CONTESTING CLIMATE CHANGE:
CIVIL SOCIETY NETWORKS AND COLLECTIVE ACTION
IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Cornell University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Jennifer Leigh Hadden

August 2011

CONTESTING CLIMATE CHANGE:

CIVIL SOCIETY NETWORKS AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Jennifer Leigh Hadden, Ph.D.

Cornell University, 2011

Civil society organizations choose vastly different forms of collective action to try to influence European politics: everything from insider lobbying to disruptive protest, from public education to hunger strikes. Using network analysis and qualitative interviewing, my research emphasizes that patterns of inter-organizational relations influence organizational decisions to use one of these strategies. They do this by structuring the information and resources available to actors, as well as by diffusing strategies across connected actors. This is particularly true when networks are segmented into two distinct components, as I find in the European climate change network. In this network, organizations using contentious 'outsider' strategies are only loosely linked to those 'insiders' behaving conventionally in Brussels.

These findings are policy relevant because current scholarship and policy recommendations tend to assume that increased civil society participation in transnational policy-making will increase democratic legitimacy. But my network data and qualitative interviews suggests that the emergence of a coalition of organizations engaging solely in contentious outsider action reflects the development and diffusion of a new and highly critical strand of climate change politics. I further argue that this type of contentious civil society 'spillover' can actually slow the pace of development of climate change policy and of European integration more generally.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Jennifer Leigh Hadden is originally from Vancouver, Canada. She received her B.A. from Smith College with highest honors in Government in 2005. She also received an international diploma 'mention bien' from L'institut d'études politiques in Paris, France in 2004. In the fall of 2005, she began graduate work at Cornell University, completing a master's degree in 2008. During her graduate work, Jennifer was a visiting researcher at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy as well as at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel in Brussels, Belgium. She will begin a position as Assistant Professor in the Department of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland, College Park in the fall of 2011.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people I would like to recognize for their help with this dissertation. I want to particularly acknowledge the influence and support of the faculty and staff of the Government Department at Cornell University. In particular, the members of my committee – Chris Anderson, Matt Evangelista, and Sarah Soule -- dedicated many hours to reading and discussing my work with me. All three routinely sent thoughtful comments, and have helped me develop my ideas since the early days of my coursework at Cornell. I am very grateful to them for their support. Donatella della Porta not only kindly agreed to serve as an outside reader, but provided valuable feedback when I was debating different dissertation ideas in Florence.

Throughout my time at Cornell, Sid Tarrow has been an exceptionally generous mentor. Sid inspires me with his creativity and command of the field, and he has continually pushed me to grow intellectually and to never stop trying to improve my work. It has been my privilege to work with him during these past six years, and I thank him for the kindness and hospitality both he and Susan Tarrow have shown me during this time.

I also benefited enormously from the research support of a number of institutions. In particular, the Institute for European Studies and the Institute for Social Sciences at Cornell University offered me pre-dissertation research funding to explore potential topics. The financial support of the Fulbright program to the European Union and the European Union Studies Association provided me with the luxury of spending eighteen months conducting field research in Europe. During my time abroad, I was also fortunate to find intellectual community and working space at the European University Institute and at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. The Cornell Center for a Sustainable Future provided me with funding to conduct follow-up research at the 2010 UNFCCC meeting in Cancun, Mexico.

I want to particularly acknowledge the assistance of the many activists, advocates, and policy-makers who gave their scarce time to participate in this project. During my research I was routinely impressed with their dedication and creativity in the face of immense global problems, and I hope that I do them justice in explaining their actions and motivations. In particular, Benoît Dutilleul, Matthias Duwe, Karim Harris, Tadzio Müller, and several others who wish to be anonymous went out of their way to support me during my fieldwork. This research could not have happened without them.

While in Ithaca, my intellectual and social life was enormously improved by my interactions with my peers. I want to especially thank Phil Ayoub, Jaimie Bleck, Sean Boutin, Noelle Brigden, Todd Dickey, Jennifer Erickson, Joe Florence, Janice Gallagher, Don Leonard, Igor Logvinenko, Kristin McKie, Alison McQueen, Tsveta Petrova, John Scott, Lucia Antalova Seybert, and Andrew Yeo for their support and friendship. I would also like to thank Richard Bensel and the participants in the dissertation colloquium for useful comments and moral support during the final stretch.

