

BEYOND BORDERS

East-East cooperation among environmental
NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe



Christy Duijvelaar

May, 1996

- ☐ Department of Sociology,
Wageningen Agricultural University
- ☐ The Regional Environmental Center for
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Preface

This report is the result of a research on East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs in Central Europe. It is the master thesis of my study environmental sciences at the Wageningen Agricultural University and was supervised by the department of Sociology from this university. The empirical research was done at and sponsored by the Regional Environmental Center's head quarters in Budapest - Hungary. During the empirical research period, November 1995 - March 1996, I worked with the Earmarked Grants Team of the Regional Environmental Center. They have been great colleagues and are among my best friends right now. Dear Team, lots of thanks for your input and support!!

The other counterpart and final responsible institution for my research is the department of Sociology of the Wageningen Agricultural University. I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. A.P.J. Mol, for his useful critics and his ability to give me the freedom to do the research in my style and on my way.

The actual subjects of this research are the East-East cooperative environmental NGOs and their activists. Without the willingness, flexibility and kindness of the environmental activists, who I interviewed, this report would not exist. It was great to find so many congenial 'green' spirits during the research. Thanks a lot to all interviewed people, who spend their time and energy to provide me with the requested information.

Very grateful I am to Peter Zinn who gave the permission to use his brand new computer, which was of big practical importance. Then I would like to thank Ditta Toth for copy-editing the side report and Nina van Zanen for proofreading this report.

Finally I have to admit that I could not have done the research and write the report without the emotional support and love of Elke Wisseborn and Giel Verbeeck.

Christy Duijvelaar.

Wageningen, May 15, 1996.

List of abbreviations

CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CEEWEB	Central and Eastern European Working group on the Enhancement of Biodiversity
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CSOP	Cesky Svaz Ochrancu Prirody - Czech Union for Nature Protection
DEM	Deutsche Mark
EGT	Earmarked Grants Team
EPCE	Environmental Partnership for Central Europe
EU	European Union
FoEI	Friends of the Earth International
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
MoE	Ministry of Environment
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PHARE	Poland-Hungary Assistance for the Reconstruction of the Economy
PKE	Polski Klub Ekologiczny - Polish Ecological Club
REC	Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe
RMA	Resource Mobilization Approach
STUZ	Spolecnost'pre Trvalo Udrzatel'ny Zivot - The Society for Sustainable Living
SZOPK	Slovensky Zvaz Ochrancov Prirody a Krajiny - Slovak Union of Nature and Landscape Protectors
UN	United Nations
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Program
USD	United States Dollar
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

Summary

Within the environmental movement in Central and Eastern Europe cooperation among the NGOs is not very common. Still several reasons for cross-national cooperation on environmental issues can be given. Funding organizations like the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (REC) and the Environmental Partnership for Central Europe (EPCE) and authors like Rucht, Siegel and Yancey mention the need for closer cooperation within the Central European environmental movement. In this research East-East cooperation is investigated. The definition of East-East cooperation is: issue-oriented cooperation among environmental NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe.

The aims of this research were at first to gain more insight in the determining factors for East-East cooperation and the behavior of environmental NGOs in CEE regarding to East-East cooperation. The second aim of this study was to evaluate the present policy of the REC and to develop a new strategy for the REC's Earmarked Grants Program. The Earmarked Grants Team's main focus is to promote East-East cooperation.

The empirical part of the research consisted of 25 half open in-depth interviews with environmental activists in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia. From these 25, 20 people were representing their particular East-East cooperative NGO. The other five were opinion leaders within the environmental movement of their country. The four Central European countries were selected for this research, because these were considered comparable both on the development and stage of the environmental movement and the economical situation. In order to take a sample five opinion leaders per country listed the East-East cooperative NGOs in their country. About 80% of the strongly recommended East-East cooperative NGOs were interviewed. Strongly recommended means, listed by at least three of the five opinion leaders.

The theoretical outlines of this research are a modified mixture of the Research Mobilization Approach of Zald and McCarthy and McAdams political process model. These two theories in combination with the more practical study of Rucht on cross-national cooperation brought up the research hypotheses. Several factors could have their influence on East-East cooperation. All factors are divided in five categories of factors. Each category of factors results in a specific hypothesis for the attitude and/or behavior of the environmental NGOs with regard to East-East cooperation. At first the topic related factors lead to the hypothesis that a specific topic and/or very similar situation is needed before East-East cooperation will be established. At second the political-historical factors give the hypothesis that the attitude of environmental NGOs towards East-East cooperation will be one of doubts about the surplus value of East-East cooperation, in combination with a focus on national or local level activities. At third the socio-cultural factors lead to the hypothesis that East-East cooperation will cost extra effort of the NGOs to overcome language problems, cultural differences and/or nationalistic sentiments. At fourth two organization connected factors hypothesize that it will be necessary to find a similar NGO with enough institutional capacity in the neighboring country in order to establish East-East cooperation. Finally the social-economical factor brings us to the hypothesis that a lot of environmental NGOs in Central Europe will have problems in mobilizing the necessary resources. This means that only if East-East cooperation brings extra resources it might be interesting for the environmental NGOs to establish East-East cooperation.

The main actors in this research are the environmental NGOs in Central Europe and the Regional Environmental Center. The environmental movement of Central Europe has its roots partly in the communist epoch or even before World War II. In all four countries environmental organizations existed already under the supervision of the communist governments. During the 1980s two categories of environmental organizations could be found throughout Central Europe; those created 'from above' and those created from 'below'. The first type of organizations was established by the communist party or as a part of communist youth organizations. The second type could be found in the political oppositional groups. In general the environmental movement played an important role in the political change in Central Europe during 1989-1990. At this moment the situation of the environmental movement in Central Europe does not look that positive. A lack of human and financial resources is felt, while the political interest of the Central European governments is definitely not on environmental issues. The environmental movement in Central Europe is splintered, but still alive and developing.

The Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (REC) is an independent, non-advocacy, non-profit foundation. REC was established in 1990 by Hungary, the United States, and the Commission of the European Communities. Seven countries have since joined these founding sponsors. REC's mission is to promote cooperation among diverse environmental groups and interests in Central and Eastern Europe; to act as a catalyst for developing solutions to environmental problems in this region; and to promote the development of a civil society. Beneficiary countries are Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia.

The research results are at first a profile of the average East-East cooperative NGO, which describes the general characteristics of the East-East cooperative NGO. These characteristics are divided into: historical background, the organizational structure, goals and activities, available resources and external relations. At second the motivation for East-East cooperation, its experienced benefits, problems and expected future, according to the interviewed NGOs, have been found. The motivation for and the problems of East-East cooperation could be divided into four categories of influential factors. Both positive and negative factors are divided into: Organization connected, Topic related, Political-Historical and Socio-Cultural. Experienced benefits of East-East cooperation were found on organizational and personal level. The future of East-East cooperation was regarded positive, both for the own organization and for the environmental movement in Central Europe in general. At third the interviewed NGOs have given their opinion on REC and the RECs Earmarked Grants Team, together with suggestions on how to promote East-East cooperation.

Concluding the research, it can be stated that East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs in Central Europe will be established based on a common topic, which is usually transboundary, and good personal contacts, though only if enough institutional capacity of at least one NGO is available. It was quite surprising that the factor good personal contacts turned out to be a key factor for establishing East-East cooperation. After these three factors, two other important factors play a role. At first the consequences of the political opportunities structure and at second the Western influence. Both factors define a part of the surrounding of environmental NGOs, respectively on national and international level. The national and international environment of environmental NGOs should be conducive towards at least the development of a NGO community, preferably also towards a regionwide vision and East-East cooperation where necessary if applicable. In this research sample no East-East cooperation without East-West cooperation existed. The contacts with Western organizations and/or worldwide networks proved to have been highly important for establishing East-East cooperation. For the future of East-East cooperation we should not underestimate the influence of Western support, and with that East-West cooperation, as a precursor of East-East cooperation.

Regarding the second research aim, we come back to the daily practice of RECs Earmarked Grants Team. The RECs tasks and challenges in the field of East-East cooperation are huge. The interviewed NGOs, who are among the Earmarked Grants Team's clients, provided criticism on this Team. Clear mutual communication between the Earmarked Grants Team and the environmental NGOs, together with an attitude shift of the Earmarked Grants Team towards a client friendly approach, might meet this criticism and improve the mutual understanding and relationships. The results of the pilot project on East-East cooperation started in spring 1996. Its results might show the future of East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe.

Chapter 1

Kick-Off: Introduction

The kick-off contains a general introduction on the research on East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs in CEE. The background, the problem statement, the research aims and questions and the used methods of the research are given in this first chapter. The last paragraph before the real play starts, is a reading guide for the next chapters.

§ 1.1 Background of the research

The environmental movement in Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries is relatively young. [van der Schot, 1993, p. 11] Since the beginning of the eighties there is a developing environmental movement in most of the CEE countries. CEE countries are all Central and Eastern European countries served by the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (REC), that are: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. The two former Soviet Republics Belarussia and Ukraine are possible cooperative partners as well, so in this report they are also referred to as CEE countries.

The situation under the former communist regimes for new social movements, like the environmental movement, was complicated. The issue of environmental protection was almost the only political critic that was more or less acceptable for the communist governments. [Mol, 1993, p. 87] Universities were among the first institutions where the concerns about the devastating environmental situation grew and became common. Scientists could use their relative big access to environmental data, which was definitely a privilege from the state. In some countries journalists had a key role in opening up secret information on environmental issues.[Fisher et al., 1991, p. 183] A remarkable early involvement with environmental issues from some CEE scientists was shown at the UN conference on human environment in 1974 in Stockholm [Fisher et al., 1991, p. 39], but this involvement did not mean that an active environmental movement was established already. The process of political decay, manifested in increasing environmental deterioration and in a growing alienation between the state and scientists and society, was one of the primary reasons for emergence of politically active environmental groups in the 1980s. [Fisher et al., 1991, p. 186]

After the political changes in the CEE countries, during 1989 - 1990, the environmental movement could mature.[Fisher et al. 1991, p.193; Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p.19] But of course the environmental deterioration was not the only problem in the former communist countries.[van der Schot, 1993, p. 12] Especially the financial and economical transition to the market economy swallowed all political interest. The social and political interest for environmental issues decreased within some years after the changes. Just as the political influence of the former oppositional environmental organizations.[van der Schot, 1993, p. 29] Around 1990, most environmental NGOs were (re)starting after the political changes and trying to find their position in the political system as ecological parties and in society as independent citizen groups. The organizations had usually a quite informal character and they were not very well structured and organized.

Right after the political changes and sometimes already before them, Western countries started to contact and help (some of) the CEE countries. These were not only governmental contacts, but also

civil actions, contacts and help. [Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 49] Several Western environmental NGOs started or eventually continued to support the environmental movement in CEE countries with financial funds, information and education. [van der Schot, 1993, p. 17] The environmental organizations in CEE were of course willing to accept this Western support. East-West cooperation could come forth from this 'help-relationship' between East and West. A result of this history is obviously that East-West cooperation was more likely to be established than East-East cooperation. The European environmental movement seemed to forget about possibilities for East-East cooperation. [REC 6, 1994, p. 5] This research is focused on the 'forgotten' East-East cooperation.

§ 1.3 Problem statement

Funding organizations like the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (REC) and the Environmental Partnership for Central Europe (EPCE) experience both a need for and a lack of successful East-East cooperation.[EPCE report 1994/95, p. 9] [REC 6, 1994, p. 5; REC 4, 1994, p. 3; REC 9, 1995, p.14] Just as Siegel and Yancey find 'an urgent need for Central Europeans to meet one another, share experiences, and where appropriate, to develop collaborative relationships and projects'. [Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p.26] Two reasons of REC for this goal of East-East cooperation among green NGOs are at first decreasing the present level of parallel efforts and second improving the efficiency of environmental instruments in the region. This first reason seems to be a wish for more efficiency in the applying NGO community and at the same time to increase the quality of the project proposals and to decrease the amount of the same proposals. It is not really a motivation for the potential East-East cooperative NGOs themselves. The second reason is mentioned by EPCE as well: 'In coalitions, NGOs will have greater influence both in the local community and in national and international arenas. Skill exchanges, transfers of information and experience between NGOs working on the same substantive issues (e.g., local waste management or energy efficiency) will be encouraged so groups can benefit from each other's knowledge.'[EPCE, report 1994/95, p. 9]

This efficiency argument of cooperation is also mentioned by Rucht. It is his third reason for cross-national cooperation in general. We can define East-East cooperation as a special case of what Rucht defines as cross-national cooperation. In Rucht's article nine other reasons for cross-national cooperation are given. [Rucht, 1993, p.77-78] Not all these reasons are relevant for East-East cooperation. Underneath Rucht's arguments for cross-national cooperation are mentioned briefly, followed by the relative importance of each reason for East-East cooperation.

- ❶ The transboundary nature of a lot of environmental problems.
This argument is especially important for East-East cooperation at border area's or in case of NGOs busy with transboundary environmental problems like air or river pollution in the region.
- ❷ Learning from each other.
This can be an argument for East-East cooperation, but more likely the NGOs will search for East-West cooperation, because the 'young' environmental movement in CEE expects to learn more from the longer existing and better equipped and informed Western environmental NGOs.
- ❸ Sharing common resources.
This can be an argument for cooperation as well, but in fact it seems that NGOs are competing for (Western) grants instead of cooperating with their East-colleagues; according the experiences of REC.

- ④ Advocacy and support for foreign sister groups.
It is clear that in most of the cases this is an argument for East-West cooperation, from the point of view of the environmental NGOs in CEE.
- ⑤ Preventing the shift of problems from one place to another.
With this argument is meant: to make difficult the 'solving' of environmental problems by shifting them to the responsibilities of other agencies. The idea is that when there are enough watchful and well-prepared groups active in as much places as possible, problem-shifting would become more difficult. This can be an argument for East-East cooperation, but more, for East-West cooperation. Because it is more likely that Western environmental problems are shifted towards CEE than the other way around, or within the region itself. It might be that the shifting of environmental problems among the CEE countries will increase, so this argument can become more and more important in the future.
- ⑥ Having an overview of the nature and scope of the problem.
Closer cooperation between environmental NGOs might contribute to a more complete and coherent analysis of the environmental problem(s); a fact that plays a role in supporting all kinds of cooperation, national or cross-national. Not an argument especially for East-East cooperation.
- ⑦ Enlarging the environmental consciousness of the broader public.
This argument is about the serving of a broader public's education concerning the interrelatedness of many environmental problems. Again it is more likely that this is an argument for East-West cooperation, but of course it can also be a valid argument for East-East cooperation.
- ⑧ Standardizing regulations.
With this statement Rucht means to prevent the downplay of a problem by administrative bodies in a certain country by discovering false statements about other countries, available techniques etc. Close cooperation could be helpful towards exposing such tactics as well as putting pressure on countries which lag behind. This argument is again more likely to be used in the case of East-West cooperation, because knowledge, information and experience with lobbying and tactics of administrative bodies is better developed in the Western NGOs. But of course this argument can play a role as well in East-East cooperation, especially among countries with differences in the level of environmental policy making and/or the development of the NGO community.
- ⑨ Challenging political decision makers directly.
Because of the shift of competencies to international and supranational agencies it is important that also environmental NGOs follow the tendency of international policy making. This argument is especially important for the countries of the EU, and not that much for CEE, although for example the Visegrad countries have to deal with the EU policies and this might also influence the environmental NGOs in these countries. This argument will become more and more important for East-East and East-West cooperation in the future, since it is the wish of most CEE countries to become a member of the EU as soon as possible.

After this enumeration, we can conclude that there are about five situations in which East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs in CEE can be expected to be relevant.

These cases are:

- ① Environmental problems directly at the border of two (or more) countries; like the building of a nuclear power plant in a border area or integral water management of a transboundary river;

- ② When an environmental NGO in one country has enough organizational and capacity advantages with respect to others in other countries, so that arguments 2,3 and/or 4 can become valid;
- ③ If the NGOs are interested in the same environmental issues. Transboundary topics or macro scale environmental issues are the most likely topics to play a role in East-East cooperation. Examples of transboundary topics are direct border issues or on a bigger scale migrating birds. Macro scale environmental issues might be air pollution in general or for example campaigning against the use of nuclear power in CE. East-East cooperation on education and public information about the environmental problem to raise the awareness of a broader public in more than one country is likely in these cases;
- ④ During the process of becoming part, with a group of countries, of an international environmental policy making administrative body, like the EU. In such a situation the environmental NGO community in a country experiences the same challenges and problems of that in another country which is in the process of becoming for example EU member as well;
- ⑤ When the NGO is or becomes a member of an international umbrella organization for example Friends of the Earth International or a truly supranational alliance like Greenpeace. The supranational alliance is not included in this research

The challenges of this research on East-East cooperation are at first to find out the motivation, positive and negative experiences and plans of environmental NGOs for East-East cooperation. Secondly to find out the general characteristics of East-East cooperative NGOs, so that the Regional Environmental Center can easily find and better meet the needs of potential East-East cooperative NGOs in the future.

§ 1.4 Research aims

The first research aim is to gain more insight in the determining factors for East-East cooperation and the behavior of environmental NGOs in CEE regarding to East-East cooperation. The second aim of this study is to evaluate the present policy of the REC and to develop a new strategy (when necessary) for the REC's Earmarked Grants Program which goal is to establish and improve East-East cooperation.

§ 1.5 Research questions

In order to reach the research aims the following research questions must be answered:

- ① What features and behavior of environmental NGOs are/is needed for East-East cooperation and what are the determining factors for it?
- ② How can REC promote East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs in the region for the future, when desirable?

These two questions can be divided into eight smaller ones, which can guide the process and progress of the research.

- What are the general characteristics of East-East cooperating NGOs in the region?
- What are the positive and negative experiences of leading environmental NGOs in CEE with East-East cooperation?
- What were the results of and hindering factors for East-East cooperation for these NGOs?

- What is, according to them, the surplus value, if experienced, of East-East cooperation?
- How did RECs Earmarked Grants Program define the goal of East-East cooperation and are they able to reach the goal under this definition?
- Should REC change its definition of East-East cooperation, or should REC give up the goal of East-East cooperation?
- If the goal of East-East cooperation remains one of RECs criteria for earmarked grants, how should it be (re)defined and what policy should be implemented to facilitate East-East cooperation?

§ 1.6 Methods

This research focuses on determining factors for East-East cooperation and the behavior of environmental NGOs in CEE in respect to East-East cooperation. The problems, obstacles and advantages of East-East cooperation are investigated through a literature study and half-structured in-depth interviews with representative NGOs in the region and key informants of Milieucontact Oost-Europa, REC and EPCE. The NGOs were selected out of the total population of environmental NGOs in CEE. How was the sample of representative environmental NGOs in CEE selected, for this research?

Important to realize is, that it is impossible to speak about the CEE countries as if they are a homogeneity. To focus the investigations it was necessary to cut down the diversity of the research population. So the first step in the selection process was to find a NGO population in a comparable situation being part of the CEE region. Such a population had to be comparable on both the development and stage of the environmental movement and the economical situation in the different countries. This was the case in the four Visegrad countries, which are the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia.[Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 9]

The research population of East-East cooperating environmental NGOs originates from these four countries which together are also referred to as Central Europe.

With regard to this selection the following remarks have to be made. It seems logical that the political-historical factors throughout CEE have more or less the same communist and totalitarian origin. But a big difference in time in developing East-West contacts between the countries occurred. For the Visegrad countries the stage of East-West cooperation is at a front position in CEE and comparable among themselves. This is a big advantage because the Visegrad countries are considered opinion leaders in several ways in the region. The common expectation is that the other CEE countries will follow the Visegrad countries in their political and economical movement towards the EU. In this respect it is important to realize that the environmental policies in the four countries will have to develop, at a quick rate, towards EU policies. This means that the environmental NGOs in these countries have to anticipate on this development and thus have a front position with respect to lobbying, environmental policies of the EU, contacts with Western environmental NGOs and governments.

