What kind of strategies does SR activism use to achieve its goals?
- 6. How does it compare to the strategies of other social movements?
- 7. How does SR activism try to appeal to people to get involved?
- 8. Who is organizing this kind of activism?
- 9. What role do SR organizations play in SR activism?
- 10. How do SR organizations relate to each other?
- 11. What are the actions that SR activists are encouraged to take?

Survey Research

I constructed a self-administered mail questionnaire to send to people involved in social responsibility activism (see Appendix E). Although my earlier research had led me to believe that much of this activism is engaged in by those who are not formal members of an SR organization, I met a difficulty that has long plagued social movement researchers – how do you study movement participants whom you can not find? This has led to the disturbing trend of researchers studying social movements by exclusively studying SMOs, and their members. Doug McAdam (1986) noted that this practice may very well miss many who are active in the movement but belong to no particular organization.

Utlimately, however, I ruled out the more inclusive, but more unwieldy, sampling frames due to concerns about the time and resources required to collect relevant data and maintain reasonable levels of reliability and validity. To represent a segment of this SR population, I chose to survey members of a core SR organization in my document analysis, Co-op America. While Working Assets has an extensive membership also likely to be engaged in SR activism, I selected Co-op America for its smaller size, so that a smaller sample size would be less subject to sampling

error, and because it, unlike Working Assets, was able to supply demographic data on its members which could also be used to assess the quality of my sample.

Considering that Co-op America membership currently stands at 50,000, and knowing nothing about its homogeneity, I calculated the following sampling sizes would result in their corresponding confidence levels and confidence intervals (assuming maximum standard error):

Sample size	Confidence Level	Confidence Interval
68	90%	± 10%
96	95%	± 10%
166	99%	± 10%

While a confidence interval of \pm 5% or less would be preferable, such precision was not attainable without sample sizes of 200+. The time and resources necessary for the survey to achieve this smaller confidence interval seemed impractical because the study utilized two methods in addition to this one.

Co-op America agreed to send me a simple random sample of 200 of their members, all 200 of whom were included in the survey. To maximize my response rate, I followed Dillman's Total Design Method (1978) and current research on mail survey techniques (Armstrong 1987; Berdie 1986; Church 1993; Dillman 1978, 1991; Dillman et al. 1993; Schlegelmilch and Diamantopoulos 1991; Yammarino et al. 1991) and thus:

- Limited the questionnaire to 2 pages front and back. (Appendix E)
- Created a visually appealing format.
- Pre-tested my survey on a number of colleagues who matched my population.
- Timed the completion of the questionnaire at 15 minutes.

- Addressed each participant by name and personally signed every letter.
 (Appendix F)
- Included a summary of the importance of the survey in my cover letter.
 (Appendix F)
- Provided participants with a web site on which they can view the results.
 (http://socsci.colorado.edu/~jonesem/sr)

To further enhance the rate of return, I conducted the mailing as follows:

- 1. Sent a notification letter informing respondents of their selection for participation in the study. (original mailing)
- 2. Sent a cover letter, the questionnaire, a self-addressed stamped envelope. (3 days later)
- 3. Sent a follow-up letter reminding the participant to respond to and return the questionnaire as soon as possible. (14 days later)¹

Of the 200 surveys mailed, I received 98 completed and 7 returned as undeliverable to the addressee, achieving a response rate of 51%, which is considered "adequate" (Babbie, 1989) using current techniques. It must be noted, however, that the population I surveyed was both highly educated and was assumed to have an inherent interest in the subject.

¹ The follow-up letter did not include another copy of the questionnaire because of time and cost constraints.

TABLE 3.4 DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE STUDY SAMPLE AND POPULATION

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTOR	STUDY SAMPLE N=98	POPULATION
SEX		
Male	24%	25%
Female	76%	75%
AGE		
Mean Age	46	45
RACE		
Asian	3%	1%
Bi/Multi-Racial	4%	-
Black/African Am.	1%	1%
Hispanic/Latino	1%	4%
Native American	0%	1%
White/Caucasian	88%	88%
HOUSEHOLD INCOME		
Median Income Range	\$42,000 - \$66,999	\$40,000 - \$69,000
EDUCATION		
Some High School	0%	-
High School Graduate	2%	4%
Some College	14%	-
College Graduate	26%	-
Some Graduate Education	15%	-
College Plus	(55%)	52%
Advanced Degree	44%	44%

Another indicator of the character of my sample is a comparison of my sample demographics with those generally representative of Coop-America members (Table 3.4).² The results are generalizable to the larger population of Coop America members but should be taken only as possible indicators of SR activists outside of this organization. Studies of other SR activists will be needed to confirm or deny these particular findings.

² Implications of the demographic numbers will be discussed in the Chapter VII.

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I was particularly interested in answering the following 15 questions in my survey:

- 1. How many SR activists are there?
- 2. How do we define who is and is not an SR activist?
- 3. Who are the people involved in this kind of activism?
- 4. How do they differ from the population and from other new social movements?
- 5. Is this a white, upper-middle class, bourgeois form of activism?
- 6. Do SR activists favor cultural activism while avoiding political activism?
- 7. To what degree do SR activists support *all* of the core values of SR activism?
- 8. Which values are the most important?
- 9. To what degree are SR activists taking SR actions?
- 10. Which life-areas are they most likely to take action in?
- 11. What sources of information are encouraging SR activists to take their actions?
- 12. What is motivating people to become SR activists?
- 13. Do SR activists acknowledge being part of a larger SR movement?
- 14. Do SR identify with traditional progressive labels? Which ones?
- 15. Do SR activists try to avoid labels?

All of the response data from the completed questionnaires received were entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Most responses were coded into ordinal and interval data categories while written responses to open-ended questions were recorded directly. The following is a summary of how the survey data was analyzed by section:

Issue Importance: mean, median, mode, standard deviation for each issue,

frequency analysis of written responses

Frequency of Action: mean, median, mode, standard deviation for each action

as well as for each life-area of action

Information Sources: percentage of use for each source type, pattern analysis of

written responses of specific sources

Motivation: mean, median, mode, standard deviation for each type of

motivation and each group of similar motivations

Year Began Acting: mean, median, mode, standard deviation

Is This a Movement?: frequency of positive responses

Self Description: mean, median, mode, standard deviation for each label

Demographics: male/female percentage

frequency distribution of race, income, education, age

To preserve the anonymity of the participants, all questionnaires and envelopes were shredded after the data had been entered into the computer.

Interviews With Key Informants

For the third part of my research, I conducted five telephone interviews with identified SR "influentials". The interviewees were a purposive sample of the most prominent figures in SR activism and included founders, authors, and organizational heads. I avoid the term "leaders" because the individualistic nature of SR activism does not lend itself to being led in the common sense of the word.

As an author of a resource book for SR activism (Jones, Haenfler, Johnson 2001), I had an entrée as an insider with some of these influentials. In addition, I had had indirect contact with a few of them through requests for copyright permissions and short reviews in the publishing of our book.

Each of the 30 minute to two hour, semi-structured, open-response interviews (Fontana and Frey 1994, King 1994) was conducted in a conversation-type format touching each of the questions in the schedule (Appendix H). This approach permitted me to stray off-topic whenever information arose that was relevant to my interest areas. I thought this was the most appropriate interviewing method considering that:

- 1. I needed a descriptive account of SR activism without formal hypothesis testing.
- 2. There was uncertainty about what and how much information participants could provide.
- 3. The nature and range of participant opinions was not known or easily quantifiable. (King 1994)

All interviews were taped with a telephone recording device (with the permission of each interviewee) and transcribed into Microsoft Word.

Table 3.5 includes a list of the key informants interviewed (see also Appendix G):

TABLE 3.5 LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS FOR INTERVIEWS

1. Alisa Gravitz	Executive Director, Coop-America
2. Jeffrey Hollender	Author, How to Make the World a Better Place President, Seventh Generation
3. Laura Scher	CEO and Co-Founder, Working Assets
4. Paul Ray	Author, The Cultural Creatives
5. Alice Tepper Marlin	Founder, Council on Economic Priorities Founder, Social Accountability International Author, <i>Shopping for a Better World</i>

Transcriptions were analyzed for common themes and patterns using a process of "editing" (Miller and Crabtree 1992). These are illustrated in the data chapters (IV through VIII) with direct quotations to illustrate the theme being discussed. The interview data were then integrated with document analysis and survey data to provide both with context and corroborating and contradictory evidence. The interviews supplied very current information on SR activism, where it came from and where it's headed as well as addressing areas not dealt with in the documents or survey data. My analysis was guided in particular by the following seven questions:

- 1. What are the origins of SR activism?
- 2. When did the SR activism begin?
- 3. How has SR activism evolved?
- 4. What are the structural factors that have facilitated its rise?
- 5. What role have social movements played in its history?
- 6. How does SR activism compare with other new social movements?
- 7. Is SR activism currently thriving or waning?

Methodological Checks

Some of the strengths I brought to this project suggested potential difficulties to be considered in the research design. As a member-researcher, I likely brought a high degree of subjectivity to the work. While this role allowed me access to a more detailed analysis of SR activism, it is also likely to muddy my understanding of SR activism as having mirrored my personal involvement as well as influence me to be less critical of SR activism as a whole. To counteract this tendency, I had

emphasized in the preliminary research a manifest content analysis of SR documents which is less exposed to my biases and is easily replicable, thus increasing method reliability. The participant survey provided me with direct access to SR activists whose responses might contradict my understanding of the phenomenon based on the field research and content analysis. My interviews with SR "influentials" to corroborate or challenge my own perception further checked my conclusions. Finally, I conclude the study with a short critique questioning SR activism as a legitimate form of "new social movement" activism to counter balance my biases.

Hypotheses

From my own background in SR activism and early field research, I constructed 25 preliminary hypotheses to help gauge the implications of my subsequent data analysis. Table 3.6 shows each hypothesis grouped under its general subject area and shaded (as with Table 3.2) according to the primary method of analysis used to test it. Each of the hypotheses is revisited in the subsequent chapters in light of the data uncovered with the corresponding primary and secondary methods utilized.

TABLE 3.6 PRELIMINARY HYPOTHESES

ORIGIN AND	1)	The origin of SR activism will take place around the late 80's and 90's when
EVOLUTION	٥)	most SR literature begins to appear.
	2)	SR activism will be currently thriving.
	3)	SR activism will have strong ties to the environmental and economically
HISTORY		focused SR movements.
1	4)	SR activism will overlap with other related NSMs but still maintain a distinct
		niche not filled by any other.
	5)	There will be a broad set of core values common to all SR organizations
VALUES		and literature.
VALUES	6)	SR core values will correlate well with the values of NSMs with the
		environment being particularly important.
GOALS	7)	The goals of SR activism will involve moving the world towards reflecting
COALO		their core values at every level.
	8)	The strategies of SR activism will be long-term, individual actions, lifestyle
STRATEGIES		centered, and reformist.
OTRATEGIES	9)	The appeal of SR activism will lie in its apolitical, no enemy, non-activist,
		mainstream orientation.
	10)	SR organizations will be playing a very low-level role involving resources
LEADERSHIP		rather than coordinated action.
EEADERGIIII	11)	There will be evidence of recent cooperative efforts between SR
		organizations.
ACTIONS	12)	SR actions will provide options in a wide variety of areas in an individual's
Aonono		life.
SIZE		There will be approximately 1 million SR activists.
		SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a
SIZE DEMOGRAPHICS	14)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population.
DEMOGRAPHICS	14)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS.	14) 15)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies.
DEMOGRAPHICS	14) 15) 16)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus.
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL	14) 15) 16)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important.
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC	14) 15) 16)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS?	14) 15) 16) 17) 18)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development.
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS? ARE THEY TAKING	14) 15) 16) 17) 18)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development. SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS?	14) 15) 16) 17) 18)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development. SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their lives.
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS? ARE THEY TAKING ACTIONS?	14) 15) 16) 17) 18)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development. SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their lives. SR activists will name books as their preferred resource for motivating their
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS? ARE THEY TAKING	14) 15) 16) 17) 18) 19) 20)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development. SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their lives. SR activists will name books as their preferred resource for motivating their actions.
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS? ARE THEY TAKING ACTIONS? RESOURCES	14) 15) 16) 17) 18) 19) 20)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development. SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their lives. SR activists will name books as their preferred resource for motivating their actions. People will be drawn to SR activism mainly because of their difficulty with
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS? ARE THEY TAKING ACTIONS?	14) 15) 16) 17) 18) 19) 20) 21)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development. SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their lives. SR activists will name books as their preferred resource for motivating their actions. People will be drawn to SR activism mainly because of their difficulty with conventional forms of activism.
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS? ARE THEY TAKING ACTIONS? RESOURCES MOTIVATIONS	14) 15) 16) 17) 18) 19) 20)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development. SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their lives. SR activists will name books as their preferred resource for motivating their actions. People will be drawn to SR activism mainly because of their difficulty with conventional forms of activism. Most SR activists will probably not think of themselves as part of a larger SR
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS? ARE THEY TAKING ACTIONS? RESOURCES MOTIVATIONS SELF-IDENTIFICATION	14) 15) 16) 17) 18) 19) 20) 21)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development. SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their lives. SR activists will name books as their preferred resource for motivating their actions. People will be drawn to SR activism mainly because of their difficulty with conventional forms of activism. Most SR activists will probably not think of themselves as part of a larger SR movement because they lack a label for the movement.
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS? ARE THEY TAKING ACTIONS? RESOURCES MOTIVATIONS	14) 15) 16) 17) 18) 19) 20) 21)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development. SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their lives. SR activists will name books as their preferred resource for motivating their actions. People will be drawn to SR activism mainly because of their difficulty with conventional forms of activism. Most SR activists will probably not think of themselves as part of a larger SR
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS? ARE THEY TAKING ACTIONS? RESOURCES MOTIVATIONS SELF-IDENTIFICATION	14) 15) 16) 17) 18) 19) 20) 21) 22)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development. SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their lives. SR activists will name books as their preferred resource for motivating their actions. People will be drawn to SR activism mainly because of their difficulty with conventional forms of activism. Most SR activists will probably not think of themselves as part of a larger SR movement because they lack a label for the movement.
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS? ARE THEY TAKING ACTIONS? RESOURCES MOTIVATIONS SELF-IDENTIFICATION LABELS NSM UNIFIER?	14) 15) 16) 17) 18) 19) 20) 21) 22) 23) 24)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development. SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their lives. SR activists will name books as their preferred resource for motivating their actions. People will be drawn to SR activism mainly because of their difficulty with conventional forms of activism. Most SR activists will probably not think of themselves as part of a larger SR movement because they lack a label for the movement. SR activists will try to avoid all labels, particularly the label of "activist".
DEMOGRAPHICS CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL TRULY HOLISTIC BELIEFS? ARE THEY TAKING ACTIONS? RESOURCES MOTIVATIONS SELF-IDENTIFICATION LABELS	14) 15) 16) 17) 18) 19) 20) 21) 22)	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies. SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development. SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their lives. SR activists will name books as their preferred resource for motivating their actions. People will be drawn to SR activism mainly because of their difficulty with conventional forms of activism. Most SR activists will probably not think of themselves as part of a larger SR movement because they lack a label for the movement. SR activists will try to avoid all labels, particularly the label of "activist". SR activism will be a good candidate for a NSM unifier.

IV. EVOLUTION

An important question to ask about any newly identified social phenomenon is, "When did it all begin?". How did people invent the idea of social responsibility, and at what point was it combined with individual lifestyle choices? What other movements helped to facilitate the emergence of SR activism? I also discuss what makes this phenomenon unique from others social scientists are already familiar with, and how we should situate SR activism in relation to its closest relatives. In this chapter I illustrate the connections between SR activism and the environmental movement, socially responsible capitalism, the voluntary simplicity movement, the global justice movement, the Greens, and the Cultural Creatives.

To begin piecing together the history of SR activism, we can triangulate chronological starting points by looking at the patterns emerging from each of the three data sources. While one cannot pinpoint the appearance of a type of activism, certain data do indicate the general period when SR activism began to spread and how it has evolved since then.

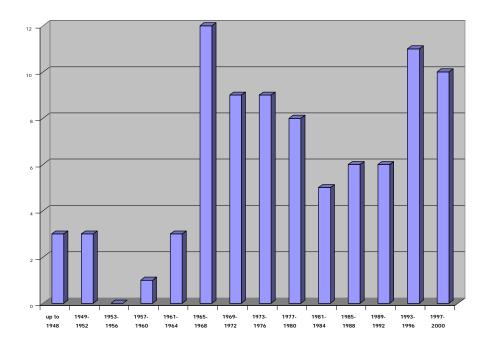


FIGURE 4.1 YEAR RESPONDENTS BEGAN SR ACTIVISM

The survey questionnaire asked, "In what year did you begin taking socially responsible actions?" Responses indicate that although a small number of Co-op America members were taking socially responsible actions as early as the 1940s, SR activism became increasingly common in the mid- to late-1960s with the rise of the new social movements, notably the environmental, feminist, and peace movements (Figure 4.1). While there was something of a dip in new participation in the 1980s, SR activism has experienced something of a resurgence in the 1990s, perhaps because of the wider dissemination of SR literature and the membership growth of SR organizations. A good indicator of this kind of rapid growth in the 1990's may be found in the example of Working Assets. Founded in 1985 by a handful of idealists, the organization's member-customers grew to generate a financial valuation of \$2 million in 1991 to \$140 million in 2000 (Working Assets 2001).

Jeffrey Hollender, author of *How to Make the World a Better Place*, sees SR activism as something that wasn't born, but rather evolved slowly out of the movements of the 1960s (Hollender 2002). Alisa Gravitz, founder and president of Co-op America, further develops our historical picture of SR activism through the 1970s by discussing the shift that was taking place as the heyday of NSMs came to a close:

In the late 70's, there were two things happening at once, both a positive trend and a negative one. The positive trend was that by the late 70's there had been a number of people that had been involved in the social change movements of the 60's (the whole range of things: anti-war, civil rights, women's issues, environmental issues), and as the heyday of the 60's and 70's wound down, retained those interests and values and started to say "Okay, the political climate seems to be changing. How can I continue this?" (Gravitz 2002)

Gravitz continues by characterizing the origins of SR organizations as, in part, a response to the impending election of Ronald Reagan and the detrimental impacts that administration was going to have traditional social movement activities:

There was handwriting on the wall that Reagan was going to get elected and that the political possibilities were going to get even more marginal. So the question became...(if) the political possibilities were going to close down, how could you continue these more progressive ideals and values across the whole spectrum (civil rights, the environment, women's issues, etc.) in a place where the political energy is probably going to be blocked? (Gravitz 2002)

In Table 4.1 we can see that, the two core SR organizations, Co-op America and Working Assets, and a peripheral organization, Social Investment Forum, were founded in the early to mid-1980s pre-dating most of the formal evidence of SR activism. The founding of Business for Social Responsibility (a peripheral SR organization); on the other hand, coincides with the later date range of SR books and related publications. With the exception of *The Better World Handbook*, all the core

SR books appeared in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The same is true for SR related publications, and the SR initial participation development curve coincides well with the popular rise of the environmental movement in the eyes of the general public (Hollender 2002) and the publication of a number of books, newsletters and magazines on environmental responsibility (Pichardo-Almanzar et al. 1998).

TABLE 4.1 YEAR OF ORIGIN FOR SR PUBLICATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

CORE SR BOOKS	Date(s) Published	Sales Figures
Shopping for a Better World	1988, 1990, 1994, 2000	1,000,000+
How to Make the World a Better Place	1989, 1995	110,000+
What Can I do to Make a Difference?	1991	(unknown)
The Better World Handbook	2001	5,000

SR ORGANIZATIONS	Date Founded	Membership
Co-op America*	1982	50,000
Working Assets*	1985	350,000
Social Investment Forum	1985	500**
Business for Social Responsibility	1992	1,400**

SR RELATED PUBLICATIONS	Date Published	Circulation
Business Ethics	1987 - Present	10,000
The GreenMoney Journal	1992 - Present	10,000
National Green Pages	1992 - Present	80,000

*denotes a core organization
**denotes members are businesses

From these data, we can sketch a rough timeline of the development of SR activism (Figure 4.2). With possibly earlier roots, SR activism really takes off in the late 60s with the rise of NSMs. As the heyday of these movements ends in the late 70s and a conservative political administration arrives in the 80s, some activists shift their strategy from traditional to cultural and, as a result, form SR organizations. This new kind of strategic thinking combined with the second rise of the environmental

movement inspires a series of SR publications. With these components in place, SR activism sees a new resurgence in mid 90s.

Mid to Late 1980s Mid 1990s Early to Late 1960s Mid 1980s to Early 1990s to Present **SR** Activism SR SR Resurgence of **Emerges With Organizations Publications** SR Activism **New Social** Form Appear **Movements Late 1960s** 2002

FIGURE 4.2 TIMELINE OF THE EVOLUTION OF SR ACTIVISM

Parent Movements

While SR activism has developed a distinctive form, its roots are to be found in several movements. Although the feminist and animal rights movements, for example, formulated some of the foundational ideas of SR activism, the environmental movement and corporate social responsibility (CSR) movement have arguably had the greatest influence on its development.

The Environmental Movement

In many ways, the evolution of the modern environmental movement parallels that of SR activism although on a much larger scale. Having developed with other new social movements in the 1960s, the environmental movement is widely considered to be the most successful of the new social movements (Dalton 1994, Mertig and Dunlap 1992) and in the vanguard of that family or "generalized"

movement" (Scott 1990, Turner 1994). While environmentalism grew rapidly throughout the 1980s, a growth spurt of enviro-education and activism occurred right around April 22, 1990 - the 20th anniversary of Earth Day (Hollender 2001). This accelerated activity included the publication of *50 Simple Things You Can Do To Save The Earth*, which introduced Americans to the idea that anyone could participate in this movement by altering simple, daily activities – everything from water conservation in the bathroom to waste reduction through composting. By 1998, over two thirds of the U.S. population considered themselves to be either strong or moderate environmentalists (Ridenour 1998), green businesses have created a lucrative market for their eco-friendly products, and cities are increasingly building recycling infrastructures.

Socially Responsible Capitalism

Although their roots reach back earlier, the Corporate Social Responsibility and Socially Responsible Investing movements are generally considered to have begun in 1985 with the introduction of the Sullivan Principles, a code of socially responsible conduct for doing business in South Africa under apartheid (Hollender 2001, Lowry 1997). That code required that foreign companies cease their operations in and remove their investments from South Africa until the practice of racial segregation was lifted by the South African government. By the 1990s, the strategy of the socially responsible economic sector had changed. Instead of just divesting of companies that did not meet socially responsible criteria around a particular issue, such as racial discrimination, SMOs began encouraging and rewarding those companies whose polices were social responsible; this new approach concerned a wide range of issues, including all of the ten core issues of

SR activism (see Chapter V). In the world of SRI, this meant the creation of "positive screens" to permit SR mutual funds to identify companies on the cutting edge of social responsibility, the publication of SRI newsletters like *The Green Money Journal* (est. 1992) and the development of social investment indices, like the Domini 400, that permitted investors to track the financial strength of SR companies.

For CSR, these ideas led to the founding of prominent organizations like Business for Social Responsibility (est. 1992) where businesses exchange ideas about what social responsibility means, collaborate in joint ventures to pursue socially responsible goals, receive awards for successfully integrating social responsibility into their business practices, and get professional advice on how to improve their social responsibility record. While both of these economic movements have been primarily driven by businesses and their investors, a growing base of socially conscious consumers now drive demand for both SRI and CSR. In 1996, Kaagen Research Associates identified a segment of 50 million Americans as "socially responsible" in their purchasing and investing activities (Co-op America, 2000). In 2001, one out of every eight dollars was invested in socially and environmentally screened investments, a total of over \$2 trillion. The amount managed in professional, socially responsible funds tripled between 1997-1999 from \$430 billion to \$1.34 trillion (Social Investment Forum 2001).

What distinguishes SRI and CSR from traditional social movements is their willingness to work within the mainstream economic system, directly with businesses and corporations – which are usually seen as enemies rather than potential agents of purposive social change. These movements also provided new access to social change for consumers and investors without requiring special contacts, movement

membership or activist leanings. SRI and CSR thus expanded the audience, the issues, and the "no enemy" approach that SR activism was adopting as foundations for its own approach to pursuing purposive social change.

Other Influential Movements

Feminism brought to the progressive community the idea that "the personal is political" (Hanisch 1970). The message in that phrase was that not only are the most personal aspects of our lives influenced in larger political and social contexts, but those lives could be used to change the structures in those contexts from the bottom up (Albert 1997). This newly articulated perception lifted social change activism from its narrow focus on changing political institutions at the societal level, adding the goal of raising the consciousness and activism of individuals at the level of personal daily life (Beinart 1999). Social change activists were urged to add change into the domains of language, personal relationships, and the workplace.

It can be argued that *animal rights* activism related personal behavior to political structures as early as 500 B.C., when historical figures like Pythagoras and Socrates argued that a diet that included meat was both unethical and politically ignorant (in that it supported an unsustainable use of resources). Vegetarianism has remained a centerpiece for many animal rights movement members, a personal policy now practiced by an estimated 4.8 million Americans (Zogby 2000). That movement also launched very effective campaigns against the testing of consumer products on animals, publishing guides to companies that do and do not test their products on animals (Giunti 1994) and maintaining certification systems to inform consumers(CICC 1998).

These "parent movements" helped to legitimize the idea that everyday actions can be understood both as a symbol of peoples' adherence to a particular social movement adherence and as a powerful tool for realizing movement goals that may not be attainable through more traditional activist means.

A Typology of Related Movements

Environmental and economic responsibility movements are perhaps the most influential in laying the foundations upon which SR activism is built. However, it is also important to understand exactly how SR activism is similar to and different from movements. I describe below other movements and subcultures that likely attract participants similar to those involved in SR activism, marking specifically SR related characteristics that are relevant to a better understanding of SR activism and are marked accordingly.