During my fieldwork, many people helped me in various ways to learn about European culture, politics and activism. I am particularly grateful to Nicole Dörr, Julianna Erthal, Jennifer Jones, Heike Klüver, Birgitta Gomez Nielsen, Grzegorz Piotrowski, Niccolò Tognarini, and Magnus Wennerhag for sharing with me their experience and insight.

Outside of Cornell, a number of scholars generously read and commented on portions of my work. I would like to thank Scott Byrd, Michael Heaney, Liesbet Hooghe, Gary Marks, Doug McAdam, John McCarthy and Ruth Reitan for providing helpful feedback on earlier versions of these chapters.

As always, during the past six years my family has provided me with the love and support that made this work possible. Laura Hadden and Jesse Freidman hosted me on many trips to Brooklyn, which were more important to me than they probably know. Eileen and Lyall Hadden assisted and encouraged me in every way possible, including (but not limited to) listening to all my problems and complaints, visiting me numerous times in Ithaca and during my field research, and celebrating with me when it was all over. My interaction with these wonderful people not only makes my work more enjoyable, but makes finishing it even better.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

ALBA	Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our Americas
AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island States
BAP	Bali Action Plan
BE/NL	Belgium and Netherlands
CAN	Climate Action Network
CAN-E	Climate Action Network Europe
CCS	Carbon capture and storage
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CJA	Climate Justice Action
CJN	Climate Justice Now
CNE	Climate Network Europe
CO2	Carbon Dioxide
COP	Conference of the Parties
DG	Directorate General
EC	European Community
ECA	European collective action
ECCP	European Climate Change Programme
EEB	European Environmental Bureau
ESF	European Social Forum
EU	European Union
EU ETS	European Union Emissions Trading System
FOE	Friends of the Earth
FOE-E	Friends of the Earth Europe

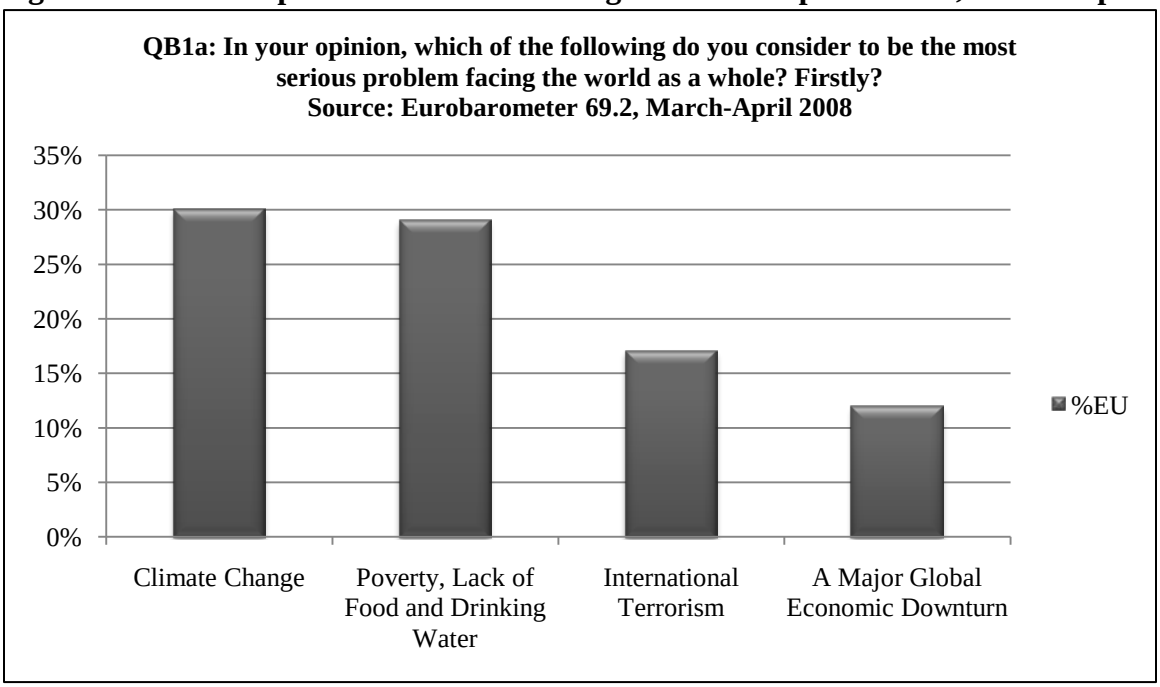
FOE-I	Friends of the Earth International
FOE-UK	Friends of the Earth United Kingdom
G8	Group of Eight
G20	Group of Twenty
G77	Group of 77
GCCA	Global Campaign for Climate Action
GHG	Greenhouse gases
IPCC	Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change
MEP	Member of European Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NTAC	Never Trust a COP
PGA	Peoples' Global Action
RAC	Climate Action Network France
SWOT	Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats
T&E	Transport and Environment Europe
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWF	World Wildlife Federation
WWF EPO	World Wildlife Federation European Policy Office