Social-economical factors might be a valid factor for all CEE countries as well, but of course differences exist in the gravity of the social-economical problems between the countries. The investigation of the particular social-economical situations of all CEE countries is far beyond the scope of this research, so it is preferable to find a comparable NGO population for this factor. This is the environmental NGO population of the Central Europe. Anyway, we can expect almost all environmental NGOs in CEE to mention a lack of resources as a problem in establishing East-East cooperation. [Siegel and Yancey, 1992, 16; Fisher et al., 1991, p. 11]

An interesting fact with respect to the social-economical factor is the role of funding organizations like the REC, EPCE and Milieukontakt Oost-Europa. Those organizations are actors in this field by giving grants to environmental NGOs which want to develop East-East cooperation. So the lack of resources, especially the financial ones, can be solved, if a NGO really wants them to be solved. In fact for example REC's Earmarked Grants Program experienced that this is not happening. They experience a lack of East-East cooperative projects applying for an Earmarked Grant. So from their point of view there must be more reasons than only a lack of financial support.

The next step in the process of selection of the NGOs was to find environmental NGOs which have at least tried to achieve East-East cooperation. Because NGOs that do not discuss East-East cooperation, will not have thought about advantages of, have experienced problems with or developed an attitude towards East-East cooperation. How are the requested East-East cooperative NGOs tracked down?

Out of the research population of all environmental NGOs in the Visegrad countries only a minority is East-East cooperating. Opinion leaders in the countries, like the country consultants and -coordinators of Milieukontakt Oost-Europa, the country directors of EPCE and the Local and Earmarked Grants Officers of the REC know a lot about the environmental NGO population in their respective countries. These so-called opinion leaders were asked to prepare a list of East-East cooperative NGOs. A comparison of these lists, together with the information available at the REC resulted in the list of NGOs needed for this research.

The selected NGOs are analyzed with a modified version of the checklist of van Noort. [van Noort, 1988, p. 48-49] History, structure, goals, resources, strategies and extern relationships are the five main characteristics in his analysis. Out of this checklist the first part of the questionnaire is prepared. [see Appendix I] The description of the general characteristics of an East-East cooperating NGO in § 4.2 came forth from this analysis.

Half structured in-depth interviews are done in order to trace the experiences, problems, bottlenecks, advantages, facilitating and/or hindering factors for East-East cooperation. The interviews are held with leading persons in the NGOs, who worked with their group for a longer time. They were volunteer or employee, but all of them knew a lot about the history, policy(changes) and goals of their NGO. The highest quality of interviews is reached with face-to-face talks, so I interviewed 25 environmental activists in Central Europe. All requested interviews with all selected NGOs are done, nobody refused the interview. I went everywhere personally, so that the highly important factor of personal contact was fulfilled. The interviews are done by myself, with the assistance of a colleague from the RECs Earmarked Grants Team in two third of the cases. She took extra notes and was translator during one interview which was held in Hungarian. She did not interfere on the contents of the interview. The interviewed people were usually very enthusiastic, so that the interviews ran out of time, because they had so much information to share. Out of the 25 interviews, 20 were representing as much East-East cooperative NGOs, whereas the other five were general opinion leaders for the four countries. One Polish sociologist is added to four country consultants of Milieukontakt Oost-Europa as an opinion leader. These five gave an overview of the situation of the environmental movement in their countries, with respect to East-East cooperation.

Finally about 80% of the strongly recommended East-East cooperative NGOs could be interviewed. Strongly recommended means in this case mentioned by at least three of the five opinion leaders who all send the required list with East-East cooperative NGOs. Both the list of interviewed opinion leaders and the sample per country can be found in the annexes.

§ 1.6 Reading guide

In the kick-off the research is introduced, so now the real play can start. To start with the theoretical outlines, hypotheses and the definition of East-East cooperation in chapter two. With that background we come to the front in chapter three, where we meet the environmental movement in Central Europe. A brief overview of the current situation of environmental NGOs in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia is given there. Followed by an introduction to the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (REC) in Budapest, since the fieldwork of this research is done at the REC. In chapter four the results of the empirical study are spelled out. Chapter five gives both the conclusion and discussion on the results presented in chapter four. Finally we come to chapter six which is based upon criticism of the environmental NGOs on the REC. Then their suggestions for improvement and on how to support East-East cooperation are given, followed by general recommendations to the RECs Earmarked Grants Team. Finally the Earmarked Grants Team new pilot project on East-East cooperation is explained and briefly evaluated.

Chapter 2

In the Books: Theoretical Outlines

§ 2.1 Introduction

Chapter two focuses on two sociological theories which can be used to analyze and interpret social movements and their activities. These theories can help us to understand the behavior and attitude of environmental NGOs and activists, since environmental organizations are considered a substantial part of a social movement. The theoretical framework for this research on East-East cooperation of environmental NGOs in CEE is a mixture of the resource mobilization approach and the political process model. These two theories in combination with the more practical study of Rucht on cross-national cooperation give a useful tool in analyzing and interpreting East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs. In the paragraphs 2.2 and 2.3 the resource mobilization approach and the political process model are briefly described respectively. Both theories are of course relevant on more themes than the interactions within the environmental movement, which is the focus of this research. This means that only the relevant parts of both theories for this study are given. In § 2.4 we come to the research hypotheses, which are based on both theories and Rucht's nine potential reasons for cross-national cooperation. These reasons and the five situations in which East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs in CEE might be relevant are already stated in § 1.3. Finally we come to the definition of East-East cooperation as used in this research in § 2.5.

§ 2.2 Resource mobilization approach

In fact the resource mobilization approach (RMA) is not a very strict theory. The RMA is based on micro-economic and sociological theories, developed by McCarthy and Zald during the 1960s. [Kitschelt, 1991, p. 325; van Noort, 1988, p. 29] During the second half of the 1970s the RMA became popular in the United States. The RMA is not that clearly defined, but some outlines and basic propositions found by most RMA authors can be given. Kitschelt discusses in his critique on the RMA six basic prepositions of this approach. Not all of these are equally important for mutual relationships of NGOs where we are looking at in the case of East-East cooperation. Below the six propositions of the RMA are given, followed by an explanation which ones are applicable for this research. [Kitschelt, 1991, p. 326-330]

- ❶ Individuals know what they want to accomplish through collective action.
- ❷ Individuals are able to calculate cost/benefit ratios of participation in collective action.
- ❸ Grievances in society are ubiquitous, but social movement entrepreneurs and protest organizations are the catalysts which transform amorphous masses and their demands into concerted and purposive movements. Although social movements are not identical with movement organizations, the latter are the 'backbone' of collective struggles.
- ❹ Knowledge, money and hours of labor, but also solidarity and legitimacy are the resources that enable movements to build organizations and launch effective struggles to attain their objectives. The way and the extent to which movements acquire these resources form their constituencies shape their activities.
- ❺ Movements act in contingent 'opportunity structures' that facilitate or dampen their efforts to mobilize, patterns their strategies, and influence their potential success. Because

movement participants respond rationally to contingent opportunities, movements are not subject to a rigid international logic of development. Movements neither follow a prescribed 'natural history' of rise and decline nor do they involve 'iron laws' of co-optation and institutionalization in the existing social order.

- ⑥ Resource mobilization theorists employ the notion of 'social movement' in a very broad sense. It covers all activities, or even beliefs and preferences, to change society by collective mobilization. This broad notion of social movements also implies a broad applicability of all propositions that RM approaches develop in concerning the behavior of social movements.

At this stage it might be helpful to have a look at the definitions McCarthy and Zald use in their statement of the RMA. First they define a *social movement* as a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society. Then a *social movement organization* is a complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a counter movement and attempts to implement these goals. Further a *social movement industry* is made up of all of the social movement organizations with relatively similar goals (just as an economic industry is all firms offering similar products). Finally a *social movement sector* consists of all social movement industries in a society, no matter to which social movement they are attached. [Zald and McCarthy, 1980, p.2]

For the topic of East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs these definitions show us first that we are dealing with one social movement industry, namely the environmental movement and second that the focus lies on social movement organizations, namely the NGOs. The broad concept of a movement, as Zald and McCarthy define it, is not meant when the term environmental movement is used in this report, so that the last proposition of the RMA mentioned by Kitschelt is set aside for this research. In order to define the term environmental movement as it is used here a little side step to the New Social Movement theory is needed. According to this theory the environmental movement is the whole of environmental organizations and individual environmental activists. Besides that the environmental movement is one of the New Social Movements, which have some characteristics, according to Claus Offe. [Offe, 1983, p. 42]. They are groups of citizens who act in the name of the collectivity (of all people, all woman, all animals, for example), their theme's are the conservation or creation of peace, a clean environment, human rights and not alienated labor. The value of personal autonomy is important and their way of acting is political protest based on negative formulated claims. These characteristics draw the outlines of the potential East-East cooperative environmental NGOs we can find in Central Europe. Summarizing this side step to the New Social Movement theory, we find the following definition of the environmental NGO, namely: Non Governmental Organizations with the socio-political purpose of the creation or protection of a clean environment.

Now we come back to Kitschelt's five other propositions of the RMA, in order to find out which propositions are indeed applicable to this research on East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs. The first two propositions of the RMA direct us to the underlying rational actor models of the RMA. Most RMA authors see both the behavior of individuals in movements as well as the strategies of movement organizations as rational. This means in practice that clarity about objectives and strategies of organizations and activists is assumed. For the environmental NGOs where this research focuses on this assumption might be valid.

The fourth proposition of RMA defines and shows the importance of resources for a social movement organization. These resources and how to mobilize them is definitely important for the

research population. East-East cooperation demands several resources, so that the questions which resources in particular and how to mobilize them are highly interesting for this research.

The fifth proposition draws back on the surroundings of social movements and social movement organizations. In fact this proposition was not abstracted only from the original RMA statements of Zald and McCarthy. It draws back upon the influence of the political process model of McAdam which gives much more attention to the 'opportunity structures' surrounding social movement organizations. Of course the situation in which the environmental NGOs do their jobs is important for the way they act. In the next paragraph the political process model and the connected 'opportunity structure' will be explained.

A following point of interest are the mutual relations within the social movement sector, this means in our case between the environmental NGOs. According to the RMA both cooperation and competition play a role. [Zald and McCarthy, 1979, p. 242; 1980, p. 2] Cooperation ought to exist in order to bring about commonly shared goals, since all environmental organizations are part of the same social movement industry and share the goal of a clean and healthy environment. But in the same time the RMA highlights the fact that similar organizations, like environmental NGOs, are in competition over the mobilization of resources.

Both cooperation and competition are rational strategies in themselves; it is depending on the situation which one is followed in what situation by a particular environmental organization. An organization might cooperate with some others, ignore other organizations and compete with the next couple of groups. Even within one relationship between NGOs cooperation and competition might exist next to each other. For example cooperation may exist on a local level project, while in the same time competition between these two groups occurs on getting the leadership or funding for a national project. Among East-East cooperative NGOs the situation will not be different. All three strategies, cooperation, competition and ignorance, will occur, depending on mutual relationships within the national and international NGO community, the amount of resources available and the specific topics where upon the groups are focused.

All organizations within one social movement industry share a common market wherein specialization of the individual groups can help them to find their 'niche' in the market. Implicit or explicit domain agreements between environmental NGOs give them their place in society. These domain agreements concern for example the organizations' strategy, the particular issue of interest, the segment of sympathizers or the geographical scale. [Zald and McCarthy, 1979, p. 242]

In a relatively stable social movement industry cooperation will be more likely than in a strongly internal factionalized social movement industry. McCarthy and Zald have the impression that 'the modern environmental movement is far less conflict-ridden than, for instance, the earlier socialist movement'. [Zald and McCarthy, 1979, p. 243] With the latter impression we should keep in mind that it is given in 1979 and refers to the situation in the United States. The mutual relationships of environmental movement organizations in Central Europe by 1996 might be different.

Summarizing the efforts of the resource mobilization approach, it gives us a basis for observing the attitude and behavior of social movement organizations, namely rational behavior is expected. Further this approach shows us the possibilities of interaction of social movement organizations which can be cooperation and/or competition. Then the RMA makes us aware of the high importance of resources for social movement organizations. And finally it defines what these resources are and how we can structure and define a social movement, as it is done, with the help of the New Social Movement theory, for the environmental movement and the term environmental NGO.

§ 2.3 Political process model

The political process model of McAdam (1982) builds upon the resource mobilization approach, trying to integrate macro-, meso- and micro-approaches. In contrast with the RMA, McAdam takes into account the indigenous organizational capabilities of movements. [Kitschelt, 1991, p. 327; van Noort, 1988, p. 37] Two other additional areas of interest of the political process model are the political opportunities structure and the so called cognitive liberation. The first means that the political situation in a country sets the possibilities and limits for the developments of social movements. The second point is coming forth from micro-analysis which shows the importance of individual awareness raising of potential participants, for example inhabitants of a city who become aware of the health threatening quality of their drinking water. Becoming conscious of situations in society that need to be changed is the first step towards undertaking social movement activities.

Summarizing the political process model says that social movements get established with cognitive liberation and develop further because of the indigenous strength of individual citizens. Social movements can develop as long as the particular political situation supports and/or allows them to do so. The latter might be extremely interesting for the fast changing political situation in the Central European countries. In fact the political process model tells us that the ability of social movement organizations to collect resources depends on the support, chances and limits of their political surroundings. At this stage the RMA identifies the features of the participants and leaders in the social movement organizations as the only decisive factor instead of the particular political situation. [Duyvendak, 1992, p. 11-12] Since we are dealing with the environmental movement in Central Europe, where the political situation is in transition and changing rapidly, the political surroundings are an expected factor of influence on the behavior of environmental NGOs. Here the political process model can prove its usefulness.

The political opportunities structure includes in fact several surrounding factors. Influence on the development and behavior of environmental movement organizations might come from the economical situation, the legal structure, the technological developments, the political climate in a country and of course from the cultural and historical background of the potential participants. All these factors might show their influence on macro- and micro level. An example on macro level is that the (lack of) interest of policy makers for environmental issues might influence the activities of environmental NGOs. On micro level, where the focus is on the motivation and activities of individual participants, the importance of the political situation can be illustrated by looking at repressive regimes. Potential activists will weigh their personal costs and benefits before joining an activity or organization. If activists believe they will be beaten up during a protest action, this action will not attract a lot of participants. [Duyvendak, 1992, p. 20] The chance for success of both a particular activity and of the development of the NGO itself is supposed to increase if the political opportunities structure is in favor of the goals and activities of a social movement.

The underlying assumption in the above is again the rationality of the individual participant as we have seen in the RMA. The definitions of social movement and social movement organization are also similar to those in the RMA.

The political process model does not discuss the relationships between NGOs, although the political opportunities structure will have its influence on the possibilities for establishing East-East cooperation. The economical, social, legal and pure political surroundings of the environmental movement will play a role in their attitude and behavior with regard to East-East cooperation.

§ 2.4 Hypotheses

The political process model and the RMA together give a theoretical basis for looking at the behavior and attitude of environmental NGOs. A problem is that both theories describe social movement organizations and their activities very universal and in a general way, with only limited attention to cooperation, especially across borders. In order to set the hypotheses for this research the more practical approach of Rucht helps us to focus on cross-national relationships between more specified organizations. As we have seen in §1.3, the Problem Statement, East-East cooperation might be relevant and rational in five situations, which are build upon the nine arguments Rucht gave for cross-national cooperation. [Rucht, 1993, p. 77-78]

Rucht's arguments for cross-national cooperation, connected to the RMA and the political process theory results in different factors determining the behavior and attitude of environmental NGOs towards East-East cooperation. These factors can be divided into five groups. I consider these groups a clear arrangement of the potential important factors for East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe. Out of each group of factors a general hypothesis describing the expected attitude and/or behavior of the NGOs is given as well.

The first category gives the topic related factors, those are mainly abstracted from Rucht's arguments for cross-national cooperation. The second category contains political-historical factors. These three factors are highly connected to the political opportunities structure of McAdams' political process model. Historical backgrounds do influence the current attitude and behavior of people, this means that historical factors are part of the relevant surroundings of the environmental movement as well. Especially in the case of CEE, where the influential communist era has just ended. Current politics are of course part of the NGOs political opportunities structure. Just as the third category of factors, the socio-cultural factors. Here the expected influence of the social and cultural surroundings on the attitude and behavior of the environmental movement towards East-East cooperation is given. The fourth category of factors is connected with the organization itself. In this category the resource mobilization approach appears. An East-East cooperative NGO might have some special characteristics, or special features are needed. The latter in the sense of available resources and skills necessary for mobilizing enough resources. The last category of factors contains the social-economical factor, which has both political process model and RMA characteristics. The social economical situation in a country influences the possibilities for a developing environmental movement, in this sense the social economical situation is part of the political opportunities structure of McAdam. But of course the social economical situation has its influence on available resources and the strategies of resource mobilization as well.

Topic related factors

- East-East cooperation does make sense in the case of a common environmental problem localized at the border between two (or more) countries.
- East-East cooperation is effective and rational when NGOs are interested in the same items. Such a common environmental issue should have international aspects or should be similar in two or more countries, then East-East cooperation is likely to become established. Examples of this type of environmental topics are macro transboundary problems like air pollution or a similar environmental problem in more than one country like nuclear power plants. East-East cooperation on education and public information about the environmental

problem in order to raise the awareness of a broader public in more than one country might be possible forms of East-East cooperation in this case.

- During the process of jointly becoming part of an international environmental policy making administrative body, like the EU, East-East cooperation can be interesting for environmental NGOs. International lobbying, exchange of experiences with the same process and working on alternative policy making might be forms of East-East cooperation in this case, although East-West cooperation can be expected as well.

The hypothesis coming forth from these three topic related factors is that a specific topic and/or a very similar situation is needed before East-East cooperation will be established by the environmental NGOs in Central Europe.

Political-Historical factors

- Because of the forced East-East cooperation under the former communist governments the willingness to cooperate with the Eastern neighbors will not be very big.
- Expectations of assistance in economical, social and political way of Central European countries are focused towards the Western countries. Environmental NGOs in CE will have the same expectations.
- The existence of an unstable political situation in some CE countries, because of the lack of experience with democratic elections, the historical and nationalistic sentiments and sometimes the difficult structure of the authorities in a country, will also influence environmental NGOs in that country. For example in the sense that NGOs are primarily focused on national level, instead of being interested in East-East cooperation. Another consequence might be a lack of political interest for environmental issues, which supports again a national, or even local focus of the environmental movement. Finally a lack of interest in environmental issues in general might be a consequence of an unstable political situation, so that mobilizing participants for the environmental movement will be difficult.

The hypothesis coming forth from these three political-historical factors is that the attitude of environmental NGOs towards East-East cooperation will be one of doubts about the surplus value of East-East cooperation in combination with a focus on national or local level activities.

Socio-Cultural factors

- Nationalistic sentiments which can be found in several Central and Eastern European countries will not facilitate external (international) cooperation. Especially not East-East cooperation because of historical sentiments, racial differences, nationalistic political leaders and the nationwide 'lack of self-confidence'. A lot of people from CE look negatively towards their region. They expect the best things to come from Western-Europe or the United States, but at the same time they want to be proud on their own country. This might be a reason for the recognized preference for East-West cooperation instead of East-East cooperation, connected with growing nationalistic sentiments.
- Cultural differences can also be seen on micro scale; the different habits, way of acting, atmosphere and choice of methods can make all kinds of cooperation difficult, so also East-East cooperation.
- Language differences between the CE countries will influence East-East cooperation so that only people who speak English or each others language will be able to work together. The variety of languages might make East-East cooperation difficult.

The hypothesis following from these socio-cultural factors is that East-East cooperation will take extra effort of the NGOs to overcome language problems, cultural differences and/or nationalistic sentiments.

Organization connected factors

- Cooperation can take place among all kinds of organizations, but it is most likely that organizations with goals in the same field, with similar (environmental) priorities, the same organizational structure and style of activism will cooperate.
- A certain organizational level and enough institutional capacity is required to be able to take part in East-East cooperation.