- (+) Characteristics shared with SR activism
- (-) Characteristics different from SR activism
- (?) Characteristics somewhat similar and somewhat different

The Cultural Creatives

The Cultural Creatives (CCs) are one of three major American philosophical subcultures¹ (the others being Traditionals and Moderns) conceptualized by Paul Ray (1997, 2000). From his analysis of data from national demographic surveys, it represents the approach to change most closely related to SR activism. CCs tend to be more spiritual and less materialist than the rest of the adult population, as well as

¹ Although The Cultural Creatives are identified as a subculture, even Ray (2001) has characterized them as having strong movement qualities. Ray characterizes CCs as a subculture because, although strongly influenced by social movements, it is closer to a philosophy or ideology that a significant percentage of the population has adopted. CCs are included because they represent one of the phenomena most strongly affiliated with SR activism.

supportive of environmentalism, feminism and other NSMs. Ray estimates the number of CCs at approximately 50 million individuals in the U.S. and growing.

- (+) *History*: Ray places the origins of the CCs in the late 60s, corresponding with the rise of NSMs.
- (+) Consumer Orientation: Ray describes CCs as avid consumers of alternative goods and services including public radio, fuel-efficient cars, and alternative travel.
- (+) Demographics: CCs include a disproportionate number of whites, women, college-educated people, and a have higher median income than Traditionals and Moderns. Their average age is in the mid-40s.
- (+) Holistic Issue Focus: CCs are interested in many of the same issues as participants in SR activism, including environmentalism, feminism, civil rights, social justice, peace, global inequality, and philanthropy.
- (-) Spirituality, Self-Help Interests: Ray describes CCs having a strong interest in personal spirituality and self-help, an interest not shown in the data collected from SR literature or SR organizations². Ray, however, does divide CCs into two groups of equal size, Core Cultural Creatives and Green Creatives, the latter with no special interest in these two issues and more pragmatic in their approach to social change.

The Voluntary Simplicity Movement

While the voluntary simplicity movement (VSM) has historical roots in colonial America with the Puritans, Quakers and Anabaptists (Nolan 1994), it has only recently been recognized as a modern phenomenon with a heavy concentration of adherents living in the Pacific Northwest (McNichol 1998). It is estimated that 30 million people practice some version of voluntary simplicity and that the movement's numbers are growing (Celente, 1997).

- (+) *History*: As did SR activism, the VSM appeared first in the 1960s (Elgin 1993), developing throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Shi 1985, 1986) and showed up in popular media in the 1990s with books like *Voluntary Simplicity* (Elgin 1993) and television programs like *Escape From Affluenza* (1997).
- (?) Multiple Issue Focus: While the VSM emphasizes the importance of the environment and community, its issues concern more personal development and less larger social problems. Key VSM issues include reducing stress, increasing leisure time, raising one's quality of life, and building strong relationships with friends and family.
- (-) Anti-Materialist: Voluntary simplicity and SR activism differ greatly in their views on material consumption. VSM promotes the reduction of consumption as a core value citing both environmental damage from it and the work-spend cycle that perpetuates the form of "hyper-capitalism" they are fighting to reform. While SR activism has a conservation ethic, it encourages the consumption of SR goods and services as a way to bring about positive social change in the economy. This difference is understandable given the historically close relationship between SR activism and business.

² While there is evidence indicating that religion/spirituality motivate some SR activists, the data is not strong enough to make any kind of linkage to what is indicated for CCs.

(+) *Individual Action*: As with SR activism, a central goal of the VSM is providing its members with the means to take everyday actions in their own lives, to collectively create the systemic change the movement envisions. However, unlike SR activism, VS activism often works through small groups, or "circles", that hold regular meetings to discuss their individual actions, exchange ideas and provide mutual support.

The Greens

The Greens are both an international group of political parties and an international social movement with a current official U.S. membership of 220,000 people. Their growing U.S. presence throughout the 1980s and 1990s remained relatively unnoticed until the 1996 and 2000 presidential elections, when the Greens reached the mainstream media with Ralph Nader as their presidential candidate (Michaels, 2002).

- (+) *History*: While Americans did not begin importing the ideas and tactics until the mid-1980s, the Greens began as a small political party in New Zealand in 1972 (at the same time as SR activism first became visible), and grew to prominence as a European movement emerging with a particularly strong presence in Germany by 1980 (Dann, 2000).
- (+) Holistic Change Focus: The Greens have identified what they consider to be their "10 Key Values": ecological wisdom, grassroots democracy, social justice, personal and global responsibility, nonviolence, feminism, decentralization of power, community-based economics, respect for diversity, future focus. This set of values closely mirrors the core values of SR activism as well as touching upon its foundation of SR needing to be addressed on the personal level.

- (-) Collective Action: While Greens may make ethically-motivated personal lifestyle changes, their modus operandi is to work through collective action. Greens organize protests, use direct action, build alternative institutions, educate communities and actively engage in electoral politics (Haffey 1999). This is an approach for which SR activism provides a mirror image with its individual orientation.
- (-) *Political Orientation*: The Greens are a socio-political movement with a small, but very active political party in the U.S. The strategic focus of Greens' action is the fielding of candidates and getting them elected to (mostly local) political office where they can influence a wide range of issues.

The Global Justice Movement

The global justice movement (GJM), also known as the anti-globalization movement, is a coalition of activist organizations from the labor, human rights, consumer rights, and environmental sectors. The GJM drew media attention in the 90s through their efforts to fight multinational trade agreements like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), The Global Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and The Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI).

- (+) *History*: The GJM developed in the 80s and 90s, out of national and transnational networks of social change organizations concerned with the impact of global trade and financial policies in their issue areas of concern (Smith, 2001).
- (+) *Multiple Issue Focus*: The GJM is concerned with several of the core SR issues including human rights, labor rights, and the environment. It also advocates consumer rights, locally-based democracy, and forgiveness of third world debt.

- (-) *Macro-Economic Orientation*: From the perspective of the GJM, the global economic system is rapidly being transformed, to the detriment of the above issues (human rights, labor rights, the environment, consumer rights, democracy, and third world debt forgiveness), to favor the pursuit of corporate profit through free trade agreements, secretive judicial and decisional bodies, and the policies of international financial institutions, all of which work against social justice, democracy, and the natural environment. It is only through a reform of corporate culture and global economic institutions, says the GJM, that these issues will be adequately addressed in the new global economy. SR activism is certainly concerned with global economic issues, but sees them as one piece within a larger global picture.
- (-) *Traditional Activism*: The GJM is best known for its World Trade Organization protests in Seattle in November 1999. Labor, environmental and human rights groups built a lasting coalition to organize demonstrations and teach-ins attended by tens of thousands. In the U.S., GJM protests are often large, well-organized, contentious and filled with activists from around the country. In many ways this represents the conventional social movement approach to activism that SR activism, with its individual, uncoordinated, non-confrontational, and inclusive orientation avoids.

While each of the movements and subcultures discussed share some characteristics and members with SR activism and each other, each differs from SR activism in at least one major way. Table 4.2 clarifies the major distinctions of SR activism with these similar collective behavior phenomena.

TABLE 4.2 DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF SR ACTIVISM

MOVEMENTS AND SUBCULTURES	DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS	SR ACTIVISM
Environmental	Single Issue	Multi Issue
SR Business and SR Investing	Economically Focused Social Change Activities	Range of Focal Points for Social Change
The Cultural Creatives	Integrated Spirituality, Self-Help	Strictly Secular, Externally Focused
Voluntary Simplicity	Anti-consumption	Conscientious Consumption
Global Justice	Global Economy Focused, Traditional Activist Oriented	Range of Focal Points, Non-Activist Oriented
The Greens	Collective Action, Politically Based	Individual Action, Alternative to Politics

Conclusions

Table 4.3 summarizes the major findings of the chapter. The data collected on the history of SR activism suggest that, contrary to what had been hypothesized, this kind of activism emerged in the late 1960s along with many of the NSMs and has, since the early 1990s, been experiencing a resurgence of activity that correlates well with the rise in public consciousness around environmental issues and the popularity of SR capitalism. The influences from these two movements have helped to develop SR activism's noncontentious strategy of working from within mainstream society to slowly reform existing economic and cultural institutions.

TABLE 4.3 THE EVOLUTION OF SR ACTIVISM: HYPOTHESES AND RESULTS

SUBJECT	DATA	HYPOTHESES
ORIGIN AND	NO	The origin of SR activism will take place around the late 80's and 90's when most SR literature begins to appear.
EVOLUTION	YES	SR activism will be currently thriving.
///OTO D)/	YES	 SR activism will have strong ties to the environmental and economically focused SR movements.
HISTORY	YES	 SR activism will overlap with other related NSMs but still maintain a distinct niche not filled by any other.

While each of the five movements and the one subculture described share characteristics with SR activism, SR activism remains unique in the niche that it addresses within U.S. society. Just as the memberships of many of these aforementioned groups overlap significantly with one another, we can safely assume that SR activism draws its membership in part from a common pool of individuals.

V. VALUES AND ISSUES

SR activism is driven by a distinct set of values around a set of ten core issues that comprise a coherent ideological stance. We must be careful to distinguish at the outset the difference between SR values, what SR activists deems as good or desirable, and SR issues, the common areas of concern for SR activists on which they bring their values to bear. So, for example, while gay and lesbian rights is an important SR issue, the core SR value is to support increased rights for these oft discriminated social groups.

Many of SR activism's core values are shared with what we commonly label political "progressives". This holistic ideology is taken a step further in SR activism, however, as participants, conscious of the interrelatedness of social problems, consistently use a comprehensive approach to framing and taking individual action on each of them. In this chapter, I examine these core values and their relative importance to SR activists in the hope better understanding the internal logic that drives them.

I began the investigation with an inductive content analysis of SR materials. From four core SR books and the documents of four SR movement organizations, ten core issues repeatedly emerged, each of which are the focus of at least seven of the eight sources studied (Table 5.1).

TABLE 5.1 THE CORE ISSUES OF SR ACTIVISM

CORE BOOKS	Environment	Women's Rights	Minority Rights	Charitable Giving	Workers' Rights	Animal Welfare	Community Involvement		Peace And Nonviolence	Human Rights	Misc	Misc
Shopping for a Better World	х	х	×	×	х	x	×	×	х	х	Information Disclosure	
How to Make the World a Better Place	х	х	х	х	х	х	х	х	х	х	Hunger	
The Better World Handbook	х	х	х	х	х	х	х	х	х	х	Education, Children, Media Bias	Economic Inequality, Volunteerism
What Can I Do to Make a Difference?	Х	X*	Х	Х		х		Х	Х	Х	Education, Children, The Elderly	Crime, Health Issues, Volunteerism

CORE / PERI -PHERAL ORGANI- ZATIONS	Environment	Women's Rights	Minority Rights	Charitable Giving	Workers' Rights	Animal Welfare	Community Involvement		Peace And Nonviolence	Human Rights	Misc	Misc
Working Assets	х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	х	Х	х	Х	Education, Children, Disabled	Media Bias, Censorship
Co-op America	х	х	Х	х	х	Х	Х	Х	х	Х	Information Disclosure	
Social Investment Forum	х	X*	х	х	х	х	х	x	х	х		No-Alcohol, No-Tobacco, No-Gambling
Business for Social Responsibility	×	х	х	×	x		×	×		×	Information Disclosure	Vounteerism, Ethics, Governance

*includes Pro-Life resources and Pro-Choice resources

In every case¹, SR core materials indicate support for the environment, women's rights, minority rights, charitable giving, workers' rights, animal welfare, gay and lesbian rights, peace and nonviolence, and philanthropy. This across the board support suggests that SR activism is driven by ten core values that correspond with promoting what we commonly see in the realm of politics as a "progressive" agenda around these ten issues. SR activism's stance on eight of these ten issues also correspond to the foci of concern for eight recognized social movements (Table 5.2), seven of which have been identified as NSMs by social movement researchers.

¹ There are two minor exceptions to this. Both the Social Investment Forum and Zimmerman's book provide pro-life and pro-choice options for individuals which would indicate some ambivalence surrounding this issue in two of the eight SR sources analyzed.

TABLE 5.2 SR CORE ISSUES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

SR CORE ISSUE	ASSOCIATED MOVEMENT	NSM?
The Environment	Environmental	YES
Animal Welfare	Animal Rights	YES
Women's Rights	Feminist	YES
Gay and Lesbian Rights	Gay Rights	YES
Peace and Nonviolence	Peace	YES
Human Rights	Human Rights	YES
Minority Rights	Civil Rights	YES
Worker's Rights	Labor	NO
Community Involvement	-	-
Philanthropy	-	-

A number of peripheral issues did emerge in the content analyzed, but each was common to only a few of the sources studied.

Literature

Core Literature

The search for core SR literature emerged from my collecting SR literature for a decade or more. All of this literature has the common theme of individual actions as a means to create social change. What distinguishes core SR literature from the larger body of peripheral social change literature is its combining of the two central principles of SR activism: concentration on actions that can be taken in a number of life-areas and a holistic set of issues to which the actions are directed (Figure 5.1).

There are many publications concerning one life-area (e.g., travel) or one issue (e.g., animal rights) that I treat as peripheral SR literature (see Appendices B,C,D). Four books meet both criteria for core SR literature; they are described in the following sections.

ISSUE
SPECIFIC
LITERATURE

MULTIPLE
ISSUES

CORE SR
LITERATURE

MULTIPLE
LIFE-AREA
SPECIFIC
LITERATURE

FIGURE 5.1 SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY LITERATURE

Shopping For A Better World

Shopping For A Better World: A Quick And Easy Guide To All Your Socially Responsible Shopping (1988) was published by The Council on Economic Priorities (CEP), founded in 1969 by Alice Tepper Marlin. The book was meant to permit consumers to "vote with their dollars" for companies taking the concept of social responsibility seriously while avoiding those companies whose practices and commitments were less responsible. Over 200 companies are rated in the book for their policies on: the environment, animal testing, community outreach, women's advancement, minority advancement, charitable giving, workplace issues, family benefits, and information disclosure. The authors also note a number of negative

aspects of some companies, including: military contracts, poor sweatshop labor records, outstanding lawsuits against the company, same sex partner benefit refusal, involvement in factory farming and/or tobacco, campaigns against or boycotts of the company, and SR supportive pledges signed and awards won. CEP has released four revised editions of *Shopping For A Better World* since then (the latest in 2000) to update social responsibility data aon existing companies, add new companies to their list, and the changing records of companies rated from year to year. *Shopping For A Better World*, in addition to company ratings, suggests actions to take in transportation, money, home, food, and community. Over 1 million copies of *Shopping For A Better World* have sold to date.

How To Make The World A Better Place

How To Make The World A Better Place: A Guide to Doing Good (1989) written by Jeffrey Hollender, is a collection of over a hundred actions one can take to "make a difference" supported with problem explanations, statistics and anecdotes. The actions are organized into eight areas: community, children, computers, the environment, food and hunger, banking and investing, responsible consumption, and peace and justice. The original edition was to be released in December 1989 to capitalize on the 20th anniversary of Earth Day (1990). In 1995, a second edition was released. How To Make The World A Better Place has sold over 110,000 copies to date.

What Can I Do To Make A Difference?

What Can I Do To Make A Difference?: A Positive Action Sourcebook (1992) by Richard Zimmerman resembles the Hollender book a resource guide to individual

actions around various issues in seven areas: money, the environment, animal rights, human welfare, human rights, health, and peace. Unlike Hollender, Zimmerman's contains long lists of resources and detailed problem descriptions in a book roughly twice the size of Hollender's. Information on the sales of the book is not currently available.

The Better World Handbook

The Better World Handbook: From Good Intentions to Everyday Actions (2001) was written by Ross Haenfler, Brett Johnson and me. Our book synthesizes all of the material available on "socially responsible" behavior. As authors, we had the great benefit of access both to the core books, on top of a large collection of SR organization publications on individual actions, and the Internet, a resource not as available to the other authors when they wrote and published. The actions suggested in the book are organized into 13 areas: money, shopping, personal, friends and family, community, home, work, media, politics, transportation, travel and organizations. The issues to which the readers are directed include: economic fairness, comprehensive peace, ecological sustainability, deep democracy, social justice, culture of simplicity, and revitalized community. An estimated 5,000 copies of *The Better World Handbook* hav sold in its first eight months. Two more editions of the book are in the process of being written by other authors in coordination with my colleagues and I, one for Australia and the other for The Netherlands (in Dutch).

Peripheral Literature

The peripheral SR literature is in two subsets focusing on individual actions: life-areas and issues.

Life-Area Literature

Life-area literature is still early in its development, as only four out of the ten SR life-areas have individual action books written for them (shopping, work, money and travel), 18 books in all (Table 5.3; Appendix B). The majority (12) of these books have been written about money, especially socially responsible investing, while the other three categories contain two books each. Notably, there is a growing occupationally specific literature being published (Table 5.3; Appendix C). Seven books have been published for teachers on integrating social responsibility into education, and six on creating more socially responsible companies (for business people).

TABLE 5.3 LIFE-AREA SPECIFIC SR LITERATURE²

SR LIFE-AREA	# OF BOOKS
COMMUNITY	0
FOOD	0
HOME	0
MEDIA	0
MONEY*	12
RELATIONSHIPS	0
SHOPPING	2
TRANSPORTATION	0
TRAVEL	2
WORK	2
BUSINESS	7
EDUCATION	7

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² Books on the following topics are not strictly SR oriented and thus not included in this list: vegetarianism, organic foods, raising children with a sense of ethics,

Issue Specific Literature

The issue specific literature is spread more evenly than the life-area books over seven of the ten SR issues (the environment, peace and nonviolence, women's rights, minority rights, gay and lesbian rights, community involvement, and animal welfare (Table 5.4; Appendix D). Of these 17, more have been written about the environment (5) and animal welfare (4), while the least have been written on womens' rights (1) and peace and nonviolence (1). No books have yet been published on individual actions that can be taken specifically for human and workers' rights protection or philanthropy.

TABLE 5.4 ISSUE SPECIFIC SR LITERATURE³

CORE SR ISSUE	# OF BOOKS
ANIMAL WELFARE	4
COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT	2
THE ENVIRONMENT	5
GAY AND LESBIAN RIGHTS	2
HUMAN RIGHTS	0
MINORITY RIGHTS	2
PEACE AND NONVIOLENCE	1
PHILANTHROPY	0
WOMEN'S RIGHTS	1
WORKERS' RIGHTS	0

Organizations

Core Organizations

The two SR core organizations tend to focus their programs and products on the individual rather than organizations and their members. They are developed to

³ This list includes only books marketed to adults, thus, although there are a substantial number of them, no children's or teen's books are included.

motivate their members to take actions that integrate each of the ten core values of SR activism into their personal, daily lives.

TABLE 5.5 SR ORGANIZATIONS

Organization	Membership Size	Membership Composition	Date Established	Status
Co-op America	50,000 + 2,500	Individuals + Businesses	1982	Core
Working Assets	350,000	Individuals	1985	Core
Social Investment Forum	500	Financial Professionals	1985	Peripheral
Business for Social Responsibility	1,400	Businesses	1992	Peripheral
Council on Economic Priorities	(unknown)	Individuals + Businesses	1969	(Disbanded)

Co-op America

Co-op America, founded in 1982, has over 50,000 individual members and 2,500 representing member businesses. While Co-op America concentrates on providing resources for individual consumers to make socially responsible choices with their dollars, it also works with businesses to help them succeed through integrating SR values in their products. Co-op America publishes a quarterly journal for members (*Co-op America Quarterly*), an annual directory of SR products and services (*National Green Pages*), and a handbook for SRI (*Financial Planning Handbook for Socially Responsible Investing*). It has also developed related internet sites: a guide to buying "sweatshop-free" products (www.sweatshops.org), regularly updated information on national boycotts sponsored by SRVOs (Boycott Action News, www.boycotts.org), a guide to buying environmentally responsible wood and paper products (Woodwise Consumer Guide, www.woodwise.org), and an online

version of their annual directory (Green Pages Online, www.greenpages.org). Co-op

America is also involved with a number of other SR organizations in joint projects.

Working Assets

Working Assets began in 1985 as a socially responsible long distance telephone service and currently reports over 350,000 customer-members that help make it a \$140 million company. Subscribers receive monthly long distance telephone service as well as: an eco-friendly telephone bill that includes recommended readings, action alerts, and free calls to government and corporate leaders regarding SR issues. One percent of every phone bill is donated annually (at no extra cost to the consumer) to a group of SRVOs selected by its customers. Working Assets also offers a credit card through which \$0.10 of every purchase is sent to those organizations. In this way, Working Assets has thus raised over \$30 million for nonprofit groups that support SR values.

Recently, Working Assets has developed a substantial web presence with: a news center on SR issues (Working For Change, www.workingforchange.com), a shopping portal that donates five percent of one's Internet purchases at popular online shopping sites to their organizational pool (Shop For Change, www.shopforchange.com), an online donation site that includes a comprehensive list of SRVOs (Give For Change, www.giveforchange.com), and a resource site for understanding how to effectively contact corporate, government, and media officials around SR issues (Act For Change, www.actforchange.com). All of these sites permit the user to subscribe to monthly email newsletters as well. One of the latest Working Assets projects is a daily radio program about current events over the spectrum of SR issues.

Peripheral Organizations

SR peripheral organizations direct their programs to institutional rather than individual users. These organizations emphasize economic reform, and represent two of the parent movements of SR activism, socially responsible investing (SRI) and corporate social responsibility (CSR).

Social Investment Forum

The Social Investment Forum (SIF) is an association of over 500 financial professionals and institutions interested in such socially responsible investing practices as: screening stocks and mutual funds for their social responsibility, facilitating shareholder resolutions around SR issues, and developing community investment opportunities. Begun in 1985, the association funds and collects research on SRI trends and shareholder resolutions, supports national conferences and workshops, and provides members with a quarterly newsletter and access to an email discussion group. Despite their institutional focus, SIF does provide a number of resources to individuals including a guide to SR mutual funds and financial advisors, and general education materials on SRI.

Business for Social Responsibility

Business for Social Responsibility is an association of over 1,400 small and large businesses. Started in 1992, BSR provides tools, training, consulting, and facilitates collaborative partnerships for companies to implement socially responsible business practices. It hosts an annual conference around the latest developments in corporate social responsibility (CSR), coordinates an international calendar of CSR events of interest to its members. For individuals, BSR does provide job postings in a

number of member companies that are looking to further their implementation of responsible business practices as well as general education materials on CSR.

Other Organizations Of Note

Council on Economic Priorities [disbanded 2001]

Founded in 1969, Council on Economic Priorities (CEP), headed by Alice Tepper Marlin, produced a core book for SR activism, Shopping For A Better World. CEP also produced *The Better World Investing Guide* (1991), a history of socially responsible investing, and a highlight of the social responsibility of 100 public corporations. CEP has given out annual Corporate Conscience Awards for the past 15 years to companies practicing social responsibility in five areas: environmental stewardship, employee empowerment, diversity, community partnerships and global ethics. CEP has also published a list of worst offenders in these areas and companies that refuse to disclose any information about their business practices. It has helped similar organizations get started in Japan and the UK. CEP produced a regular newsletter to keep their individual members updated on their work. Late in 2001, CEP (based in New York) closed its doors. The was in large part a consequence of the September 11th attack on the World Trade Center, as many of their major financial contributors were based in New York and suffered huge economic losses, thus no longer being able to support CEP's work as they had done in the past (Tepper Marlin 2002). CEP shifted some of its functions (including the Corporate Conscience Awards) to what was originally one of its program wings, Social Accountability International (SAI). SAI develops international workplace codes of conduct for corporations, then certifies the factories of corporate signatories to the code.

Organizational Relationships

While SR organizations function as independent entities, in 2000, these organizations began to collaborate in joint projects toward common goals (Figure 5.2). Co-op America has been especially active in these joint efforts and maintains a central role as a unifying force.

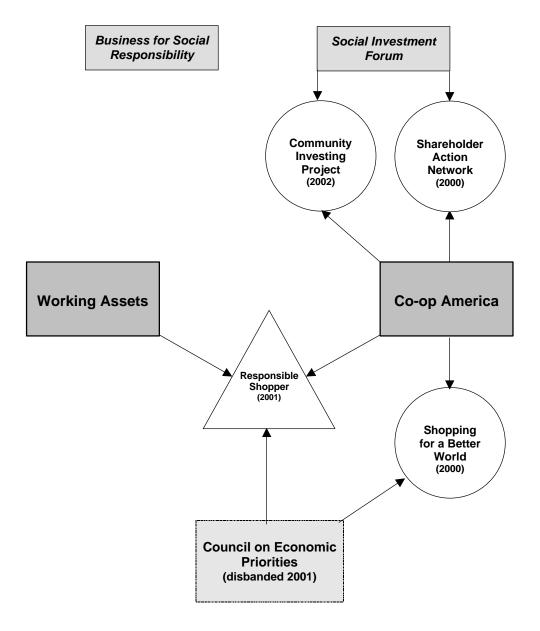


FIGURE 5.2 SR ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

In 2000, Co-op America published with CEP the latest edition of *Shopping for a Better World*, and collaborated with the Social Investment Forum to create the Shareholder Action Network, an information clearinghouse on shareholder advocacy issues. In 2001, Working Assets, Co-op America, and CEP created Responsible Shopper (www.responsibleshopper.org), an Internet site for consumers to get rating

information on products, companies and industries. In 2002, Co-op America and the Social Investment Forum joined forces to create the Community Inventing Project, an

Internet site educating users on community investing and directing them to more socially responsible banking and investing options. This recent collaborative trend will be important to monitor as it suggests of a growing network of SR organizations.

<u>Issues</u>

Core Issues

The ten core issues emerging from the content analysis were incorporated into the survey questionnaire to learn whether the values of SR activism remained consistent for SR activists, to discover other issues not appearing in the documents analyzed, and to determine the relative importance of each issue in the ideological motivations of SR participants. Respondents were asked to rate the importance of each issue on a scale from 0 to 10, and to write in any other issues of importance to them. The results were coded as follows:

0 not important 1,2,3 low importance 4,5,6 important 7,8,9 very important 10 extremely important

Figure 5.3 gives the mean importance score for each of the 10 core issues from highest to lowest. All of the issues received mean ratings of 6.5 or above which confirms that each of those issues identified through content analysis has high importance for the respondents as well.