INTRODUCTION

"The Most Serious Problem Facing the World"

European citizens consistently rate climate change as one of the world's most serious problems. In the March-April 2008 Eurobarometer public opinion survey, EU citizens ranked climate change as "the most serious problem facing the world as a whole," prioritizing it above poverty, terrorism and a global economic crisis (see Figure 1.1). It was considered one of the top three most serious problems in every one of the twenty seven member states. These same data suggest that 55% of respondents think that the European Union is not doing enough to address it (Eurobarometer 69.2 2008).

Figure 1.1: Public Opinion on Climate Change in the European Union, March-April 2008



Given this serious public concern, it is not surprising that during this time period many European civil society organizations made climate change a top priority and devoted important organizational resources towards campaigns on global warming. This project seeks to answer

two key questions: how and why do European civil society organizations mobilize transnationally on the issue of climate change? It specifically considers the critical time period of January 2008-December 2009. This is an important phase of political decision-making because during these two years the European Union both developed its internal Climate and Energy Package and its external strategy for the United Nations Climate Change Summit in Copenhagen, Denmark.

Civil society actors have a lot of incentives to organize transnational collective action on climate change in the European Union. Climate change is a transboundary 'commons' problem that cannot be adequately addressed on a national scale (Ostrom et al 1999). Accordingly, the EU has greater competencies than the member states in the area of climate change,[1] making it a highly desirable target for civil society activism (Greenwood 2007; Oberthür and Gehring 2006).

But when civil society organizations want to work at the European level, what exactly do they do? Previous scholarship has suggested that European civil society organizations working on the environment will tend to utilize a very narrow range of conventional and lobbying oriented tactics (Marks and McAdam 1996; Rucht 2001). But my original research suggests that organizations working on climate change employ a much wider spectrum of tactics: everything from press releases to protests, letter writing to blockades. This dissertation tries to explain this observable tactical diversity and its implications. I will argue that organizational tactical decision-making is interdependent, and that organizations are influenced by the decisions of their peers when choosing their forms of collective action.

Conventional and Contentious European Collective Action

[1] An estimated 75-80% of environmental policy in general in EU member states originates in Brussels (Greenwood 2007: 6), and the percentage is probably even higher for climate change policy.

When scholars and policy-makers talk about participation in EU politics, they usually mean the use of conventional action forms by professionalized interest organizations. This is for good reason: previous work has suggested that there hasn't been much European level protest (Imig and Tarrow 2001; Reising 1998; Rucht 2001) and that the openness of EU institutions to civil society actors make it unlikely that there ever will be (Lahusen 2004; Marks and McAdam 1999). In this context, scholars have focused with great detail and sophistication on the variety of conventional activities in which these actors engage, and on the importance of their behavior for European policy making (e.g. Beyers 2004; Coen 2007; Greenwood 2007; Mahoney 2008). My work on the climate change issue area partially confirms the findings of these previous studies by showing that many civil society actors do utilize these 'insider' and 'professionalized' strategies on the 'Brussels route of influence' vis-à-vis the EU (Greenwood 2007).

However, my study also challenges conventional wisdom regarding the lack of contentious European collective action. My data reveal that civil society organizations use a wide variety of action forms to contest climate change. Table 1.2 gives an complete listing of forms of collective action I found employed during this time, which include both 'conventional' actions like lobbying and making press releases and more 'contentious' actions such as blockading and picketing.