For East-East cooperation, like with all cooperation, it will be necessary to find a similar NGO with enough institutional capacity in the other country.

Social-Economical factor

- Because of the economical changes after the political changes in the CEE countries, these countries are in economical transition which causes several economical problems. As a result of economical problems, among others, social dissatisfaction increases. The material welfare is still not what most of the people expected after the changes in 1989-1990, so getting material welfare will be the main daily activity and one of the first more ideological action points for the population.[Hontelez, 1993, p. 178] Since the environmental NGOs are not able to give an immediate solution for the socio-economical problems, most people will not be active or interested in environmental NGOs. It will be difficult for environmental NGOs to mobilize enough active members and financial supplies to keep continuity in the organization. East-East cooperation might cost more resources than national or local activities, those extra resources are not available. So that already busy and poor NGOs might not have enough human power and financial resources left to establish East-East cooperation.

The hypothesis following from the social-economical situation in CE is that a lot of environmental NGOs will have problems in mobilizing the necessary resources, so only if East-East cooperation brings extra resources it might be interesting for them to establish East-East cooperation.

§ 2.5 East-East cooperation defined

Cooperation in general has several aspects, like type, actors, issue and structure. To define East-East cooperation properly, all aspects should be defined. The 'type of cooperation' distinguishes internal - inside one country - and external - between two or more countries - cooperation. External cooperation is called transboundary or cross-national cooperation as well. [Rucht, 1993, p. 75] Another aspect of the 'type of cooperation' is the question if the cooperation takes place between organizations with a similar social status or not. Horizontal cooperation is for example cooperation between two NGOs, but can also be cooperation between two ministries. Vertical cooperation then can be seen as cooperation between government and individuals. From these two aspects we find that East-East cooperation is external-horizontal cooperation.

The actors in the cooperation need to be placed geographically and by the type of social actors. It is obvious that we are geographically dealing with Central and Eastern Europe, though it should be noticed that the focus is mainly on the four Central European countries. Types of social actors are

roughly governmental bodies, businesses and NGOs. East-East cooperation in this research is a matter of mutual NGO cooperation.

The next factor is the issue whereon the cooperation takes place, in the case of East-East cooperation we deal with environmental NGOs. On which specific environmental topic they prefer to cooperate and how they define their environmental issue is the responsibility of the East-East cooperative partner groups.

Finally the structure of the cooperation has to be defined. Is it ad hoc cooperation? Is a cooperative structure established? Can we include stable transnational alliances? Important for this research is that it focuses on individual NGOs in Central Europe who are supposed and expected to show cooperative activities. It means that all cooperation on equal organizational level is included and that all cooperative activities from simple information exchange until stable transnational alliances are included as well. Supranational organizations like Greenpeace and WWF are excluded.

After all this East-East cooperation is defined as: issue-oriented cooperation among environmental NGOs within the Central and Eastern European countries.

Figure 2.1 summarizes the steps that are taken to come to this definition of East-East cooperation.

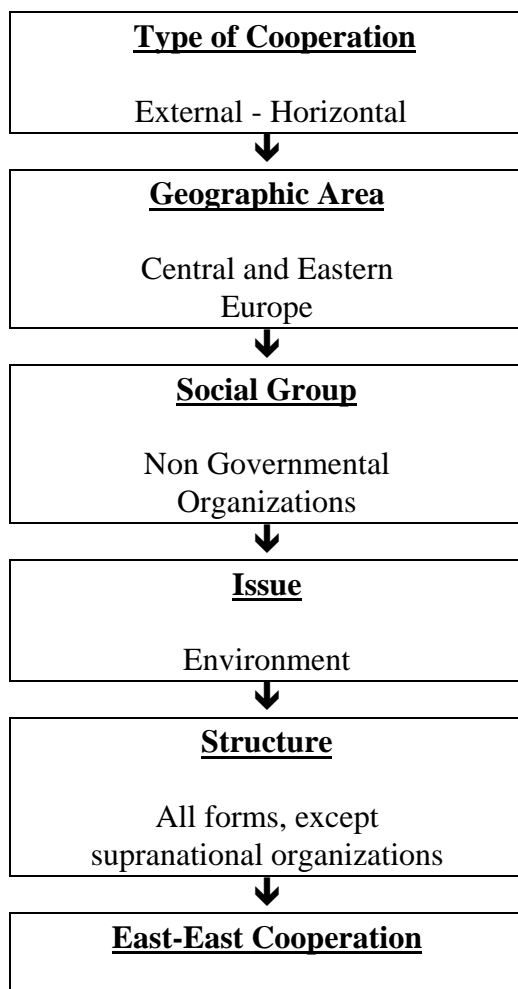


Figure 2.1. Defining East-East cooperation.

Now we have set the definition of East-East cooperation a brief description of the forms of East-East cooperation is needed to clear up the last box of figure 2.1. Forms of cooperation, or levels of cooperation, can be divided into cooperation without and with personal contact among the cooperative partners. Non-personal contact cooperation might be the first step towards more serious cooperation. It contains information exchange, for example by reading each others leaflets. When personal contact is established cooperation can grow to a higher level, of which three forms can be seen. The first is the exchange of experiences, the second preparing and/or running a joint project and the third having sustainable long-term cooperation.

A bit besides these four forms of cooperation stays the 'stable transnational alliance' as Rucht calls for example Friends of the Earth International (FoEI) or International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN). [Rucht, 1993, p. 82-84] For this research especially FoEI seems of high interest, because they successfully expanded the umbrella towards Central and Eastern Europe. We can see the stable transnational alliance as a separate fifth form of East-East cooperation. The difference between supra-national organizations like Greenpeace and WWF and the stable transnational alliance is that supra-national organizations are basically run by international steering committees and each forms a coherent body, although they are subdivided into national chapters or project-oriented transnational groups or campaigns. [Rucht, 1993, p. 84] Whereas national chapters of the umbrella FoEI have developed their own organizational forms and remained autonomous in their decisions. [Rucht, 1993, p. 83]

Chapter 3

On the Way: The Environmental Movement in Central Europe

In this chapter the actors of this research step onto the stage: the environmental NGOs in Central Europe together with the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe. After a brief, general introduction on the situation of the 'green' movement in the four countries in § 3.1, the history, development and present situation of the environmental movement in each particular country is outlined. In alphabetical sequence four actors, playing the principal part, show up: the Czech Republic in § 3.2, Hungary in § 3.3, Poland in § 3.4 and finally Slovakia in § 3.5. The fifth actor in this chapter is somewhat different. It is an international institution, dealing with environmental NGOs in 13 CEE countries and one of the hosts for this research. An introduction to the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe is given in § 3.6.

§ 3.1 Introduction

The environmental movement of Central Europe has its roots partly in the communist epoch, or even before World War II. [REC 5, 1994, p. 288; Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 19] In all four countries environmental organizations existed already under the supervision of the communist governments. These groups were established by the communist party or as a part of communist youth organizations. This type of organizations was established around the 1980s; mostly depending on one or more governmental bodies and focusing on nature conservation or environmental education. Organizing youth summer camps in the nature was, and partly still is, a favorite activity for groups like the Slovakian Strom Zivota, the Czech Brontosaurus, the Hungarian Ornithological Society and the Polish League for Nature Protection (LOP).

During the 1980s two categories of environmental organizations could be found throughout Central Europe; those created 'from above' and those created from 'below'. [Fisher et al., 1992, p. 186] The first type of organizations is mentioned above, the second type is to be found in the political oppositional groups. The environmental movement played an important role in the political changes in Central Europe during 1989-1990. [Kolk, 1995, p.12] The communist regimes tolerated just little space for individuals to participate in private and autonomous groups; so opponents of the political system had to work either through officially established and legal groups or set up underground organizations. [Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 19] An example of an independent environmental protest movement is the Danube movement which was established around 1985 and strongly opposed the governmental plans to build the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros dams in the Danube.

The Polish Ecological Club (PKE) is a bit an outsider, because this huge organization is established in 1980, just at the time Solidarity ruled Poland. The PKE stayed relatively independent after the communists took over the government again. In the Czechoslovakian Federation branches of the legal environmental organizations SZOPK and CSOP became more and more independent or sometimes even dissident. The Bratislava and Brno city branches of both organizations became famous for their 'undercover' protest actions against the communist governments. [Fisher, 1992, p.187] It is not surprising that a lot of activists from political oppositional groups became members of the new political institutions after the changes. Of course this weakened the environmental

organizations. [Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 16] A more convenient legal and fiscal framework for non profit organizations and a strong optimism about the positive role for democratization of the social movement sector were responsible for the exploding 'Third Sector' in Central Europe. [Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 30; Kolk, 1995, p. 12] The bad environmental situation in these countries had of course its influence on the growth of particular the environmental movement as well.

The general situation of the environmental movement at this moment does not look as positive and optimistic like in 1989-1990. A lack of human and financial resources is felt in almost every NGO. [Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 33] The current political interest is definitely not the environmental situation and even the expected assistance from the West for cleaning up Central Europe's environment is passing by to the former Soviet Union [Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 57] or just given for the profit of the Western funders themselves. [Siegel and Yancey 1992, p.52] The sociologist Glinski noted: 'Environment is not a determining factor; our future depends on economical and militaristic decisions. Those determined our past and will determine our future.'

Fortunately also positive signs can be seen. National cooperation among environmental NGOs becomes more and more common and successful. Actual cooperation at all levels is a hot issue; a sign of growing maturity of the organizations. Some well developed organizations show up as members of worldwide environmental networks, like Friends of the Earth International (FoEI) but also as technical experts in their own field, like the Polish 'Waste Prevention Organization 3R'. The environmental NGO community in Central Europe is still splintered, though alive and developing.

After all we have to keep in mind that it is just a few years after the changes; a process of democratization including the development of a broad social movement sector needs a lot of time and energy.

§ 3.2 The Czech Republic

Only two major environmental non-governmental organizations existed before 1990. They were:

- The Czech Union for Nature Protection (Cesky Svaz Ochrancu Prirody) - CSOP which developed its activities under governmental supervision since 1979, and
- the Brontosaurus movement, which was a part of the Socialist Youth Organization, since 1974.

Both groups were established by and under the communist authorities of the Czechoslovakian Federation. In the Czech Republic the 'green' movement was one of the important forces in the process of political changes of 1989. As Stroufova¹ said: 'People from the environmental movement understood that when they want to improve the environmental situation, it was necessary to change the political system.'

Both official groups had branches which were balancing on the edge of legal and illegal during the 'Velvet Revolution'. After the changes many skilled and competent people left the 'green' movement. [REC 5, 1994, p. 88] The political active branches were mainly located in Brno and Prague. Both the CSOP and Brontosaurus were nature conservation organizations . While Brontosaurus focused on organizing youth working camps in the nature, CSOP was dealing with

¹ Mrs. Zuzana Stroufova is Country Consultant of Milieucontact Oost-Europa for the Czech Republic.

protected areas and the publishing of environmental bulletins, for example 'Nika' (since 1980) and Veronica (since 1986). [Fisher et al., 1992, p. 41]

Rapidly after the changes the original public popularity of environmental issues faded away. The current lack of public concern is directly associated with the lack of interest shown by the new government. [REC 5, 1994, p. 88] Although environment is not a hot issue anymore, we can conclude that the Czech environmental movement has developed fast over the past five years. [Milieukontakt, 1994, p. 14] The current Czech environmental movement is much broader than only CSOP and Brontosaurus. Since January 1990 over 300 independent NGOs have been formed on addressing environmental problems, and protecting the environment. [REC 5, 1994, p. 89] The differentiation and specialization of environmental NGOs divides them in three fields. These are:

- ❶ Environmental education, particularly of youth;
- ❷ Increasing public awareness by collection and dissemination of information on environmental issues;
- ❸ Campaigning, which means undertaking mainly socio-political activities like lobbying and protest actions.

The biggest environmental NGOs in the Czech Republic at the moment are the CSOP, Deti Zeme, Hnuti Duha and the Federation of Environmental Education Centers. CSOP branches are spread out all over the country, still mainly dealing with nature conservation activities and collection and dissemination of environmental information. Both Hnuti Duha and Deti Zeme can be seen as campaigning groups, and as the name says the last mentioned organization is the umbrella of environmental education centers throughout the Czech Republic.

A specialty in the Czech environmental movement is the existence of 'Green Circle'. This common body for about 40 environmental NGOs is based in Prague and was already established before the political changes of 1990. It is an initiative which develops in a positive way by coordinating functions, being the national source of information and dealing with a successful lobbying project in cooperation with Hnuti Duha and Milieukontakt Oost-Europa. [Milieukontakt, 1994, p. 15; REC 5, 1994, p. 90]

According to Marek² the following phenomena for the future can be expected [REC 5, 1994, p. 91]:

- A considerably more extensive involvement of non-organized public in addressing environmental problems and environmental decision making;
- Additional reduction in the number of influential NGOs; several really leading organizations and several dozens of important organizations may survive;
- Additional specialization in the scope of activities of the individual NGOs;
- More active involvement of NGOs in policy and decision making through elected bodies at all levels; NGOs will be granted appropriate rights in relation to the government and governmental bodies;
- To a larger extent, people will group into ad hoc movements to address particular local and individual problems.

§ 3.3 Hungary

² Mr. Josef Marek is author of the introduction on the environmental movement of the Czech Republic in RECs 'NGO Directory'. [REC 5, 1994, p. 88-91]

Environmental protection, mainly based on nature conservation, has a long history in Hungary. At the beginning of the 20th century and before World War II some organizations already existed. These groups are precursors of the Hungarian 'green' movement we know now. [REC 5, 1994, p. 288] Around the mid-1980s two types of environmental organizations could be identified. First the 'Danube Movement' which was political active against the plans for the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros dam in the Danube. Second the organizations which were formed around colleges and universities. The latter were busy acquiring and disseminating environmental information and working on local environmental issues. [REC 5, 1994, p. 289] In fact independent environmental activity was not permitted until 1988, when legislation was put in place allowing independent organizations to obtain legal status outside state sponsored social organizations. [Fisher et al., 1992, p. 189]

In the mid-1980s the Danube movement was working illegal and faced the violence of the ruling party, while at the same time the Communist Youth Alliance created the Youth Environmental Council which became a semi-obligatory umbrella for the other type of NGOs. The Council was hierarchically organized and hindered horizontal cooperation among the two types of groups. On the other hand the centralizing efforts of the Council led to the creation of the National Society of Conservationists in 1987. [REC 5, 1994, p. 289] At the moment the political changes neared the Council became more and more dissident and took position in the Danube issue as well. [REC 5, 1994, p. 289]

The entire 'green' movement in Hungary was a powerful force in the opposition against the communist party. The Danube dam plans became the symbol of the old way of policy making and during the summer of 1989 the reformers in the communist party used the issue as an example of the undemocratic way the party was ruling. Finally in October 1989 Parliament voted for the withdrawal of Hungary from the dam plans. [Fisher et al., 1992, p. 191]

During and after the political changes the NGO movement boomed, a lot of new groups were established, unfortunately a lot of 'quasi-foundations' appeared among them. [Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 30] A big discussion just after the changes and around the last elections in 1994 was about the creation of a 'green' political party. The Green Party which is established in 1990 was not able to present candidates for the May 1990 national elections, and none of the regional candidates were elected. [Fisher et al., 1992, p. 197] The election campaign of spring 1994 showed the strange transformation of this Green Party into an extreme rightist, fascist organization. The Hungarian environmental movement made a statement against it, signed by 190 groups throughout the country. [Milieukontakt, 1994, p. 11; REC 5, 1994, p. 289] By 1993 a new environmental political party, Green Alternative, was established backed by a few groups of the 'green' movement. [REC 5, 1994, p. 290] But, as in the past, most of the movement did not join this political party. Green Alternative succeeded in getting some influence in the local politics in the south of Hungary.

A main point of interest for the Hungarian 'green' movement is establishing internal cooperation. National NGO gatherings are organized to bring environmental activists together and the formation of networks is worked at. [Milieukontakt, 1994, p. 11] Until now the movement did not succeed in building strong alliances or for example successful joint lobby projects. Milieukontakt's special project 'Environmental Policy and NGO Involvement' is focused on establishing the latter for the near future. [Milieukontakt, 1994, p. 30-32]

The main Hungarian NGOs at this moment can be divided into roughly three categories. First the already long existing nature conservation organizations form still a big part of the environmental movement in Hungary. The umbrella organization 'National Society of Conservationists' represents

a lot of local nature conservation groups and a river NGO from the next category as well. Ornithological organizations also belong to the first category of Hungarian environmental NGOs. Examples of this type of groups are: National Society of Conservationists, Hungarian Ornithological and Nature Conservation Society and Hungarian Nature Friends' Society. A second category of Hungarian environmental NGOs is a group of river NGOs, dealing with whole river basins. The current Danube movement is included in this category. Examples of NGOs are Duna Kör, Ipoly Union and Tisza Klub. The third category contains the NGOs focusing on direct activism, those groups are developing campaigning groups. Until now mostly working on local and/or national level. Examples of such organizations are REFLEX, Energy Klub and Göncöl foundation.

§ 3.4 Poland

During the totalitarian regime, there were no independent environmental organizations in Poland. [REC 5, 1994, p. 424] Only during the period 1950-1970 some nature conservation organizations were allowed to exist on the condition that they respected and did not question the official conservation policy. Then around 1980 major changes in Poland's politics occurred because of the influence of Solidarity. The most influential and intellectual environmental organization was the Polish Ecological Club, funded in Krakow in September 1980. [Fisher et al., 1992, p. 99; van der Schot, 1993, p. 11] The period around 1980 can be seen as the first development phase of Poland's environmental movement. It was a time of demonstrations and protest. The groups were established spontaneously and had informal structures. The level of formal organization among these groups was very low - they possessed virtually no organizational or negotiating skills; and there was little coordination among groups. [Glinski, 1994, p. 147]

During and after the political changes in Poland various groups played a key role in the Polish environmental movement. Among these were radical organizations (such as 'Freedom and Peace', the Anarchist Federation, and the Movement for an Alternative Society, cultural and 'deep ecological' groups (such as Workshop for All Beings, the Green Federation, vegetarian communities, defenders of animal rights, and 'subcultures'), scouting organizations (such as the Scout Movement for Environmental Protection and the Saint Francis Scout Movement for Environmental Protection), and, finally, student based groups and the very popular movement 'I Prefer to Be'. [Glinski, 1994, p. 148] Besides the above mentioned relatively young groups the 'old' organizations PKE and Solidarity fought for ecological and political changes in Poland. [van der Schot, 1993, p. 11]

After 1989 the PKE stayed one of the most important environmental organizations in Poland, but of course a lot of other groups came into existence as well. A second phase of development in the environmental movement began in 1989, as Glinski mentions. [Glinski, 1994, p. 47] Changes in the movement's structure and in its methods of activity occurred; leading to a gradual maturation and professionalization. Throughout the now existing environmental movement in Poland we still find two general orientations; one traditional 'preservationist' approach, the other one a search for new cultural values and striving to change the civilization paradigm.

The participation of the 'green' movement in political life, during the free elections in Poland, was not very successful. A lot of green political parties suddenly appeared just before the first free national elections in 1991. [Glinski, 1994, p. 152] They did not have the support of the environmental movement and did not win a single parliamentary mandate.