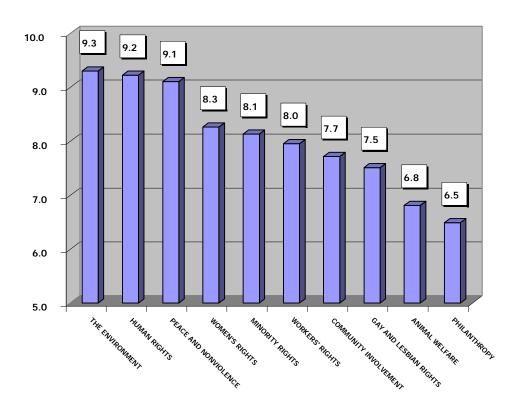


FIGURE 5.3 SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY CORE ISSUES

The issue importance ratings tended to cluster into four similarly rated issue groups (Table 5.6). These results also confirm data collected by The Council on Economic Priorities (1994) in a study of purchasers of *Shopping for a Better World*, in which 98% of the respondents (n=968) reported that all of these ten issues were important to them.

TABLE 5.6 CORE ISSUE SUB-GROUPS BY IMPORTANCE

Group 1	9.3	The Environment
•	9.2	Human Rights
	9.1	Peace and Nonviolence
Group 2	8.3	Women's Rights
	8.1	Workers' Rights
	8.0	Minority Rights
Group 3	7.7	Community Involvement
	7.5	Gay and Lesbian Rights
Group 4	6.8	Animal Welfare
	6.5	Philanthropy

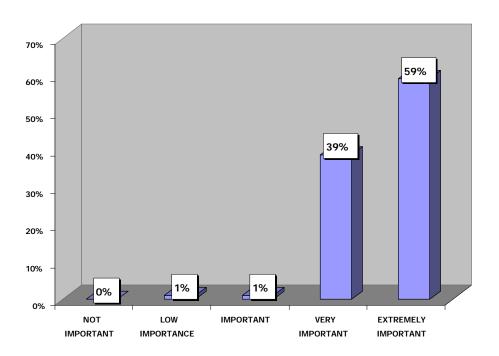
Each core issue will be addressed separately according to its mean importance rating by SR activists, from highest to lowest. In addition, a list of the most salient dimensions of each issue discussed in core SR literature and SR organization documents will be at the beginning of every core issue discussion in smaller, italicized print.

Issue Group 1

The Environment

Ecosystem Destruction Resource Overconsumption Pollution: Air, Land, Water Pesticides Toxic Waste Greenhouse Gases Ozone Depletion Energy Conservation Deforestation Resource Waste Recycling Alternative Technologies

FIGURE 5.4 THE ENVIRONMENT



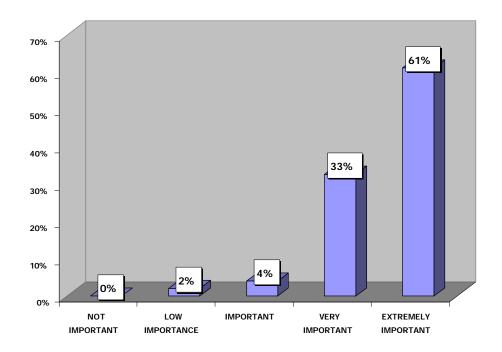
Not only was protection of the natural environment rated as the most important of the ten issues by respondents (Figure 5.3), but there was also little variance around it (Figure 5.4): 98% of respondents rated the environment as either extremely or very important with only 1% rating it as being merely important and 1% of low importance. This agrees with research suggesting the popularity of environmentalism and widespread adoption of environmental sympathy among the general public (Dalton 1994, Mertig and Dunlap 2001, Scott 1990). These data are also supported by the CEP study (1994) of *Shopping for a Better World* buyers, 97%

of whom rated the environment their top or near-top priority. Environmental protection is also the issue around which the most individual action options have been generated and around which the most "behavior modification" literature has been published (Appendix D).

Human Rights

Fair Trade Sweatshop Labor Hunger
Poverty Third World Debt Political Prisoners





Human rights protection (Figure 5.5) was ranked as the second most important issue by respondents, although we see the first signs of disagreement here: 94% of my respondents rated human rights as either extremely or very important with 4% rating it as being only important. The issue of human rights is the focus of high profile groups like Amnesty International, and often shows up in the

news in political discussion of, for example, trade and foreign aid. This has probably contributed to its respondent popularity.

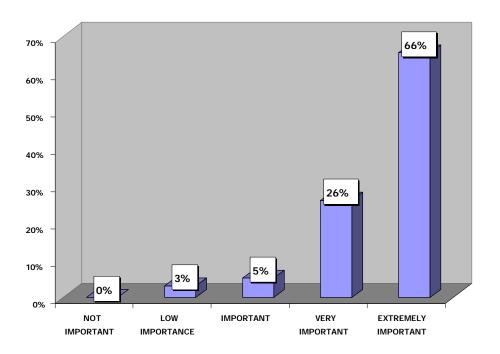
Peace And Nonviolence

Militarization
Conflict Resolution

International Peacebuilding International Arms Trade

Nuclear Arms Control War Refugees

FIGURE 5.6 PEACE AND NONVIOLENCE



Peace and nonviolence (Figure 5.6) had the third highest overall mean score of any issue. It is interesting that more people ranked this issue as extremely important (66%) than any other issue (as compared to 61% for human rights, and 59% for the environment) because most major studies have demonstrated that environmental protection is by far the most important of all NSM issues to the public (Mertig and Dunap 2001). While this is somewhat unusual, the responses were likely influenced by the World Trade Center attack of September 11, 2001 which took place only five months before the survey was done and thus was still prominent in

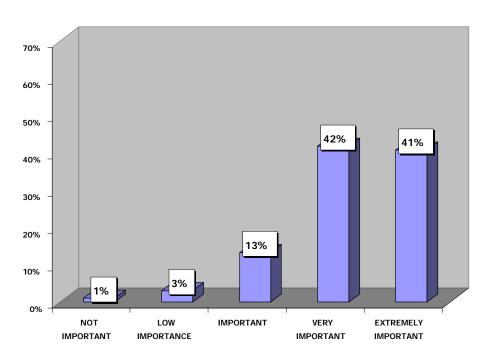
the public mind as a serious problem. With 3% of respondents giving it low importance, it has the highest negative rating in the top group of three.

Issue Group 2

Women's Rights

Reproductive Rights Pay Equity Domestic Violence Day Care Feminism Family Leave Workplace Advancement Women's Health Sexual Harassment

FIGURE 5.7 WOMEN'S RIGHTS

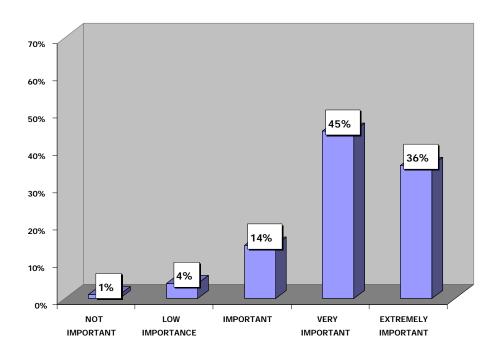


Women's rights (Figure 5.7) tops the second group of issues for importance. In the results for this issue we see for the first time the rating of "extremely important" (41%) and "very important" (42%) ratings. In addition, we see the first respondents rating an issue as not important (1%). One reason for respondents' high rating of women's rights as an important issue is likely the three to one ratio of women to men in the sample.

Minority Rights

Racism Workplace Discrimination Hate Crimes Educational Opportunity Environmental Racism Diversity Issues

FIGURE 5.8 MINORITY RIGHTS



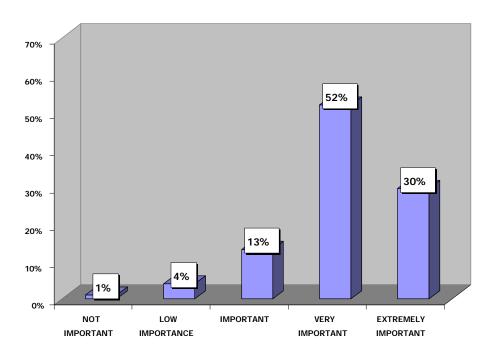
Minority rights (Figure 5.8) ranks second in Issue Group 2 with scores similar to those on women's rights except for an "extremely important" rating substantially lower (36%) than that for "very important" (45%). Notably, minority rights maintains high overall importance although the sample (and population) of respondents is overwhelmingly white (91%).

Workers' Rights

Living Wage Employee Benefits Worker Safety Unions

Sweatshop Labor Jobs Exported Overseas

FIGURE 5.9 WORKERS' RIGHTS



Workers' rights (Figre 5.9) rounds out the second group of issues with a mean importance rating approximating that of minority rights (8.0 and 8.1 respectively). While the lower three importance ratings closely mirror those of both minority rights and women's rights, we see even more of a shift away from "extremely important" (30%) towards "very important" (52%).

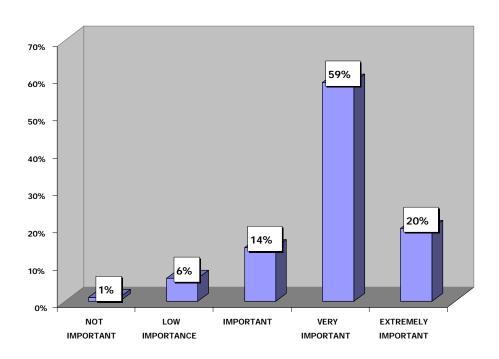
Interestingly all three of the issues in this second group concern the rights of a human sub-population, as opposed to human rights which concerns basic rights for all people. The only human rights sub-population not in this group are gays and lesbians, a rights issue still considered controversial in U.S. society and involving the smallest of the four human sub-populations.

Issue Group 3

Community Involvement

Volunteering Local Development Banks Urban Sprawl Livable Communities Locally Owned Businesses Community Gardens Parks & Open Space Homelessness Local Schools

FIGURE 5.10 COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

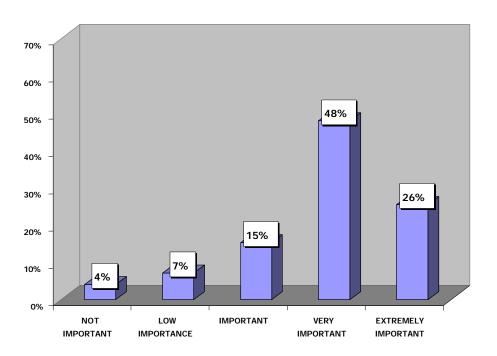


Community (Figure 5.10) involvement leads the third group of issues with a mean importance rating of 7.7. For the first time we see an increase in the "low importance" rating. We also see a substantial shift in the highest rating categories, with "very important" (59%) having almost three times the number rating community involvement as "extremely important" (20%). The lower overall rating of this issue, relative to the others (ranking seventh), seems to reflect the general orientation of SR activism participants towards engagement at the individual rather than the collective level.

Gay And Lesbian Rights

Domestic Partner Benefits Same Sex Marriage Homophobia Employment Discrimination Adoption Rights Anti-Gay Violence

FIGURE 5.11 GAY AND LESBIAN RIGHTS



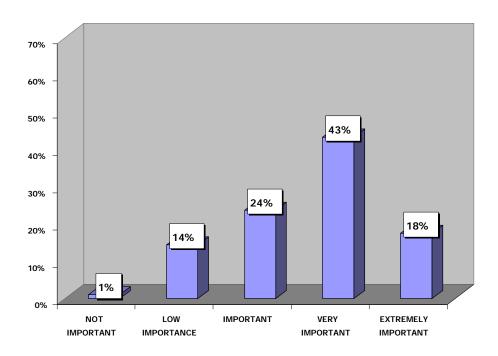
While gay and lesbian rights (Figure 5.11) retains an overall importance rating of 7.5, it is one of the lowest ranked of all the issues (eighth of ten). With 4% of respondents ranking it as "not important", it is the only issue to receive over 1% in this category, representing a 300% increase compared with all other issues. Also noteworthy is that while its ranking as "very important" decreased relative to community involvement (48% and 59% respectively), the number of people rating it extremely important actually increased (from 20% to 26%). This seems to suggest a polarization of views around this issue because of the ongoing controversy in the mainstream media surrounding gay and lesbian rights as well as opposition to aspects of it by a number of religious denominations.

Issue Group 4

Animal Welfare

Animal Testing Fur Trade Factory Farming Endangered Species Animal Exploitation Companion Animal Abuse

FIGURE 5.12 ANIMAL WELFARE



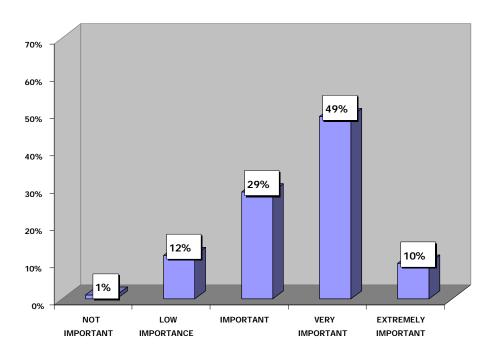
Animal welfare (Figure 5.12) ranks next to last in overall importance among respondents, and includes the highest percentage giving "low importance" (14%) to any issue. This may indicate a self-interested concern among respondents for issues having impacts on themselves and fellow humans before the welfare of non-humans.

Social Change Organizations

Personal Philanthropy

Business Philanthropy

FIGURE 5.13 PHILANTHROPY



While philanthropy (Figure 5.13) received a 6.5 overall importance rating from respondents, it fell below all other issues in relative importance. This is not surprising considering that philanthropy is something of an "odd man out" compared with other issues. It is neither an "issue" in the conventional sense, nor does it have more than three salient dimensions. It is related to the other issues in the sense that respondents believe that people must be willing to commit their money to build a better world, a belief we shall see reflected in the kinds of actions SR activists take (Chapter VI).

Peripheral Issues

The content analysis identified a number of issues common to between one and three SR organizations and books. In addition, survey respondents were allowed to write in issues they considered important both for them personally and for the concept of social responsibility. With the incidence of the additional issues, I could determine some of the peripheral issues in SR activism (see Table 5.7).

TABLE 5.7 THE PERIPHERAL ISSUES OF SR ACTIVISM

SURVEY	CONTENT ANALYSIS
Education x3	Education x3
Child Welfare x1	Child Welfare x3
Economic Inequality x2	Economic Inequality x1
Justice System x2	Information Disclosure x3
Sustainable Agriculture x2	Volunteerism x2
Health Care x2	Media Bias x2

Number of occurrences is noted after each issue.

Issues highlighted in bold show up in both the survey responses and the content analyzed.

The most significant of the peripheral issues was *education* with a total of six cross-occurrences. Most of the occurrences referred to a need for increased funding, youth programs, literacy, mentor relationships, and more adult involvement in local schools. The second most common peripheral issue, with four cross-occurrences, was *child welfare*. While this issue overlaps somewhat with education, the references to it dealt more directly with areas like child abuse, adoption, child poverty, youth at risk, and day care. The final peripheral cross-occurrences involved *economic*

inequality, including issues such as a living wage, the growing gap between rich and poor, homelessness, and third world poverty. While each of the three cross-occurrence issues should be tested in follow up studies, they were decidedly of minor concern to respondents compared with the other issues.

Conclusions

In summary, there is evidence to support each of the original hypotheses concerning the values and issues of SR activism (Table 5.8). The values of SR activism are reflected in the importance of ten core issues with consistent and recurring stances in the core SR literature, SR organizations, programs, and the survey opinions of SR activists. This suggests there is a coherent values orientation linking these three elements of this phenomenon. In addition, seven of the ten core issues correspond to those of seven NSMs that suggests an influence from NSMs on the belief system of SR activism. This lends support to theorists who have suggested that NSMs represent a larger, coherent ideology (Mertig and Dunlap 2001) for a broader mega-movement (Turner 1994).

TABLE 5.8 ISSUES & VALUES OF SR ACTIVISM: HYPOTHESES AND RESULTS

SUBJECT	DATA	HYPOTHESES
ISSUES AND	YES	 There will be a broad set of core values common to all SR organizations and literature.
VALUES	YES	SR core values will correlate well with the values of NSMs.
TRULY HOLISTIC	YES	SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important.
BELIEFS?	YES	 There will be a preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development.

While SR literature, organizations, and influentials each reveal important patterns in the development and evolution of SR activism, SR peripheral literature, in particular, contains interesting evidence of its emergence from it parent movements, the environmental movement and SR economics movements (SRI and CSR). In the issue specific SR literature, the environment is the most developed of any SR issue pointing to the proliferation of environmental action guides focused on individuals that were so popular in the 1990's. Life-area specific SR literature is dominated by SRI books (12 of 18) in the area of money, and if we include profession-specific books, there are six additional books devoted exclusively to making your business more socially responsible (CSR).

While core SR literature tends to be more broadly focused on cultural aspects of social change, SR organizations reflect the strong economic focus of much of SR activism. Every SR organization identified works directly with businesses as at least part if not the whole of its mission with the only exception being Working Assets. In this case, though, one of the primary purposes of Working Assets is to channel funds into SRVOs, and thus it may be argued that this is also fundamentally economic in nature. While SR organizations have always known of each other, it is only in the past two years that they have begun working together on joint projects. This suggests that a network of SR organization may be forming with Co-op America playing a central role in this new coalition.

SR activists rate all ten issues as important, reaffirming earlier findings which show that support for one NSM issue correlates positively with support for the others (Dalton 1994, Klandermans 1990, Mertig and Dunlap 2001, Rohrschneider 1990).

SR activists do, however, prioritize the importance of these issues, based first on

their universality (the environment, human rights, peace and nonviolence), followed by those that directly impact human beings (women's rights, workers' rights, minority rights). Of lesser relative importance are issues that concern collective participation (community involvement), a relatively smaller percentage human beings (gay and lesbian rights), non-humans (animal rights) and somewhat ambiguous pro-social behaviors (philanthropy). As hypothesized in Chapter III (Table 3.6), the environment was considered by SR activists to be the most important issue.

Education, child welfare, and economic inequality were identified as peripheral issues that should be further studied to compare their importance to the ten core issues. In addition, these issues appear not to be part of an ideologically coherent stance as in each case, there were a variety of approaches suggested to resolve them. Discovering which issues are and are not significant in SR activism should be emphasized in future surveys to better gauge the difference in SR activist support for SR and non-SR values.

VI. STRATEGIES, DOMAINS, AND TACTICS

What most distinguishes SR activism from the collective action social scientists have observed previously, is its unique approach to social change. Individuals, rather than groups are seen as the fundamental agents of change, and thus actions are generated to be both effective and sustainable at the individual level. Everyday life becomes the domain where social change is brought about rather than the political arena. People are encouraged to work within existing social structures to reform and reshape, rather than confront and replace, institutions that stand in conflict to the social change sought. This reformist approach also is manifested in the customizability of individual commitment and the absence of any morally prohibited behaviors.

Strategies

A Focus On Individual Action

Tactics of traditional social movements have been closely tied to their goals of mobilizing members to participate in organized forms of collective action, such as mass protests, voting blocs, and letter writing campaigns. SR activism by contrast consists, for the most part, of individuals acting with little or no coordination from social movement organizations. SR literature and organizations focus instead on providing the tools and resources that adherents need for taking individual actions at any given point in time. The core SR literature avoids ideological definition and exhortation, instead providing a variety of practical actions for individuals to take, creating what some have called "behavioral guidebooks" (Pichardo-Almanzar et al. 1998). Core SR organizations like Working Assets and Co-op America have a very

strong Internet presence that permits access to much relevant information and suggested actions activists can take at any time. Consequently, a large number of people take individual actions in their own lives on a consistent, often daily basis.

According to the survey results, SR activists regularly take actions in their own home, in their relationships, while shopping, and in deciding what popular media they will consume (see Domains) Working Assets, for example, has generated almost \$30 million in donations over the past 15 years due in part to the 90,000 individuals that regularly use their credit card (Working Assets 2002).

This approach to activism creates an unusual set of circumstances differing significantly from those guiding typical social movement participation, such as no meetings for participants to attend, no need for leaders to organize precisely-timed actions or mobilize large numbers of participants in them. But, can we really consider this type of behavior legitimate participation in a social movement? One study (Pichardo-Almanzar et al. 1998) of everyday behaviors in the environmental movement, suggests we can. In a study of 509 randomly sampled residents in the New York State Capital District metropolitan region, the data strongly suggested that individual actions can be reliably described as social movement participation. This new trend toward recognizing isolated individual actions as valid social movement behavior is reaffirmed by the work of Johnston et al. (1994) which finds that new social movements often involve individual actions as well as mobilized group activity.

Customized Commitment

SR activists work from a common ideological orientation, can select the specific values they wish to work for, then create a set of related actions to do so that are compatible with their life situation. Shopping for a Better World (Council on

Economic Priorities 1994), for example, provides separate social responsibility ratings of companies over issue areas so that the consumer can include, exclude or emphasize ratings depending on his/her own issues of concern. Individuals can choose from a range of actions from easy to more challenging depending on their personal level of commitment. Hollender (1990) suggests actions that range in commitment and difficulty from applying for a socially responsible credit card to growing your own food.

Flexibility like this is built into SR activism and deters one from the over-commitment that may come with a rigid movement philosophy or social pressure from fellow members. Nor is there, as with more conventional social movements, an activist subculture that individuals must join for connection with a larger movement. These factors make SR activism accessible to people beyond conventional social activism. In a sense, it is an activism that participants integrate into their lives that privileges the latter rather than making social activism a way of life.

A Lifestyle-Light Approach

SR activists are encouraged to make small, conscious changes in several areas of daily life. It is thus tempting to see SR activism simply as one of a repertoire of tactics used by "lifestyle movements" such as co-housing, voluntary simplicity, vegetarianism and straight edge. However, the uniqueness of SR activism is that it does not ask people to "drop out" of common social activities (or mainstream life altogether as do intentional communities) and adopt an alternative paradigm for living. Rather it asks them to alter, in minor ways, daily decisions within the context of their existing lifestyle (Table 6.1).

TABLE 6.1 SOCIAL STRATEGIES OF LIFESTYLE MOVEMENTS

Lifestyle Movement	Social Strategy
Intentional Community	Drop out of mainstream society altogether
Co-Housing, Voluntary Simplicity Vegetarianism Straight Edge	Give up common social activities
Social Responsibility Activism	Remain fully engaged in mainstream society

Most lifestyle movements ask their adherents to radically alter aspects of their lives. Voluntary simplicity requires one to drastically reduce personal consumption and to "downshift" into a lower-stress, lower-income job. Vegetarianism asks people to give up all meat and, in its most radical form, all animal products (veganism). Straight edge movement members forego all alcohol, tobacco, and drugs. The cohousing movement asks people to give up the independence of mainstream housing arrangements. In a sense, most lifestyle movements have a moral prohibition of specific behaviors for their members.

To meet people where they are in their lives, SR activism asks people to look at their current lifestyle, consider the impacts of daily decisions in that style of living across a wide range of issues, and then act in more socially responsible ways with respect to these issues. A range of socially responsible options is suggested for everything from consumer spending to meat consumption to tobacco use to housing arrangements. SR activism lacks a strict moral prohibition on behavior. No radical lifestyle change is required for participation in it. As it is fundamentally compatible

with mainstream lifestyle choices, it is accessible to larger numbers of people and more easily sustained than traditional activism.

The "No Enemy" Strategy

With its more flexible, less dichotomous view of the social world, SR activism conceptualizes social problem-solving as a fundamentally cooperative rather than competitive process. Most new social movements identify elements within society that are particularly resistant to the goals they seek (Table 6.2). These "enemies" of the movement consume its energies as it confronts them through protests, educational campaigns or boycotts. This naturally provokes a response from the opponent, which then mobilizes its resources to de-legitimize the goals and tactics of the challenging movement while preserving its own image. SR activism to the contrary has what is known as a *noncontentious ideology* (Brigham 1990) in which there is no enemy, and structural change is less a concern than individual transformation.

TABLE 6.2 TRADITIONAL ENEMIES OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

New Social Movement	Traditional Enemies
Environmental	Timber Companies, Petroleum Companies, Cattle Ranchers
Animal Rights	Factory Farms, Cosmetic Companies, Fur Companies, Cattle Ranchers
Peace	U.S. Military, Corporate Military Contractors
Anti-Globalization	World Bank, IMF, Multinational Corporations

SR activism avoids direct confrontations with the traditional "enemies" of NSMs with which it has no contact. Its quiet, individual-focused nature does not attract media coverage or provoke responses from potential opponents. Since many of the traditional "enemies" of social movements have ties to the world of business, SR activism's close ties to SR economic movements (SRI and CSR) lead it to work with business rather than against it (with, for example, SR shopping guides, SR business groups, and SR investing). This orientation favors practical over ideological reforms by meeting social and economic structures where they are and changing them slowly through market pressure rather than rapidly and radically.

Domains: Life-Areas as Domains of Action

Life-Areas

While traditional social movement activism has emphasized political efforts, SR activism works for social change mainly at a cultural level, through individual lifestyle changes. In this respect, SR is the most comprehensive of any lifestyle activism. While the actions of vegetarianism are centered primarily around diet, voluntary simplicity around consumption, straight edge around substance abuse, and co-housing around living arrangements, SR activism opens every "life-area" for conscious action by the activist. From the analysis of core SR literature and online documents of key SR organizations, ten cultural life-areas emerged as focal points for individual change: money, shopping, food, transportation, travel, home, work, personal relationships, community, and media (TABLE 6.3). Interestingly, politics also emerged as a life-area for action, something which was included in the survey and which I will address separately in my concluding chapter. In addition, business and education are identified as likely areas of action for professionals involved in

those fields – and there is SR literature specifically directed toward them. Because that literature is written for teachers and business people specifically it was not included in my content analysis.