Table 1.1 Types of European Collective Action on Climate Change, 2008-2009

Conventional	Contentious
Conducting a workshop	Banner Hanging
Electoral Campaigning	Blockading and Occupation
Holding a Conference	Camping [Corporation, Power Plant, Government]
Issuing a Report	Demonstration/Rally
Letter Writing	Event Crashing
Lobbying [Government Representatives]	Flash Mobbing
Petition/Signature Collection	Head Shaving
Press Release or Conference	Holding a Vigil
Public Advertising Campaign	Hunger Striking
Public Opinion Poll	Marching
	Picketing
	Property Damage [Power Plants]
	Sit-in
	Spilling Substances [‘Blood’, Coal, Oil]
	Street Theatre
	Symbolic Confrontations [Puppets, Ice Sculptures]
	Tree Sitting
	Website Hacking

I argue that there are three primary reasons why previous research has not found much contentious European collective action. First, contentious European collective action is a relatively new phenomenon of the last ten years (Balme and Chabanet 2008; Imig and Tarrow 2001; Ubba and Uggla 2011). Transnational collective action in general did not really take off until the late 1990s, and Europe is no exception to this trend (Pianta, Silva and Zola 2004; Bandy and Smith 2005; Tarrow 2005). But recent campaigns on issues such as the Bolkestein Directive, the European Constitution and the European Ports Package demonstrate definitively that contentious European collective action does exist and is an important feature of contemporary European politics (Balme and Chabanet 2008; Bédoyan et al 2004; Gentile 2010; Lefébure 2002; Parks 2009).

Second, many previous studies of European collective action have been limited by their research designs. These studies tend to be relentlessly 'top down': they consider issues on which the EU is making important decisions and then ask how civil society participates in that process (Baumgartner and Leech 1998). This study begins from the 'bottom up' by considering what issues European care about, and then asking how they organize to exert political influence. In other words, I deliberately select a case in which European citizens have significant grievances, rather than selecting a case where the European institutions have important competencies.

Finally, many studies of European collective action have taken a highly restrictive view of what it means for collective action to be 'European.' I argue that for an action to be 'European' it does not necessarily have to occur in Brussels, Strasbourg or Luxembourg. Instead, I follow the approach of Imig and Tarrow (2001) and define actions taken at the 'European level' as those that target the European institutions and/or those that involve the use of transnational European coalitions to target national states or other actors. This makes my definition of organizations active 'at the European level' broader than the narrowly Brussels-oriented work (e.g. Beyers 2004; Marks and McAdam 1999; Kriesi, Tresch and Jochum 2007). In adopting this approach my study also builds on recent work that looks at 'Europeanization from Below' in alternative arenas such as the European Social Forum and considers the different pathways civil society actors use to organize at the European level (della Porta 2007; della Porta and Caini 2007).

Argument Overview

My research explains how organizations make structured and relatively consistent decisions among the tactical options available to them when they sponsor collective action on climate

change. Previous literature has emphasized that organizational behavior is explained by a combination of contextual and organizational-level factors. For political process theories emphasizing contextual factors, organizational behavior should respond to the external political opportunities for participation available (Eisinger 1973; Tilly 1978; McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1989; Costain 1992). In theories at the organizational level, organizational behavior should be the product of intra-organizational ideology, structure and resources (McCarthy and Zald 1977; Piven and Cloward 1977; Dalton 1994). In both approaches, organizations make decisions independently and under conditions not of their own making.

I argue that these assumptions are unrealistic given the importance of relationships, networks, alliances and coalitions in political life (e.g. Diani 1995; Diani and McAdam 2004; Klandermans 1990; Levi and Murphy 2006). My argument is that organizational decision-making is fundamentally relational: it depends on the actions of other organizations working in the same field. Drawing on the tradition of social network analysis, I emphasize that patterns of inter-organizational relations influence organizational strategic decisions. They do this by structuring the information and resources available to actors, as well as by encouraging social influence across connected actors.

In my empirical chapters, I find that those European organizations using contentious 'outsider' strategies are only loosely linked to those 'insiders' behaving conventionally in Brussels. While those in the 'insider' group respond to the available resources and political opportunities of the EU system, the 'outsiders' are a significant subgroup that behave contentiously. Their choices in many ways subvert the expectations of the dominant theoretical approaches in interest group and social movement studies. These findings have consequences for the way we approach the study of social movements, as well as for how scholars and policy-

makers conceive of the role of 'participation' of civil society actors in European integration and climate change governance.