Between 1989 and 1994 Polish NGOs were financially supported by various foreign entities, including: REC, Milieukontakt Oost-Europa, Environmental Partnership for Central Europe, WWF and PHARE. Some of these sources of funding will dry up in the coming years. This was 'bridging' money only, according to Czajkowski³. It is high time for NGOs to start tapping their own domestic resources with a well-devised strategy for acquiring funding on a national scale. [REC 5, 1994, p. 427]

For the future Glinski sees five possible scenario's of development of the Polish environmental movement. The first is the establishment of a (stronger) political wing of the 'green' movement. Now there are 17 green parties acting in Poland, but most of them are 'sofa parties', this means that they have so few active members that they can sit together on one sofa. The second possible scenario is a radicalisation, because the environmental NGOs are facing a political wall right now. The government is not at all interested in environmental issues, so maybe with radicalisation they try to break down this wall. A third possibility is an ongoing slow maturation of the whole movement. Together with an ongoing integration and a broader and stronger internal (=national) cooperation. The fourth scenario is the possible diminishing of the environmental movement in Poland. Because the Polish government is not interested in environmental issues and not in developing a Third Sector in the country. For this all hope is set on joining the European Union and the ongoing support from the western countries. But in the mean time there is a trend of shifting interest of the Western countries towards former Soviet Republics, instead of Poland. The fifth possibility for the future development of the Polish 'green' movement is dispersion; back to the local communities, with local, small scale projects. [interview Glinski, 1995, see side report]

§ 3.5 Slovakia

The environmental movement has a strong historical tradition in Slovakia. The main organization from pre-Revolutionary times, the Slovak Union of Nature and Landscape Protectors (SZOPK), and the youth organization Tree of Life (Strom Zivota) were founded in 1969 and 1972 respectively. Both organizations have local branches throughout the country. After the political changes in the Czechoslovakian Federation, several new NGOs appeared (e.g. Children of the Earth, Carpathian Association of Altruistic Environmentalists). Also, a new type of NGO appeared which is organized on the 'watershed' principle (e.g. Vah River Union, Iper River Union, Rudava River Watershed Association and the Slovak Rivers Network), as well as other professional and specialized groups. [REC 5, 1994, p. 582]

The Slovakian groups SZOPK and Strom Zivota coordinated their strategy and activities with the Czech CSOP and Brontosaurus movement, until the splitting up of the Czechoslovakian Federation at January 1, 1993. In contrast with the developments in the Czech environmental movement where the CSOP changed rapidly in accordance with the changed socio-political situation and Brontosaurus missed the connection with the 'new' Czech society, is the Slovakian Strom Zivota very successful and SZOPK lags behind. At present SZOPK is going through radical changes in its organizational structure to strengthen its position again. SZOPK had a typical centralized structure, decisions were made top down and in almost all 'higher' positions sat communists or at least people who could be controlled by the communist party. [REC 5, 1994, p. 582]

³ Mr. Przemyslaw Czajkowski is Country Consultant of Milieukontakt Oost-Europa for Poland and the author of the introduction on the environmental movement of Poland in RECs 'NGO Directory'. [REC 5, 1994, p. 425-427]

During the ‘Velvet Revolution’ in the Czechoslovakian Federation local SZOPK branches, especially those in Bratislava, became strong political opponents of the communist government. [Fisher et al., 1992, p. 41] After the changes these political activists left the movement, but in the same time a lot of new environmental NGOs appeared, mainly coming forth from former SZOPK branches. According to Juraj Mesik⁴ the Slovakian environmental NGOs are quite different from the conceptions of most Western funders and even other Partnership countries. ‘Not only do we work with much smaller grants, but we work with much less organized and developed groups to help them become more efficient and achieve better results.’ [Partnership, report 1994/95, p. 5] He concludes that the Slovakian NGO community has to be nurtured more than the NGOs in other Central European countries. This is especially the case, because of the latest political developments in Slovakia. The Meciar government lately drafted a so called ‘Third Sector Law’, which implies several extra difficulties for both existing and newly established NGOs. A national ‘Third Sector SOS campaign’ which brought together all types of Slovakian NGOs has already started. [See Appendix IV]

Some special attention has to be given to the relatively new ‘water’ NGOs. These groups are dealing with river basins and they try to protect the river as a whole. Activities include nature conservation, public awareness, environmental information and education, national and international cooperation and of course all kinds of political activities. New plans to build dams are popular in the current Slovakian government; the most controversial project, the Gabčíkovo dam in the Danube, caused huge political problems between the Hungarian and Slovakian governments. [REC 5, 1994, p. 584, Milieucontact, 1994, p. 16] At the same time it brought together the environmental movements of both countries in newly established East-East cooperation. In general we see a relatively high level of cooperation in these ‘water’ NGOs, both internal and external.

Another hot issue in Slovakia’s environmental movement is the Mochovce nuclear power plant. This project has also its influence in neighboring countries like Hungary. Again it brought together the environmental movement of Central Europe against this particular plant; but also in anti-nuclear energy campaigns in general.

The future of the Slovakian environmental NGOs will be difficult because of the regulations stated in the ‘Third Sector Law’. Most probably the law will be accepted and then it is up to the creativity of the environmental movement to find alternative ways to oppose this law and to keep fighting for a clean environment.

§ 3.6 The Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (REC)

[Introducing the REC - Leaflet, 1995]

The Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (REC) is an independent, non-advocacy, non-profit foundation. The REC was established in 1990 by Hungary, the United States, and the Commission of the European Communities. Seven countries have since joined these founding sponsors.

⁴ Mr. Juraj Mesik is Director of the European Partnership for Central Europe for Slovakia

Currently the REC has approximately 45 persons staff (including volunteers). Since the establishment of the REC many things changed in organization and staff. This report will only deal with the current situation.

§ 3.6.1 Mission

The REC's mission is to promote cooperation among diverse environmental groups and interests in Central and Eastern Europe; to act as a catalyst for developing solutions to environmental problems in this region; and to promote the development of a civil society. Beneficiary countries are Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia. In these countries, the REC primarily supports environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs), but also cooperates with local authorities, national governments, academic institutions, and the private sector.

In addition to its headquarters and local office in Budapest, the REC has local offices in Bratislava , Bucharest, Ljubljana, Prague, Riga, Skopje, Sofia, Tallinn, Tirana, Vilnius, Warsaw and Zagreb. Local representatives extend the REC's assistance throughout the region - they understand local conditions, communicate in local languages, and provide first-hand advice and information.

This research on East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs in CEE is done on request of and based at the Earmarked Grants Team at the REC head quarter in Budapest.

§ 3.6.2 Program activities

The REC has four demand-driven program areas:

- ❶ Grants to support the institutional development of NGOs and their capacity to increase public participation in environmental issues;
- ❷ Information exchange to provide public access to environmental information and to facilitate networking among diverse interest groups;
- ❸ REC Initiatives to assess and share regional experiences in addressing crucial environmental issues;
- ❹ Fellowships and internships to provide networking and training opportunities to promising individuals;

All these programs are unified in promoting regional cooperation and building the capacity of stakeholders to solve environmental problems.

Grants

The REC offers two grants programs to help environmental NGOs implement projects and strengthen institutional development. When considered together, these programs complement each other as they support NGOs in the different stages of their organizational development. The first is the Local Grants Program, the second the Earmarked Grants Program. The latter gave the commission for this research.

Local Grants Program

Local grants target emerging NGOs that need assistance to get started. They often lack experience preparing project proposals, do not speak English, and are located outside capital cities. Local grants are available up to ECU 5000 to support operating expenses, training and educational activities, local projects and local events (such as Earth Day events and summer camps for children). This program is administered by the local offices and applications are accepted in local languages. Advisory boards in each country evaluate the applications, award grants, and advise the REC on NGO needs and program development. The local representatives assist the NGOs in project proposal preparation and advise on project implementation. For 1996 the total budget is 1,200,000 ECU.

Earmarked Grants Program

Earmarked grants primarily promote regional cooperation and target more advanced NGOs who can handle more complex projects. Grants are awarded in specific environmental topics that have been selected each year, based on a NGO needs survey and expert advice. A certain amount of money is set aside, or earmarked, for each topic; a deadline is announced for accepting applications in English; and grants are awarded up to ECU 20,000 on a competitive basis. The program is administered by REC staff in Budapest with the assistance of independent experts who help evaluate grant applications.

In 1995 the following earmarked categories have been announced and completed: Nature Conservation, Sustainable Rural Development, Industrial Problems and Energy Conservation, Urban Community Problems. The awarded NGO projects are running now. For 1996 the Earmarked Grants Program is modified. Absolute priority will be given to transboundary/regionwide cooperation among environmental NGOs. This is a pilot project sponsored by PHARE money. The actual topics under which this will be done will be Nature Conservation and Sustainable Development, these are announced in April 1996. The application procedure is modified as well, hopefully towards an efficient and effective implementation of the Earmarked Grants Program. The pilot project will be evaluated by the end of 1996. The total budget for 1996 is 624,000 ECU.

The Earmarked Grants Program is concentrating on East-East cooperation, just like this research. The recommendations coming forth from the research will be mainly applicable to the Earmarked Grants Program. Although the mission of the REC as a whole fully subscribes to regionwide cooperation within the environmental movement throughout CEE.

Information Exchange Program

The REC helps to match the needs of the region with world-wide expertise and resources. Because of its regional orientation, geographic presence, and links to other organizations, the REC is uniquely positioned to provide access to environmental information and promote partner-ships with other information exchange organizations.

The REC's Information Exchange Program collects and disseminates useful information, encourages collaboration among NGOs and other sectors, and communicates opportunities for western assistance. In terms of priority services, it provides access to a core collection of print materials and environmental databases. It offers contact lists of environmental resources in the region and in the west as well as project summaries of the grants that the REC has funded. In addition, the Information Exchange Program produces several publications, such as the REC's Bulletin, the translated Monthly Supplements, a series of informative papers about the environmental situation in the region and for example publications such as Project Summaries of REC Grants, the Government and Environment Directory and the NGO Directory.

REC Initiatives

The REC initiates programs addressing the critical environmental issues related to the transition to a new economic and political system in the region. By highlighting these strategic issues and providing a forum for discussion, the REC can encourage national and local governments to cooperate in environmental policy making and promote the involvement of other sectors. Examples of REC Initiatives include:

- ❶ **Public Participation.**
The REC advises all stakeholders on the benefits, methods, and techniques of public participation in environmental decisionmaking. It has produced a practical users manual that has been translated into 13 CEE languages and disseminated through in-country workshops. And its status report on public participation practices draws a baseline for measuring progress regionwide.
- ❷ **Environmental Action Program.**
This program promotes the approach and methodology of the Environmental Action Program for Central and Eastern Europe (EAP). Its status report on National Environmental Action Programs in 12 CEE countries promotes the sharing of experiences on this crucial issue.
- ❸ **Comparative Policy Analysis.**
The REC assists CEE countries to improve their environmental policymaking by providing a comparative analysis of policy-making tools, such as legal, regulatory, and economic instruments. It also supports the process of approximating environmental legislation with European Union standards.
- ❹ **Environmental Training.**
The REC maintains a network of Environmental Management Training Centers (EMTCs) in 9 countries to facilitate information sharing, to improve program quality, and to plan for sustainability. Modular courses adapted to the local situation include Environmental Impact Assessment, Environmental Policy and Environmental Enforcement.

Fellowships and internships

The REC sponsors two fellowship programs and an intern program to provide promising individuals with training and networking opportunities and an introduction to the REC.

- ❶ **Junior Fellowships.**
The REC sponsors a four week fellowship program on a continuing basis for young NGO members in the region. The program provides training courses on NGO management issues and valuable work experience in an international environmental organization.
- ❷ **Senior Fellowships.**
The REC provides six governments policymakers, academic experts, or NGO leaders each year with the unique opportunity to work at the REC for two or four weeks on a specific area of interest. They have the freedom to explore a number of different environmental issues, but their work should build upon their current expertise, address CEE problems, and take advantage of the REC's resources.
- ❸ **Environmental Leadership Training.**
The REC, along with the Environmental Partnership for Central Europe, co-sponsors a leadership training program for NGOs. Interns are assigned to advanced, well-organized NGOs in the region for up to one month. This exchange program helps to develop project

management and organizational development skills, and it promotes regional cooperation among NGOs.

Special Programs

In addition to its regular programs, the REC reserves the flexibility to assist other institutions to implement programs that support its mission in the region. Examples are:

- The Japan Special Fund, which supports project preparation studies in the region
- A study commissioned by the UN's Economic Council for Europe to assess the feasibility of establishing regions environmental centers in the CIS countries.

Chapter 4

From the Field: East-East Cooperation in Reality

§ 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the results of the empirical research on East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs are described. In § 4.2 we start with a description of the general characteristics of an East-East cooperative NGO followed by the motivation, experienced benefits, problems and obstacles and future of East-East cooperation in the next four paragraphs. All information in this chapter is abstracted and worked up from the 25 elaborated interviews with environmental NGOs and key informants in Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic and Hungary which can be found in the side-report belonging to the present script.

For chapter four the sequence of the questionnaire is kept [see Appendix I], this means that § 4.2 deals with the East-East cooperative NGOs themselves. Here we find a picture of the average and probably 'ideal' East-East cooperative NGO. Then § 4.3 focuses on the motivation for East-East cooperation, giving an answer on the question 'Why?'. § 4.4 gives the experienced benefits of East-East cooperation as mentioned by the NGOs. Of course we do not forget about the obstacles and problems the organizations met by establishing and continuing East-East cooperation. In § 4.5 this topic is highlighted. Finally the NGOs were asked to give their view on the future of East-East cooperation, which is described in § 4.6.

§ 4.2 The East-East cooperative NGO: General characteristics

The general characteristics of the East-East cooperative NGO are extracted from the answers on the first part of the questionnaire. The sequence of this paragraph follows the sequence of the original questionnaire [see Appendix I].

§ 4.2.1 History

Almost all East-East cooperative NGOs are established and registered officially before 1993. The few older organizations which existed already in the communist times, so before 1990, can be divided into two types of organizations. The first type is the old communist nature conservation organization with a nationwide and strong hierarchical structure which was established legally under the former authorities. The second type of older NGOs is the type of political protest organizations which were partly just 'painted green'. These groups were (semi) illegal under the communist regimes. An example of such a group is the Hungarian NGO Duna Kör.

A couple of individual branches of the communist umbrella organizations from the first type were before and during the political changes in Central Europe, able to shift secretly towards the second type of groups. Because being active in an official environmental organization was almost the only way of being political reactive to the communist government, without being seriously punished. Branches of the SZOPK and the CSOP in especially Bratislava and Prague became in this way strong

opponents of the communist regimes. People were still working under the name of the legal organization, but in fact dealing with illegal activities.

Considering this history it is logical that on one hand a lot of 'green' activists moved into the new political structures and on the other hand that plenty of new environmental NGOs were established build upon the branches and members of the 'old' communist organizations. Around 1993 almost all yet East-East cooperative NGOs were established and registered by the new governments of Central Europe.

§ 4.2.2 Structure

The average East-East cooperative NGO is well organized and has a defined structure. This means that statutes are available, the structure is clear and conform the national law for NGOs.

The levels on which East-East cooperative NGOs are organized show a lot of variation. The big umbrella organizations succeeding the former communist organizations, like the SZOPK, Strom Zivota, the PKE and the CSOP have huge national networks of member groups. An organization like CEEWEB works only on the international level and on the contrary the White Carpathian branch of the STUZ was originally just active on the local level. The latter became only East-East cooperative because the splitting up of the Czechoslovakian Federation splitted their geographical working area as well. Besides this special case it is also possible that NGOs working and organized mainly on the local level establish East-East cooperation. This is the case for Reflex which is active in and around the Hungarian city Győr, exactly at the Danube border with Slovakia.

Summarizing the organizational level on itself does not predict the ability for East-East cooperation of a particular NGO. Only the quality and/or effectiveness of the chosen structure influences this ability.

§ 4.2.3 Goals and activities

East-East cooperative NGOs have well-defined goal(s), which are usually mentioned in one or more leaflets. Goal(s) and undertaken activities to reach these goal(s) have to be specified and known by participants in the NGO. Since goals and activities are highly connected these two are taken together in this sub-paragraph.

Both goal and activity can be divided into type of goal or activity and specific environmental topic where goals and connected activities are focused on. An example of the type of activity is 'giving environmental education', whereas nature conservation or water pollution are examples of specific environmental topics. East-East cooperative NGOs do not just do something; they have a certain strategy, although this does not have to be written. They focus on one or more specific environmental topic(s).

First we come to the type of goal(s) and forthcoming activities. Very popular under East-East cooperative NGOs are the collection and dissemination of information and giving environmental education. Environmental monitoring and social and political activities, like commenting on draft laws and lobbying, are less undertaken activities. A typical goal and activity for campaigning groups are conducting protest actions, but only two East-East cooperative NGOs characterized themselves as campaigning NGOs. The others are not really in favor of protest actions. Working on environmental technology and design was not done at all. A bit a separate, but very important, type of activity is nature protection action. All nature conservation groups have their 'in-the-nature' activities as their

priority, mostly strong connected with environmental education and/or collection and dissemination of information.

Second the specific environmental topic deserves a look. The majority of East-East cooperative NGOs works on nature conservation topics, like a certain protected area at a border or migrating species (birds, bats or fish for example). Besides that direct transboundary topics like a border crossing river basin are in favor. More general topics like waste management, biodiversity or air pollution are mentioned by a minority of the interviewed East-East cooperative NGOs. The two campaigning groups focus on a general topic per campaign, for example against nuclear power plants, for ozone layer protection or extra bicycle paths in their town.

§ 4.2.4 Resources

Resources of an organization can be divided into human resources, financial resources, expertise and access to information.

Human resources

An East-East cooperative NGO has about 2-6 persons paid staff and the majority of NGOs in the sample has assistance from a Western volunteer, mostly a Peace Corps Volunteer from the United States. Local volunteers are always around as well, but volunteering is not that much done in CE. It is very hard for NGOs to find dedicated volunteers from the country itself. [Kolk and van der Wey, 1995, p. 12] Environmental NGOs are depending on their paid staff. An exception are the volunteers doing the field work for nature conservation groups. They are typical 'nature lovers' and mostly dealing with a favorite nature conservation area, a certain species, or involved in a particular project. Another useful human resource are schoolchildren and/or students. In summercamps, nature protection camps or within the framework of biology classes this type of volunteers helps the environmental NGOs a lot. Organizations can be specialized on organizing summercamps and connecting field work with environmental education, an example is the Slovakian NGO Strom Zivota.

Western volunteers work mainly as organization experts, translators and/or international contact person for 'their' NGO. They seem to be very useful for writing project proposals to funding organizations and for keeping the international contacts of the NGO.[Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 59]

Functioning membership systems are an exception among East-East cooperative NGOs in CE. [Kolk and van der Wey, 1995, p. 12] Actually it seems to be very hard for all NGOs in CE to organize a working membership system. Fees are hardly paid and citizens do not want to be connected with an organization. Reasons for this behavior are the forced memberships of governmental organizations in the communist times and the lack of interest and money available for environmental organizations in the average CE households. At the NGOs side, they simply lack the capacity to start membership campaigns. Only the PKE is working on this issue right now, but this is an East-East cooperative NGO with one of the biggest budgets. From the preceding it is also clear that membership fees do not give very much financial support. Usually it counts for about 1-2% of the total budget of a NGO.

Financial resources

Finding enough financial resources is a big problem for most of the East-East cooperative NGOs. The annual budget lies between USD12,000 and USD 280,000. In table 4.1 the budgets of the interviewed NGOs per country are given.

Table 4.1. Annual budgets of interviewed NGOs, in USD.

Czech Republic	Hungary	Poland	Slovakia
280,000	125,000	200,000	200,000
135,000	100,000	133,000	33,000
65,000	90,000	120,000	20,000
65,000	90,000	46,600	12,000
	30,000	50,000	
		40,000	

The highest budgets, over USD 200,000 a year, belong to big umbrella organizations like the PKE, CSOP and Strom Zivota. The main sources for money for all East-East cooperative NGOs in the sample are funds. Funds are coming from funding organizations or national governmental bodies. Well known funding organizations or programs in this field are, among others, PHARE, UNEP, the European Union, European Parliament, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the German Marshallfund, Environmental Partnership for Central Europe, Regional Environmental Center, Milieukontakt Oost-Europa, and Western governments. Governmental support is coming from community, local and/or national authorities, most probably from environmental, educational or health authorities. Finally some money is received from other NGOs, mainly from worldwide and/or Western NGOs like Greenpeace International, WWF, Global 2000, Friends of the Earth International and so on.