TABLE 6.3 LIFE-AREAS OF ACTION ENCOURAGED IN SR ACTIVISM

CORE BOOKS	Money	Shopping	Food	Transpor- tation	Travel	Home	Work	Personal Relationships	Community	Media	Politics#
Shopping for a Better World	х	х	х	х		х			х		Х
How to Make the World a Better Place	х	х	х	х	х	х	х	х	х		Х
The Better World Handbook	х	х	х	x	х	х	х	х	х	х	х
What Can I Do to Make a Difference?	х	х	х	х	х	х		х			Х
PERIPHERAL BOOKS	13	*			2		2				

TIER I & II ORGANI- ZATIONS	Money	Shopping	Food	Transpor- tation	Travel	Home	Work	Personal Relationships	Community	Media	Politics#
Working Assets	Х	Х				Х				Х	х
Co-op America	х	Х	Х		х	Х	х				
Social Investment Forum	х										
Business for Social Responsibility							Х				

^{*} Although Shopping for a Better World is considered a core book because of its breadth, it is also the only book devoted primarily to

The ten life-areas emerging from the content analysis were incorporated into the survey questionnaire both to learn whether these were areas in which respondents were taking SR actions, and if so, how often they were doing so. The area of political action was also included to see if participants in SR activism tend to engage or shun political actions more commonly encouraged by conventional social movements (see Chapter VIII for analysis). Respondents were asked to rate 38

[#] Although no book or organization has traditional political action as a primary focus, five of the eight do encourage everything from

actions commonly associated with SR activism to indicate how frequently they engaged in each (never, rarely, sometimes, frequently, or always).

Some of the actions at "home" and all of the actions with "money" did not fit well into categories of frequency, so they were reached with yes/no questions, and those results were not included in this chapter's means charts. While this creates some problems comparing those two categories with the rest of the life-areas, it was deemed worth doing to increase validity of the data. The rest of the actions were coded as follows:

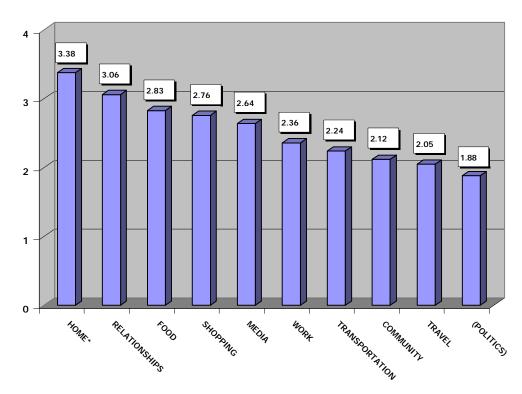
0 never
1 rarely
2 sometimes
3 frequently
4 always

Figure 6.1 shows the mean frequency of actions taken in each life-area, from highest to lowest.

Rather than summarizing the results at this point, I will address separately in the order of its mean action frequency rating, highest to lowest (home and money actions being dealt with at the end of this chapter), with a short discussion of the results of each action in that life-area. In every life-area section I summarize how it is treated in core SR literature and by SR organizations.

Tactics

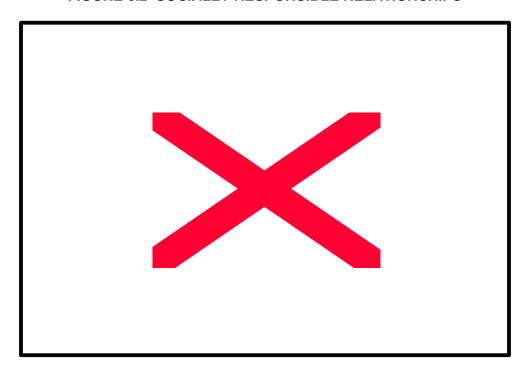




Relationships

Social responsibility in personal relationships applies to family, friends, and strangers. People are encouraged to make the deepening of their personal relationships a top priority by shifting more time and energy towards them rather than working more or pursuing distractions like television. These relationships are especially important when they involve neglected groups like children and the elderly. SR activism sees personal relationships as powerful avenues for modeling, discussing and changing values and actions.





The survey data (Figure 6.2) suggest that respondents are more likely to take SR actions in their personal relationships than in any other life area. Only eight actions out of a total of 38 received mean scores of 3.0 or above, with three of those eight occurring in personal relationships, the most in any category. Of the four actions commonly associated with the area of relationships in SR literature, putting family before work ranked first, consciously modeling values came next, purposefully limiting television time was third, and spending meaningful time with children and elderly came last. This priority given by respondents to other people in their personal lives may suggest that strong personal relationships permit SR activists to see the direct social impacts of their behavior on the world.

<u>Food</u>

Socially responsible food options for SR activists are a melding of the philosophies and policies of vegetarians, environmentalists, local and independent business advocates, and the slow food movement. Members are encouraged to limit their meat consumption (especially beef), buy free-range animal products, support local and organic food producers, and take the time to cook and eat meals with others. Food should be purchased from SR companies whenever possible. Most resources available for socially responsible eating have been created by the movements mentioned above although they have been combined in three of the four core books of SR activism.

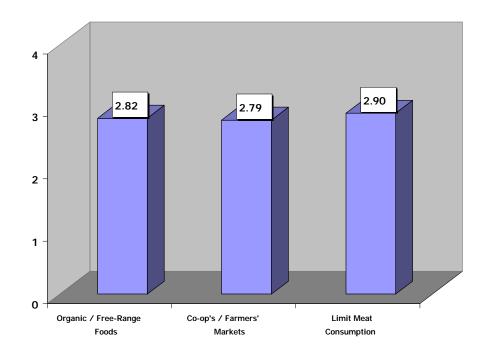


FIGURE 6.3 SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE FOOD

Actions regarding socially responsible food (Figure 6.3) are the second most frequently taken actions of the ten life-areas. Interestingly, there is very little

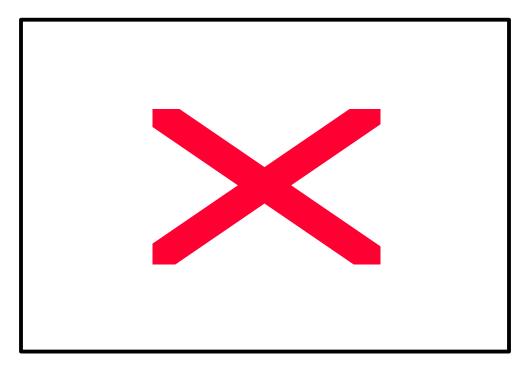
deviation across the three actions in this category, a total of only .11 between them.

This may indicate that SR consciousness around food, once obtained through particular action is then applied progressively to all of one's food actions. It should be noted, however, that much popular literature has been published outside of SR activism on such food options, particularly on organic foods and vegetarianism.

Shopping

While environmentally responsible shopping was developed by several environmental organizations, books and businesses, socially responsible shopping is an invention of The Council on Economic Priorities (CEP) and its research for *Shopping for a Better World.* By ranking companies that produce consumer goods by areas corresponding with SR values, CEP allows consumers to support SR businesses and brands every time they buy and discourage companies with less than stellar records. Coop America has created a national listing of consumer boycotts based on SR values that is constantly updated with new information from social responsibility value organizations (SRVOs).





Taking SR actions in the shopping domain (Figure 6.4) is the third most common of the SR behaviors. While there is slightly more variation here than in SR food, SR shopping actions vary only .22 from highest to lowest frequency. Supporting local and independent businesses was the most common action, followed by the conscious limiting of consumption, and boycotting products and buying products from socially responsible companies third and last respectively. Once again, this may suggest a general SR consciousness in shopping, once achieved, spreads from one action to another.

Media

Socially responsible media consumption involves discovering diverse sources of reliable information and news often marginalized or ignored by the mainstream media. This includes public television and radio, periodicals that are concerned with

SR issues, and SRVO newsletters and web sites. SR activists are also encouraged to discover alternatives to excessively violent television and films and find ways to reduce their exposure to commercial advertising.

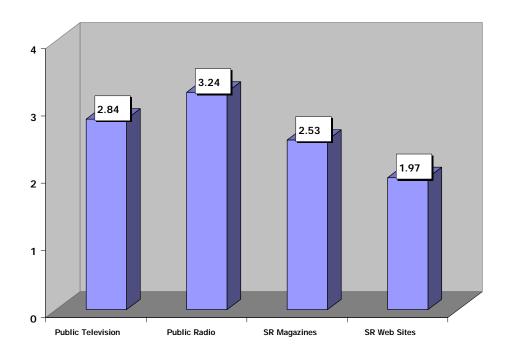


FIGURE 6.5 SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE MEDIA

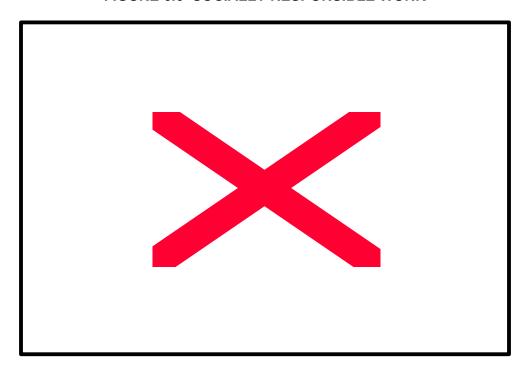
SR media consumption (Figure 6.5) ranks fourth out of the eight life-areas ranked, and here we see substantial variation across the different media sources participants use. Respondents most frequently listen to and support public and community radio. In fact, with a rating of 3.24, this action is one of the most consistent in any category, ranking fourth out of 38. It is followed by the use of public television, magazines and those web sites that support one or more SR values respectively. Use of web sites is one of only a handful that scored below 2.0, perhaps because of a lower rate of computer literacy among older people (average age of the respondent, 46) or a more general indicator of the early stage of

development of SR web. The lower rate of television watching as compared to radio listening may reflect the conscious limiting by participants of the former as measured by the data found on personal relationships questions in the survey (Figure 6.2). Paul Ray (2000) also found some corroborating evidence on the media consumption habits of the cultural creatives that indicates their preference for radio over television.

Work

Socially responsible working takes two forms: choosing that work and improving the workplace. SR activism participants considering new work possibilities look for jobs with nonprofit organizations that support one or more SR values and find for-profit companies that are actively incorporating SR values into their policies and products. For those employed, SR activism facilitates changes in the workplace to make it more socially responsible, by for example, donating time and money to SRVOs, greening the workplace, actively confronting discrimination, and lobbying for changes in company policy.





Applying social responsibility values at work (Figure 6.6) ranks fifth out of the eight life-areas. Respondents most frequently consider social responsibility when choosing jobs followed by acting to make their workplace more socially responsible – both of them broadly defined and easily accessible actions. The two more specific actions, charitable giving and voluntary service through the workplace, were taken less often – since neither of them may be offered in a given workplace this result is more difficult to interpret.

Transportation

Socially responsible transportation actions tend to support the values of environmental health and community integration. While slower modes of transportation such as walking, biking, and bussing (as alternatives to driving) are known for their environmental benefits, they are also encouraged in SR activism

because they permit more interaction with others in the community and connect to the individual's sense of place. SR participants are also encouraged to purchase fuel-efficient automobiles produced by socially responsible companies.

Utilizing socially responsible transportation options (Figure 6.7) ranks sixth out of the eight life-areas. While choosing to buy fuel-efficient vehicles is evidently one of the most popular actions of any in the survey, consciously limiting one's driving is considerably lower. Using public transportation when possible and biking or walking when it would take 30 minutes or less are two of the least popular options in the survey. This suggests that respondents are very attached to their cars as their major mode of transportation, and while they are willing to drive cleaner and less, they are not as interested in alternative forms of transportation. Some reasons for this may be a lack of public transportation infrastructure, safe areas to bike and walk in, and modern urban planning that discourages these alternative modes of transport.

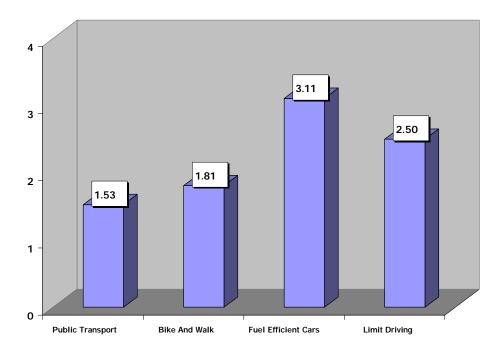


FIGURE 6.7 SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE TRANSPORTATION

Community

Social responsibility in deepening community involves the SR activist with local people, subcultures, schools, and nonprofit organizations. It encourages members to get to know their neighbors, familiarize themselves with issues of local concern, and volunteer regularly. It encourages organizing a local project supporting one or more SR values, such as a community garden or park beautification day or social responsibility study group. This is one of the few life-areas where SR activists are asked to organize others – a normal approach for most social movements.

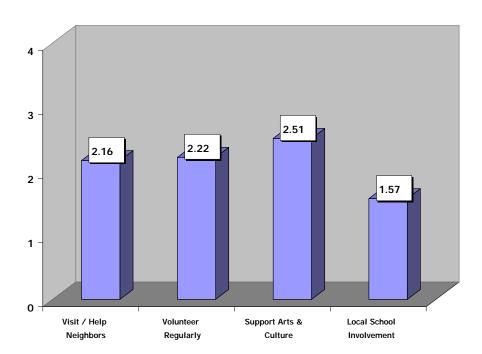


FIGURE 6.8 SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE COMMUNITY

Why does social responsibility applied to community rank (Figure 6.8) only seventh out of the eight life areas? The data suggest the relative social isolation of the SR activist. They may not want to be "joiners". While respondents indicate rather frequent support of the arts and culture in the community, they are less regular about visiting or helping neighbors or volunteering consistently. The school involvement responses indicate that they do not involve themselves in local schools with any regularity, but this may be explained in part by the mean age of respondents, 46, being beyond parenting years. The high incidence for support of arts and culture may be reflecting the generally high socio-economic status of the sample and population.

Travel

Socially responsible travel developed with the environmentally responsible tourist industry now called ecotourism. In fact, the term "ecotourism" has come to

combine environmentally and socially responsible travel. Typically, SR travel takes into account its impacts on the host environment, culture, people, and local economy. It also emphasizes cultural exchanges, volunteer projects, long-term travel, and education-focused "reality tours" where the participants get to see first-hand the impacts of Western foreign policies, lifestyles and economic practices.

Socially responsible travel (Figure 6.9) ranks last in all of the life-area categories respondents act in, eighth of eight. In fairness, however, the rating for one action category, that of volunteer travel, is strikingly lower than for the other three, which have reasonably similar scores. This outlier also has the lowest rating of any action in the questionnaire. It would seem that respondents rarely combine volunteering with travel, a fairly uncommon combination of activities. Excluding that volunteering action, SR travel would have ranked sixth of eight. The most popular option is to support local economies and culture during one's travel, followed respectively by vacationing in educational or nature destinations and staying with locals when possible.

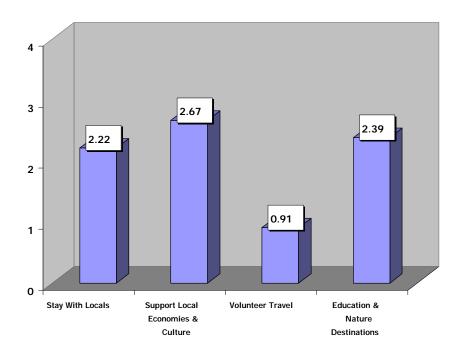


FIGURE 6.9 SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE TRAVEL

<u>Home</u>

Much as it does in the life-area of "work", social responsibility in the home involves both consciously choosing a home and creating a home environment that supports SR values. Choosing an SR home includes picking a location close to work, for more community engagement and less commuting, and living in a structure that has a small "ecological footprint", a measurement of the environmental impact of a particular activity or project. In the home, SR participants are encouraged to recycle, conserve energy and water, and utilize home products and services that support SR values (e.g., Working Assets Long Distance, Earthlink Internet Service Provider).

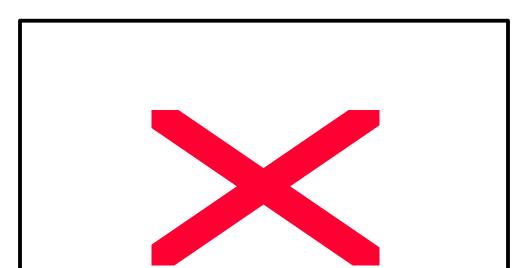


FIGURE 6.10a SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE HOME: PART 1

Social responsibility action in the home (Figure 6.10a) is the only category where a mixed response format was utilized: two of the questions used the frequency of action scale and three of them a yes/no response format. If we were simply to compare the data from the first two questions with the rest of the life-areas, home actions would easily rank first. It would also be the only category in which all questions scored above a 3.0. As it turns out, recycling is the most common action in the questionnaire, something which correlates well with the environment being the most popular issue. Consciously conserving energy and water was also one of the most frequently mentioned actions in the responses.

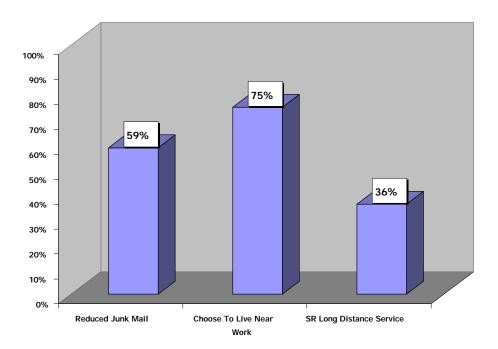


FIGURE 6.10b SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE HOME: PART 2

Figure 6.10b reflects results of the yes/no responses to the final three questions on SR actions applied to home. Seventy-five percent of respondents have chosen to live close to work and 59% have taken action to reduce their junk mail. Interestingly, only 36% use a socially responsible long distance carrier. In a handful of cases, respondents wrote small notes that they were unaware of such a carrier. Similar respondent notes claiming ignorance showed up with a number of the actions in the next life-area, money.

Money

Money is arguably the life-area most developed for socially responsible action, due largely to the success of socially responsible investing (SRI). While the media coverage of this movement was minimal until the stock market boom of the 1990s, an estimated \$2.3 trillion, roughly one of every eight dollars in a professionally managed fund, is now invested in a socially responsible manner

(Social Investment Forum News 2001). The popularity of SRI has generated a wide range of socially responsible mutual funds and other financial institutions where depositors know that their money is being invested in projects that support SR values. Many socially responsible credit cards are available that channel money to SRVOs with every purchase at no cost to the card holder. Finally, Working Assets has created an online service that offers a comprehensive list of SRVOs and a way to donate to them over the Internet.

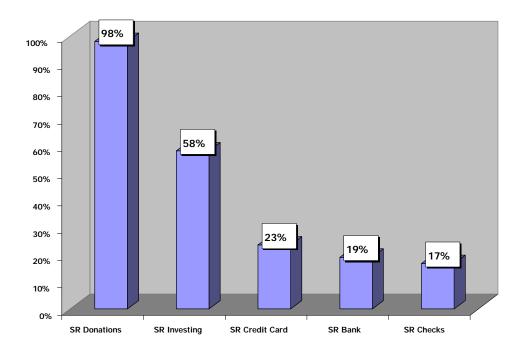


FIGURE 6.11 SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE MONEY

The socially responsible use of money (Figure 6.11) was the only life-area where all of the survey questions were asked in a yes/no response format for data clarity and, as such, there is no way to compare the results with those in other categories. The action of giving money to SR organizations was claimed by 98% of respondents, however this should be accepted with caution. For membership in Coop America, a person must send in regular "dues", and thus every respondent should

have been able to give a "yes" response. 58% of respondents answered that they have money in socially responsible investments. The last three actions, using SR credit cards, banks, and checks, were taken by merely 23%, 19%, and 17% of respondents respectively. As with the SR long distance telephone service question, a number of respondents indicated in writing that they did not know of these options. These actions do not show up as often in core SR books or on SR organization web sites, a possible reason for their low rate of adoption.

Conclusions

In summary, the basic strategy of SR activism is three-fold (Table 6.4). First, it is fundamentally based on individual rather than collective actions taken without coordination of either time or place, confirming a trend in NSMs identified by Johnston et al. (1994). This customization of activism for individuals assumes a flexibility that levels of commitment will vary with each participant. Second, there is no moral prohibition of behaviors as is characteristic of other lifestyle movements. This noncontentious ideology (Brigham 1990) also undergirds SR strategy to remain firmly embedded in mainstream society by not alienating any particular group as an "enemy". Third, instead of pursuing social change at a political level, as is common with conventional social movements, SR activism encourages its participants to take actions in various areas of their everyday lives (life-areas).

TABLE 6.4 HYPOTHESES RESULTS

SUBJECT	DATA	HYPOTHESES
GOALS	YES	 The goals of SR activism will involve moving the world towards reflecting their core values at every level.
	YES	 The strategies of SR activism will be long-term, individual actions, lifestyle centered, and reformist.
STRATEGIES	YES	 The appeal of SR activism will lie in its apolitical, no enemy, non- activist, mainstream orientation.
	YES	 SR actions will provide options in a wide variety of areas in an individual's life.
ARE THEY TAKING ACTIONS?	YES	SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their lives.

While core SR literature encourages action in a majority of the ten life-areas that emerged from the document analysis, SR organizations are less likely to encourage actions over such a wide range. As for the differences in action frequency among life-areas, while SR activists take actions throughout the life-areas studied, there is some indication that SR activists are more likely to take action in more private life-areas (home, personal relationships, food, shopping, media) and less likely in more public life-areas (work, transportation, community, travel). With the exceptions of donations to SRVOs and SR investing, most SR activists are not taking actions involving their finances, sometimes unaware of these action options.

VII. MEMBERSHIP

This chapter addresses the character of those engaged in SR activism. What kind of person decides to participate in SR activism? How many SR activists are there? What motivates them to take actions in this unusual form? Do they see themselves as activists or perhaps as part of a movement? The data analyzed to answer these questions yielded some surprising results. Virtually none of the original hypotheses concerning members were borne out, and the implications reveal that members are both more exclusive and more self-aware than previously thought.

SR Activists

Boundaries

With members staying purposefully out of the media limelight, one of the most difficult questions to answer is who is involved in SR activism. This is further complicated by the fact that a number of SR actions are taken by people who are involved in related new social movements (e.g. environmental movement, animal rights movement, voluntary simplicity movement). In addition, due to the commitment flexibility built into SR activism, it is difficult to know at what action threshold we should begin considering someone an SR activist. Should it be someone who:

Is a member of a core SR organization? Supports SR values? Has SR investments? Has purchased core SR literature? Sporadically takes SR actions, or one, some, or all of the above? Rather than distinguishing those who participate in SR activism from those who do not, it is perhaps more useful to look at the various means and degrees of participation of SR activists.

Levels of Involvement

Research on movement participation is still rather thin. Initially, a distinction has been made between the participation level of someone who merely contributes financially from one who is more personally involved (McAdam et al. 1988). Giving money has been judged a lesser form of involvement than giving time (Oliver and Marwell 1992). Klandermans (1997) later added a key distinction between the effort and the duration of the participation. Few researchers have tried to measure participant involvement. One notable exception is Passy and Giugni's (1999) scale that distinguishes: subscribers, who contribute financially (lowest), adherents who are involved sporadically (middle), and activists who are involved regularly (highest). While this scale works well within a given SMO, it ignores movement participation of those outside of the membership lists of a specific SMO or group of SMOs.

FIGURE 7.1 LEVELS OF INVOLVEMENT CONTINUUM



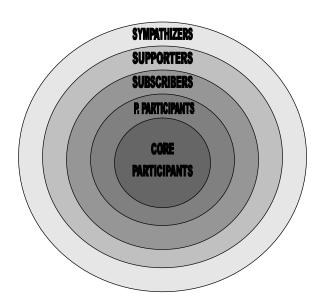
Expanding Passy and Giugni's work to create a scale yet better adapted to measuring activism presents a continuum of participation that includes all of those with a potential positive impact on the attainment of movement goals (Figure 7.1 and

Table 7.1). I have also included a diagram which better illustrates the relationship between each level of involvement (Figure 7.2).

TABLE 7.1 LEVELS OF SR INVOLVEMENT

LABEL	DESCRIPTION	INDICATOR
Sympathizers:	People who sympathize with many SR values	Attitude – Based
Supporters:	People who support SR goals (includes values and strategies)	Attitude – Based
Subscribers:	People who have contributed money to realization of SR goals	Behavior – Based
Peripheral Participants:	People who sporadically take SR actions	Behavior – Based
Core Participants:	People who regularly take SR actions	Behavior – Based

FIGURE 7.2 LEVELS OF INVOLVEMENT FROM CORE TO PERIPHERY



Population Size

It is difficult to estimate the size of a group of people as little studied as those who participate in SR activism. There are, however, some indicators with which to

approximate the number of SR activists. I begin by casting the widest possible then narrowing down the population as the chapter progresses.

General Population Studies

In 1990, the Gallup organization conducted a poll for Reader's Digest concerning lifestyles and attitudes using a representative sample of the United States population (n=1,039). They asked respondents to rate their approval of a number of NSM goals, including four which match directly four core values of SR activism (Figure 7.31). Using this data set, Mertig and Dunlap (2001) found that not only are the goals of NSMs ideologically consistent, but perhaps more importantly, public support for environmental protection is positively correlated with support for other NSM goals, lending credibility to the idea that NSM goals are ideologically interrelated. If that support has remained steady since 1990, it would seem that a majority of adults in the U.S. support several SR values, placing at least potential support at somewhere around 125 million adults (about 60% of the current adult population). Mertig and Dunlap (2001) also note that these results are generally consistent with similar data available on European attitudes (putting potential support across the Trans-Atlantic world at around 400 million adults). Paul Ray (2002b) argues that SR sympathizers, what he calls The New Progressives or The Political North, number closer to 75 million adults (36% of the current adult population).

¹ While Figure 7.3 lists "The Environment" as one of the values supported by NSM's, it is actually measuring support for the value of environmental protection.