Definitions

At this point it is useful to briefly define four foundational concepts I use in my study:

- *Forms of Collective Action:* Actors use a variety of specific action forms – protests, pickets, or petitions for example – to mobilize participants, which are hard to enumerate in advance because actors commonly innovate on them during cycles of contention (Tarrow 2011: 142). I argue that European actors choose their mobilization forms from an understood 'repertoire of contention': a limited set of action forms actors use to mount collective challenges (Tilly 1995: 41). For this study, the key elements of collective action involve "episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects when … the claims would, if realized, affect the interests of at least one of the claimants" (McAdam et al 2005).
- *Networks*: I follow a common definition of networks as "regularities in patterns of relations among concrete entities" (White et al 1976). 'Networks' are often used as metaphors, but less often employed as tools of analysis in political science (Diani 1995, Dowding 1995, Pappi and Henning 1998, Thatcher 1998). This study employs a broad definition of a 'network' that is suitable for empirical analysis of a variety of possible relationships between the actors in the population.
- *Civil Society*: Acknowledging the complexity of the terminological debate, I use the term 'civil society' to denote a 'self-organized citizenry' that includes European social movements, trade unions and non-governmental organizations (Edwards, Foley and Diani 2001). The basis of this distinction is that 'civil society' is separate from both the sphere

of government and the sphere of the market, and itself constitutes a third sphere of social and political relations (Emirbayer and Sheller 1999).

- *Organizations*: Organizations can be viewed as concrete social entities with describable locations, identities and attributes (Hannan and Freeman 1977; Scott 1992). Organizations are often defined by their purpose. For my analysis, my population includes organizations that make "public interest claims" and "pursue social change" related to progressive action on the issue of climate change (Andrews and Edwards 2004:486). Though I require that such organizations must be sufficiently institutionalized to publically sponsor collective actions, I do not make an a priori distinction between 'non-governmental organizations' and 'social movement organizations' (Marks and McAdam 1999), preferring instead to study the full range of variation in organizational forms.

Why Europe?

Why restrict my study of transnational collective action on climate change to the European Union? I think there are at least four reasons why studying Europe makes sense given the goals of this research.

First, as a result of popular concern on the part of EU citizens, the presence of important political decision-making moments, and the incentives for transnational organizing one should expect to see a great deal of European collective action on climate change from 2008-2009. Because of the high volume of action, this makes this an interesting arena in which to study collective action in all its forms.

Second, for methodological reasons, the European Union is the ideal research laboratory for this study. Studies of transnational advocacy networks are difficult because organizations have limited resources with which to form contacts with other organizations. Because of this hurdle to tie formation, we might tend to see geographically or linguistically distant actors working together less often. Limiting this study to European organizations ameliorates this bias, because of the geographic proximity, organizing history and existing communication structures between actors in the EU. In other words, limiting the network analysis to Europe bounds the network in a way that makes the assumption that all actors could potentially have ties with one another more reasonable.

In addition, during the time period of this study, European actors were exposed to a number of different institutional contexts and political events. In addition to the internal EU decision-making process, both the 2008 and 2009 UNFCCC climate change summits were held in Europe, meaning that European actors were geographically proximate to and had the ability to participate in many different institutional processes. This variation in political opportunities is important for assessing alternative hypotheses in my study.

Fourth, although the EU is only one case, I treat my study of civil society organizing in Europe as an advanced case of transnationalization of both civil society and political institutions. The European environmental movement is widely considered "the most globally conscious movement in the most highly developed supranational polity" (Rootes 2004). Thus my findings about the way actors interact at the EU level may suggest patterns in the way transnational civil society is structured that could be profitably extended to other global issues, world regions, or international institutions.

Finally, my study sheds light on the determinants of civil society mobilization on an important environmental issue, in an important political arena during an important time period. The European focus on this study should be of particular interest to those who study environmental politics because the European Union is generally considered to be the world leader on both civil society consultation and climate change issues (Kelemen and Vogel 2010). In addition, the study directly considers the role of civil society participation in the 2009 Copenhagen climate conference. This is an important case of (non)decision-making, and as such, it should be inherently interesting for those who study civil society participation in environmental governance.