Only one organization in the sample succeeded in getting substantial funding from the (environmental) private sector.

Both own activities and membership fees do not really count for the budget. Usually own activities like printing and selling books raises more costs than revenues.

Finally we should have a look at the way funds are received. A big problem with the financial situation of NGOs is the fact that funds are normally only given for a certain specified project which starts and finishes and requires for a fixed term financial, human and technical resources. After such a project the money is gone and the NGO already has to have new funds to survive further on. Core funding is very hard to get and most East-East cooperative NGOs depend very much on projectbased, Western money, to keep their organization going; project by project.

Expertise

Nearly all East-East cooperative NGOs have at least one English speaker in the office. This does not have to be a native speaker, like the already mentioned Peace Corps Volunteers. An English speaker is needed for external contacts, mainly with funding organizations which international language is usually English. Most interviewed organizations considered their expertise on their own environmental topic high. These groups also count as experts on the topic for for example governmental working groups or the press. Both the expertise on organizational and strategical level may need some improvement; even though it will not be easy to develop themselves more with the capacity available now. As mentioned above it is hard to get overhead costs, like an office, secretary and computers, for a NGO financed in a sustainable way. Most NGOs do not succeed in this, so they are not able to focus enough on their own organizational and strategical development. Getting the projects funded and running them is already overloading the human resources in a lot of organizations.

Access to information

Always available in the office of a East-East cooperative NGO are phone, fax and one or more computer(s). E-mail is becoming more and more favorite as a communication channel, because it is

cheap and fast. Already half of the interviewed NGOs had e-mail facilities available. To be successful as a NGO good contacts with key persons in the press and policy makers are needed. Especially the local press and political connections are mentioned several times as very useful. These contacts are needed for both receiving and disseminating crucial environmental information. The NGO has to be updated on their topic, but also need to set their image to the community and policy makers. Information flow can always be better, but East-East cooperative NGOs consider themselves successful in using the available information channels and generating new ones. Eventually also secret information is caught by the NGOs, since they 'always find a way to get it'.

§ 4.2.5 External relations

The external relations of an East-East cooperative NGO can be divided into contacts with three types of social actors; first governmental bodies, second the private sector and third the environmental movement.

Governmental bodies

The relationships with national governmental bodies are mostly based on conflict about national environmental policy-making and supposed weaknesses in performance of for example the Ministry of the Environment and/or State Inspectorates for the Environment. Besides critics on (some of) the contents of policy and general performances of national governmental bodies, a relationship of cooperation from financial point of view exist. Almost all East-East cooperative NGOs receive at least a little money from one or more governmental bodies. And of course in the field of collection and dissemination of information the contact with especially the Ministry of Environment is considered important. Summarizing we see a double hearted relationship with the Ministry of Environment and some other national governmental bodies. The next important relationship on national level for environmental NGOs is the contact with the Parliament. Close contact with Members of Parliament can help NGOs a lot. It is giving a higher status compared to other NGOs and in press related contacts. Further these contacts facilitate the access to Parliamentary issues.

Extern relationships with lower level governmental bodies, like the country government, the city council and protected area authorities are usually based on medium to high intensive cooperation rather than conflict. Sometimes conflictuous situations occur in cases where NGOs protest against local environmental policies or for example require political influence.

Private sector

Contacts with the private sector, or businesses, is an exception for East-East cooperative NGOs. Only in very rare cases contacts exist and then mainly for advertisement in the NGOs' bulletins or in cases where specific activities for example around Earth Day are sponsored by environmental businesses. Some NGOs mentioned that they would like to improve the cooperation with the private sector, especially with environmental businesses like ecological farmers, recycling industries and so on.

Environmental movement

External relationships with other environmental NGOs are common and usually based on cooperation although both competition and conflict occur as well. Competition mainly in fundraising; they all fight for getting their project proposals accepted by the same population of funding organizations. This competition is felt as something difficult, but also healthy. It is considered needed for a good quality of the environmental movement as a whole. Conflict has most of the times a huge personal component. NGO leaders are strong personalities and a lot of conflict is based on personal conflict of individual NGO leaders.

The relationships with environmental NGOs can be divided into contacts with:

- National
- International
 - Western
 - Eastern environmental NGOs.

On both national and international level the relationships are cooperative, when the cooperation is needed to reach to goal(s) of the NGO. In Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic national NGO networks exist or are coming into existence. In Hungary the green movement is very much diversified and until now a national environmental NGO network could not be established. Usually the East-East cooperative NGOs have good contacts, share information and experience or even have common projects with a couple of national NGOs.

On international level it is obvious that Western NGOs are favorite as partners. The expectation for beneficial cooperation towards Western NGOs is still much bigger. Central European NGOs expect new and hot information, organizational assistance, financial support and environmental expertise from their Western counterparts. All this is not expected from CEE NGOs. All East-East cooperative NGOs have at least contacts with one Western NGO, but normally they try to be involved in as much Western or worldwide environmental networks as possible. Organizations like WWF, Greenpeace, FoEI, IUCN and Coalition Clean Baltic are very popular and seem to be starting point for East-East cooperation as well.

Of course all interviewed NGOs had at least contacts with other Eastern environmental NGOs, since they were selected on this criterion. In the following paragraphs the motivation, problems, benefits and expected future of East-East cooperation is described.

§ 4.3 Motivation for East-East cooperation

The motivation for something gives reasons and positive factors why people are doing or planning what they would like to do. Motivation is an answer to the question: 'Why?'. The answers to this question from environmental NGOs for East-East cooperation can be divided into four types of motivational factors. These are: organization connected, topic related, political-historical and socio-cultural. The four typical motivations are described in this paragraph. To start with the most important one, while ending up with the less mentioned factor of motivation within each type of factors. Finally we have to keep in mind the other, the negative, side of a motivational factor as well. A negative motivation can be seen as an obstacle for East-East cooperation. This shows the close relationship of this paragraph on motivation with paragraph 4.4 on problems and obstacles for East-East cooperation.

Organization connected

Four organization connected factors can be divided. The first and one of the most important factors in establishing East-East cooperation is having personal contacts among activists. Having contacts, or even better friends, abroad is a strong catalysator for starting organizational contact as well. Especially when both persons are environmental activists and working in the same environmental field with their respective NGOs. These international contacts can be between Easterners and originating from old friendships or via meeting on (environmental) conferences. For example the cooperation between the Czech Union of Nature Protection (CSOP) and a small group of biologists fighting for a clean and protected Lake Baikal in Siberia is based on the friendship and hobbies of both NGO participants. This relationship would never be established without the friendship relation,

since the physical distance between the two groups is enormous, a lot of practical and political obstacles are between the groups and their countries and even the organizational structures and levels of development are not similar at all.

A second kind of international contacts are the existing informal networks of Westerners working in CEE. For example the close mutual contacts of Peace Corps Volunteers working in environmental NGOs in CEE give 'their' groups the chance to contact other CEE groups or environmental NGO networks. First contacts among CEE NGOs can be established easily by Westerners temporary working with these groups.

The second organization connected factor, getting bigger and/or more grants is the next strong motivation for NGOs. Coming forth from the expectation to be able to run bigger projects in a group of NGOs and to get more financial support because of that. The external component of this factor is the fact that more and more funding organizations are focusing on East-East cooperation, for example the REC and the EPCE. Cooperative projects are popular and some funds are only for those projects available. NGOs are rational enough in their expectations to try to find (extra) financial support by starting East-East cooperation.

Learning from each other is the third organization connected factor which can be a strong motivation for East-East cooperation. Especially when NGOs really feel the need to learn from other CEE NGOs on certain topics or from the others experiences. Besides feeling the need for new information, education and sharing experiences the NGO must have the idea that it is possible to get the expected 'things to learn' from other CEE groups.

The last organization connected factor is the existence of NGOs with a similar strategy and/or approach in neighboring countries. This factor is just an extra motivation. If a group is already thinking about starting cooperation, it is more comfortable and 'safe' to do so if the potential cooperative NGO has a similar strategy and/or approach to the environmental areas they work at.

Topic related

Related with the particular topic where the NGOs are dealing with the motivation for East-East cooperation can be divided into two types, at first the motivation coming forth from working at a transboundary issue, the second coming forth from special non-transboundary issues.

Working at a transboundary issue is, of course, a very strong motivation for East-East cooperation. Transboundary issues can be divided into two types:

- Direct border items;
- Macro scale transboundary topics.

Examples of the first category transboundary issues is a nature conservation park just at the border of two countries, or a border crossing river. A lot of interviewed NGOs were East-East cooperation because of dealing with direct border items. The Slovakian Society for Sustainable Living (STUZ) in the White Carpathians for example has a project just at the border of Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Before 1993 no border existed there, but now they have to cooperate with the Czech partner organizations to continue the project. Another example is the Ecobaltic Foundation which works on the protection and cleaning up of the Baltic Sea, together with several other Baltic Sea NGOs in East and West Europe.

With the second category I mean for example migrating species, like birds, or acid rain as a results of large scale transboundary air pollution. Especially the migrating species give a big motivation for

East-East cooperation. The bat project of the Polish Society of the Friends of Nature 'Pro-Natura' is East-East cooperative because the bats live in the South of Poland in summer, but stay in Slovakia during the winter.

Dealing with a non-transboundary issue can give a motivation for East-East cooperation as well. This is the case for three types of activity of the interviewed NGOs, namely:

- Model projects;
- International campaigning;
- Holistic philosophy.

The term 'Model project' is used for successful projects done in one country which can be an example for other groups in another country. For example a model project for protecting wolves in Slovakia can give a practical project template to a Bulgarian group which would like to do the same, or the other way around of course.

International campaigns are for example protest actions in all CE capitals at the same time. Such an image looks great to campaigning NGOs, so for those two, the Czech groups Hnutí Duha and Děti Země, this is a strong motivation.

The last issue is a quite exceptional issue. It was mentioned by only one interviewed NGO. It means that this group, the Polish Eko-Oko, which is founded on a holistic philosophy, sees all they do from a holistic point of view, which makes it inevitable that the particular NGO is motivated for cooperation. Because cooperation, including East-East cooperation, is considered on of the consequences of working with a holistic approach.

Political-Historical

The more or less similar communist background of the four Central European countries gives two possible motivations for East-East cooperation, one for particular environmental issues and the other one especially for East-East contacts. During the communist times the used technology and industrial production style was similar. This means that environmental damages originating from old technologies, waste disposal strategies or still used plants can be similar throughout the CE countries. For NGOs dealing with for example energy saving, nuclear power plants, waste water treatment or dumping-grounds it is expected to be useful to find partner groups in other CEE countries. Sharing information and experiences has an extra dimension for these groups. An example is the East-East cooperation of the Polish Waste Prevention Association '3R', with other CE NGOs which want to stop Western waste incinerators to come to their countries. After getting rid of one in Poland, it once happened that the same business started all over again in the Czech Republic.

The second motivation coming forth from the similar political-historical background is the better mutual understanding of Easterners. This is a specific motivation for establishing East-East cooperation instead of East-West cooperation. Of course this is connected with the above mentioned environmental topics as well: it is logically that Eastern groups know more about the communist procedures and technologies than the Western NGOs usually do.

Socio-Cultural

Four socio-cultural factors can be divided. The socio-cultural factors usually give an extra motivation for establishing East-East cooperation, it will seldom be the one and only motivation.

At first NGOs see the necessity of cooperation to overcome stereotyping and/or nationalistic tendencies in the postcommunist societies. This cooperation can be both internal and external. It might be internal cooperation with minority NGOs or external NGO cooperation with neighboring countries. Especially Slovakian groups, but also some from other countries, mentioned the wish to show the current government that East-East cooperation is possible and useful as part of their motivation for East-East cooperating.[Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 52]

A second socio-cultural motivational factor is having the same cultural heritage. As mentioned before this will only be an extra positive factor in establishing East-East cooperation. It makes it easier to take the first step, but it is not one of the main motivations. This sub-factor is actually only mentioned within the Slavic countries, because they really feel something like a same cultural background.

Thirdly easily available personal contacts within the CEE countries helps to establish East-East cooperation a lot, as we saw before in the organization connected motivational factors. Of course this personal contact story has a socio-cultural component as well, that is why it is mentioned here once again.

The fourth socio-cultural factor is what I call having a 'public understandable language'. Another expression meaning the same might be a 'jointly spoken language'. An example of such a language is Slovakian. Slovak, Czech and Polish people can more or less understand each other's (Slavic) language. Another example of a 'public understandable language' is that Italian and Spanish people understand each other, when they both speak their own language, and they are willing to understand each other. A second type of 'public understandable language' is the language of minorities in a country, especially in the areas with mixed populations, for example in the south of Slovakia where some villages have a lot of Hungarian citizens. People in these areas usually speak both languages on a communicative level. Or they made their own mixtures of the languages; in any case they found a common language which is not English or Russian. English gives problems because only some, mainly young, people speak it and Russian is very unpopular, if somebody at all remembers a single word.

Both types of 'public understandable languages' are depending on the willingness of the involved persons. This means that the sub-factor of having a 'public understandable language' cannot be a strong motivation on itself for East-East cooperation. But of course it is very helpful when the cooperation or the plan for it is established already. An example where the second type of 'jointly spoken language' has an important role is the East-East cooperation of the environmental education Center 'Bambi' with Hungarian environmental education groups. In the village Moldava nad Bodvou where 'Bambi' is located the population is half Slovakian and half Hungarian. The very successful Slovakian educational programs on schools reached only Slovakian children and teachers. Because they missed the Hungarian target population the 'Bambi' center decided to start cooperation with Hungarian NGOs in order to find information and experiences about environmental education in Hungary. Now the 'Bambi' center has materials in both languages so that they are able to serve Hungarian and Slovakian schools.

§ 4.4 Experienced benefits of East-East cooperation

The benefits mentioned in this paragraph are positive experiences of the NGOs with East-East cooperation. First the cooperation gave them advantages for their organization and their projects. This means the East-East cooperation turned out to be a useful tool in better mobilizing their resources. Second positive personal experiences are mentioned.

The motivation for East-East cooperation existed in one or another way before starting the exchange of experiences or running a joint project. The organizational benefits are mainly the results of the motivation the NGOs had before. Below a brief description of the experienced benefits follows.

The personal benefits are based on the fact that East-East cooperation is usually personal cooperation. East-East cooperation starts with willing persons, who search for cooperative partners or use their existing personal contacts abroad. Later on their organizations might step into the relationship. But the latter not always happens. Not seldom it is just cooperation of activists instead of cooperation of organizations.

Organizational benefits

Experienced organizational benefits are the following six points.

- Successful projects run together, for example dealing with a border nature conservation area, like the Society for Sustainable Living does in the White Carpathians.
- Receiving useful information for the own organization.
- Gaining useful experiences from other groups dealing with the same environmental issues or organizational problems, for example within the bankwatch project network which is a project under supervision of the Polish Ecological Club.
- Learning from each other, by getting information, sharing experiences, using each others skills and so on, for example the Ecobaltic Foundation which found out (unexpectedly) that they can learn a lot from the ideas of their Baltic partners.
- Receiving more and/or bigger funds.
- Getting more self-confidence because of being able to help other NGOs; an example of this benefit is the Slovakian organization Strom Zivota which tries to educate and train Ukrainian NGO leaders and participants. Because of successful training projects last years Strom Zivota's participants feel themselves strong and more important. As a Central European NGO they can pass through the modified Western information they received themselves just after the changes.

The overall profit of the above mentioned experienced benefits is that the NGO itself becomes more sustainable and gets more capacity and influence. The latter in respect to both governments (local and national) and within the NGO community in the country.

Personal benefits

Experienced personal benefits are:

- visiting other countries;
- getting international friends;
- finding congenial spirits;

These personal profits are very important, because East-East cooperation seems to be mainly a matter of personal willing of the involved NGO participants. Without a positive evaluation of personal experiences with East-East cooperation, it might be hard to continue the contacts. East-

East cooperation is not only cooperation among organizations, it is in several cases mainly cooperation among individuals.

§ 4.5 Problems and obstacles for East-East cooperation

In this paragraph all experienced problems and obstacles for East-East cooperation find their place. The problems and obstacles are divided into the same types as the four motivational factors from § 4.3. These types were organization connected, topic related, political-historical, socio-cultural. The sequence is again based on importance of each problem, so that the first mentioned problem in each category of problems is experienced as the most urgent.

Organization Connected

Lack of capacity is the first and most mentioned obstacle for establishing or continuing any form of cooperation, and especially East-East cooperation. Keeping good contacts or even running joined projects in two or more countries is time and money consuming. Resources which most NGOs lack.

Extra costs of East-East cooperation are related to:

- Travel expenses
- Communication expenses
- Office equipment

In the field of human resources NGOs are depending on the few paid staff members they have. The same people who are already project coordinators, NGO leaders, managers, secretaries and fund raisers. For successful East-East cooperation NGOs need:

- More activists
- Activists with good cooperation and communication skills

The second organization connected problem is that the NGOs are 'too busy with surviving as an organization'. This means that a lot of NGOs are focused on their internal problems, like fighting to raise money and struggling with their organizational structure and strategy, so that there is no time and energy left to see what other organizations do. Sometimes groups simply do not think about cooperation as a probable solution for survival.

A third obstacle connected to the type of organization is the lack of appropriate NGO(s) in the neighboring country. Appropriate in this case means: having the same strategy, philosophy, organizational culture and so on. Especially for the Czech campaigning group Hnutí Duha this factor plays an important role, since they are almost the only big and radical campaigning group in CEE.

Topic related

Two topic related obstacles for East-East cooperation can be divided, at first NGOs can be focused on a local or just national issue, which leaves not much space to work at an own topic with another CEE NGO. At least more benefits than costs are not expected, so NGOs do not think about East-

East cooperation for those topics. Only when the specific local topic is located in a border area it gives a strong motivation for transboundary cooperation.

The second topic related obstacle is the lack of a potential partner NGO dealing with the same issue in the neighboring country. The Polish Olawa and Nysa Klodzka Foundation did overcome this problem by looking for other social actors at the other side of the border. Then they found the local government ready to join them in a project for cleaning up the Olawa and Nysa Klodzka river basin. This can be seen as an alternative form of East-East cooperation.

Political-Historical

Five political-historical problems and obstacles have a role in obstructing East-East cooperation. The first two are rather historical, whereas the other three are more related to the current political situation in Central Europe.

The first fact is that the former communist regimes forced cooperation with the other communist countries. The unpleasant feeling of being forced is still fresh in most people's minds. It is obvious that time is needed to overcome this prejudice towards East-East cooperation.

Second the former closed political systems in the CEE countries did not allow Easterners to travel to Western Europe. So directly after the changes Easterners were eager to go to the West. It is not that strange that also environmental NGOs are focused on East-West cooperation instead of East-East cooperation. Since the revolutions in the CEE countries everybody is looking to the West for all kinds of support, from financial to information. The last years this one-sided look to the West is changing. East is coming in the picture again, because the growing strength and influence of Eastern environmental NGOs and also because of the diminishing attention at especially Central Europe from the Western organizations.

Thirdly, a practical problem with an actual background is a barrier called border formalities. Especially the borders of Slovakia, Ukraine and the Kaliningrad region are not easy to pass. While they take time for human transfer, and sometimes money for visa, they are almost closed for money transfers. To give your Ukrainian counterpart some financial support you have to go there yourself with the money cash in your pocket, otherwise about 50% tax will be levied over it. As both Strom Zivota and the Environmental Partnership for Central Europe experience with their East-East cooperative projects.

The next actual political problem is the fact that some current governments are not in favor of East-East cooperation. They are focused on the West for cooperation, or specify which Eastern countries should be cooperated with, like the Slovakian government prefers cooperation with Ukraine and discourages contacts with the Czech Republic. Problems with minorities also play a role in this earmarking of favorite cooperative countries.