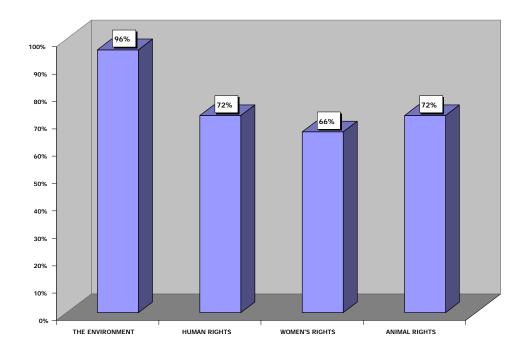


FIGURE 7.3 SUPPORT FOR FOUR SR VALUES IN THE U.S. POPULATION

Cultural Creatives Data

Paul Ray (2000) estimates the number of Cultural Creatives in the US at 50 million (Table 7.2)². This includes two sub-groups: Core Cultural Creatives, strongly interested in spirituality and self-help, and Green Cultural Creatives, whose values are centered around environmental and social issues. The latter group's value

² Paul Ray's study of Cultural Creatives is based on two groups of surveys which used mail questionnaires: 1) American LIVES, Inc.'s 13 years (1986-1999) of consumer surveys for private companies and public opinion polls for nonprofit groups. These are highly tailored proprietary surveys of particular demographic groups, particular regions, particular behavioral groups, or a combination thereof. Over the 13 years, every region of the US has been covered except New England over a very diverse range of topics. These surveys revealed an initial possibility of three subcultures. They are not statistically representative on a national level. 2) The second group includes two representative national surveys that used mail panels: a) 1995 Integral Culture Survey sponsored by the Fetzer Institute and the Institute of Noetic Sciences implemented by National Family Opinion (n=1036, 61% response), and b) 1999 Sustainability Survey sponsored by the EPA and the President's Council on Sustainable Development and implemented by Market Facts, Inc. (n=2181, 51% response). Both used American LIVES the battery of value items used to identify subcultures from their own surveys. Paul Ray was involved in designing both surveys.

orientation most closely resembles those of SR activists. That group is estimated to include 26 million people. The former group, Cultural Creatives, not only support most SR values, but that they act individually to support many of the individual/consumer based strategies of SR activism.

TABLE 7.2 CULTURAL CREATIVES POPULATION FIGURES

Cultural Creatives	50,000,000
Core Cultural Creatives	24,000,000
Green Cultural Creatives	26,000,000

SR Activism Book Sales

Over 1,115,000 core SR books had been sold as of May 2002 (Figure 7.3). Since core SR books are little more than manuals for taking SR actions, we can assume that a majority of purchasers of these titles were interested in taking the actions suggested. The Council on Economic Priorities polled buyers of Shopping for a Better World in 1994 and found that 78% of respondents (n=968) had switched brands based on the book. Because these sales may overlap substantially (due to some of the people buying both books), it would not be prudent to simply add them together, rather we must be satisfied to take the top sales figure as a maximum indicator. With CEP's sales figures and survey results, we can roughly estimate that there are say, 780,000 people engaging at least sporadically in SR actions.

TABLE 7.3 SALES OF CORE SR BOOKS

Shopping for a Better World (1988)	1,000,000+
How to Make the World a Better Place (1989)	110,000+
What Can I do to Make a Difference? (1992)	(unknown)
The Better World Handbook (2001)	5,000

Sales figures acquired from the authors in each case according to their publishers latest numbers.

Membership Of Core SR Organizations

The combined memberships of Co-op America and Working Assets are around 400,000 (Table 7.4). There may be some membership overlap that prohibits us from using that figure as an indicator of SR activism membership. However, my survey data reveal that 36% of Co-op America respondents use a socially responsible long distance service. As Working Assets is by far the largest and most popular of those, it would be safe to estimate that perhaps 1/3 of Co-op America members are also Working Assets users. Working Assets has 350,000 long distance customers and 90,000 hold its credit card. Since we do not know how many long distance customers are also credit card holders, we cannot add them to the original Working Assets membership figure of 350,000. Thus, the non-overlapping, membership of the two organizations totals around 385,000.

TABLE 7.4 SALES FIGURES FOR CORE SR BOOKS

Co-op America	50,000+
Working Assets	350,000+

Calculating SR Involvement

From the data above, we can estimate the size of SR activism populations at each level of involvement except one, the subscribers (Table 7.5).

TABLE 7.5 ESTIMATES OF SR POPULATIONS

LABEL	DESCRIPTION	ESTIMATE
Sympathizers:	People who sympathize with many SR values	75-125 million
Supporters:	People who support SR goals (includes values and strategies)	26-50 million
Subscribers:	People who have contributed money to realization of SR goals	(unknown)
Peripheral Participants:	People who sporadically take SR actions	780,000
Core Participants:	People who regularly take SR actions	385,000

These figures become more interesting when converted into percentages by using sympathizers as containing 100% of the potential support for participation in SR activism (Figure 7.4). These figures suggest that while potential support for SR activism in the U.S. is high (150 million adults), even minimal participation in SR activism remains at less than one percent of this total (0.78% = 780 thousand adults). While this data tends to support the volume of research illustrating the gap

between attitudes and behaviors, there has been little research done specifically focusing on the ratios of sympathizers to core participants.

SYMPATHIZERS
SUPPORTERS
SUBSCRIBERS
R PARTICIPANTS

CORE
PARTICIPANTS
0.25%
0.50%
UNKNOWN
16-33%
100%

FIGURE 7.4 SR ACTIVISM POPULATION, PERCENTAGES

Demographic Characteristics

There are two theoretical views on the class origins of NSMs. One group of theorists asserts that NSMs, unlike traditional social movements, draw their members from a diverse population (Dalton 1990, Johnston et al 1994). It is so diverse, that little can be said about their class demographics although much is made of their potential to succeed because their values cover issues of interest to broad sectors of society. A second group of theorists proposes that NSMs draw their members from what they call the "new class" (Klandermans 1991, Kriesi et al. 1995): highly educated, white collar workers in the non-financial, service sector of the economy. People from this "new class" are considered to be highly supportive of

NSM goals, environmental protection in particular (Kriesi 1989). However, there is some agreement across the camps that NSM supporters tend to be younger than non-supporters and more often female (Dalton 1994, Kriesi 1989).

Survey Results

Overall, my survey demographics matched closely the demographic data Coop America has collected from its members (Table 7.6). The male:female ratio and
the mean age of the sample differed from the Co-op America population only by the
smallest margins, 24%:74% vs. 25%:75% and 46 vs. 45 respectively. While both the
sample and population contained 88% White/Caucasian and 1% Black/African
American, the other minority populations did differ in their representation. Much of
this difference, however, may be explained by my inclusion of a Bi/Multi-Racial
option in the survey which was not a category used by Co-op America. This would
seem to hold particularly in the under-representation of Native American and
Hispanic/Latino populations in the sample. There does appear to be an overrepresentation of Asians in the sample, 3% vs. 1% in the population, that cannot be
explained except with sampling error.

While the income categories used in the survey did not match Co-op

America's, it was possible to determine that the median income for the sample and
the population fall within similar ranges. With education, there was again a mismatch
of categories mostly due to the fact that Co-op America the used three large
categories while the survey broke each of those down further for more detailed data.
While there is some inconsistency in the numbers of those members who only
completed high school, 2% in the survey vs. 4% in the population, members who

completed college comes closer, 55% vs. 52% in the population, and those with advanced degrees matches perfectly, 44% each.

TABLE 7.6 THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF SR ACTIVISTS

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTOR	STUDY SAMPLE N=98	CO-OP AMERICA POPULATION
GENDER		
Male	24%	25%
Female	76%	75%
AGE	7078	1376
Mean Age	46	45
RACE	.,	
Asian	3%	1%
Bi/Multi-Racial	4%	-
Black/African Am.	1%	1%
Hispanic/Latino	1%	4%
Native American	0%	1%
White/Caucasian	88%	88%
HOUSEHOLD INCOME		
Median Income Range	\$42,000 - \$66,999	\$40,000 - \$69,000
EDUCATION		
Some High School	0%	-
High School Graduate	2%	4%
Some College	14%	-
College Graduate	26%	-
Some Graduate Ed.	15%	-
College Plus	(55%)	52%
Advanced Degree	44%	44%

<u>Gender</u>

Both my sample and the population of Co-op America members, suggest a 3:1 ratio of women to men involved in SR activism (Table 7.5, Figure 7.5).

FEMALE 76%

FIGURE 7.5 GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF SR ACTIVISTS

While this supports current research on NSMs indicating that women are more likely to be involved in them than men, the great gender difference in the survey suggests that women play an even greater role in SR activism. This pattern is reinforced by examining the gender of SR influentials, three of the five are women:

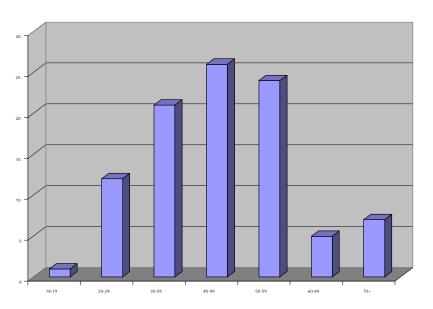
Alice Tepper Marlin	Author, Shopping for a Better World
	Founder, Council on Economic Priorities
Alisa Gravitz	Founder and President, Co-op America
Laura Scher	CEO and Co-Founder, Working Assets

In addition, Alice Tepper Marlin notes that the research done on purchasers of *Shopping for a Better World* indicates that the majority of them are women (Tepper Marlin 2002). Clearly gender is an important factor in SR activism. Because little research has been done on the role of gender in NSM's the question is open to speculation. Are women more likely to take seriously the impacts their decisions have on others? Are women more likely to want to bring together a diversity of issues

rather than pursuing a single issue? Does the role of caregiver and homemaker for some women make them more open to activism that is integrated into daily life?

<u>Age</u>

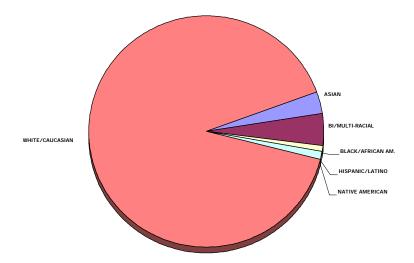




While most survey respondents were between the ages of 30 and 60, the sharp drop-off in people 60 and above seems to indicate the existence of a possible generation gap in the appeal of SR activism for people born before and after World War II (Figure 7.6). This sudden drop-off in older respondents also correlates well with SR activism gaining much of its momentum in the late 1960s as the 50-59 age group would have been approximately in their mid-teens to mid-twenties at the time. However, this may also suggest that participation in SR activism is tied to the social engagement that comes with working so that there is less likelihood of involvement after retirement.

<u>Race</u>

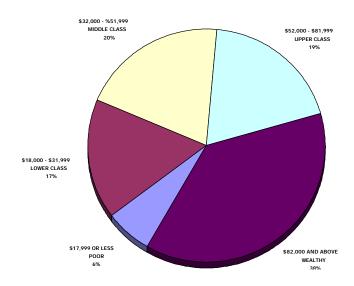




The overwhelming number of white respondents indicates that SR activism is, at present, predominantly a white phenomenon (Figure 7.7). Why part of this may be explained by an overrepresentation of whites in the wealthier, more educated sectors of the population, it does raise some disturbing questions. The environmental and feminist movements are often criticized for consisting of mainly white, upper-middleclass members. It seems likely that NSMs in general suffer from this same racial homogeneity, but few studies have touched upon the issue and thus it remains open to speculation.

Income

FIGURE 7.8 ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME OF SR ACTIVISTS BY NATIONAL INCOME QUINTILES



The middle three income quintiles of survey respondents roughly mirrored US population statistics for annual income (Census 2000) with roughly 20% in each quintile. However, the lowest and highest income quintiles differ sharply from the national population. 38% of respondents came from the top income quintile, almost doubling their representation in SR activism, while only 6% of respondents were from the lowest income quintile (Figure 7.8). The majority, 57% of the respondents, reported being in the upper two quintiles. This places SR activism predominantly with the wealthy and upper class members of the population. This data may indicate that only after one can take care of themselves and their family do they have the luxury to think about the groups and issues affected by SR actions.

Education

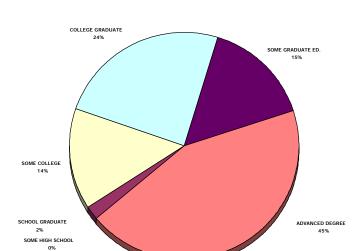


FIGURE 7.9 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF SR ACTIVISTS

The survey data show that 84% of respondents hold college degrees, over half (60%) of them have had some kind of graduate training after college, and almost half (45%) of the respondents an advanced degree (Figure 7.9). This would indicate that a highly educated sector of the population is engaging in SR activism at some level. This would make sense if we consider that people are exposed to many of the issues dealt with in SR activism only once they reach college. Global systems, international social problems, understanding rights issues, interconnected nature of environmental problems are most commonly engaged seriously in higher education. Alice Tepper Marlin (2002) noted that the people who became members of CEP also had an inordinately high amount of education.

Cultural Creatives Data

As noted earlier, Cultural Creatives (CCs), especially the Green CCs, share many of the same values as people engaged in SR activism. Because of these

similarities and because there is much demographic information on the CCs available, I utilize this data to compare with what is known about people who engage in SR activism (Table 7.7).

TABLE 7.7 THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF SR ACTIVISTS AND CULTURAL CREATIVES

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTOR	STUDY SAMPLE	CULTURAL CREATIVES	
	N=98		
GENDER			
Male	24%	40% ³	
Female	76%	60% ¹	
AGE			
Mean Age	46	44	
HOUSEHOLD INCOME			
Median Income (Range)	\$42,000 - \$66,999	\$47,500	
Income > \$60,000	Est. 54%	29%	
RACE			
Afr. Am. / Black	1%	6%	
Latino / Hispanic	1%	4%	
EDUCATION			
No College	2%	32%	
College Graduate	55%	30%	

Except for age, which resembles the SR activism respondents closely, it seems that the demographic patterns of the CCs are a watered down version of the same demographic patterns from the mail survey. While CCs include more women than men, and more whites than minorities, and have higher than average incomes and more education than the national average, they include each of these characteristics in a less extreme form than people participating in SR activism (e.g., women are 60:40 in CCs as compared to 76:24 for SR activism). This may indicate that SR activism appeals only to Cultural Creatives who have each of these

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³ Paul Ray (1996) reports that the Core Cultural Creatives sub-group has an even larger ratio of women to men (67:33). Paradoxically, the Green Cultural Creatives sub-group, which more closely aligns with SR activism in other ways has a ratio much closer to the national average (53:47).

characteristics in a more pronounced form. They tend to be wealthier, more educated, more female, and whiter: a kind of Cultural Creative elite.

Identities and Motivations

Self-Identification

Finding those involved in SR activism requires more than demographic data offers. What, for example, do people engaged in SR activism call themselves? No term has yet been invented for them. In addition, it is important to know what other audiences (e.g., environmentalists, vegetarians, progressives) are overlapping with the SR activist audience to better understand how their motivations and goals are influenced by these other subcultures, movements and political ideologies.

The survey questionnaire asked respondents to label themselves, offering terms commonly applied to those involved in areas closely related to SR activism. The categories of "socially responsible" and "activist" were included to see how respondents related to those labels. The content analysis results discussed earlier would suggest that respondents should relate well to the former and not to the latter. An option was also added to detect an aversion to being labeled; that too was something suggested by the content analysis. Respondents were given four identification options with each label:

Yes Sort of No Don't know

The "sort of" option permitted respondents to register partial affiliation or some dissatisfaction with a label. This was important for two reasons: first, because of the reluctance of SR books and organizations to use traditional labels to identify themselves, and second, because there are no new, accepted labels for people to

choose that describes what SR activism is about. With "don't know", respondents could be indicating insufficient familiarity with a label.

A few interesting things are noteworthy in Figure 7.10 that includes all respondents answering "yes" to identification with these labels⁴. First, over two thirds of respondents were willing to label themselves both environmentalists and progressives. That environmentalist labeling correlates well with the survey results of issues of importance and SR actions taken regularly. The progressive labeling would be expected with the holistic approach to issues that SR activism takes and the survey's broad ranging responses to both issues of importance and actions taken. The only other label that the majority of respondents (59%) were willing to identify with was "socially responsible". While this level of support seems to demonstrate significant affiliation with the label, it also indicates that many SR activists (41%) remain reluctant to fully embrace this particular label as a universal identifier for what they believe in. Only half of the respondents labeled themselves as "feminist" which indicates that at least one third of the women involved in SR activism do not feel comfortable with this label.

⁴ The number of respondents who reported using a label not listed was negligible, and no particular patterns emerged from that category.

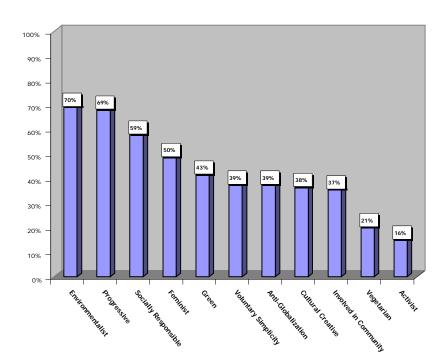


FIGURE 7.10 SELF-LABELING IN SR ACTIVISM, "YES" ONLY

Some of the least common responses include two more findings of interest. The "activist" label received the lowest score (16%) for self-identification. It seems that while people are engaged in SR "activism" they do not see themselves necessarily as SR "activists". This suggest once again that SR is a unique "activism for non-activists."

By combining the "sort of" with the "yes" responses, interesting new results are revealed (Figure 7.11). While the chart progression remains roughly the same (highest scoring labels to the left and lowest at the right), a number of labels find new, albeit tentative, acceptance. "Socially responsible" now becomes as acceptable as "environmentalist" (98%); just about everyone surveyed is ready to identify themselves as fully or sort of socially responsible. In fact, it was the only category without "no" responses. By far the greatest change in affiliation is with the label of

"activist". While only 16% of respondents were willing to call themselves activists, almost half (48%) think of themselves as "sort of activists." This supports the argument that this kind of activism pushes the boundaries of activism, traditionally defined, and that the people involved know it. The only other anomalous category is "actively involved in my community" which jumps 42% to 79% when including "sort of."

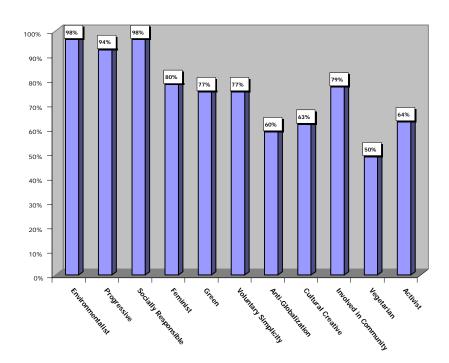


FIGURE 7.11 SELF-LABELING IN SR ACTIVISM, "YES" AND "SORT OF"

There is only one category that was highly affected by "don't know" responses. Of all the categories listed, the label of "cultural creative" received by far the largest number of respondents indicating that they did not know. Almost a quarter (24%) reported that they were unfamiliar with that term, understandable since *The Cultural Creatives* was only published in 2000.

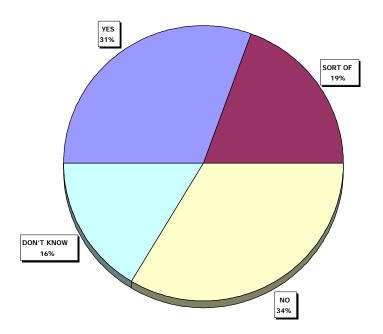


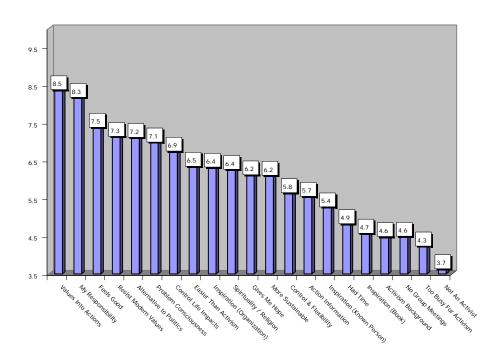
FIGURE 7.12 SR ACTIVISTS WHO AVOID LABELS

Thirty one percent of respondents (Figure 7.12) reported an aversion to labels like the ones shown in Figure 7.11. This figure is lower than one would expect since the content analysis revealed that both core SR books and organizations avoided utilizing any kind of consistent label to describe what they are doing.

However when the 19% who "sort of" avoid these labels are added, fully half (50%) the respondents report some preferences for avoiding labels compared with only one third (34%) reporting that they definitely do not avoid labels. The lower "yes" response rate may be due to the cognitive dissonance arising from labeling oneself many times at the beginning of this question section, and then having the last question ask if the respondent tries to avoid labels. This bias, however, was deemed more valid than asking the "avoid labels" question first and undercounting subsequent label responses.

Motivations





The survey questionnaire asked respondents to rate how much 21 different types of motivations influenced their beginning to take SR actions (Figure 7.13). I discuss these motivations in six categories: *Personal Integrity, Emotional Benefits, Information, Ease of Actions, Outside Inspiration, Not Activism,* and a final category for Other Motivations. The results are analyzed by category in order of their importance to respondents with the exception of those in Other Motivations, which vary widely in their importance to respondents.

Personal Integrity

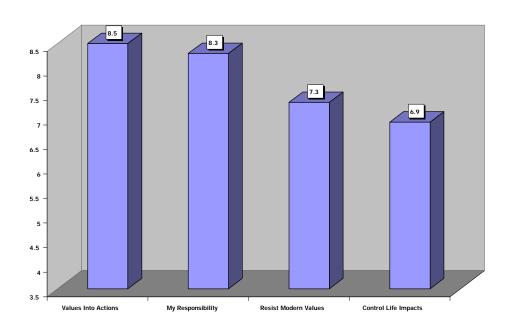


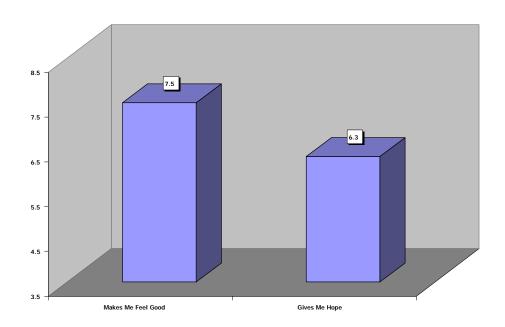
FIGURE 7.14 INTEGRITY MOTIVATION

Desire for personal integration easily ranked as the most important set of motivations for respondents (Figure 7.14). Especially important were respondents' desire to have their actions better reflect their values and their need to take personal responsibility for improving the social world. They also felt that it was very important to resist modern trends and policies they disagreed with and to take control of the global impacts of their lifestyle. Here we see SR activists connecting the inner world of values with the outer world of actions, seeing their lives within a larger context by connecting the personal with the global. In part, it is this sense of personal responsibility that drives their social responsibility. This life integration has been found to be central to the persistence of long-term activists (Downton and Wehr 1997) as it provides a grand frame through which meaning can be generated for a

lifetime. It is also consistent with research that identified it as a primary motivation of people who purchased *Shopping for a Better World* (Tepper Marlin 2002).

Emotional Benefits



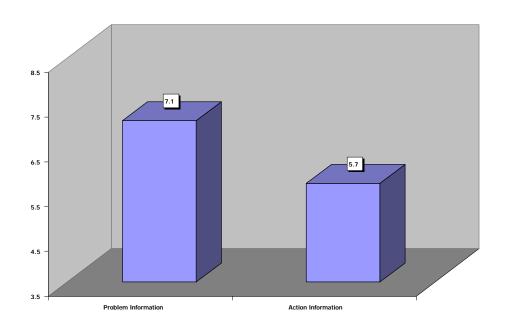


Second in importance for respondents are the emotional benefits they receive from their SR activism (Figure 7.15), especially that taking SR actions both makes them feel good and gives them hope that things can and will improve. These findings suggest a significant interest in the psychological utility of social change for the actor. These emotional benefits of SR activism have often enabled the criticism that it is primarily "feel good" behavior with little societal impact. However, the data in Figure 7.15 suggest that such emotional benefits draw people to SR activism. The importance of the benefits of altruism is also supported by Paul Ray's (2002) research showing that other than anger and pain, the most effective motivation for

participating in a movement is the pleasure brought by doing "good" and the anticipated rewards over time.

Information Exposure





Being exposed to information about global problems and individually-based solutions was also shown to be of some importance to respondents (Figure 7.16). While respondents rated knowing about specific actions they could as important, of more concern to them was knowledge of the problems themselves. These data seem to support the emphasis many SMOs give "consciousness raising" efforts to motivate people to take action.

Convenience

Easier Than Activism

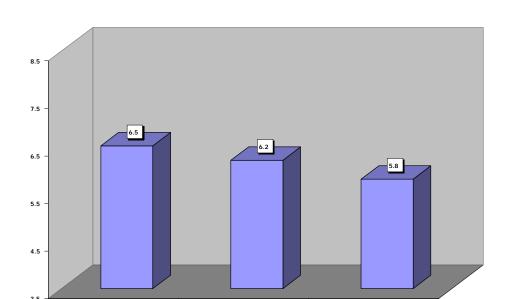


FIGURE 7.17 CONVENIENCE MOTIVATION

Almost as important a motivator for respondents as exposure to information about problems and actions was the general convenience of SR activism (Figure 7.17). Respondents noted that it was: 1) easier, 2) more sustainable for them, and 3) permitted more control and flexibility than traditional activism. Rather than having their lives revolve around activism, respondents preferred that their activism fit the specific needs of their lives, being thus more sustainable for the long-term.

More Sustainable

Control & Flexibility

Outside Inspiration

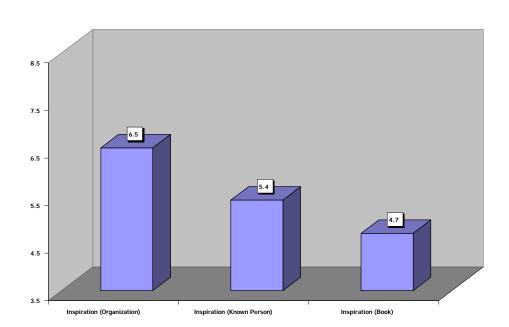


FIGURE 7.18 OUTSIDE INSPIRATION MOTIVATION

Somewhat less important to respondents, relatively speaking, is motivation coming from outside sources of inspiration, with substantial variation depending on the source of inspiration (Figure 7.18). It seems that organizations are more inspirational for those engaged in SR activism than either SR activists they know personally or books that are written about SR activism, the latter being one of the lower overall ratings. These results may be skewed, however, by the fact that all of the respondents belong to an SR organization.