Implications for Scholars of Collective Action

This study makes an important contribution to the literature on collective action, interest groups and social movements for a number of reasons. My research design is unusual in that it does not focus narrowly on NGOs *or* social movements, lobbying *or* protest. Instead, I consider the full range of variation in organizations and tactical forms. I use this unique perspective to try to answer perennial questions about why organizations behave contentiously or conventionally.

The network theory I develop has several implications. For organizational theorists, it suggests an interdependent view of organizational decisions. I argue that network ties can be more important than attributes, and organizations are better understood in relation to one another than on their own. This vantage point also suggests a new research agenda focusing on how organizational characteristics may lead to tie-formation or may condition the impact of ties on behavior.

For political process theorists, this approach helps to unpack the conditional effect of structure on agents. The theory and findings of this study suggest that political structures do influence the forms of action that groups use when they contest climate change. But the effect of this structure isn't uniform, and some organizations systematically seem to 'ignore' political opportunities. In other words, the results suggest that structure is important, but agency is real. How can we understand this complicated relationship? I argue that by focusing on network *structure* we can better appreciate the channels through which agents can operate, help organizations overcome structural incentives and institutional norms, and generate resistance to dominant social and ecological paradigms.

Implications for Political Participation in International Institutions

The findings of this project should also complicate our understanding of the role of civil society participation in European integration and global environmental governance. Civil society participation in international institutions – and in environmental governance in particular -- is often encouraged by policy-makers and scholars alike for the integrative and legitimizing effect these civil society actors can produce (e.g. Florini 2000; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Reinicke 2000; Sikkink 1999; Willets 1996). My research suggests that when the structure and content of relations among civil society actors are divided and competitive, this promise may not be fulfilled. This argument has important consequences for global climate governance and scholars of European integration alike.

Since the beginning of the European project, policy-makers and scholars have viewed the participation of European collective actors as essential for the development of European integration. Moving economic (and eventually political) interests beyond the nation-state was considered a normative good in post-War Europe because it was seen as a means to prevent

inter-state conflict. As a result, important founders of European politics such as Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman explicitly employed strategies to encourage collective actors to transnationalize their interests and behavior (Monnet 1978).

The highly influential neofunctionalist approach to integration studies formalized these political strategies into academic language (Haas 1958; Lindberg 1963). From a neofunctionalist perspective, the participation of collective actors in European politics should be one of the motors of integration in the absence of direct 'citizen' participation. As Haas remarked in *The Uniting of Europe*, "perhaps the chief finding is that group pressure will spillover into the federal sphere and thereby add to the integrative pressure" (Haas 1958: xiii). For Haas, this 'spillover'[2] of civil society would result in attitude changes of the actors involved, and would eventually generate loyalty to the new, more efficient polity and increase pressure for further integration (Haas 1958: 287).

Neofunctionalist theorizing was subsequently challenged by inter-governmentalist approaches (Hoffmann 1966; Moravcsik 1993) and even declared 'obsolescent' by Haas himself (Haas 1975). Yet, the scholarly preoccupation with civil society participation in EU politics remains. Scholars working under the broad umbrella of the 'governance' approach generally consider the participation of civil society actors as one of the indicators of the level of development of integration (Majone 1996; Marks, Scharpf et al 1996; Hooghe and Marks 1999). Less state-centric views of inter-governmental theory also emphasize the importance of the participation of collective actors in encouraging intergovernmental bargaining and decision-making (Stone Sweet and Sandholtz 1997: 299-300).

[2] Haas uses 'spillover' to indicate shifts between issue areas of 'low' to 'high' saliency, from economics to politics, and from the national to the European level. Here I am referring to the last usage.