Finally, at fifth, the general legislation for NGOs is not in all countries well organized and positive for the groups. We can find three specific problems with a legislative background:

- Registration as a NGO is difficult;
- Funding and taxation laws work against NGOs;
- The new Slovakian so called 'Third Sector Law' which will bring almost all Slovakian NGOs in serious existential troubles. A protest letter summarizing the complaints against this law of a national forum of Slovakian NGOs can be found in Appendix IV.

Socio-Cultural

Finally five socio-cultural problems and obstacles are experienced by the interviewed NGOs. At first a lack of professional personal contacts is a problem which is both organizational connected and socio-cultural. Without good personal contacts no East-East cooperation can grow. This strong statement is expressed by almost all interviewed people; so the lack of personal contacts seriously diminishes the possibilities for East-East cooperation. Organizing events on a specific environmental topic where people can meet each other is seen as a potential solution for this problem.

Second the often expressed hesitation to trust potential partners is an obstacle for East-East cooperation, which can have its origin in the cultural or historical character of Easterners, but as much be part of the human nature.

Third, stereotyping of neighboring nations might be a problem, but according to the NGOs this is mainly a problem of political leaders in the Central European countries. Of course stereotypes exist in everybody's minds, so the negative stereotyping can be seen as a socio-cultural obstacle for East-East cooperation as well. Examples of negative stereotyping are the way Hungarians think about Romanians and Slovaks about Ukrainians. Definitely more stereotypes play a role, mainly on national political level, when ethnic minorities are involved.[Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 27] Instead of being an obstacle nationalistic tendencies resulting from stereotyping can rather be a motivation for NGOs to start East-East cooperation. This is the case when they want to show their governments and the society that cooperation with those 'strange' neighbors is really possible.[Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 17]

A fourth, more psychological, obstacle especially for East-East cooperation is a lack of self confidence of CEE NGOs. This lack of confidence prevents them from offering their experiences and knowledge to potential cooperative partners. The lack of self confidence makes groups unreliable partners for other groups, while the look for assistance stays focused on the West. From a position of low self confidence groups does not take responsibility for their own development and the effectiveness of the environmental movement in their country and the CEE region. Concluding this means that a lack of self confidence might prevent successful implementation of East-East cooperation.

More exists a practical communication obstacle, the language problems. Not so many people speak English, or German, Russian is very unpopular and Hungarians do not understand Slovaks and so on. If Czech, Slovak and Polish people really want, they can understand each other, since the Slavic languages have enough in common to speak about a 'common understandable language'. Anyway, this is not that easy and for high level organizational and financial discussions the language barrier is too big. In those cases a third language like English is needed, which is not necessarily available within the NGO. Again Westerners can be very handy to overcome this problem.

§ 4.6 The future of East-East cooperation

What will be the future of East-East cooperation for the environmental NGOs in Central Europe? In this paragraph we see the organizational plans of the interviewed NGOs in this direction and some attention is paid to more general thoughts about the future of East-East cooperation.

The NGOs themselves

All interviewed NGOs plan to continue to work with the current partner groups. The experiences were evaluated positively to such a degree that they at least will go on with East-East cooperation on the level and with the partners they have now. New activities in the field of cooperation will be focused on network activities, both national and international. East-East cooperation might be a part of these cooperative plans for the future, but for most NGOs this depends on the capacity available, since a lot of NGOs consider East-East cooperation as more time-, energy- and money consuming than internal or East-West cooperation.

In general

Still almost all interviewed people expect East-East cooperation to become more important in the near future, because the environmental NGOs will see the benefits more and more and Western funding organizations push towards East-East cooperation at the moment. Besides that an important reason for increased interest for East-East cooperation is the idea that East-West cooperation will become less lucrative. Western NGOs, governments and funding organizations are looking more and more behind Central Europe to the former Soviet Union. A general feeling of the CE NGOs is that the Western interest in CE will decrease. [Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 63]

Finally it is important to keep in our minds that East-East cooperation is an ongoing process that needs time and money to evolve.

Chapter 5

By Brains: Conclusion and Discussion

§ 5.1 Introduction

Chapter five gives the conclusion and a broad discussion on the research. In the conclusion the main factors for East-East cooperation are mentioned and the hypotheses are evaluated. To know the main factors having a role in East-East cooperation is very important for the people who want to promote East-East cooperation. At first this is of course the interest of the RECs Earmarked Grants Team, but other funding organizations like EPCE might use the information as well. At second the environmental NGOs in Central Europe might like to use this conclusion for comparing their approach of and experience with East-East cooperation with mine. At third Western NGOs and individual activists can profit, since they have an important role in stimulating East-East cooperation, because of network activities and/or personal contacts. The main factors for East-East cooperation are given in § 5.2. The next paragraph, § 5.3, discusses the used theory and methods. Finally in § 5.4 some outlines for future research on the highly interesting topic of East-East cooperation are suggested.

§ 5.2 Main factors for East-East cooperation

East-East cooperation is not an easy strategy for environmental NGOs in Central Europe. Although a lot of motivational factors are mentioned, and even benefits are experienced, the obstacles are huge. Nevertheless a positive future for East-East cooperation is felt among the interviewed activists. Like Mr. P. Czajkowski⁵ said: ‘Now is the time for East-East cooperation. The NGO community is growing stronger and becoming more and more experienced. Naturally the new challenges will be in the field of international cooperation; like East-East cooperation.’ This quotation emphasizes the growing capacity in the Central European environmental movement. To have enough capacity available is indeed one of the main factors in recognizing and using the opportunities East-East cooperation might give.

Because of the growing interest of funding organizations for East-East cooperation at least the financial capacity for East-East cooperation can be enlarged these days. An important organization connected motivation for establishing East-East cooperative projects, namely getting bigger and/or more funds, might come forth from the growing interest of funding organizations for East-East cooperation. This is conform the hypothesis on the socio-economical factor, which said that a lot of environmental NGOs will have problems in mobilizing the necessary resources, so only when East-East cooperation brings extra resources it might be interesting for them to establish East-East cooperation. The latter is also related to the organization connected hypothetical factors. This hypothesis said that enough institutional capacity of the NGOs is needed, before they will be able to establish East-East cooperation. But, more factors than the institutional capacity of the environmental NGOs have a role in establishing East-East cooperation.

On the first place the environmental topic on which East-East cooperation will be established is a crucial factor. Dealing with a transboundary topic gives a strong motivation for East-East cooperation, as long as CEE borders are involved of course. Cooperation just for the sake of

⁵ Mr. P. Czajkowski is country consultant of Milieukontakt Oost-Europa for Poland.

cooperation is worthless according to most activists. East-East cooperation has to be build upon a specific environmental topic with which both organizations deal. Rucht mentioned this as well. [Rucht, 1993, p. 91] When we look back to the hypothetical factors related to the topic on which East-East cooperation was expected to be established, we find that the first two factors (dealing with border and/or transboundary environmental issues) where indeed important factors in the reality of East-East cooperation. All partners need to see the benefit of East-East cooperation for achieving their organization's goals before they will step into a troublesome form of international cooperation like East-East cooperation. This means that for direct border issues between two CEE countries the motivation for East-East cooperation is almost guaranteed.

The third hypothetical topic related factor given as a motivation for East-East cooperation turned out to be false. The expected EU membership of the Visegrad countries as a motivation for East-East cooperation is not found in reality. Just a few NGOs could see a potential motivation in the future EU membership of their country and such only after it was given in the interviews. Reasons for the lack of interest in the potential EU membership might be the unstable national political situation, the fact that it is still a long way to go before the countries will be accepted in the EU and the lack of real lobby groups within the environmental movement in Central Europe.

A second crucial factor for establishing East-East cooperation is the ability of a NGO to find a willing and capable partner at the other side of the border. Now we come to the surprising part of the conclusion on this research, namely the importance of good personal contacts for East-East cooperation. This factor is missing in the hypothesis. Some potential reasons can be given for that. At first this factor was not mentioned at all in the consulted literature. Individual contacts are not mentioned in the resource mobilization approach, the political process model and even the more practical article of Rucht did not pay attention to this factor. At second it might be too logical to hypothesize the necessity of personal contact. In that case the factor good personal contacts is just a forgotten factor for East-East cooperation. That idea does not leave us much room for interpreting the factor personal contacts. Another explanation for the difference in the literature and the reality might be the existence of a cultural difference between Easterners and Westerners. Since almost all available literature came from Westerners, it might be the case that the factor good personal contacts does not play a significant role in West-West cooperation. In the Western society efficiency and pure professionalism in cooperative contacts might be more important values than in CEE. Maybe Central Europeans are more suspicious towards potential partners, or Westerners base their cooperative relationships more on pure business. Eventually it is just the idea that in mutual Western cooperation the factor good personal contact is not that important. In my opinion, the latter assumption seems to be the most reasonable. Of course cultural differences between East and West exist, but the human need for mutual trust in cooperative relationships will not differ that much between East and West. Especially in cases of joint projects good personal contacts are important, both in East and West. It might be more easy to hide the importance of this factor when the professionalism of the environmental NGOs is higher, like it is in the big Western NGOs, but that usually does not hide the problems which occur when the personal contacts get troubled.

The EPCE discovered the importance of good personal contacts after some years of dealing with environmental NGOs in Central Europe. Since the EPCE started focusing on East-East cooperation in 1993 it recognized the importance of personal contacts. Because of that the professional position of Regional Coordinator was created. 'Since then the Partnership has purposefully increased transboundary grant making in border areas and held joint staff and board meetings to gain a regional perspective', as Mrs. K. Wolniakowski⁶ writes in the EPCE report 1994/95. [EPCE,

⁶ Mrs. K. Wolniakowski is regional coordinator for the Environmental Partnership for Central Europe.

1994/95, p. 7] The importance of good personal contacts for establishing East-East cooperation is proved once again in this research.

Two other key factors play a role in the establishment of East-East cooperation. Those two have political-historical and socio-cultural backgrounds. These two factors are:

- Working in a stimulating internal and external environment;
- Western influence.

Stimulating surroundings for the development of NGOs are important for improving the strength of environmental NGOs. Stimulating surroundings relate at first to the current political situation in a country. In case of a government which is in favor of building a strong third sector the NGO community will develop faster, both in quantity and quality. Following from a positive approach of the authorities the NGOs will be more successful, both on organizational and strategical level, so that the self-confidence might grow. The interest of potential participants for NGOs might grow as well, which will increase the available human resources. Another result of a stimulating political approach towards NGOs might be the development of internal (= national) cooperation. The environmental movement will become more coherent and with that more efficient and mature. From the interviews it is clear that a relationship between internal and external cooperation exists. Many activists mentioned a positive influence of having experience with internal cooperation before or while establishing East-East cooperation.

In reality the stimulating surroundings were not really experienced. For example the current political situation in Slovakia and the lack of political interest for environmental issues are obstacles for East-East cooperation.

The historical component is a second part of the NGO surroundings in which East-East cooperation has to be established. Historical factors are mentioned a lot, but they are not the main motivations or, if negative, obstacles for East-East cooperation. Dealing with the daily life is already difficult enough for most groups. They are not that much interested in looking back in time, which might be the reason for the lower importance of historical factors. Besides that environmental NGOs are usually quite progressive organizations, compared to the rest of the society. This progressiveness might be a reason for stepping over 'old pains' as well.

A stimulating environment refers at third to socio-cultural factors. The hypothetical socio-cultural factors had their role in reality almost literally as described in the hypotheses. The hypothesis says that East-East cooperation will cost extra efforts of the NGOs to overcome language problems, cultural differences and/or nationalistic sentiments. In a stimulating environment these obstacles are missing or easy to overcome. In reality it costs indeed more efforts of the NGOs to establish East-East cooperation. However another surprising outcome of the research is the motivation which comes forth from the nationalistic sentiments. The reality of 'stereotyping and nationalistic tendencies' which is recognized by the environmental NGOs is rather considered a motivation than an obstacle for East-East cooperation.

The socio-cultural hypothesis should have been connected to the hypothetical political factors to describe the reality more correctly. In reality the environmental NGOs want to show their governments the possibility of useful and successful East-East cooperation. East-East cooperation is seen as a way of opposing the authorities' approach, so that both the current political attitude towards East-East cooperation and the (political) reality of 'stereotyping and nationalistic tendencies' can be motivational factors for the NGOs to add East-East cooperation to their strategy.

The last key factor for East-East cooperation is Western influence. In this research sample no East-East cooperation exists without Western influence in one way or another. The factor Western influence touches in fact the international surroundings of CE environmental NGOs. Western financial support plays a big role in diminishing the lack of capacity and funding particular East-East cooperative projects. Both REC and EPCE show their influence with special East-East cooperative funding. Beside this financial interest in Westerners, other interests exist. For example Westerners working as volunteers in the NGOs. These might be Peace Corps Volunteers for the United States, but also students from Western Europe, or normal employees or volunteers. The mutual contacts, especially within the Peace Corps Volunteer organizations makes contacts among the respective environmental organizations likely. As a human resource with knowledge, organizing capacities, network contacts and their language skills, Westerners are very much wanted in the environmental NGOs in Central Europe.

Other Western influence is a result from contacts and/or cooperation with Western NGOs. Usually these contacts exist within a mixed East-West or worldwide network of NGOs, although just bilateral cooperation occurs as well. Popular networks are the IUCN, WWF, Greenpeace, FoEI, Coalition Clean Baltic and so on. These networks originate from the Western part of the world, but since the iron curtain fell, more and more Eastern NGOs succeed in becoming a member of these networks. The Western and worldwide NGOs and networks are used to obtain information, to get training and advice and sometimes human and financial resources as well. For the future of East-East cooperation we should not underestimate the influence of Western support, and with that East-West cooperation as a precursor of East-East cooperation.

Summarizing it can be stated that East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs in Central Europe will be established based on a common topic, which is usually transboundary, and good personal contacts, though only if enough capacity of at least one NGO is available. After these three factors, two other important factors play a role. At first the consequences of the political opportunities structure and at second the Western influence. Both factors define a part of the surrounding of environmental NGOs, on national and international level, respectively. The national and international environment of environmental NGOs should be stimulating towards at least the development of a NGO community, but preferably towards a regionwide vision and East-East cooperation where necessary to tackle the common environmental problems. The latter does not mean that without a stimulating environment no East-East cooperation will occur, it is only more likely to be established within a stimulating environment.

§ 5.3 Discussion

This paragraph is divided in two different parts. At first we compare the theoretical outlines with the practical experiences and at second the research methodology is evaluated.

Back to the theory

The theoretical outlines of this research are a modified mixture of the resource mobilization approach of Zald and McCarthy and McAdams' political process model. Under this header I want to discuss some obvious differences and similarities between theory and practice. Almost all available literature on both sociological theories originate from the USA or Western Europe. Both the RMA and the political process model are established within the Western culture, surrounded by a capitalist economical system and a democratic political situation. Although differences in activism between the USA and Western Europe, for example Germany, are recognized [van Noort, 1988, p. 44], possible differences between the Western and the Central European environmental movement

were not studied. In general I found that the characteristics of social movement organizations as defined by the RMA are not conform the Central European environmental NGOs. Compared to social movement organizations described by the RMA, environmental NGOs in 1996 in Central Europe are less developed, have a lack of resources, do not have a membership system, have less or not all volunteers, miss strong leaders and are mainly dealing with practical nature conservation or educational work. Campaigning plus lobby and litigation activities are not common for Central European environmental NGOs. And exactly the latter is the type of activities social movement organizations are supposed to undertake, according to Zald and McCarthy. [van Noort, 1988, p. 36; Zald and McCarthy, 1979, p. 242, 1980, p. 3] The research of Siegel and Yancey showed more or less similar NGO characteristics as I found, although their focus was on the social movement sector as a whole, with the purpose of increasing the efficiency of Western funds for these NGOs.

Nevertheless the RMA had its value for this research on East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs in CEE. Especially in stressing the importance of mobilizing resources for environmental NGOs. Resources, both human and financial, are definitely needed for the survival of environmental NGOs. The lack of resources and the problems with mobilizing resources even seem to be bigger for Eastern than for Western NGOs. The socio-economical situation and the current political situation and interest for environmental issues in a country might be factors influencing the facility to mobilize resources. The latter stresses again the importance of the political process model for this research, since this model focuses more on the political surroundings of a social movement than the RMA does.

A debatable characteristic of both the RMA and the political process model is the underlying idea of the 'rational actor'. The attitude and behavior of most of the groups turned out to be focused on their own survival as organizations. In order to survive enough resources are needed, both financial and human. When we describe 'rational' as being focused on mobilizing enough resources to keep the organization going and growing, two ways of 'rational' behavior are found. First the incentive of the funding organizations which promote East-East cooperation is seen by the NGOs as a motivation to write such project proposals. Some of these project proposals are just cooperative, because of the extra funds available. Project proposals and sometimes even projects with fake cooperation does occur. For example the proposal with an individual Polish advisor to a Bulgarian project, coming once in two months at USD 800 excluding travel expenses does not sound as a reliable form of East-East cooperation. In our description it is 'rational' for NGOs to find whatever forms of East-East cooperation in order to get more and bigger funds.

At second the popularity of Western volunteers and/or advisors shows the NGOs' focus on resource mobilization. Almost all interviewed groups have a Westerner, had one, or wish they had one. Why are the Westerners so popular?

Because they are expected to write successful project proposals in the language and style the (Western) funding organizations award; which of course happens a lot of times. With a Westerner in the organization funds are coming more easily and the status of the NGO in the NGO community rises.

On micro level the Eastern volunteers and employees act rationally in the way that they want to keep their jobs. From another point of view it is not that profitable to work in the environmental movement. In other economical sectors a lot more money and respect can be earned. Anyway, this research was not focused on the personal motivation for working in the environmental movement. The above mentioned speculation comes forth from the more private talks I had with the environmental activists besides the official interview.

Methodological remarks

The discussion on the used methods starts at the point where the methods themselves started, namely with the choice of the opinion leaders who are used as key informants to create a sample of East-East cooperative environmental NGOs. Then we discuss the sample size and quality and finally some remarks on the empirical research method of half open in-depth interviews are made.

All five opinion leaders for each country, except Poland, whose country coordinator of Milieukontakt Oost-Europa was not available to give his opinion, gave the requested list with East-East cooperative environmental NGOs for their country. The opinion leaders came from three organizations which deal quite a long time with the environmental movement in Central Europe. Milieukontakt Oost-Europa and the Regional Environmental Center had two opinion leaders per country, where the Environmental Partnership for Central Europe had one. Four opinion leaders per country were Central European natives, only the country coordinators of Milieukontakt Oost-Europa are Westerners, namely Dutch. Both quantity and quality of the opinion leaders is high in relation to the size of the research, although some criticism can be given. The difference in amount of listed East-East cooperative NGOs differed from five to 35 groups. Since the final sample is based upon how many times a NGO was listed, the opinion leaders who gave only a few names had a relatively big influence. Their few listed groups usually entered the sample. All the others, sometimes listed two or three times by the other opinion leaders, did not enter the research. This means that only the really big and well known NGOs were interviewed. Smaller ones that East-East cooperate as well are missed, probably because of the limited knowledge of a particular opinion leader. The attitude and behavior of these missed smaller East-East cooperative NGOs might differ a little from those of the big and well known East-East cooperative NGOs. Specific factors for East-East cooperation only important for small East-East cooperative NGOs might be missed. The general conclusion however on the main factors is not expected to be different for smaller NGOs. Besides that the big and well known organizations are supposed to be 'market leaders' in the environmental movement. Their approach might be followed by the smaller groups later on. So for the outcome of the research not much difference can be expected from a bigger sample including the smaller NGOs, or from adding some smaller groups to the already existing sample of well known NGOs.