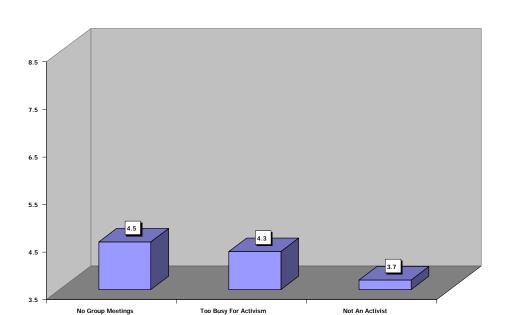
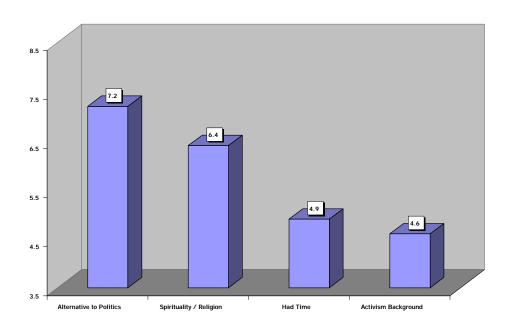


FIGURE 7.19 AVERSION TO "ACTIVISM" MOTIVATION

The group that received the lowest importance ratings in terms of motivation, I have called, Aversion To "Activism" (Figure 7.19). This set consists of negative perceptions of traditional activism including: disliking group meetings, being too busy for traditional activism, and not fitting in with traditional activists. This is interesting because it indicates, counter to my hypothesis, that respondents are not trying to distance themselves from traditional activism and the difficulties associated with participation. At the same time SR activists appreciate all of the time and commitment flexibility advantages SR activism has to offer them (see Figure 7.17). These three motivation categories also received more ratings of "not important" (zeros) than others. This implies that SR activists are not so much frustrated with traditional activism as they are merely interested in alternative activism.

Other Motivations





In this final category, a range of motivations are placed that do not fit into other groupings (Figure 7.20). One of the most important motivations for respondents falls into this category. Respondents reported that they were strongly motivated to take SR actions because they saw the present political system as ineffective. This confirms earlier data suggesting that SR activism appeals to people as an alternative to conventional politics. Spirituality and/or religion appeared to be of for respondents, which would tend to confirm, to some extent, another common shared characteristic between SR activists and Core Cultural Creatives. Respondents regarded having the time to take actions as being of lower importance, undermining somewhat the idea that availability plays a large role in the decision to take SR actions. More interesting, perhaps, is that one's previous activism rated low as a motivation by respondents. It would seem that there is not a direct progression from traditional activism to SR

activism so the latter may well be drawing from a different pool, supporting the idea that this phenomenon is a kind of activism for non-activists.

Conclusions

To summarize, this chapter has focused on data concerning the number, demographics, self-identification and motivations of SR activists. In almost every case, early hypotheses were not supported by the data (Table 7.8). Among SR activists, I identified five increasing levels of involvement: sympathizers, supporters, subscribers, peripheral participants, and core participants. The indicators used suggest that low-level sympathizers number as many as 100 million people, while regular SR activists number only 385,000 (approximately 0.4% of sympathizers) supporting the research (Clary 1994) indicating the need to measure prosocial behavior as well as attitudes, since correlation of the two has been found to be somewhat low.

TABLE 7.8 HYPOTHESES RESULTS

SUBJECT	DATA	HYPOTHESES
SIZE	NO	There will be approximately 1 million SR activists.
DEMOCRABUICS	NO	SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut
DEMOGRAPHICS	NO	 across a broad range of the population. SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies.
LABELS	MIXED	SR activists will try to avoid all labels, particularly the label of "activist".
MOTIVATIONS	NO	 People will be drawn to SR activism mainly because of their difficulty with conventional forms of activism.
SELF- IDENTIFICATION	NO	 Most SR activists will probably not think of themselves as part of a larger SR movement because they lack a label for the movement.

The project's demographic data revealed that a typical participant in SR activism is a middle-aged (mean=46), white (88%), upper class (38% in the top quintile of income), highly educated (44% with advanced degrees) woman (76%). These data

tend to contradict research that asserts that NSMs have drawn their members largely from a "classless" range of participants (Dalton et al. 1990, Johnston et al 1994, Steinmetz 1994) while supporting the idea that NSMs find support predominantly in members of the highly educated, relatively affluent, white-collar, "new class" (Inglehart 1990, Klandermans 1991, Kriesi 1989, Kriesi et al. 1995, Offe 1987). However, our SR activist data do not support the findings that supporters from the "new class" tend to be younger (Dalton 1994, Inglehart 1990, Kriesi 1989). The data strongly support previous research indicating that NSM supporters are more likely to be women (Kaase 1990) and that women are less likely to be engaged in traditional political activity (Dalton 1988). This would also seem to support research on specific NSMs, including the environmental movement (Fletcher 2002, Taylor 1996) and the feminist movement (Mizzell 2001), which indicate that their memberships are drawn from a predominantly white, middle and upper class population.

Self-labeling data revealed that, on the one hand, most SR activists are ready to label themselves environmental, progressive and socially responsible. On the other hand, they are reluctant to take on labels that suggest affiliation with specific NSMs (green, anti-globalization) and lifestyle movements (voluntary simplicity, vegetarian). They are also reluctant to say that they are involved in their community, which tends to confirm the individual action-orientation of SR activists. Only half of them are willing to label themselves outright feminists, which seems low considering 3/4 of them are women but may be due to their general reluctance to be labeled. Fully half of SR activists are either definitely or "sort of" avoiding labels altogether while only 1/3 respond that they are definitely not trying to avoid them. Interestingly, the label most avoided by SR activists is "activist". Almost half of them think of

themselves as "sort of" activists, indicating that they have some understanding that what they are doing is a kind of activism, but not the kind associated with traditional activism.

The motivations of SR activists tend to revolve around individual benefits (personal integrity, emotional benefits, ease of actions). Having access to the right information is relatively more important for them than having a source of outside inspiration. Notably, contrary to what was hypothesized, SR activists indicate that avoiding traditional activism is not a strong motivation for them, but also that they are not particularly motivated by their previous traditional activism. They are highly motivated to participate in SR activism as a viable alternative to conventional politics. It should also be noted that spirituality/religion scored higher than most motivations, possibly indicating more overlap with the Cultural Creatives than previously assumed.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In this final chapter, I synthesize what the data taken as a whole suggest about SR activism and the implications this has for social movement theory. I argue that the data indicate that our working definitions of both *social movement* and *activism* deserve reevaluation in light of SR activism. I address three potential critiques of SR activism and conclude by indicating a number of avenues for research created by my findings.

Summary of Findings

While each of the hypotheses tested have been addressed in the relevant chapters, they are revisited in this section for a broader picture of the study's results. To that end, Table 3.2, which laid out each of the hypotheses, has been reformulated to include the results of testing each one (Table 8.1).

Eight of the 25 hypotheses were falsified while 17 were generally supported by the data collected. While SR activism is currently thriving, its origins can be found at least as far back as the mid to late1960s, refuting the idea that this phenomenon is purely a product of the literature that appeared in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It is also clear that SR activism maintains strong ties to the environmental and social responsible business movements. It maintains a coherent set of values supported widely among adherents and that can be found throughout SR literature and organizations. These values overlap broadly with the set of values that drive major NSM's. SR activism is distinctive from that of NSM's with its flexible, micro-level, low-confrontation actions that appeal to a less political, "non-activist" population. In addition, SR activism focuses on cultural change in a spectrum of life-areas outside

the traditional political and legal domains addressed by conventional social movements.

TABLE 8.1 HYPOTHESES AND RESULTS

SUBJECT	DATA	HYPOTHESES	
ORIGIN AND	NO	The origin of SR activism will take place around the late 80's and 90's when most SR literature begins to appear.	
EVOLUTION	YES	SR activism will be currently thriving.	
HISTORY	YES	SR activism will have strong ties to the environmental and economically focused SR movements.	
HISTORY	YES	 SR activism will overlap with other related NSMs but still maintain a distinct niche not filled by any other. 	
	YES	There will be a broad set of core values common to all SR	
VALUES	YES	organizations and literature. SR core values will correlate well with the values of NSMs.	
GOALS	YES	The goals of SR activism will involve moving the world towards reflecting their core values at every level.	
STRATEGIES	YES	 The strategies of SR activism will be long-term, individual actions, lifestyle centered, and reformist. 	
STRATEGIES	YES	 The appeal of SR activism will lie in its apolitical, no enemy, non- activist, mainstream orientation. 	
LEADERSHIP	YES	 SR organizations will be playing a very low-level role involving resources rather than coordinated action. 	
LEADENGIII	YES	 There will be evidence of recent cooperative efforts between SR organizations. 	
ACTIONS	YES	 SR actions will provide options in a wide variety of areas in an individual's life. 	
SIZE	NO	There will be approximately 1 million SR activists.	
DEMOGRAPHICS	NO	 SR activists will reflect the demographics of NSMs and thus cut across a broad range of the population. 	
DEWOOTAL THOO	NO	SR activism will appeal to more than yuppies.	
CULTURAL VS. POLITICAL	YES	 SR activists will be apolitical in their behavior as they prefer a cultural focus. 	
TRULY HOLISTIC	YES	 SR activists will consider all of the core values of SR activism important. 	
BELIEFS?	YES	 There will be some preference by SR activists for environmental issues because of the influence of that movement on its development. 	
ARE THEY TAKING ACTIONS?	YES	SR activists will be taking frequent actions in most or all of the areas in their lives.	
RESOURCES	NO	 SR activists will name books as their preferred resource for motivating their actions. 	
MOTIVATIONS	NO	 People will be drawn to SR activism mainly because of their difficulty with conventional forms of activism. 	
SELF- IDENTIFICATION	NO	Most SR activists will probably not think of themselves as part of a larger SR movement because they lack a label for the movement.	
LABELS	MIXED	 SR activists will try to avoid all labels, particularly the label of "activist". 	
NSM UNIFIER?	YES	SR activism will be a good candidate for a NSM unifier.	
SOCIAL MOVEMENT STATUS?	YES	SR activism will behave like a social movement in many ways, but push the boundaries of the definition of social movement.	

While originally estimated at 1 million, the number of people who regularly engage in SR activism number closer to 385,000 according to the best available data. The diversity in demographics was also overestimated as the majority of SR activists tend to be white, upper-middle and upper class, highly educated women. Counter to earlier assumptions, SR activists do not receive their impetus for action from SR literature but rather derive it largely from issues of personal integrity. While SR activists don't tend to participate as a result of their involvement in traditional forms of activism, they have not rejected conventional movements as viable avenues for social change nor do they reject the labels associated with them. Surprisingly, a substantial majority (77%) of SR activists conceive of themselves as part of a larger SR movement.

Social Movement Status

Defining a Social Movement

Although attempts to define a social movement reach back to Herbert Blumer (1939), there is still no universally accepted definition in the literature. I have organized some recent definitions from several noted social movement theorists (Table 8.2) with each broken down into three common components: Actor(s), Interest(s) and Action(s).

The actors in these definitions range from "formally organized groups" (Goldberg 1991) to "informal networks" (Della Porta and Diani 1999) to the even more loosely defined "collective/sustained challenges" (Tarrow 1994, Tilly 1994). These collective actors are made up of individuals with some form of collective identity, common interests, and/or shared beliefs. In their actions, they come

together to promote/defend change, confront those in power, or challenge conditions and assumptions in their own lives. To achieve their goals, social movements threaten mass mobilization (Scott 1990) and utilize various other forms of protest such as refusing to accept established boundaries and institutionalized roles (Darnovsky et al. 1995, Della Porta and Diani 1999).

TABLE 8.2 SOCIAL MOVEMENT DEFINITIONS

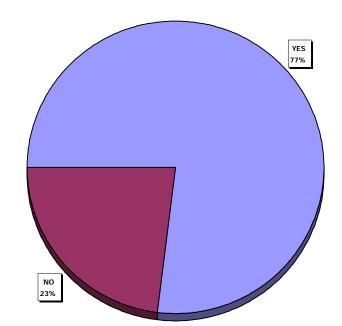
YEAR	1990	1991	1994	1994	1995	1999
SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORIST(S)	Scott	Goldberg	Tarrow	Tilly	Darnovsky, Epstein and Flacks	Della Porta and Diani
ACTOR(S)	Collective Actor constituted by individuals who understand themselves to have common interests and a common identity	Formally Organized Group that acts consciously and with some continuity	Collective Challenges based on common purposes and social solidarities	Sustained Challenges	Collective Efforts by socially and politically subordinated people	Informal Networks based on shared beliefs and solidarity
INTEREST(S)	To defend or change society	To promote or resist change	To challenge the status quo*	To challenge power-holders in the name of a population living under the jurisdiction of those power-holders	To challenge the conditions and assumptions of their lives	To mobilize about conflictual issues
ACTION(S)	By threatening mass mobilization	Through collective action	Through sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities	By means of repeated public displays of that populations' numbers, commitment, unity and worthiness	By refusing to accept the boundaries of established institutional rules and routinized roles	Through the frequent use of various forms of protest

^{*}Tarrow does not explicitly state a collective interest for social movements. The interest described has been extrapolated from the rest of his defintion.

Participants Identifying Themselves as a Movement

The survey of SR activists asked respondents whether they felt like they were part of a larger social responsibility movement. Interestingly, 77% of the respondents indicated that they did (Figure 8.1). This high level of positive response is surprising considering that no literature has yet suggested that a larger social responsibility movement exists. While this by no means secures SR activism's social movement status, our respondents' identifying themselves as members of a social responsibility movement seems to confirm it.

FIGURE 8.1 SELF-IDENTIFYING AS AN SR MOVEMENT MEMBER



ARE YOU A PART OF A SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY MOVEMENT?

Final Analysis

To decide whether or not SR activism is a social movement, we must first create a working definition of SR activism. The research completed for this study determines that SR activism consists of:

- people acting individually in an effort to bring about social change
- around a set of issues common to a number of new social movements
- by taking a range non-confrontational, lifestyle actions

With this working definition of SR activism, we now reexamine the chart of social movement definitions. By reorganizing the more recent definitions into three groups chronologically, a pattern of increasing congruence emerges (Table 8.3).

TABLE 8.3 SOCIAL MOVEMENT DEFINITIONS AND SR ACTIVISM

SOCIAL MOVEMENT DEFINITIONS	EARLY 90S	MID 90S	MID TO LATE 90S
ACTOR(S)	Collective Actor, Formally Organized Group	Collective or Sustained Challenges	Collective Efforts, Informal Networks
INTEREST(S)	To Promote or Resist Change	To Challenge the Status Quo or Those In Power	To Challenge Life Assumptions, Mobilize Around Conflictual Issues
ACTION(S)	By Threatening Mass Mobilization, Through Collective Action	Through Sustained Interaction with Elites, Public Displays of Power	By Refusing to Accept Boundaries and Roles, Frequently Using Various Forms of Protest
MATCH WITH SR ACTIVISM	POOR	FAIR	GOOD

The earlier definitions are based on collective actors and formally organized groups and SR activism would not fit well as a "movement". While SR activism definitely has a collective component to it, it could be argued that it is fundamentally based on individual actors. Also, while there are formally organized groups involved,

there is substantial evidence that much of this activism takes place outside of these group contexts. "Promoting/resisting change" does seem to describe what SR activists do but remains somewhat imprecise descriptive term. "By threatening mass mobilization" is not a very good match as SR activism avoids the threatening behaviors of most social movements, and it is not clear that SR influentials could actually coordinate a mass mobilization of these people. The term "collective action" is once again problematic given the strong individual nature of the actions and absence of their formal coordination of time and place.

The second group of definitions could somewhat better include SR activism but there would still be problems there with classifying it as a social movement. While "collective or sustained challenges" actually is more descriptive than "collective actor", "challenges" implies more traditional confrontational approaches while SR activism takes a more cooperative approach to reform. However, the term "sustained" does suggest the long-term orientation of SR activism which stands in contrast to the more tangible objective or result orientation of most social movements. "To challenge the status quo or those in power" is once again somewhat confrontational and ambiguous except for its reference to a focus on those in positions of power, which implies more political action than SR activism exhibits. "Through public displays of power" does not describe SR activism as most of it takes place in private without the goal of media attention. "Through sustained interaction with elite" implies at least the possibility of cooperation with elites over the long-term which may be characteristic of at least some aspects of SR activism, particularly the SRI and CSR secotrs which are both interested in reforming the culture of corporate elites.

The most recent group of definitions, however, begins to look like it could include SR activism. "Collective efforts" is perhaps the best way to describe the collective aspect of SR activism, and "informal networks" does characterize how most SR actors function in a loose conglomeration of organizations, literature, and influentials. "To challenge life assumptions" seems to catch SR activism's focus on lifestyle change as a form of activism. "To mobilize around conflictual issues" describes well SR activism's concern with a specific set of core issues. The reference to actions, "refusing to accept boundaries and roles" and "frequently using various forms of protest" seems to illustrate well how SR activism transforms mundane, everyday actions into opportunities for social change without forcing the actor to work through formal political channels or take on the activist role.

Only the most recent definitions of social movements would seem to include SR activism as a social movement. As researchers prefer to test with time new definitions before adopting them, these definitions are likely still to be somewhat controversial. The recognition of SR activism as a social movement is thus dependent on the adoption by the field of the most recent definitions of social movements. Given that acceptance, SR activism should be considered a social movement.

There are three possible characterizations of SR activism other than a true social movement, but with little written about them as yet, more empirical study of and theoretical debate about social movements will be needed to determine useful descriptive terms for social movement-like phenomena. The first alternative is the most straightforward; SR activism is a *social movement in formation*. One may argue that because it is in the early stages of development, it lacks many formal

organizations, a distinctive collective identity, and a set of narrowly focused objectives. If it continues to grow, then presumably, all of these elements will fall into place at some point in the future.

The second possibility is that SR activism is a *pseudo social movement*. In this case, its failure to meet formal social movement criteria is characteristic of its natural state, and it will remain outside social movements, maintaining a beneficial climate for a number of new social movements.

The third option is that SR activism is a kind of *metamovement*. In this sense, SR activism acts like an umbrella for the group of new social movements that address its core issues. This phenomenon is similar to that proposed by Paul Wehr (1995) regarding the possibility of an overarching nonviolence movement that encompasses various peace and justice movements, movements that historically have tended to be more episodic and reactive. More recently Paul Ray (2002) has proposed that researchers should view NSMs as a "megamovement" that represents a wave of change coming through the U.S. If so, we should expect to see SR activism permeate each of these new social movements and ultimately stimulate a formal organization of some kind to coordinate the efforts of these movements toward effectiveness in achieving their interrelated goals. This third option may have some additional support from current search for a new social movements "unifier" or "vanguard" (Mertig and Dunlap 2000, Scott 1990).

While each of these alternative conceptualizations may have merit, I would argue that SR activism is already a true social movement, albeit one different from those researchers currently investigate. If the evolution of social movement

characterization continues in the pattern we have seen in the past decade, SR activism may soon become a model for postmodern, culturally-focused NSMs.

Loci and Foci of Member Actions

The question arose during this research of whether or not SR activists reject political means and ends¹, as traditionally pursued by social movements. If so, does that indicate a shift in the larger culture of activism leading people away from political avenues to social change toward more convenient alternatives? Does SR activism provide an alternative that is largely economic in nature or does it go beyond this to a wider range of actions we could categorize as cultural activism²?

Avoiding Political Means and Ends

Although I have not seen it as a traditional life-area of SR activism, politics as a category was included in the survey questionnaire for two reasons. First, political actions are suggested in both core SR literature and SR organization documents (Table 5.1), so it was important for me to learn whether SR activists are taking those more traditional forms of action. The second reason for including politics was to understand trends that may be taking place within social movements. SR activism seems to focus on creating social change at a cultural rather than political level, so it was important to know whether this cultural approach was preferred by activists. They might merely be adding the cultural actions to consistent political action, or they

¹ "Political means" denotes traditional politically focused forms of activism such as mobilizing voting blocs, organizing letter writing campaigns to government officials, lobbying, creating new legislation, forming or supporting political parties, and disrupting "politics as usual" through mass demonstrations, marches, and protest events. "Political ends" includes passing legislation, getting politicians elected, and gaining media attention which puts their issues on government agendas.

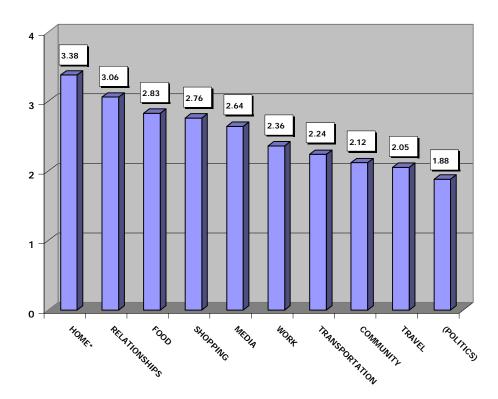
² "Cultural activism" includes primarily symbolic actions, economic actions, countercultural behaviors, and lifestyle changes.

could be perceiving cultural actions as a better alternative to more traditional political ones. Responses to that survey question were coded as follows:

- 0 Never
- 1 Rarely
- 2 Sometimes
- 3 Frequently
- 4 Always

In Figure 8.2 we see the same life-area action means as presented in Figure 6.1 with the category of politics added. All of the life-areas achieved a mean rating of 2.0 or higher. Only the area of politics scored lower, which confirms that the focus of SR activists is toward cultural and away from political actions.





While, as a general rule, SR activism remains politically neutral insofar as it does not support political parties or candidates, some traditional political actions are taken. These actions tend to be fairly common like voting regularly, contacting representatives, being informed on preferred issues and participating in political parties that reflect one's values, for example. The most traditionally "activist" activity that is not as commonly advocated in SR activism is participating in public protests.

The survey data indicate that almost every one of these traditionally political actions scored below 2.0, suggesting a lower interest in those categories (Figure 8.3). The only action that ranked high was regular voting, something which many people feel is a civic duty for political and non-political activists alike, the lowest level of political engagement. In fact, if the voting question were removed, politics would

score even lower (1.51) as compared to other SR life-areas of action. Overall, this suggests a distinctly lower level of interest among SR activists in engaging in traditional political, as compared to cultural, actions.

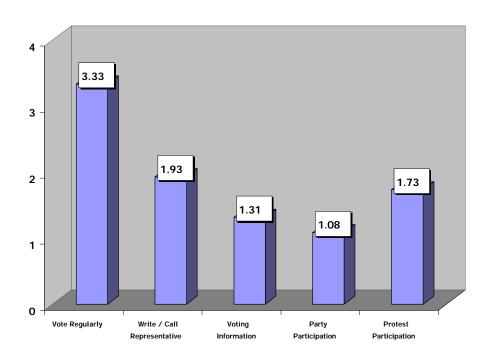


FIGURE 8.3 TRADITIONAL POLITICAL ACTIONS

Embracing The Cultural

While there has been much discussion in NSM literature of this apparent move from political to cultural orientation, the term itself lacks precision and has come to mean "not political". Applied to SR activism, "cultural" combines aspects of economic, social, and personal behavior with a strong sense of ethical responsibility.

Action in the economic realm is the predominant and arguably the most developed type of SR activism. This is so largely because of SR activism's taproot in the socially responsible investing and corporate social responsibility movements. SR activists are asked to "vote with their dollars" by purchasing products and services

from SR businesses rather than from those with unknown or poor social responsibility records. This approach allows participants to "buy a better world" by supporting those producers whose priorities are in line with SR values.

In the social realm activists use their relationships with others as avenues for social transformation. SR activism frames putting more time and energy into one's personal relationships (children, family, friends, neighbors, co-workers, strangers) as a socially transforming act. This counters the egoism that SR activism seeks to resist and emphasizes human interdependency. This emphasis on the value of human connections underlies the motivation of SR activists to volunteer their time and energy to benefit those they may never meet.

Action for change in the personal realm is the most fundamental in SR activism, the belief that real transformation can be created slowly with the accumulation of actions of participants in their everyday lives. There is no need to coordinate the actions, as their collective impact is made without top-down direction. This non-hierarchical approach allows for both the personal flexibility and personal responsibility that are disregarded in more traditional forms of activism. SR activism also encourages the seeking out of media information that informs the seekers and empowers them to more fully connect their values and actions.

The Legitimacy of SR Activism

To balance personal biases I brought to this study, I have constructed three critiques one might make of SR activism, toward a healthy debate around the effectiveness of this new form of behavior. Each critique illustrates a weakness of SR activism not otherwise readily apparent to researchers.

Politics By Another Name

First, let us consider that SR activism does not so much reject a political orientation as it hides it. The ten core values of SR activism are almost identical to those held by progressives and greens, both fundamentally political actors. SR activism's cultural actions could easily be described as the infusing of politics into traditionally non-political areas of life. This may in fact be a new, more powerful form of political correctness – a kind of "hyper-politics". My evidence that SR activists are disengaging from traditional political action could suggest that SR activism is a way to keep people politically active in progressive/green political issues despite their disenchantment with the present state of the political system. In other words, SR activism could be simply a quieter form of the traditional Left's political agenda, and by not recognizing this, we are mistaking the phenomenon for innovation.

In response, I would argue that while most of the ten core values of SR activism overlap with a generally progressive ideological stance, the "newness" of SR activism lies in its unique approach to achieving the social goals suggested by these more commonly held values. In other words, while their social "ends" may overlap, the means by which the ends are achieved do not. It is the emphasis on the connection between global issues and everyday, or mundane, decisions that holds SR activism apart from more traditional, political approaches forwarded by progressives and greens. The development of a consciousness by which the negative, unintended consequences of one's daily actions are realized and transformed into positive, intentional ones is the cornerstone of SR activism's strategy for creating a world based on its ideological concerns. While SR activists are, for the most part, openly progressive in their political beliefs, since the SR

approach has yet to be embraced by progressives generally, SR activists remain in the minority.

Feel Good "Activism"

Second, it is important to consider that actions by individuals encouraged in SR activism may have little influence toward the structural changes needed to solve the problems it is concerned with, and thus be a "band-aid on a cancer" approach. Like recycling may be for the environmental movement, such "armchair activism" may do little more than make the "activist" feel comfortable, deterring their engagement in the difficult work of serious activism, and blinding them to the larger problem. SR activism could be a kind of "feel good" opiate for the masses or "deradicalization" of a population of potential activists.