Policy-makers in the European Union are committed to the idea of encouraging civil society participation. As a result of the criticism about the 'democratic deficit' of the EU institutions – which concerns the lack of transparency and accountability in transnational policy-making – EU reformers frequently propose increased 'participation' by civil society as a remedy (Héritier 1999; Kohler-Koch and Rittberger 2007; Lord and Beetham 2001; Schmitter 2000; Smismans 2006; Wessels 1999). The Delors Commission in particular elaborated a wide range of policies to encourage participation by civil society in order to make policy-making more accessible and transparent (Kohler-Koch 1996). The justification behind these policies is practical: civil society participation is meant to aid the European Union in achieving both input and output legitimacy vis-à-vis EU citizens (Scharpf 1999). This means that the European Commission is procedurally committed to civil society dialogue, consultations, and use of expert groups in policy-making (European Commission 1997, 2001, 2002). More abstractly, the European Institutions also rely on civil society groups to publicize and legitimate their actions in the member states and to generate pressure for the development of new EU competencies (Greenwood 2007: 200).

But perhaps because of the neofunctionalist and technocratic legacy in most integration literature, very little attention has been paid to the effect of contentious participation on the integration process. Scholars have generally assumed that European integration has benefited from a 'permissive consensus' and a low level of public contestation on European issues (Lindberg and Scheingold 1970). When scholars have considered this question, they conclude that it will either be irrelevant or supportive of further integration (Haas 1958: 526; Schmitter 1969: 166). Similarly, scholars of 'civil society participation' in international institutions

generally draw on cases of conventional participation by non-governmental organizations, largely ignoring the impact of contentious transnational social movements.

As European integration and climate change governance have become more politicized, contentious participation has become more frequent (Imig and Tarrow 2001; Uba and Uggla 2010). This project develops the idea that contentious 'participation' can be a double-edged sword for European integration and for global environmental governance more generally. 'Too much' contentions participation can signal that a democracy is considered illegitimate and unstable; 'too little' can signal that citizens are uninterested or the regime is overly repressive. So how do we know if protest is positive or negative for integration? I argue that assessing the impact of participation on integration and governance requires not only knowing what actors do, but with whom they do it. On the one hand, an integrated network of civil society organizations attempting to influence policy through a variety of means may increase the perceived importance and legitimacy of these institutions. But on the other hand, the existence of an isolated, contentious group of protestors who participate only indirectly in politics may do just the opposite.

Data Collection and Research Strategy

This study employs a multi-method research strategy, which combines social network analysis, quantitative historical analysis, and qualitative interviewing to support my central claims. For this study, I gathered original quantitative and qualitative data, and spent eighteen months interviewing and observing organizations working on climate change policy in the European Union. Appendix A details the data collection and coding procedures in much greater detail.

In order to gather systematic quantitative data on European collective action [ECA] on climate change, I conducted an electronic search on a variety of media outlets to identify relevant events. Newspaper reports are frequently used in the tradition of protest event analysis in order to gather systematic information about the volume, timing and characteristics of contentious collective action (Davenport 2010; Earl et al 2004; Koopmans and Rucht 2002; McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1989; Tilly 1995). My study uses a slightly modified protest event analysis approach. First, I want to measure the broadest possible spectrum of collective action, not just political protest (See Koopmans and Rucht 2002). Second, I try to identify collective action that takes place at the European level, which is a challenge because media in Europe are still largely nationally rooted. Given these two obstacles, I decided to rely on a combination of press sources with different target audiences and specialties rather than one single source.

I use three different types of sources in this study. These include: 1) two databases of newswire sources (Factiva and Lexis Nexis); 2) one EU-specific publication (Euractiv.com) that provides in-depth coverage of European policy-making and should contain information about most conventional actions by interest groups; and 3) two alternative press sources (Indymedia Climate and Rising Tide) that can be expected to capture more contentious events. Since it was not possible to pre-specify a complete list of action types the search terms I used were very broad. The preliminary searches turned up a massive number of news articles, and the reports had to be sorted by hand for those events that included relevant ECA.[3] The advantage of combining multiple sources is that I was able to pick up on a lot of events that would have been

[3] The two searches performed (on the full article text) were: [(EU or EC or Europe*) AND (climate change or global warming)] and [(climate change or global warming) AND (protest* or strike* or demonstration*)]. The second search was added to capture collective action on climate change that may have a European mobilization dimension, without having the EU as a direct target. In both searches, articles had to be sorted by hand for relevance. For example, this search terms returned 11,588 hits for the years 2008-2009, from which 371 (3.2%) involved a relevant collective action, resulting in the selection of 262 unique events.