The total amount of interviewed East-East cooperative NGOs is 20. The opinion leaders listed all together for the four countries 108 East-East cooperative groups. This means that 18,5% of the East-East cooperative NGOs is interviewed. For the respective countries this percentage is:

- Czech Republic 21,1% (4/19)
- Hungary 15,2% (5/33)
- Poland 18,4% (7/38)
- Slovakia 22,2% (4/19)

Most groups were listed by only one or two opinion leaders. The NGOs which were listed at least three times had a high chance to enter the final sample. About 80% of these strongly recommended NGOs were interviewed. All NGOs listed four or five times entered the sample.

The research shows the opinions of 20 leading environmental NGOs on East-East cooperation. This is a relatively small group compared to the whole environmental movement in Central Europe, but those groups are the face of the environmental movement in Central Europe and the most experienced East-East cooperative NGOs. That is together with the above mentioned statistics the reason that the taken sample can be considered representative for the average East-East cooperative NGO in Central Europe.

All interviews were done by myself in face-to-face interviews, mostly in the NGOs offices, based upon one questionnaire, which form was filled out during the interview. [see Appendix I] The difficulties that arose were for example language problems. When a translator was needed, the translation was usually done by a NGO participant. A lot of time was spend on discussions among participants themselves in local language. After such discussions for example on a particular question, the final answer was translated to me, but of course I could not check if this information was valid and/or translated correctly. Another type of language problems occurred in NGOs were activists spoke a little English, and/or some German, so that I had to put together the given information into a logical format. The elaboration of the interviews let room for mistakes and misunderstandings as well. To solve that problem all elaborated interviews were sent back to the NGOs, so that they could correct the text. Ten out of twenty NGOs sent back their comments, just as the five interviewed opinion leaders. Usually these were only minor changes and/or additional information. In two cases NGOs weakened their own statements a little. The elaborated interviews can be found in the side report belonging to this script.

§ 5.4 New research?

In this paragraph some suggestions for new research related to East-East cooperation are given. At first we can differ the geographical area. At second we can have a look at the position of Westerners in the CE environmental movement and the development of East-East cooperation over time and at third a more theoretical question on interactions within a social movement industry is raised.

The environmental movement in CEE is definitely not an open book for the scientific world. In fact only a few studies, in English, are reputed on this topic. The majority of these studies is done in Central European countries, not in the Baltics, on the Balkan, or in the Former Yugoslavian Republics. It will be interesting to arrange a similar study on East-East cooperation in these three areas. CEE is not a homogeneity at all, though a division into four separate areas might be an option to mutual comparison among CEE as a whole and for qualitative research within the areas themselves. These four areas are the Visegrad countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia), the Baltics (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), the Balkan (Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania) and four former Yugoslavian Republics (Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia). These areas are supposed to consist of countries with a roughly similar stage of development of the environmental movement. Additional to these four CEE areas, the former Soviet Republics, besides the Baltics, deserve attention as well. Although these countries are not served by REC, an environmental movement develops over there as well. Belarussia, Ukraine, Moldova and the European part of Russia together might be a possible fifth area for researching East-East cooperation. Especially because this area has borderlines with the Central European countries and some East-East cooperation with Slovakia and Poland is already established. Further the first steps are taken to establish a REC like organization to serve these former Soviet Republics. A needs survey among the environmental movement in this area has already taken place. [REC 7, 1995]

The situation in the former Yugoslavian Republics is of course very difficult at the moment. The future is uncertain and the developments in the environmental movement stood almost still during the war. It is clear that the situation in Slovenia differs a lot from that in the other Republics, because Slovenia was not that much involved in the war. The future will tell if and how the former Yugoslavian Republics manage to stay separate countries, start new cooperation or start fighting again. Macedonia can be seen as rather a Balkan country, but it is too early for dividing the other Republics into a convenient research area for a new research on East-East cooperation among environmental NGOs. Because of this the starting point for more research on East-East cooperation might be the Baltics and the Balkan. Some expectations which might guide such research are given below.

In the Baltics we can expect more East-East cooperation within the area itself than with other CEE countries, since historical tights are quite strong among these three countries. Another educated guess is that East-East cooperation with Poland, most probably within East-West networks like Coalition Clean Baltic, will be more likely than East-East cooperation with former Soviet Republics; again because of historical reasons. Contacts with more southern CEE countries are not expected, because of the geographical position of the Baltics and the more northern orientation towards Scandinavia. The environmental movement in the Baltics is again relatively young, just as on the Balkan, but he Baltics have more connection with the West, especially with Scandinavia and Germany. This will give them more chance to strengthen the environmental movement and to establish East-East cooperation than the Balkan countries have. The environmental movement in the Baltics will be mainly focused on water quality issues, connected to nature conservation and environmental education.

On the Balkan nature conservation, both for nature conservation areas and endangered species, might be the biggest concern of environmental NGOs, eventually connected with eco-tourism and environmental education as well. Language problems will be found especially on the Balkan, since all four countries have completely different languages. Here at least one obstacle for East-East cooperation can be foreseen. Stereotyping and nationalism might have a stronger influence on the Balkan, especially around Macedonia. The historical background of the Balkan in general shows ongoing 'love and hate' relationships between the nations. It is the place 'where God put his ass, and forgot about us', like my Albanian colleague says. The Balkan is not a very favorite area to invest Western money. Traditional connections between Albania and Italy exist, and Romania and France have some tights. Support especially for the environmental movement comes for example from Milieukontakt Oost-Europa and the REC which serves Baltics, Balkan and Slovenia and Croatia.

The latter former Yugoslavian Republics seem to be the most successful in building an after war society. Maybe these two could be taken together, while Serbia and Bosnia need to stabilize their socio-economical situation again.

Until now some suggestions and speculations are given for expanding this research geographically. Expansion in other directions is possible as well. A lack of information on the role of Westerners is identified. This research could only recognize the importance of the Westerners for East-East cooperation, but this fills just a small part of the information gap. One of the questions is if Westerners take the role of social movement entrepreneurs like the resource mobilization approach describes NGO founders. Other questions are if Westerners function as development assistants or if they are just there for their own sake. What is their influence on the environmental movement as a whole and on individual groups?

Another follow-up for this research is to have a closer look at the effects of East-East cooperation. In this research we proposed East-East cooperation as efficient and in several cases a profitable strategy for environmental NGOs. Benefits of East-East cooperation are given as an outcome, but only briefly. It might be interesting to see its benefits over time as well. By the end of 1996 RECs EGT has to evaluate the pilot project on East-East cooperation. The Environmental Leadership Training, a program sponsored by REC and EPCE started in 1996. The first experiences of this exchange program can be evaluated by the end of 1996 as well. At that moment EPCE is supporting East-East cooperation for about three years. From the experience of Wolniakowski, the regional coordinator of EPCE during this time, we know that it takes a long time before enough mutual trust between potential partners exists and a joint project eventually starts. An evaluation of a long process, which East-East cooperation is according to the interviewed NGOs, cannot be done in general at one particular moment in time. A process needs to be followed step-by-step and only individual East-East cooperative NGO projects can be evaluated by the concerned NGOs at the end of the project. This means that the evaluation of the pilot project on East-East cooperation can only be done on the granting procedure, the performance of the EGT and the quantity and quality of the applications for grants. The benefits of East-East cooperation for the sponsored projects and NGOs involved should only be evaluated when the projects are finished. Until now an average Earmarked Grants project is running for at least a year. An East-East cooperative project might take longer, so it will be during the beginning of 1998 before the specific benefits of these projects can be measured. In the mean time EPCE might have more perception of the benefits of sponsored East-East cooperative projects.

The last, more theoretical, proposal for additional research is to compare the situation of East-East cooperation with that of West-West cooperation. Are Western environmental NGOs more cooperative than Eastern environmental NGOs? Do other factors play a role? Does the importance of factors in the West differ from those in Central Europe? These questions come forth from the conclusion on the importance of good personal contacts for East-East cooperation, where the available (Western) literature did not mention this factor. The questions leave room for several interesting speculations, which I would like to forward to the interested reader.

Chapter 6

Another Road: New Policies for REC

§ 6.1 Introduction

The final chapter focuses on the relationship between REC, RECs Earmarked Grants Team and the environmental NGOs in Central Europe. The chapter starts with the criticism of the interviewed environmental NGOs towards REC and the Earmarked Grants Team. In § 6.3 the suggestions of the NGOs for improving the mutual relationship with REC and for establishing East-East cooperation are given. The NGOs suggestions, together with my experience being member of the Earmarked Grants Team were the basis for writing my recommendations to this Team. In § 6.4 the recommendations to the Earmarked Grants Program can be found. During the first months of 1996 the goal of promoting East-East cooperation became very actual for the Earmarked Grants Team, because a new pilot project on East-East cooperation had to be started. In § 6.5 a brief description of the pilot project, together with a short evaluation of the implemented changes and potential dangers of the project with respect to East-East cooperation is given.

§ 6.2 Criticism on REC

It might seem strange, but REC is not extremely popular among the interviewed environmental NGOs. Most of them received one or more grants, both local and earmarked, from REC. Although the environmental NGOs depend mainly on funding for their survival, a lot of criticism on funding organizations is expressed during the interviews. Also in the literature criticism of activists and NGOs on Western assistance can be found. [Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 51-63] According to the experiences of Siegel and Yancey during their research in 1992 the environmental movement receives relatively much attention of the Western funding agencies and NGOs. [Siegel and Yancey, 1992, p. 63] This means that environmental NGOs got used by now to the working style and variety of Western funding organizations. As we have seen before, Central European environmental NGOs become more and more afraid of loosing their front position in the money stream. In the future the money might pass to the former Soviet Republics, or stay behind in the donor countries themselves. During the boom of funds last years, some NGOs profited more than others. Depending on their ability to adapt to the Western style of applying for funds and to establish good cooperation with funding organizations, some NGOs could develop faster and build more institutional capacity than others. The well-developed and matured NGOs with enough capacity available for East-East cooperation are exactly the ones where RECs Earmarked Grants Program focuses on, since the specific goal of earmarked grants is to support projects of regionwide importance, especially when East-East cooperation is involved. The criticism coming from these target groups attacks the REC in general, but even more the Earmarked Grants Team, which is responsible for implementing the Earmarked Grants Program. Both criticism on the REC headquarters in Budapest and more specific on the Earmarked Grants Program appeared from the interviews. Besides criticism, positive remarks were given as well. Usually the NGOs gave a balanced opinion on the REC and the EGT. The interviewed Hungarian NGOs were some what more critical than those of the other countries, but almost all groups mentioned at least one of the below given general criticisms towards the REC.

General criticism on the REC is given on two levels. The first concerns the RECs image, the second RECs proceedings.

RECs image is quite negative. The NGOs thought that REC is a too bureaucratic, closed and Western oriented institution. Experiences with the RECs proceedings brought them to the following remarks:

- ❶ REC reacts slowly upon the NGOs' requests, for example on questions about financial procedures or the submittal of progress reports.
- ❷ REC is not client friendly, because too much paperwork has to be done, communication with Budapest is only possible in English and the installments of promised grants are usually late.
- ❸ REC started too late with the promotion of East-East cooperation, so that it is pushed through now, on a too sophisticated level.
- ❹ REC is, in contrast to EPCE, not really a part of the environmental movement in the countries, even the Local Officers sit too much in their offices in the capital.

A part of the above mentioned criticism can be reduced to experienced communication barriers and the attitude of REC towards the NGOs. So the first step for REC and especially the Earmarked Grants Team, should be to improve the communication with their clients. In the same time the underlying attitude towards NGOs in this communication should change.

§ 6.3 Suggestions from the NGOs

The NGOs gave their advice for improving the communication with and image of the REC. Besides that, several suggestions for promoting East-East cooperation by the Earmarked Grants Team are given as well. According to the conclusion of the empirical research the main factor for improving communication and mutual cooperation (between REC and the NGOs) is good personal contact. Another possibility is to improve RECs information supplies, for example the quarterly magazine 'The Bulletin'. More profiles of , experiences from and contact information for environmental NGOs should be published. Then both the contact between REC and the NGOs and the mutual NGO contacts might improve.

If the REC wants to change its image in the environmental movement, this can be done, according the interviewed NGOs, by:

- ❶ coming out of the office; the REC headquarters and Local Office should stand more close and on an equal level with the environmental movement;
- ❷ concentrating on the contents of a running project, instead of on the paperwork; the bureaucratic style of REC-Budapest with a lot of forms, papers and time consuming procedures is a problem for practical working NGOs and project leaders;
- ❸ behaving more as a facilitator; this statement means that REC should address their projects and granting in accordance with the developments in the environmental movement. REC is supposed to be a service organization which should facilitate instead of force for example East-East cooperation;
- ❹ arranging better PR for themselves towards the environmental movement, especially so that all groups know about RECs existence, main programs and guidelines.

All four remarks are obviously coming from the point of view of the environmental NGOs. These remarks come forth from experiences of interviewed activists, so they are subjective, although more

people gave the same remarks. Old pains, personal quarrels and stupid mistakes influence the NGOs opinions, as some interviews brought up.

Now the question is how valid both criticism and possible solutions are. First the NGOs usually see only their side of the story, their wishes have to be fulfilled and with their advice they, logically, try to draw the ideal funding organization. In reality such an organization does not exist. Secondly individual NGOs forget they are not the only clients of the REC. Besides the other NGOs in their country, 12 other countries and two other social actors have to be served by REC. These two other pillars among RECs clients are governmental environmental bodies and environmental businesses. At third the NGOs do not consider the fact that REC is also depending on funding. The RECs financial position depends on the willingness of several Western and Eastern governments, the EU and UN institutions. This function between funders and final clients gives the REC two faces, one for upstream and one for downstream. Until now RECs upstream face might have had more attention than the downstream face. Finally the daily life at REC with its multi cultural, fast changing and always overloaded workforce is not properly understood by the NGOs. Sometimes it seems as if activists do not consider REC staff as human beings who have their limits. But of course this happens the other way around as well.

Concluding we see that RECs tasks and challenges are huge. According my experiences with working at the REC and from discussions with the REC staff, it is felt impossible to fulfill all tasks perfectly. Although the criticism of the NGOs is tough, it is considered mainly valid. Especially when we take their position. This is of course not the only position that can be taken. The REC in general does not have to meet all criticism, since a lot of the criticism of the NGOs comes from self-interest. In my opinion the REC should address the criticism as far as the RECs interest in satisfying the NGOs and the self-interest of the NGOs comes together. This is especially important for the RECs teams which work directly with the NGO community. Improving the communication with the NGOs, so that RECs goals, position and possibilities become more clear within the environmental movement might be the first step in taking away the current NGO criticism on REC. In my opinion mutual understanding is the beginning of a more positive image of the REC. Again especially the Earmarked Grants Team is responsible for improving the communication, since their target population of NGOs has given the criticism.

Suggestions from the NGOs to support especially the process of East-East cooperation are given as well. These are coming forth from the experienced problems and obstacles for East-East cooperation in combination with the expectancy of RECs abilities to solve such problems. In order to promote East-East cooperation especially the Earmarked Grants Team is recommended by the NGOs to:

- ❶ organize personal meetings of NGO people on a specific topic, which might be an environmental topic, a brainstorm session on 'How to cooperate', a course in 'Global Thinking' or within the very positive evaluated REC programs 'Environmental Leadership Training Project' and the 'Junior Fellow Project';
- ❷ employ an cooperation coordinator who travels a lot in order to meet NGOs personally, who gives information on potential partners, who give workshops on for example conflict solving or joint financial project management. The cooperation coordinator should be an Easterner, who knows a lot about the NGO community in CEE and is able to stay independent from a special organization or country;
- ❸ fund institutional capacity building of individual environmental NGOs;
- ❹ simplify the procedures and diminish the requested paperwork for getting funds and running projects;

- ⑤ fund whole East-East cooperative projects, including follow ups, instead of being co-funder with other sponsors or funding only non repetitive projects, so that no guaranty can be given for ongoing funding of for example a successful environmental education project;
- ⑥ respond to NGO initiatives and needs in East-East cooperation by focusing on capable NGOs, supporting existing and successful NGO networks throughout CEE and preventing 'fake cooperation'. This stresses again the importance of close contacts and good communication between REC and the environmental movement. Unfortunately the latter is stated as one of RECs main failures in this research.

Again this advice to the Earmarked Grants Team is given from the point of view of the environmental NGOs. All remarks together express a huge task for the Earmarked Grants Team in promoting East-East cooperation. In the end the REC staff decides upon which advice to follow, but in my opinion the advice of direct clients, like these NGOs are for the Earmarked Grants Team, should be taken into account. Almost all six suggestions for improvement come forth from the results we have seen in chapter four. The first two remarks are highly related to the important factor of personal contact for East-East cooperation. The third remark draws back upon the lack of capacity for East-East cooperation within the environmental NGOs. The fourth and fifth advice relate to the practical obstacle which are experienced during East-East cooperation. Procedures and funding rules cause problems for cooperative projects. REC might be able to facilitate both surrounding paperwork and financial procedures, as long as these are related to REC funding. The last remark is again connected to RECs attitude towards the environmental NGOs and RECs position within the environmental movement. Again communication barriers are experienced.

§ 6.4 Recommendations to the Earmarked Grants Team

This paragraph is focused on the Earmarked Grants Program, although most of the remarks are eligible for REC in general as well. The troubled relationship between the Earmarked Grants Team (EGT) and some environmental NGOs comes forth from the attitude of both sides. Where two parties quarrel and blame each other, two parties are guilty as well. So both the NGOs and the EGT have a duty in improving their mutual communication and understanding. In my opinion the EGT should start with trying to do so, since the relationship EGT - NGOs is not an equal one. The NGOs are more dependent on the REC than the other way around. As a result of this 'higher' position of the EGT, this Team should take the responsibility for improving the mutual relationship. A better contact with the NGO community will improve the performance of the RECs EGT as a successful granting team as well. Possibilities to change the attitude of the EGT towards the environmental NGOs are given below.

Until now NGOs with all their requests, questions, complaining letters and threatens were seen primarily as troublemakers, instead of the clients they are for the EGT. Since without NGOs the EGT should not exist. Another reason is that REC is in competition with other funding organizations to sponsor the best projects and groups. If potential East-East cooperative NGOs do not want to work with the EGT, they might find another way to get their funds. It is important for the EGT to show their results and their effectiveness. Extraordinary closed out projects, complaining letters of activists and the criticism from this research is all bad advertisement for the EGT. If they want to address their funds to establish long lasting East-East cooperation, they have to see the importance of good relationships with the well-developed, well-organized, relatively strong NGOs, because those are potential East-East cooperative organizations. Of course this type of

groups knows how to manipulate funders, has leaders with a strong personality and knows how to use their (press)contacts to mention their discomfort with the EGT and its procedures. For the EGT even more a reason to establish and/or keep good relationships with those groups. To see them as clients and respond to their needs, in time. Again good communication is needed, as we have seen before.

The second change in attitude should be to recognize the experience and knowledge of NGOs and individual activists. Potential East-East cooperative NGOs and project leaders are very experienced, skilled, educated people who usually work already a long time in the environmental field. This is not always the case for the REC staff. An attitude of listening instead of dictating would be far more convenient. A third factor is to take the job of environmental NGOs serious. Keep promises, meet the people and their projects personally and show interest in their submitted reports.

Practical improvements of the EGT could be made by simplifying the procedures as much as possible and in being as consistent as possible over time. The latter at least in for example responsible project officers, a client friendly attitude and for standard procedures. Finally the communication with environmental NGOs should actively be improved by the EGT. The above mentioned attitude changes will support better communication, but it is only the first steps. Next steps might include more personal visits to the projects, learning more about the topics where NGOs are dealing with and actively contacting NGOs in order to ask their experiences and offer help if needed.

The EGT started already to implement (some of) these recommendations in a new pilot project on East-East cooperation which started during the beginning of 1996. In the next paragraph a brief description of the pilot project is given.