In response, I defer to a concept Alisa Gravitz (2002) mentioned in her interview, "strategic biodiversity". Gravitz explains that for social change to move forward around a given issue, it is important for SMOs to have at their disposal the widest possible range of strategic tools. At one point in the process, public protests may be needed to draw media attention to the issue. Later, political pressure from various constituents is appropriate. Legal, economic, and both top-down and grassroots efforts may be utilized depending upon the circumstances. SR activism represents a new species to this strategic biodiversity, complementing the more traditional approaches to social change utilized by conventional activists.

In addition, while everyday lifeworld actions may not always strike at the structural base of any given social problem, they do offer the possibility of active participation in purposive social change to many more people. Only a very small percentage of the population is ever likely to engage in more traditional activism. SR

activism provides an avenue accessible to many, and as such, it may stimulate a consciousness leading to further involvement in active social change. In fact, because of this accessibility, SR activism may be a social change strategy that is truly grassroots in its approach as it reaches far beyond those few willing to make the larger commitment require of traditional activists.

Reinforcing Privilege

A third reservation concerns the healthy suspicion we must hold of the central role of business in creating SR activism. It may be that SR actions, beyond their intended impacts, have secondary effects that directly benefit "big business" unbeknownst to participants. Has big business marketed this approach, as was Reaganomics, as beneficial to all, when in fact those in need will end up with the short end of the stick as usual? The narrow demographics (predominantly uppermiddle class and white) of participants would seem also to lend credibility to the argument that SR activism salves the consciences of the "rich, white and guilty" sector of the population, allowing them to enjoy their privilege with little guilt or personal sacrifice.

In response to this critique of SR activism as elitism, I first point out that a number of NSM's have suffered, and may still suffer, from this same condition. The environmental movement, particularly in its early stages, consisted of largely white, educated, upper and middle class members, though now two out of three Americans believes that the environment must be protected no matter what the economic cost (Wirthlin Worldwide 2000). SR activism may be experiencing similar growing pains. Because the lifestyle choices of those in the upper economic strata arguably have the greatest impact on the institutional structures underlying many social problems, it

is important that this group begins to take personal responsibility for making those impacts remedial ones.

<u>Implications for Social Movement Theory</u>

SR Activism as a Unifier of New Social Movements

As Mertig and Dunlap (2001) have noted, new social movements are generally considered to comprise a "coherent social force" (Scott 1990), a "movement family" (Della Porta and Rucht 1995, Kriesi et al. 1995), or an overarching "general movement" (Turner 1994). Within this framework, environmentalism has long been considered that movement with the potential to pull other NSMs together under a single "ideological umbrella" (Mertig and Dunlap 2001), thus creating a coherent oppositional force to challenge traditional values and policies in industrialized societies (Buttel 1992, Dalton 1988, Lowe and Rudig 1986, Olofsson 1988, Scott 1990, Snow and Benford 1992). This is suggested by the many hybrid movements emerging from environmentalism and related NSMs such as the green, environmental justice, and ecofeminist movements (Dalton 1994, Dowie 1995, Dunlap and Mertig 1992).

Mertig and Dunlap (1995, 2001) found that those who support environmental protection are significantly more likely to embrace other NSM issues. While environmental protection represents the most popular issue across the NSMs, the environmental movement as a whole does not explicitly support all of the issues of its fellow NSMs (e.g., women's rights, peace, workers' rights). In contrast, SR activism may serve better as the NSM vanguard as it provides a fully formed ideological umbrella under which all NSM issues are represented. While the Green movement

offers a similar all-inclusive approach, its more traditional political orientation has not found nearly the public support environmentalism has. SR activism offers both an accessibility for individuals that the Green movement has not, and an emphasis on individual actions that have been so popular within environmentalism. SR activism should be watched closely as a potential NSM unifier.

The Case For Micro-Activism

Individual activism in everyday life is often overlooked as a viable social change strategy. And yet, were it practiced consistently by growing numbers of activists...it might become a powerful element of a comprehensive strategy for fundamental social change. As conceived here, individual activism in everyday life is intended to facilitate the emergence and spread of critical consciousness (Gil 1987).

An ultimate goal of SR activism is to create a critical consciousness of the connection between citizens' everyday life decisions and global conditions. That consciousness is perhaps the single most important transformational goal of SR activism. This approach is similar to that used in what William Brigham (1990) calls "noncontentious social movements" where one of the major goals is a mass change in consciousness (Lofland 1988), out of which structural change will grow (Bromley and Shupe 1979).

These everyday actions of SR activists may be thought of as "little earthquakes." The impact of any temblor is felt many miles away and will register on sensitive measuring instruments hundreds of miles distant from the epicenter of the actual geological event. The impacts of any given change action may be said to occur in much the same way; they weaken yet persist, as they move away from the epicenter of action, the person taking the action. The impacts of an action radiate concentrically (Figure 8.4).

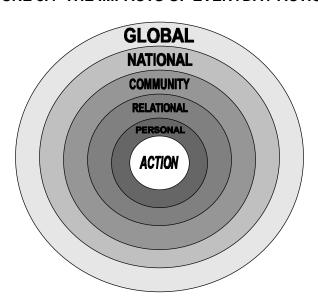


FIGURE 8.4 THE IMPACTS OF EVERYDAY ACTIONS

The action affects not just the person taking it, who gets immediate positive feedbacks from the action, but the people who witness it firsthand as well as friends, family, or co-workers told about the action in conversation (relational level). The action also has impacts for the local community (community level), the nation as a whole (national level), and finally the rest of the world (global level).

In Table 8.3, we see how two examples of individual actions have impacts at each of the five levels.

TABLE 8.4 EXAMPLES OF MULTI-LEVEL IMPACTS

	Buying a T-Shirt at Wal-Mart
Personal	Owns an inexpensive t-shirt, becomes \$6.99 poorer
Relational	Influences other shoppers/people told about the good deal
Community	Money goes to local Wal-Mart instead of alternative local business selling t-shirts
National	Wal-Mart makes a profit and puts it toward building more stores elsewhere
Global	Chinese sweatshop makes a profit and puts it towards building another one

	Biking to Work
Personal	Saves \$0.25 in gas, gets some exercise and a psychological boost
Relational	Influences other people seeing him/her biking to work / people told about the decision
Community	Traffic congestion lessens, smog levels decrease
National	Demand for gasoline down, national air quality levels raised
Global	Greenhouse gases reduced, global warming effect reduced

Taken individually, the actions can be significant only for the actor or those close to him or her. When tens of thousands or millions of people take the same actions, however, the impacts are substantial. This is how, for example, the decisions by individuals to drive their cars rather than take public transportation significantly increases the global production of greenhouse gases. The reverse of the example also holds true, if large numbers of individuals decide to take public transportation in lieu of driving their cars, greenhouse gas emissions significantly decrease. Micro-actions can produce significant impacts at the macro level. This kind of "micro-activism" is the driving principle of endeavors like the Working Assets credit card (whose \$.10 per purchase donation has produced \$30 million for social change organizations since its introduction in 1985). Similarly, The Hunger Site, donating fractions of cents per web site click, had by 2002 purchased over 15,000 metric tons of staple food for undernourished people in the third world). Micro-activism is also the driving principle behind SR activism as a whole. It is the cumulative and collective

impact of individual actions that creates social change. To follow up on my original "little earthquakes" analogy, it's as if we are inventing a new technology by which myriad tremors can be collected and reshaped into larger earthquakes with significant socio-economic impacts.

Changing Forms of New Social Movements

The data I have collected on SR activism points students of NSMs to some areas for further investigation. While most NSMs have been identified and labeled as such, there has been little comparative research into how these movements interrelate through key attributes they may have in common. We must do this if the concept "new social movement" is to help us understand social movements.

Instead of distinguishing traditional from new social movements, it may be more useful to develop continua from social movement characteristics to see if patterns emerge distinguishing some movements from others. As a step toward that, I have created two illustrations based on four continua, each of the latter measuring location on a dimension important for comparing several NSMs referred to earlier. I have included with these NSMs, the labor movement as the arch-typical traditional social movement, and SR activism to understand where it fits in relation to other NSMs. "Progressive" as a political ideology has also been included to better differentiate political ideologies from social movements.

In Figure 8.5, the vertical "action" continuum measures whether the movement promotes change primarily through collective actions (e.g., the global justice movement) or those of individuals (e.g., the voluntary simplicity movement). The horizontal "identity" continuum measures whether the movement label is used only to describe a very particular subset of the population involved in specific

practices (e.g., Greens) or more loosely to describe a broad spectrum of people who may be involved in a wide variety of activities that bring them to affiliate with this label (e.g., environmentalists).

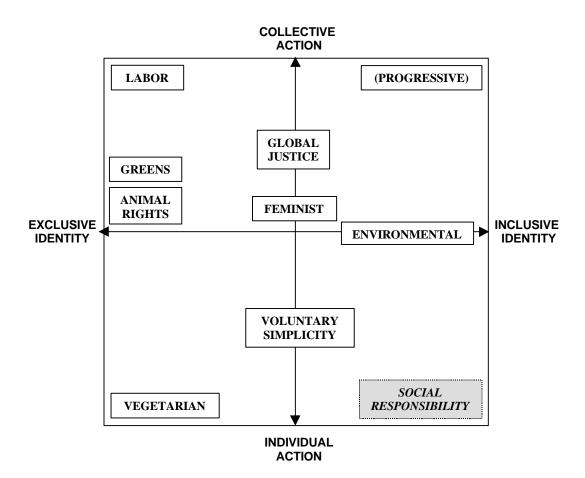


FIGURE 8.5 MOVEMENTS IDENTITY-ACTION MATRIX

In Figure 8.6, the vertical "realm" dimension measures whether the movement's actions are performed within more traditional political action channels (voting, protesting, lobbying, letter writing) or outside of these channels in the realm of personal lifestyle (diet, work, finance, relationships). The horizontal "focus" dimension measures the range of issues a movement is involved in promoting, from

a single issue (e.g., the labor movement) to a comprehensive ideology addressing many issues (e.g., the global justice movement).

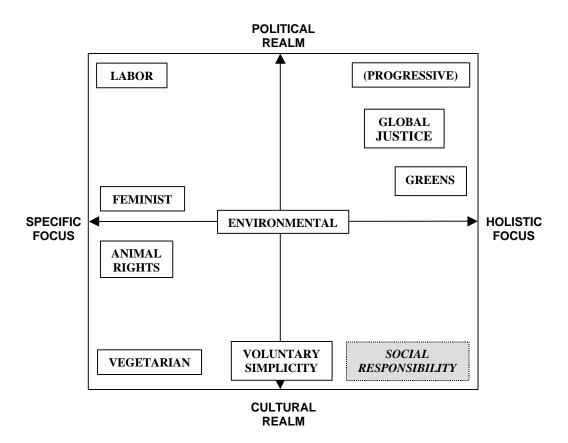


FIGURE 8.6 MOVEMENTS FOCUS-REALM MATRIX

Some patterns do emerge in these two figures. First, the labor movement remains in the top left corner in both, exhibiting the classical characteristics of traditional social movements (exclusive identity, collective action, political realm, specific focus) while SR activism remains at the bottom right reflecting extreme NSM characteristics (inclusive identity, individual action, cultural realm, holistic focus). The vegetarian movement and progressive philosophy maintain their positions as well in the other two corners. SR activism may be seen as something of a hybrid combining

the philosophy of progressives (holistic focus, inclusive identity) and the practices of the vegetarian movement (individual action, cultural realm).

These patterns suggest new possibilities for social movement researchers. A comprehensive map of social movements needs to be created detailing their interrelated characteristics, political ideologies, forms of activism, and codes of ethics. Researchers can then begin to more clearly delineate these forms of collective behavior, identify where they overlap, and build a more useful set of criteria for distinguishing NSMs and related phenomena.

Looking Toward The Future

Limitations and New Questions

This initial study of SR activism was limited in both scope and resources.

Only the membership of one of the two core organizations, Co-op America, was surveyed and with a sample size that left potential for significant margins of error. A larger sample of the same membership could confirm data collected. A similar survey of a representative sample of members of Working Assets, the second core organization, would also be useful. In addition, telephone interviews could be conducted with randomly selected members from each organization for information about beliefs, motivations, and actions of SR activists.

Only five influentials were interviewed, leaving a substantial number of SR influentials out of the study. Interviews with more of them would be useful. I have assembled a list of SR influentials as a starting point for further interviews (Appendix K).

While the content analysis originally drew on a large pool of SR material, ultimately, it focused on its core literature: four books and documents from four SR organizations. A more formal longitudinal study of SR periodicals might shed light on SR activism's development through the years. If they are available, annual membership figures for SR organizations and annual sales figures for core SR books since publication could reveal more about SR growth patterns.

Finally, my study has generated three questions that deserve further investigation. First, the responses of survey participants regarding SR movement membership suggest something of a collective identity may be forming among SR activists. What does this identity look like and how does it differ from that typically described in social movement literature? If individuals are allowed to shape their participation by selecting from a broad range of SR behaviors, can we even call it collective?

Second, SR activism's development is tied closely to the business sector, something which has influenced its approach to social change. How does SR activism market itself to potential participants, and how has this marketing evolved? When the environmental movement connected with the corporate world, we saw the invention of both green businesses and "greenwashing". What is the SR equivalent of "greenwashing" and how much of a problem is it for legitimate socially responsible businesses?

Third, participation in SR activism, if accurately reflected in the survey, is surprisingly gender biased, with a 3:1 ratio of women to men responding. Why is SR

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³ "Greenwashing" is the term commonly used to describe the business practice of deceptively advertising products as "environmentally friendly" when, in fact, they are no better for the environment than any similar products that do not tout this same label. Some companies have used this practice to increase sales figures.

activism so appealing to women? There are a number of possible explanations. Women are perhaps less likely to involve themselves in politics and activism using direct, confrontational styles, and thus the more cooperative, non-confrontational approach of SR activism is more attractive to them. Alternatively, women may be more interested in it because they are more likely to be in time-scarce life contexts where they are already juggling a family with children and a career. This may lead women to look for participation avenues that are less time intensive or that they can more easily integrate into their already heavy schedules. Women may even be more likely to lean towards especially holistic approaches like SR activism because they are already prone to be more attentive to multiple needs in their lives rather than singly focused on career success as is more common for their male counterparts. Additionally, a number of female influentials in key SR positions (Alisa Gravitz, Sherry Ruth Anderson, Laura Scher, Alice Tepper Marlin) leads us to question how gender may have shaped the approach, philosophy, and evolution of SR activism. How has SR activism been shaped by the predominance of women in positions of influence. The answer to this second question may in fact go a long way in answering the first. Finally, what influences do race and class (SR activists appear to be overwhelmingly whiter and significantly more affluent than the general population) bring to bear on SR membership?

Future Research Possibilities

Three lines of research could provide valuable follow-up to this study. First, the data collected for this study should be compared with similar data from the general population. How interested are average Americans in SR issues? What

kinds of actions are they taking and avoiding? What are their motivations for taking the actions that they do and why do they avoid the others? Such a project could use focus groups where participants fill out a short questionnaire about issues of importance, actions, motivations, followed by a sharing of their beliefs and behavior. The information from the focus groups could inform a national telephone or mail survey of a representative random sample of the U.S. population. We would help learn more about the differences between SR activists and the average citizen. It would also indicate the potential openness of people to this new form of activism for non-activists.

A second inquiry might go beyond the U.S. since there is evidence that SR activism is more widespread. There is substantial similarity between U.S. and European opinion poll results regarding SR issues (Mertig and Dunlap 2000). Organizations similar to The Council on Economic Priorities, the U.S.-based SR organization, have been established in both Europe (The Ethical Consumer Research Association) and Japan (The Asahi Foundation). Evidence of literature, organizations and influentials should be collected in other countries leading to a survey of both SR activists and the general population concerning SR issues and activism. The growing number of transnational organizations expressly concerned with issues of social responsibility may merit a study as well.

Third, the critique of SR activism as ineffective, "feel good" activism suggests a study of the impacts of SR activism and how we measure them. I propose the development of a new conceptual and methodological tool, a modified version of what environmentalists call the "ecological footprint". While an ecological footprint measures the negative environmental impact of a given behavior or project, an SR

"global fingerprint" would be a measure of the cumulative impact of SR actions taken (or not) by an individual, from trees planted, to money donated, to hours volunteered. While the impacts of some actions will be difficult to quantify, the effort will respond directly to the criticism that SR activism is ineffective and permit researchers to more accurately measure the impact of this understudied phenomenon.

A Final Thought

While SR activism remains a relatively recent collective behavior phenomenon, it could suggest that the nature of activism in an increasingly postmodern world is shifting from collective and political to individual and cultural actions. In some ways, SR activism may signal the democratization of activism in general which historically has involved a small percentage of the population. Activism has required highly committed, politically involved, group-oriented individuals willing to make significant personal sacrifices to turn their dissatisfaction into effective change, possibly at the expense of relationships, family, financial security, and career advancement. SR activism, by contrast, would appear to open the door to social change for large numbers of people. Democratizing political, social and economic institutions through collective action has always been fraught with unforeseen obstacles and unintended consequences. SR activism could be expanding the means of societal transformation. Social research can and should help societies utilize and develop this new source of power.

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APPENDIX A

CONTENT ANALYSIS:

CORE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY LITERATURE AND ORGANIZATIONS

Core Organizations	Co-op America Working Assets	(www.coopamerica.org) (www.workingassets.com)
Peripheral Organizations	Social Investment Forum Business for Social Responsibility	(www.socialinvest.org) (www.bsr.org)
Core Books	Hollender, Jeffrey. 1989, 1995. How T Place: 116 Ways You Can Make Differ Norton & Co. Council on Economic Priorities. 1988, for a Better World: The Quick and East Responsible Shopping. New York: CE Jones, Ellis, Ross Haenfler and Brett & World Handbook: From Good Intention Gabriola Island, B.C.: New Society Pu Zimmerman, Richard. 1991. What Can A Positive Action Sourcebook. New Yorks.	rence. New York: W.W. 1990, 1994, 2000. Shopping by Guide to All Your Socially P Books. Johnson. 2001. The Better his to Everyday Actions. blishers. In I Do To Make A Difference:

APPENDIX B

CONTENT ANALYSIS: LIFE-AREA SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY LITERATURE

COMMUNITY	
None	
FOOD	
None	
<u>HOME</u>	

MEDIA

None

None

MONEY (SRI)

Brill, Hal A., Jack A. Brill and Cliff Feigenbaum. 2000. *Investing with Your Values: Making Money and Making a Difference*. New Society Publishers.

Case, Samuel. 1996. *The Socially Responsible Guide to Smart Investing: Samuel Case.* Prima Communications.

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Harrington, John C. 1992. *Investing with Your Conscience: How to Achieve High Returns Using Socially Responsible Investing*. Wiley, John & Sons, Inc.

Kinder, Peter D., Amy L. Domini and Steven D. Lydenberg. 1994. *Investing for Good: Making Money while Being Socially Responsible*. Harper Business.

Mansley, Mark. 2000. Socially Responsible Investment: A Guide for Pension Funds and Institutional Investors. Informa Publishing Group.

Meeker-Lowry, Susan. 1994. Invested in the Common Good: Economics as if the Earth Really Mattered. New Society Publishers.

Miller, Alan J. 1991. Socially Responsible Investing: How to Invest with Your Conscience. New York Institute of Finance.

Tramer, Harriet. 1993. Socially Responsible Investing. PPI Publishing.

RELATIONSHIPS

None

SHOPPING

Council on Economic Priorities. 1988, 1990, 1994, 2000. Shopping for a Better World: The Quick and Easy Guide to All Your Socially Responsible Shopping. New York: CEP Books.

Co-op America. 1987-2002. *National GreenPages: A Directory of Products and Services for People and the Planet*. Washington, DC: Co-op America.

TRANSPORTATION

None

TRAVEL

French, Lisa. 1995. *Traveling with Heart: A Handbook for the Socially Conscious Tourist*. Peradam Press.

Grotta, Daniel and Sally Weiner-Grotta. 1992. *The Green Travel SourceBook: A Guide for the Physically Active, the Intellectually Curious, or the Socially Aware.* Wiley, John & Sons.

WORK

Everett, Melissa. 1999. *Making a Living while Making a Difference: The Expanded Guide to Creating Careers with a Conscience*. New Society Publishers.

Jankowski, Katherine. 1994. *The Job Seeker's Guide to Socially Responsible Companies*.

Mint Publications.

APPENDIX C

CONTENT ANALYSIS: INSTITUTIONALLY FOCUSED SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY LITERATURE

BUSINESS

Bruce, Peter. 2000. Better Business for a Better World: Connecting Principle and Profit to Build Socially Responsible Businesses. Bookpublisher.com

Business for Social Responsibility Education Fund. 1998. Social Responsibility Starter Kit: A Tool for Assessing Socially Responsible Business Practices in Small and Mid-Sized Enterprises.

Cohen, Ben. 1989. Ben and Jerry's Homemade Capitalism: Ingredients for Running a Socially Responsible Business. Random House.

Cohen, Ben, Jerry Greenfield and Meredith Maran. 1998. Ben and Jerry's Double-Dip: How to Run a Values-Led Business and Make Money, Too. Simon & Shuster.

Hopkins, Michael. 1998. *The Planetary Bargain: Corporate Social Responsibility Comes of Age.* St. Martin's Press.

Makower, Joel. 1995. Beyond the Bottom Line: Putting Social Responsibility to Work for Your Business and the World. Simon & Schuster.

Reder, Alan. 1995. *75 Best Business Practices for Socially Responsible Companies.* Putnam Publishing Group.

EDUCATION

Berman, Sheldon. 1997. *Children's Social Consciousness and the Development of Social Responsibility.* State University of New York Press.

Bomer, Randy and Katherine Bomer. 2000. For a Better World: Reading and Writing for Social Action. Boynton/Cook Publishers.

Braus, Nancy and Molly Geidel. 2000. Everyone's Kids' Books: A Guide to Multicultural, Socially Conscious Books for Children. Everyone's Books.

Hammond, Merryl and Rob Collins. 1992. One World, One Earth: Educating Children for Social Responsibility. New Society Publishers.

La Farge, Phyllis and Sheldon Berman (eds). 1994. *Promising Practices : In Teaching Social Responsibility*. State University of New York Press.

Weinstein, Miriam. 2000. *Making a Difference College and Graduate Guide:*Outstanding Colleges to Help You Make a Better World. New Society Publishers.

Weinstein, Miriam. 2000. *Making a Difference Scholarships for a Better World*. New Society Publishers.

APPENDIX D

CONTENT ANALYSIS: ISSUE SPECIFIC SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY LITERATURE

ANIMAL WELFARE

Fraser, Linda. 1990. *The Animal Rights Handbook : Everyday Ways to Save Animal Lives*. Independent Publishing Group.

Giunti, Ann Marie D. (Editor).1994-2001. Shopping Guide for Caring Consumers: A Guide to Products That Are Not Tested on Animals. Book Publishing Company.

Newkirk, Ingrid. 1990. Save the Animals!: One Hundred One Easy Things You Can Do. Warner Books.

Newkirk, Ingrid, Angrid Newkirk, Bill Maher. 1999. You Can Save the Animals: 251 Ways to Stop Thoughtless Cruelty. Random House.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Earth Works Group. 1997. 50 Simple Things You Can Do to Build Community. Group West Publishers.

Fiffer, Steve & Sharon S. Fiffer. 1994. 50 Simple Ways to Help Your Community. Broadway Books.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Brower, Michael & The Union of Concerned Scientists. 1999. *Consumer's Guide to Effective Environmental Choices: Practical Advice from the Union of Concerned Scientists*. Crown Publishing Group.

Earth Works Group. 1989,1991. Fifty Simple Things You Can Do to Save the Earth. Greenleaf Publishers.

Earth Works Group. 1991. The Next Step: 50 More Things You Can Do to Save the Earth. Andrews McMeel Publishing.

Lamb, Marjorie. 1991. Two Minutes a Day for a Greener Planet: Quick and Simple Things You Can Do to Save Our Earth. Harper Mass Market Paperbacks.

Rifkin, Jeremy. 1990. The Green Lifestyle Handbook. Henry Holt

GAY & LESBIAN RIGHTS

Fahy, Una W. 1995. How to Make the World a Better Place for Gays and Lesbians. Lightning Source Inc.

Lukenhill, Grant. 1999. Smart Spending: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to Socially Responsible Shopping and Investing. Consortium Books

HUMAN RIGHTS

None

MINORITY RIGHTS

Ford, Clyde W. 1994. We Can All Get Along: 50 Steps You Can Take to Help End Racism. Published by Bantam Doubleday Dell.

Murray, Cecil. 2001. 60 Simple Things We Can Do to Improve Race Relations. St Martins Press.

PEACE & NONVIOLENCE

Lira-Powell, Julianne H. 1991. *Fifty Things You Can Do to Promote World Peace*. Adelitas Publishers.

PHILANTHROPY

None

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Jackson, Donna. 1992. How to Make the World a Better Place for Women in Five Minutes a Day. Hyperion Books.

WORKERS' RIGHTS

None

APPENDIX E

SURVEY: QUESTIONNAIRE

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY QUESTIONNAIRE

Your participation in this university research study will further the understanding of social responsibility as a lifestyle choice. <u>Your responses will remain anonymous</u>. Please answer each question as truthfully as possible. Thank you for your time and effort.

What is social responsibility?