§ 6.5 The pilot project on East-East cooperation

The call for NGO cooperative environmental projects was sent on three different ways, via E-mail, via the Local Office Bulletin and via the World Wide Web by the end of March 1996. A complete description of the new pilot project is given in this call for tender, including the background, scope and procedures for applying which are carefully explained. The amount of total funds available for this project during 1996 is 150,000 ECU. The maximum available per project is 25,000 ECU. The financial support for the pilot project on East-East cooperation was given to REC by PHARE. The EGT choose to start with a pilot project which will be evaluated by the end of 1996. If it is a successful formula the EGT will continue the East-East cooperative program. Below a short description of the EGTs experiences, planning and expectations towards the NGOs within in the framework of this pilot project is given. The text is a part of an open letter attached to the call for tender, written by the EGT teamleader. From this letter we can see the improved style of communicating with the NGOs and find changes compared to the former Earmarked Program which show that the NGOs criticism is taken into account.

Remember that REC has two granting programs, at first the Local Grants Program and at second the Earmarked Grants Program.

“According to the original conception, Local Grants were intended to help the organization of environmental movements, provide the necessary technical background (computers, fax machines, etc.), as well as support their local actions, like the Earth's Day events, etc.

In frame of the Earmarked Grants Program, we wished to support projects that were of regionwide importance, had large model value, involved cooperation between NGOs from

different countries, and focused on certain priority topics. Accordingly, the available support per project was substantially higher.

Our two years' experience showed that the NGOs of the Region are not particularly inclined to cooperate. A good part of the incoming proposals were just "expensive local" programs. They were submitted to the Earmarked Grants Program because they needed more money than available in frame of the Local Grants Program.

In our new initiative, we wish to make it absolutely clear: the Earmarked Grants Program is strongly restricted to projects which can be (and should be) implemented by international cooperation.

Announcing certain topics (Nature Conservation, Sustainable Agriculture, etc.) like we proceeded until now, assured the objective comparison of the incoming proposals but, in certain cases, it seemed to impose too rigid frames. In our new pilot program, any important environmental issue can be proposed supposing the project needs and uses international cooperation.

Preparing an Earmarked Grant Project Proposal needed serious investment of time, energy, and in some cases, money, as well. In the new system, this demand is reduced: all the applicant has to do is to fill in a one page form.

During the last two years we had the experience that many NGOs do not know about their potential cooperative partners (i.e. NGOs active in the same field abroad) or do not have the possibility to contact them. Our pilot program will try to bring the potential partners together.

Then we come to the new procedure, first, we ask for a brief summary of the planned project, the known or potential cooperative partners. Based upon the received project plans, we shall select the most desirable ones, identify the potential cooperative groups and invite them to elaborate the detailed Project Proposals. The Project Proposals will be scored according to the already known system by an expert panel. Signing the Award Agreement, implementing the projects (reporting, etc.) will follow the traditional scheme."

The concept papers of NGOs intending to start an East-East cooperative project should be sent to REC by May 20. After that date the concept papers will be evaluated and the chosen NGOs will be asked to prepare full project proposals based on their concept papers. Elaborating a detailed project proposal is funded by the REC as well. Finally the awarded East-East cooperative project proposals should be known by autumn 1996. Special attention is paid to the factor personal contact along the granting procedure; funds are set aside especially for this goal.

Some remarks of the NGOs for supporting East-East cooperation are taken into account in the pilot project. More personal contact, bigger amounts of money available per project and saving paperwork meet the criticism of the NGOs.

An important remaining point of interest for the EGT, especially with this pilot project, is to prevent 'fake cooperation'. Only if the EGT succeeds in becoming really close to the environmental movement and/or works with independent experts coming from the environmental movement, this 'fake cooperation' might probably be prevented. It is really a big problem to evaluate concept papers and project proposals objective on one hand, and not bureaucratic and in accordance with the particular situation in the environmental movement on the other hand. This is almost impossible. Until now an expert panel, together with the EGT members scored the project proposals on specific criteria. This costs a lot of time of at least six persons, and even double in the pilot project, since first the concept papers and then the project proposals have to be evaluated. Of course less project proposals than before have to be dealt with this time. The choice of the expert panel and the experts themselves leave room for subjective evaluation, for example because of the nationality of an expert

(or EGT member), or because of having a favorite NGO, which really need some support. Besides the danger of subjectivity we still have the claim of close contact with the environmental movement for the EGT. How can the EGT be close to the environmental NGOs and stand aside during the evaluation of the concept papers or project proposals? Having good personal contact with environmental NGOs makes subjectivity in evaluating and conflicts of interest more likely to occur. The only solution to this contradicting requirements for EGT employees, might be a strong appeal on the integrity of both experts and EGT members.

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Appendices

- I. Questionnaires**
- II. Sample of East-East cooperative NGOs per country**
- III. List of interviewed opinion leaders**
- IV. NGO concerns on the Slovakian 'Third Sector Law'**
- V. Address of the REC**

Appendix I

In this Appendix the questionnaires for both the NGOs and the opinion leaders are given. The interviews were half-open to open in depth interviews, this means that the space for writing was much bigger in reality than in this printed version. All interviews are done by myself, mostly in the offices of the NGOs themselves. One interview is done in German, the questionnaire below was translated literally in that case. The elaborated and approved interviews can be found in the Side Report belonging to this script. The italic lines below the questions on Motivation / Advantages and Problems / Obstacles were used as a private reminder of the hypotheses during the interviews.

Questionnaire NGOs

Name of the person(s): _____

Function in the NGO: _____

1) The NGO itself

Name of the NGO

Local language: _____

English: _____

History

Date of establishment: _____

Main reason for establishment: _____

Founder(s) of the NGO: _____

Structure

Labourdivision/Managementorganization: _____

Organizational

levels:

___ International

___ National

___ Countylevel

___ Communitylevel

___ Other: _____

Objective(s)/Goal(s):

What are the main areas of your organization's activities (Goals and Strategy):

Options are:

1. there is a detailed action plan
2. occasional participation
3. no participation

___ Collection and dissemination (=spread) of information

___ Nature protection actions and demonstration projects

___ Education and training

___ Environmental monitoring

___ Social and political activities (public expertise, commenting on draft laws, lobbying)

___ Environmental technology and design

____Protest actions
____Other activities

Resources

Human

How many people?

Volunteers: _____

Employees (paid): _____

Westerners: _____

In what position: _____

Amount of members: _____

Money

Annual budget/budget 1996: _____

Sources

____Grants from:

____Government

____Businessess

____Other NGOs

____Funding organization

____Own activities

____Membership fees

Expertise

Spoken languages: _____

For the topics:

Environmental issues: *high - medium - low - zero*

Organizational level: *high - medium - low - zero*

Strategical level: *high - medium - low - zero*

Access to information

Tools available:

____Phone

____Fax

____Computer/E-mail

Contacts:

Key persons in policy making: _____

Others: _____

External Relations and intensity of the contact

Government = MoE: *conflict - cooperation - competition - no relation*

Intensity: *high - medium - low*

Environmental Businesses: *conflict - cooperation - competition - no relation*

Intensity: *high - medium - low*

Other environmental NGOs

National level: *conflict - cooperation - competition - no relation*

Intensity: *high - medium - low*

International level:

West: *conflict - cooperation - competition - no relation*

Intensity: *high - medium - low*

East: *conflict - cooperation - competition - no relation*

Intensity: *high - medium - low*

2) East-East cooperation

With who and in which country(ies)?

____One: _____

____More: _____

History of this particular relation(s)

How long?

Why with this NGO(s)?

Advantages / Motivation

Transboundary problem

Border

Meso/Macro (Industrial Pollution/River management/Migrating birds)

More financial resources

Exchange of experience and/or information

Similar situation

Modelproject

More influence in the region

Problems / Obstacles

Preference for East-West cooperation

Mentality of the people

Political situation in the country

Lack of capacity

Lack of money

Lack of human resources

Cultural differences

Other internal organization and/or strategy

Nationalism

Language problems

Surplus Value / Results of East-East cooperation

Necessary features of a NGO for East-East cooperation

Your NGO is East-East cooperating, or at least trying to do that.

Why are others not acting like your group, you think?

Future of East-East cooperative behavior of your NGO and in general?

___ Go on with this partner

___ Possible others in the same country

___ Possible others in another country

___ Never again (at all)

___ More national focused cooperation

3) REC and East-East cooperation

REC is known?

Yes/No

Earmarked Grants Program is known?

Yes/No

Applied for an Earmarked Grant?

Yes/No

Awarded?

Yes/No

Should REC promote East-East cooperation?

Yes/No

If yes: why?

how

If no: why not?

Questionnaire for country consultants of Milieukontakt Oost-Europa or general opinion leaders

- What is in general the position of the environmental NGO community in your country towards East-East cooperation?
- What is your opinion about East-East cooperation? Is it important to promote this for funding organizations like REC, EPCE or Milieukontakt Oost-Europa?
- What are obstacles and advantages of East-East cooperation?
- What will the future trend be for East-East cooperation of environmental NGOs in your country?

Appendix II

Sample of East-East cooperative NGOs

Interviewed November 1995 - February 1996

Czech Republic

- ❶ **Hnutí Duha - Pratele Zeme**
Rainbow Movement - Friends of the Earth Czech Republic
Mr. Jakub Patocka
Jakubské náměstí 7
602 00 Brno
Phone: 42 5 4221 0438 or 42 5 4221 2847
Fax: 42 5 4221 0347
- ❷ **Veronika - Ecological Centre CSOP**
Mr. Miroslav Kundera
Panská 9
602 00 Brno 1
Phone: 42 5 4221 0561
Fax: 42 5 4221 0561
- ❸ **Český Svaz Ochránců Přírody (CSOP)**
Czech Union of Nature Conservation
Mrs. Marketa Klubalová and Mrs. Dita Michalicková
Ostrov Stvanice c.p. 1125
zim. Stadion
170 00 Praha
Phone: 42 2 375 289
Fax: 42 2 374 359
- ❹ **Deti Zeme - National Coordination Center**
Children of the Earth
Mr. Jindřich Petřík
Podbabská 14
160 00 Praha 6
Phone: 42 2 311 7075
Fax: 42 2 311 7075

Hungary

- ❶ **Duna Kör (ISTER)**
Danube Circle
Mr. Droppa György
1054 Budapest
Vadász u. 29
Phone: 36 1 132 3321
Fax: 36 1 135 8366
- ❷ **Energia Klub**
Energy Club
Mrs. Amon Ada
Móricz Zs. Krt. I/1
1117 Budapest
PO Box 411
Phone: 36 212 4253 or 36 1 188 688
Fax: 36 135 0975
- ❸ **Magyar Természetvédők Szövetsége**
National Society of Conservationists
Mrs. Schmuck Erzsébet
1121 Budapest
Költő u. 21
Phone: 36 1 175 0684
Fax: 36 1 175 0684
- ❹ **REFLEX Környezetvédő Egyesület**
REFLEX Environment Protection Society
Mr. Kalas György
9024 Győr
Bartók Béla u. 7
Phone: 36 96 310 988
Fax: 36 96 310 988
- ❺ **Ökológiai Intézet a Fenntartható Fejlődésért**
Ecological Institute for Sustainable Development
Central & East European Working Group for the Enhancement of Biodiversity (CEEWEB)
Mr. Gyulai Iván
3525 Miskolc
Kossuth u. 13
Phone: 36 46 352 010
Fax: 36 46 352 010

Poland

- ❶ **Polski Klub Ekologiczny, Zarząd Główny**
Polish Ecological Club, National Board
Mrs. Magda Stoczkiewicz and Mr. Tomasz Terlecki
ul. Piłsudskiego 8, IIp.
31 109 Kraków
Phone: 48 12 218 852
Fax: 48 12 218 852
- ❷ **Polskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Przyrody Pro-Natura**
The Polish Society of the Friends of Nature 'Pro Natura'
Mr. Roman Guziak and Mr. Adam Guziak
ul. Podwale 75
50 449 Wrocław
Phone: 48 71 445 055, ext. 326
Fax: 48 71 446 135
- ❸ **Fundacja Ecobaltic**
Ecobaltic Foundation
Mr. Marius Witonski and Mr. Bogusz Piliczewski
ul. Wyspiańskiego 5
80 434 Gdańsk
Phone: 48 58 410 081
Fax: 48 58 410 082
- ❹ **Polski Klub Ekologiczny - Okręg Wschodnio Pomorski**
Polish Ecological Club - East Pomoranian Branch
Mr. Piotr Stepnowski
ul. Powstańców Warszawskich 202
80 958 Gdańsk
Phone: 48 58 472 860 or 48 58 472 458 or 48 58 471 651
Fax: 48 58 472 458
- ❺ **Fundacja Olawy i Nysy Kłodzkiej**
Olawa and Nysa Kłodzka Foundation
Mr. Marek Krukowski and Mr. Darek Bialek
ul. Białokórnica 26
50 134 Wrocław
Phone: 48 71 308 49 or 48 71 445 948
- ❻ **Ogólnopolskie Towarzystwo Zagospodarowania Odpadów '3R'**
Waste Prevention Organization '3R'
Mr. Paweł Gluszyński
ul. Sławkowska 12
31 914 Kraków
Phone: 48 12 222 264
Fax: 48 12 222 264
- ❼ **Ośrodek Edukacji Ekologicznej Eko-Okó**
Center for Ecological Education Eko-Okó
Mr. Przemysław Radwański
ul. Grójecka 75
02 094 Warszawa
Phone: 48 22 226 487

Slovakia

- ❶ **Strom Zivota**
Tree of Life
Mr. Oto Makys
Prazska 11
816 36 Bratislava
Phone: 42 7 498 703 or 42 7 498 473
Fax: 42 7 498 703
- ❷ **Slovensky Zvaz Ochrancov Prirody a Krajiny (SZOPK)**
Slovak Union of Nature and Landscape Protectors
Mr. Jaromir Sibl
Gorkeho 6
811 01 Bratislava
Phone: 42 7 364 665
Fax: 42 7 364 665
- ❸ **Stredisko environmentalnej osvety 'BAMBI'**
Center of Environmental Education 'BAMBI'
Mrs. Laura Dittel
Postovy priecinok (PO Box) 47
Budulovska 12
045 01 Moldava nad Bodvou
Phone: 42 943 3345 (to the end of 1995) or 42 943 7771
- ❹ **Spolocnost pre trvalo udrzatel'ny zivot (STUZ), odbocka Biele Karpaty**
The Society for Sustainable Living, the regional subsidiary White Carpathians
Mrs. Dagmar Liskova
Hviezdoslavova 1
911 01 Trencin
Phone: 42 831 357 63
Fax: 42 831 364 12

Appendix III

Interviewed opinion leaders

Interviewed November 1995 - February 1996

- **Mr. Przemyslaw Czajkowski**
Ul. Pieccolinii 8m41
02 784 Warszawa
Poland
Phone/Fax Privat: 48 2 6439 664
Phone Work: 48 2 2259 245
- **Mr. Piotr. Glinski**
Irlandzka 9a
03 909 Warszawa
Poland
- **Mr. Oto Makys**
c/o Strom Zivota
Prazska 11
816 36 Bratislava
Slovakia
Phone: 42 7 498 473
Fax: 42 7 498 703
- **Mrs. Vera Mora**
Lövház u. 19
H 1024 Budapest
Hungary
Phone/Fax work: 36 1 111 7855
Phone Privat: 36 1 115 2218
- **Mrs. Zuzana Stroufova**
Jilova 30
639 00 Brno
The Czech Republic
Phone Privat: 42 5 742 894
Phone Work: 42 5 4221 0438 or 4221 2847
Fax Work: 42 5 4221 0347
- **Mrs. Krystyna U. Wolniakowski**
The Environmental Partnership for Central and Eastern Europe
ul. Pilsudskiego 74/309
50-020 Wrocław
Poland
Phone: 48 71 725 679
Fax: 48 71 725 680

Appendix IV

NGO concerns on the Slovakian 'Third Sector Law'

The text below gives the NGOs main concerns on the Slovakian 'Third Sector Law' on registration on and new requirements for foundations. Most of the Slovakian NGOs are registered as foundations. These are not only environmental NGOs. Other social movement organizations are involved in the protests against this law as well. The text is written by Juraj Zamkovsky from the Center for Environmental Public Advocacy, who is the representative of the Gremium of the Third Sector. Gremium is an 17-member NGO representative body elected during the last NGO conference.

Despite numerous calls of many NGOs in Slovakia for public discussion on the draft law and comments of Slovak and international institutions calling for substantial changes in the draft, there is still not enough will for cooperation from the Slovak government, according to the NGOs. Therefore they started the national Third Sector SOS campaign; initiated and coordinated by the Gremium of the Third Sector. This campaign is supported by hundreds of Slovakian NGOs.

For additional information on this important legislation you can contact the Center for Environmental Public Advocacy (CEPA)

Ponicka Huta 65, 976

33 Poniky

Slovakia

Phone/fax: +42 88 93324

E-mail: cepa@seps.bb.sanet.sk

"There are several parts in the Slovak draft of the foundation act which are of particular concern:

- ❶ Two-level registration process. The founder needs to get approval for establishment of a foundation by the local authority of the state administration before registration of the foundation at a court. Moreover, the state authorities are provided with very broadly defined criteria for issuing the approval to a founder. This might lead to political abuses, e.g. in case of a foundation intending to support policies or reforms which the government is not interested in or where founders are known due to their critical positions to the government.
- ❷ Broadly defined criteria for abolishment of foundations even in cases in which there are existing other legal sanctions (e.g. fines and penalties for violating e.g. rules in accounting or in timely setting of foundation's bodies, etc.) before abolishment of the organization.
- ❸ The requirements for limited overhead for foundations. The current proposal is that any foundation with higher than 10% overhead could be abolished. While the non-profit community does not principally oppose the idea that foundations should direct most of their funds towards the fulfillment of the purposes that are of public benefit (rather than towards their own internal operations) such restriction in the current Slovak economic context seems to be both dangerous and unnecessary. This provision might well force the abolishment of the REC's office in Bratislava for example. It represents one of a series of excessive operating restrictions placed by the government and not the NGO community.
- ❹ The basic assets. The draft requires minimum value of the basic assets of the foundations of 100,000 Sk (app. 2,700 ECU). This means that a foundation can not use this sum during its entire life under any circumstances. This provision might lead to liquidation of substantial part of small foundations in Slovakia.
- ❺ Mandatory auditing of foundations exceeding 3 million Sk (app. 81,100 ECU) of their annual expenses (including e.g. grants provided to NGOs). This requirement and the overhead 10% limit restriction are in direct conflict with each other since the cost of the audit (often exceeding 50,000 Sk, i.e. 1,350 ECU) is part of the overhead costs. It should be pointed out that businesses do not have a mandatory audit until they have exceeded 40 million SK in one year.
- ❻ Mandatory changes in the structure of foundations. The draft of the foundation act requires the rotation of the members of the board every 3 years. Since the law is to regulate private foundations such provision misses logical

justification and might lead to destabilization of foundations. Similar restrictions are not required for corporations or other for-profit enterprises.

- ⑦ Entrepreneurial activities of the foundations are prohibited even in case they would serve to fulfillment of the goals of the foundations and its operation.
- ⑧ The draft includes several provisions that might be abused from political reasons, e.g. "a foundation must not engage of political parties and movements or support their activities" without any definition of what such engagement/support mean; the state authorities are to permanently control the operations of the foundations and are authorized to submit a proposal to court to abolish the foundations if they violate this act.
- ⑨ Other provisions that are both unnecessary and make the operations of the foundations more complicated. E.g. the requirement that all donations must be registered at the tax authorities with the indication of the person who provided them; the foundations must send their annual reports to the state authorities; the foundations must operate according to the annual budget approved by their boards by the end of March; etc.

Equally disturbing as the content of this legislation, is the process with which it has come forward. The details of the law were proposed without any discussion in public and despite the fact that such legislation was not included in the annual legislation plan of the Slovak government.”

Appendix V

Address of the REC

(until October 1996)

The Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe - Headquarters

Miklos ter 1
H - 1035 Budapest
Hungary

Tel: (36 1) 250 3401

Fax: (36 1) 250 3403

e-mail: rec-info@rec.hu

World-Wide-Web: <http://www.rec.hu/>