For the purpose of this study, "social responsibility" (SR) is defined as consciously choosing certain actions over others in your daily life, specifically because they are likely to benefit the common good. Social responsibility includes environmental responsibility but can also go beyond it in terms of the issues of concern. The first question below lists 10 common issues associated with social responsibility. "Socially responsible" companies, products, organizations and institutions are usually geared to benefit society in terms of one or more of the following issues:

Issue	Not Importan	, ←							→		Mos ortan
13340	Importan									шр	ortari
The Environment	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Animal Welfare	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Workers' Rights	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Women's Rights	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Minority Rights	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Gay & Lesbian Rights	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Peace & Nonviolence	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Human Rights	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Community Involvement	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Philanthropy	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Other :	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I consciously limit my consumption of goods I boycott products from 'bad' companies			0								
)				
I boycott products from 'bad' companies I support local and independent businesses))			[
			0	R))	Fr	_ _	[
I boycott products from 'bad' companies I support local and independent businesses I buy products from socially responsible companies				R	0		o o etimes o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o	Fr	_ _ _	A (0 0
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I boycott products from 'bad' companies I support local and independent businesses I buy products from socially responsible companies Media I watch and/or support non-commercial television I listen to community and public radio stations I subscribe to magazines which support SR values I frequent web sites which support SR values Community I visit with and help my neighbors I volunteer regularly I support local arts and culture I get involved with local schools Travel I stay with local people whenever possible I support local economies and culture with my mone I combine volunteering and travel		1	Never Never	R	carely carely carely carely	Some	etimes etimes etimes times times	Fr Fre	equently equently equently quently	Alw	lways lways ways

Food	Never	Rare	ely	Son	netim	nes		Freq	uentl	у	Always		
I buy organic and/or free-range foods I support food co-op's and farmers' markets I consciously limit my consumption of meat		0)				
Transportation	Never	Rare	ely	Son	netim	ies		Freq	uentl	у	Always		
I take public transportation whenever possible I bike or walk when it would take less than 30 min I choose to buy cars that are fuel-efficient I consciously limit my driving		0)		<u> </u>		
Politics	Never	Rare	ely	Son	netim	nes	ı	Freq	uentl	у	Always		
I vote in every election I write/call my representatives about SR issues I contact SR organizations for voter information I actively participate in a political party I participate in protests when I agree with the issue	0 0 0	0000			0000))				
Relationships	Never	Rare	ely	Son	netim	es	F	requ	uentl	/	Always		
I put my relationships/family ahead of my work I consciously limit how much television I watch I spend quality time with children / elderly I consciously model the values I wish to teach		000)				
Home	Never	Rare	ely	Son	netim	es	F	requ	uentl	/	Always		
I recycle everything I can I actively conserve water, gas, and electricity I've taken action to reduce my junk mail I've consciously chosen to live close to work	Yes	008000									0		
I use a socially responsible long distance service	Yes	No.											
Money I donate to socially responsible organizations I put money in socially responsible investments I use a socially responsible credit card I have my money in a socially responsible bank I use socially responsible checks													
In learning about socially responsible actions, what sources of info specific as possible.	rmation have	been h	nelpfu	l? Ple	ase (chec	k all	that	аррі	y an	d be as		
□ Books: □ Magazines/Newsletters: □ Organizations: □ Classes/Workshops/Conferences: □ TV/Radio Programs: □ Other:													
Rate the following reasons according to how much you think responsible actions. Circle a number to rate the importance of	each reaso	n:		youi	r moi	tivat	ion	to ta	ke s		·		
Reason		ue / portan	٠,						→		he Most mportant		
I wanted my actions to support my values more closely		0 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
I found out about all of these problems and had to act		0 1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
I found that taking actions gave me hope		0 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
I felt that the political system was ineffective		0 1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
I found the actions easier than other forms of activism		0 1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
My involvement in activism led me to these actions		0 1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
When I found out that these actions existed, I just acted		0 1		3	4	5	6	7 7	8	9	10		
I wanted to resist modern values that I disagree with I had time and wanted to do something to help		0 1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 10		
I felt that it was my responsibility to do my part		0 1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
I was inspired by a friend, relative, acquaintance		0 1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
I was too busy to get involved in traditional activism		0 1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
I wanted take back control over the global impacts of my life		0 1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
I didn't like going to group meetings		0 1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
I didn't fit in with people I saw as activists		0 1		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		

I was inspired by a book I read	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
I was inspired by an organization	good work		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
I liked the personal control and fle	I liked the personal control and flexibility of commitment					2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
It made me feel good to take action	ons			0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
I was motivated by my religious/s			0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
This is more sustainable for me th		uld be		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
					•	_	-	-		_	-	×		. •	
Were there any other experiences or ideas that were important in motivating you to begin taking socially responsible actions? Presponsible actions and the social properties of the social propertie										? Please					
In what year did you begin taki	ng socially res	ponsible actions?	·												
Do you consider yourself a part o	f a larger social	responsibility move	ement?		Yes No										
How would you describe yours	elf?														
Self Description		Yes		Sort	∩f				No	,			Do	n't Know	
Cen Description		163		3011	Oi.				IV	,			DC	III KIIOW	
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Socially Responsible Progressive															
Activist															
Feminist		<u> </u>							_					Ğ	
Environmentalist															
Cultural Creative				ō					_					ā	
Green		ō		ā										ā	
Vegetarian										1					
Anti-Globalization (anti-WTO,	etc.)									ō					
I practice voluntary simplicity										l	_				
I am actively involved in my c	ommunity									1					
I purposely try to avoid labels	like these									1					
Other:															
		Demographic	Informa	ation											
Sex:	□ Male□ Female			Ma	arita	l Sta	atus	S :					Sing Mar		
Race:	□ Asian		□В	lack/Afr	ican	Am				ı N	lativ	e An	neric	an	
	☐ Bi/Multi-ı	acial	□Н	ispanic,	/Lati	no				ı۷	Vhite	e/Ca	ucas	ian	
Education:	☐ Some Hi	ah School		ome Co	llea	_			П	S	ome	Gr	adua	te Ed.	
Education.		nool Graduate	☐ Some College ☐ Some Gradua ☐ College Graduate ☐ Advanced De												
Household	□ \$9,999 o	Loce		•				51,9	റവ					9	
Annual Income:	□ \$10,000 ·					,		51,8 66,9							
Aillidai Illoollie.	\$18,000							81,9							
	□ \$25,000 ·							141.		9					
	32,000							nd a							
Number of people supporte	ed on your ho	ousehold's annu	ual inco	me:											
Age:	Occupation	:													
	Thank yo	u for participating	j in this	importa	nt si	urve	y.								

Please place the questionnaire in the enclosed, postage-paid envelope and drop it in the mail.

Remember to check the following web site in August to view the results:

socsci.colorado.edu/~jonesem/sr

APPENDIX F

SURVEY: COVER AND REMINDER LETTERS

Social Responsibility Study Ellis Jones, Director Department of Sociology University of Colorado, UCB 327 Boulder, CO 80309-0327 (303) 402-9755

Dear Jane Doe.

March 7, 2002

"Think globally, act locally" was a popular phrase in the 1990's, and individuals are continuing to make changes in their lifestyles to better match their values with their actions. People are becoming increasingly aware of their social responsibility to make everyday decisions that support others and the environment...in their communities, countries, and around the world.

In this University of Colorado research study, we are particularly interested in understanding what motivates people to become *socially responsible* and what kinds of actions they are taking to reflect the values that stem from this new strategy to build a better world.

As a member of *Co-op America*, an organization that encourages a number of socially responsible behaviors, you are uniquely qualified to participate in this research. You have been chosen as part of a small group of people (less than ½ of 1% of *Co-op America* members were selected to be a part of this research). Your participation is very important to us and essential to the success of this study.

We will be sending you a questionnaire in the mail as part of the study. Responding to the questionnaire should only take about 20 minutes of your time. We have constructed this questionnaire to ensure that your answers are completely anonymous. Once all of the relevant data has been entered into the computer, all of the questionnaires will be destroyed to assure that there is no possibility of connecting you with your responses.

Your questionnaire should arrive within the next few days. It is important that your questionnaire is completed and returned to us by March 25, 2002.

If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to call me at (303) 402-9755 or email me at jonesem@colorado.edu. The research findings will be made available to you by August 1, 2002 at the following web site: socsci.colorado.edu/~jonesem/sr

We understand that your time is precious. Thank you very much for your time and assistance.

Sincerely,

Ellis Jones Study Director Doctoral Candidate Social Responsibility Study Ellis Jones, Director Department of Sociology University of Colorado, UCB 327 Boulder, CO 80309-0327 (303) 402-9755

March 10, 2002

Dear Jane Doe,

A few days ago, you received a letter stating that you are one of a very small group of *Co-op America* members that have been selected to participate in a University of Colorado study on *social responsibility*. Due to the limited amount of people we are asking to take part in the study, you're your responses are extremely important to us.

Remember that we have constructed this questionnaire to ensure that your answers are completely anonymous. To maintain your anonymity, please do not place your name on any part of the questionnaire. In the case of two people in a household being members, we ask that only one person complete the questionnaire. Once all of the relevant data has been entered into the computer, all of the questionnaires will be destroyed to assure that there is no possibility of connecting you with your responses.

Responding to the questionnaire will take approximately 20 minutes of your time. As soon as you have completed the questionnaire, please return it in the enclosed postage-paid envelope.

It is important that your questionnaire is completed and returned to us by March 30, 2002.

Once again, if you have any questions, please don't hesitate to call me at (303) 402-9755 or email me at jonesem@colorado.edu. The research findings will be made available to you by August 1, 2002 at the following web site: socsci.colorado.edu/~jonesem/sr

Thank you very much for your time and assistance.

Sincerely,

Ellis Jones Study Director Doctoral Candidate

APPENDIX G

INTERVIEWS: BIOS OF INTERVIEWEES – SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY INFLUENTIALS

Alisa Gravitz Executive Director, Coop-America

Jeffrey Hollender Author, How to Make the World a Better Place

President, Seventh Generation

Laura Scher CEO & Co-Founder, Working Assets

Paul Ray Author, The Cultural Creatives

Alice Tepper Marlin Founder, Council on Economic Priorities

Founder, Social Accountability International

Author, Shopping for a Better World

Alisa Gravitz

Alisa Gravitz received a BA in economics and environmental science from Brandeis University and an MBA from Harvard University. She worked for the Carter administration on developing energy efficient technologies. Alisa Gravitz became the executive director of Co-op America in 1983, one of two core SR organizations, one year after its founding. She is the vice president of the Social Investment Forum, which she helped start along with Business for Social Responsibility, and The Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economies (CERES). She serves on the board of directors of The Social Venture Network and the Positive Futures Network.

Jeffrey Hollender

In 1988 Jeffrey Hollender founded Seventh Generation, a socially responsible business that creates environmentally friendly household products, and has served as its CEO ever since. In 1990, he published *How to Make the World a Better Place: A Guide to Doing Good*, one of the first books to suggest a comprehensive set of SR actions for individuals to take. In 1995, he sold the catalog branch of Seventh Generation to GAIAM, and his company now focuses exclusively on widening its distribution to supermarkets.

Paul Ray

Paul Ray was working as vice president of American LIVES, a national market research and polling firm, when he perceived what appeared to be a new subculture emerging. Based on his research, and with the help of Sherry Ruth Anderson, he published *The Cultural Creatives: How 50 Million People are Changing the World*. Ray's data on the Cultural Creatives seems to identify a sector of the population that is strongly interested in many of the same values and actions as SR activists. He has recently founded a new consulting firm for businesses interested in accessing the Cultural Creatives, called Integral Partnerships. Paul Ray received his BA in anthropology from Yale University and his Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Michigan.

Laura Scher

In 1985, Laura Scher co-founded Working Assets, a long distance telephone service dedicated to social change, a company that expanded rapidly to become the other of the two core SR organizations. She is currently the chairman and CEO of Working assets and has been at guiding its development as it has been consistently rated as one of the fastest growing companies in America, from \$2 million in 1991 to \$140 million in 2000 (Working Assets 2001). Scher received her BA in Economics from Yale University and her MBA from Harvard University.

Alice Tepper Marlin

In 1969, Alice Tepper Marlin founded one of the first SR organizations in the U.S., The Council on Economic Priorities. CEP focused on providing consumers and investors with detailed information on the social responsibility records of companies across a wide spectrum of SR issues. This research resulted in with the publication of the first edition of *Shopping for a Better World: The Quick & Easy Guide to All Your Socially Responsible Shopping*, a core book for SR activism and the most widely read of any. In 1990, she was the recipient of the Right Livelihood Award, an alternative Nobel Peace Prize. Alice Tepper Marlin received a BA in economics from Wellesley College.

APPENDIX H

INTERVIEWS: SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY INFLUENTIALS INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

- 1. What does social responsibility mean to you?
- 2. Describe the ideal socially responsible person.
- 3. When and how did you first hear about social responsibility?
- 4. How long have you been involved in social responsibility activism?
- 5. When do you think social responsibility activism began?
- 6. Where did it come from?
- 7. Is there a connection between social movements and social responsibility activism?

 If so, what?
- 8. Are there political/economic/social structures that have allowed this form of activism to flourish?
- 9. What were some of the influences that led you to become socially responsible?
- 10. What do you think motivates people to take socially responsible actions?
- 11. What are the countervailing forces leading people to shy away from social responsibility activism?
- 12. Is social responsibility activism political or apolitical?
- 13. Do you think social responsibility activism is part of a larger shift? If so, from what to what?
- 14. What impact would you say social responsibility has had on the local, national, and/or international situation?
- 15. What have been the successes and failures of social responsibility?
- 16. What are some of the tensions inherent in social responsibility activism?
- 17. What are the downsides of this kind of activism?
- 18. Is there anything else you would like to tell me?

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEWS: CONSENT FORM

Informed Consent Form for Social Responsibility Study

You are invited to participate in a research project conducted by Ellis Jones, a graduate student in the University of Colorado's Department of Sociology, Campus Box 327, Boulder, CO 80309, phone number (303) 492-8580. This project is conducted under the direction of Professor Paul Wehr, Department of Sociology, Campus Box 327, phone number (303) 492-8580. The following information is provided to help you make an informed decision to participate or not to participate.

This project involves social responsibility activism. My goal is to learn more about the this type of activism from those directly involved in its creation. I will ask you a variety of questions about social responsibility and your involvement in it. I'm interested in how this type of activism evolved, where it came from, when it began, who participates in it and where it is heading. I'll ask you things like what social responsibility means to you, how you became involved, how social responsibility has impacted your life and work, when you think social responsibility activism first began, and who were the people, organizations and movements most involved in its creation. The phone interview will take about one hour. I will tape record your responses so I can review them later.

I do not believe there are any risks associated with this study. It should not make you feel uncomfortable. However, if you feel uncomfortable at any time, please let me know. I hope that this study allows you to share your experiences and beliefs regarding social responsibility.

If you decide to participate, please understand that your participation is voluntary and you can decide to stop participating at any time. You have the right to refuse to answer any question(s) for any reason. Please ask any questions at any time during the interview.

I would like to be able to use your name and organizational affiliation along with your interview comments, but if you request confidentiality, I will strictly maintain your privacy in anything that I write as a result of this project. I will not use your name in anything I write and no one will be able to connect your responses to you. You can specify how you would like to be referred to in my writing so that your level of anonymity is satisfactory. After I am done with the study, I will erase your taped interview.

If you have any questions regarding you rights as a participant, any concerns regarding this project, or any dissatisfaction with this study, you may report them -- confidentially, if you wish -- to the Executive Secretary, Human Research Committee, Graduate School, Campus Box 26, Regent 308, University of Colorado - Boulder, Boulder, CO 80309-0026 or by telephone to (303) 492-7401.

If you like, I will give you a copy of this form so you have this information.

I understand the above informati research project.	d voluntarily consent to participate in the Social Responsibility	
Signature	Date	

APPENDIX J

INTERVIEWS: POTENTIAL FUTURE INTERVIEWEES – SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY INFLUENTIALS

1.	Peter Barnes	Co-Founder, Working Assets Co-Founder, The Social Venture Network Co-Founder, Business for Social Responsibility
2.	Robert Dunn	Founder & Former CEO, Business for Social Responsibility
3.	Josh Mailman	Founder, Business for Social Responsibility Founder, The Social Venture Network
4.	Steve Schueth	Chair & President, Social Investment Forum
5.	Sherry Ruth Anderson	Co-Author, The Cultural Creatives
6.	Sarah Ruth van Gelder	Editor, Yes!: A Journal of Positive Futures Co-Founder, Positive Futures Network
7.	David Korten	Chair & Co-Founder, Positive Futures Network
8.	Chris Plant	Editor & President, New Society Publishers
9.	Judith Plant	Vice President, New Society Publishers
10	. Kevin Danaher	Co-Founder, Global Exchange
11	. Anita Roddick	Founder, The Body Shop Author, <i>Take it Personally</i>
12	. Jirka Rysavy	Chairman and CEO, GAIAM-Real Goods
13	. Lynn Powers	President and COO, GAIAM-Real Goods
14	. Ben Cohen	Co-Founder, Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream Co-Author, Ben & Jerry's <i>Double-Dip: How to Run a</i> Values-Led Business and Make Money, Too

ELLIS JONES

CURRICULUM VITAE

The Arbors Apartments
1280 Olive Drive #122
Davis, CA 95616
Phone: (530) 758-1074
Email: jonesem@colorado.edu
Web: socsci.colorado.edu/~jonesem/ellis.html

University of Colorado at Boulder Department of Sociology Campus Box 327, Ketchum 219 Boulder, CO 80309-0327 Phone: (303) 492-8580 Fax: (303) 492-8878

EDUCATION

University of Colorado, Boulder, CO Ph.D. in Sociology (Expected August 2002)

1995 - Present Dissertation: "Social Responsibility Activism: Individual Lifestyles

Changing the World"

Specialty Area: Global Social Change

1991 - 1992 University of Notre Dame, South Bend, IN

M.A. in International Peace Studies Specialization: Conflict Resolution

Honors: Full Graduate Fellowship, Graduated with High Honors

1987 - 1991 University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA

B.A. in International Relations *Minor:* Peace & Conflict Studies

Honors: Full Scholarship, Magna Cum Laude

PUBLISHED BOOKS

The Better World Handbook: From Good Intentions to

Everyday Actions.

Jones, Ellis, Ross Haenfler & Brett Johnson.

Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers. Canada.

TEACHING AWARDS

Teaching Evaluations. University of Colorado, Boulder.

1995 - Present
Overall Average: A = Banked With The Top of All University of

Overall Average: A = Ranked With The Top of All University of

Colorado Faculty.

2002 University Teaching Excellence Award.

University of Colorado, Boulder.

2001 Committee on Academic Support Teaching Excellence

Award.

University of Colorado, Boulder.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

1995 - Present

University of Colorado, Boulder, CO

Instructor: Formulated course structures and requirements, devised syllabi, lectured and administered all grades. SOCY: Sociology, PACS: Peace & Conflict Studies, INVS: International & National Voluntary Service Training.

- "SOCY 1001: Analyzing Society (Introduction to Sociology)"
- "SOCY 1005: Social Conflict, Social Values"
- "SOCY 2025: Nonviolence & The Ethics of Social Action"
- "SOCY 2061: Introduction to Social Statistics"
- "SOCY 3015: Sociology of Peacemaking"
- "SOCY 3041: Self & Consciousness"
- "SOCY 4041: The Creative Self"
- "PACS 2500: Introduction to Peace & Conflict Studies"
- "PACS 4500: Peace & Conflict Studies Senior Seminar"
- "INVS 1000: Responding to Social Problems (Service Learning)"
- "INVS 4914: Democracy & Nonviolent Social Movements (Service Learning)"

1999

China Agricultural University, Beijing, China.

Visiting Instructor: Formulated course structures and requirements, devised syllabi, lectured and administered all grades.

- "Introduction to Sociology"
- "Freshman Seminar"

1995 - 1996

University of Colorado, Boulder, CO.

Teaching Assistant: Assisted Professor Dennis Mileti and Duncan Rinehart, Ph.D. Helped create curriculum, composed and graded all exams and written assignments, led weekly discussion sessions and determined final grades.

"SOCY 1001: Analyzing Society"

SPECIALTY AREAS

- Social Movements, Social Problems, Social Conflict
- Peace & Conflict Studies, Nonviolence, Conflict Resolution
- Global Social Change, International Relations, Transnational Movements
- Service Learning, Teacher Training, Creative Teaching Techniques

PRESENTATIONS

"Bringing Social Change to Average Folks: The Power of 2001 **Everyday Actions**" With Ross Haenfler and Brett Johnson. Left Hand Books. December 2001. Boulder. CO. 2001 "The Better World Handbook: From Good Intentions To **Everyday Actions**" With Ross Haenfler and Brett Johnson. Presented at the University of Colorado, Stanford University, Humboldt State University, University of Oregon, Western Washington University, Elliot Bay Bookstore, Grass Roots Books, Scott's Books. October 2001. Boulder, CO - Palo Alto, CA - Arcata, CA - Corvallis, OR - Eugene, OR - Seattle, WA -Bellingham, WA – Mt. Vernon, WA. 2001 "Writing A Book While Being A Graduate Student" With Ross Haenfler. Presented at the Sociology In Progress Lecture Series. September 2001. University of Colorado. Boulder, CO. 2001 "Turning Values Into Actions: Social Change in a Postmodern World" With Ross Haenfler. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association. August 2001. Anaheim, CA. 2001 "Service Learning Programs at the University of Colorado" With Sabrina Sideris. Presented at the 12th Annual National Service-Learning Conference. April 2001. Denver, CO. 2001 "The Integrated Life: Turning Global Problems into Sustainable Solutions" Presented at the People's Summit On Globalization. March 2001. University of Colorado, Boulder, CO. 1999 - 2001 "Finding A Career That Matches Your Values" With Professor Paul Wehr. Career Services Workshop. November 1999, 2000, 2001. University of Colorado. Boulder, CO. 1999 - 2001 "Practical Conflict Resolution" With Brett Johnson. Invited guest lecture for "INVS 3302: Facilitating Peaceful Community Change". November 1999,2000,2001. University of Colorado, Boulder, CO. 1999 "The Active Middle Path: Pacifism vs. Passivism" Presented at the Pacifism as Pathology Symposium. November 1999. University of Colorado. Boulder, CO. 1999 "Everyday Activism: Acting on Our Values in our Daily Lives" Presented at the Annual Midwest Radical Scholars Conference sponsored by the University of Wisconsin's A.E. Havens Center for

Study of Social Structure and Social Change. May 1999. Madison, WI.

1999	"Advancing Creativity in Teaching" Presented at the Graduate Teacher Program Annual Fall Intensive. August 1999. University of Colorado. Boulder, CO.
1998	"Unconventional Approaches To Teaching Nonviolence" Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Peace Studies Association. April 1998. Bethel College. Newton, KS.
1998	"Using Creative Teaching Techniques in the Classroom" With Professor Jim Downton. Presented at the Graduate Teacher Program Annual Fall Intensive. August 1998. University of Colorado. Boulder, CO.
SERVICE	
2001 - Present	Founder & Co-Director, The Better World Network. Boulder, CO.
1997 - Present	Associate Director, Peace & Conflict Studies. University of Colorado. Boulder, CO.
1995 - Present	Web Designer & Administrator, Social Science Web Sites . Boulder, CO.
	 The Better World Handbook Site (www.betterworldhanbook.com) The Teaching Sociology Page (socsci.colorado.edu/~jonesem/teaching.html) The Guide To Socially Conscious Careers (csf.colorado.edu/peace/cu/campus-paths.html) The Montgomery Bus Boycott Page (socsci.colorado.edu/~jonesem/montgomery.html)
1995 - 2001	Administrator, Sociology Graduate Student Email List. University of Colorado. Boulder, CO.
1998 - 1999	Lead Graduate Teacher, Department of Sociology. University of Colorado. Boulder, CO.
1996-1997	Founder, Student Nonviolent Action Coalition. University of Colorado. Boulder, CO.
1991-1992	Co-Coordinator, Mediation Center Exploration Committee. University of Notre Dame. South Bend, IN.
1990	Assistant, Humanitarian Law Project. Non-profit Organization. Los Angeles, CA.

1990 Vice-President, Peace & Conflict Studies Student

Association.

University of Southern California. Los Angeles, CA.

INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

China Agricultural University, Beijing, China 1999 Visiting Instructor in Sociology 1993 - 1995 Peace Corps, Las Minas, Panama **Teacher Trainer** in Environmental Education 1990 University of Strasbourg, Strasbourg, France Certificate in International Human Rights Law 1989 Lund University, Lund, Sweden Certificate in Swedish Language 1988-1989 University of Kent, Canterbury, England Year Abroad Program, International Relations 1986-1987 American Field Service Bangkok, Thailand Year Abroad Program, Suan Sunanta Teachers College

LANGUAGES

- Translation competence fluency in Spanish.
- Speaking competence in Thai.
- Reading and basic speaking competence in **Swedish** & **French**.
- Rudimentary knowledge of written Latin & Greek.

HONORS & AWARDS

ATTAINDO	
2002	Dakin Peace Award for scholarship in intercultural peace and understanding.
2000, 2001	Mentor for Community Builder Brick Award Winners two years in a row.
1991	Order of Troy Award for distinguished leadership and excellent scholarship.
1991	Outstanding Student Scholarship
1990 - 1991	Mortar Board Honor Society Member for scholarship, leadership and service.

1990 1987 - 1991	Carnation Scholarship Merit Award. National Merit Scholar
1987 - 1991	Resident Honors Scholar in the Thematic Option Honors Program.
1987 - 1991	Presidential Merit Scholarship
1987 - 1991	Phi Beta Kappa Honor Society
1987 - 1991	Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

American Sociological Association, Member

- Peace, War & Conflict Section
- Collective Behavior & Social Movements Section

Peace Studies Association, Member

REFERENCES

Paul Wehr

Professor of Sociology Co-Director of Peace & Conflict St. Department of Sociology University of Colorado at Boulder Campus Box 327 UCB Boulder, CO 80309-0327 Phone: (303) 492-2623 Fax: (303) 492-8878

David Pellow

Professor of Sociology & Ethnic St. Department of Sociology University of Colorado at Boulder Campus Box 327 UCB Boulder, CO 80309-0327 Phone: (303) 492-1016 Fax: (303) 492-8878

George Lopez

Director of Policy Studies Professor of Government & Intl. St. Institute for International Peace St. 115 Hesburgh Center for Intl. Studies University of Notre Dame Notre Dame, Indiana 46556 Phone: (219) 631-6972 Fax: (219) 631-6973

Jim Downton

Professor of Sociology Co-Director of INVST Program Department of Sociology University of Colorado at Boulder Campus Box 327 UCB Boulder, CO 80309-0327 Phone: (303) 492-6269 Fax: (303) 492-8878

Tom Mayer

Professor of Sociology Department of Sociology University of Colorado at Boulder Campus Box 327 UCB Boulder, CO 80309-0327 Phone: (303) 492-6269 Fax: (303) 492-2138

Robert Johansen

Director of Graduate Studies Professor of Government & Intl. St. Institute for International Peace Studies 114 Hesburgh Center for Intl. Studies University of Notre Dame Notre Dame, Indiana 46556 Phone: (219) 631-6971 Fax: (219) 631-6973