‘missed’ by relying on only one source. For example, my search returned 371 reports of 262 unique European collective actions, while the Reuters newswire used in the Imig and Tarrow (2001) study returned only 88 events (See also Uba and Uggla 2011).

From the returned news items I was able to create a database of reported ECA. I then conducted document research on each event, seeking out copies of joint press releases, lists of organizational event sponsors, and other primary source material. These documents were obtained via two routes. If specific organizations were identified, I sought out copies of the relevant documents on their websites. When news reports were not specific enough, I conducted a search of different email list serves to which I was subscribed during the period of 2007-2009. During this period I was subscribed to the internal lists of the Climate Action Network International, Climate Action Network Europe, Climate Justice Now!, and the ‘climate youth’ (all with organizational consent), as well as a variety of public list serves related to the organization of the Copenhagen counter summit and the international climate camp network. In total, I amassed approximately 10,000 emails from these lists, which provide me access to many primary source documents as well as insight into the dynamics of organizational decision-making.

From this document analysis, I was able to gather more complete information on organizational event sponsors and more accurate descriptions of the events reported. These events were then coded dichotomously as either contentious or conventional, and as taking place either at one of the European Institutions or in one of the member states.[4] I also use coding of organizational websites to identify important attributes (e.g. age, budget, etc.) of the organizations that sponsored these events. These three data collection strategies led to the

[4] See Appendix A for further description of the coding procedures.

creation of an original quantitative data set of collective actions on climate change, their sponsors and the attributes of those sponsors. The first part of this dissertation employs quantitative historical analysis, network analysis and statistics to analyze this dataset.

In addition to the quantitative data collection, I collected a vast amount of qualitative data, which I analyze primarily in the second part of this dissertation. For my research I conducted approximately ninety interviews with civil society organizations working on climate change in the European Union. These interviews were stratified by network location, so that more central organizations were deliberately oversampled, and more peripheral organizations were selected less frequently. In total, I conducted interviews with approximately fifty organizations, meaning that in many complex organizations I interviewed more than one person or the same person at more than one time point. In addition, I collected hundreds of internal documents detailing decision-making procedures related to tactical choices.

Finally, I spent well over two hundred hours observing many of the organizations and events represented in my quantitative data. On many occasions I was invited to attend closed-door or members-only organizational or coalitional strategy meetings. I also spent as much time as possible attending lobbying events, protests and social forums of which the organizations I'm interested in were sponsors. From these observations I have generated field notes that give me additional insights into how and why organizations choose their forms of action.

Project Outline

Overall, this project aims to elaborate and illustrate the theoretical utility of a relational approach to collective action. Chapter One outlines the historical context of the study, situating the particular time period in the larger framework of global and European climate change policy-

making. Chapter Two uses my event and organizational data to outline and assess the predictions of the two dominant approaches -- political process and organizational -- to my central question. My sketch of the two alternative approaches should illustrate the need for further research and theorizing on this subject.

Chapter Three explores further my argument that organizational decision-making is fundamentally relational. Drawing on the tradition of social network analysis, my research emphasizes that patterns of inter-organizational relations influence organizational strategic decisions by structuring the information and resources available to actors, as well as by encouraging social influence across connected actors. I use this theoretical approach to examine my original dataset of organizations and European collective action, using event co-sponsorship as an indicator of network ties. Based on my network analysis I argue that there are 'two worlds of European collective action,' and those organizations that use contentious action forms are largely distinct to those behaving conventionally in Brussels.

Chapter Four uses statistical modeling of longitudinal network data to further support my contention that organizational decision-making is fundamentally relational. I use an actor-oriented approach to explain changes in organizational behavior from 2008-2009, accounting for network ties, changes in contextual factors and organizational attributes. I demonstrate that an organization's choice of collective action strategy is highly influenced by the choices of those organizations with which it is closely connected, even once political context and organizational traits are accounted for. This analysis suggests that organizations harmonize their tactics as a result of forming network ties, and that contentious forms of action are particularly likely to diffuse through relational ties in the network.

Chapters Five and Six trace the development of conventional and contentious European collective action on climate change. I use internal documents, participant observation and organizational interviews to establish the history of European-level climate change advocacy, from the early 1990s to present. The chronology in Chapter Five details the development of an important inter-organizational climate change coalition: The Climate Action Network. Through the Climate Action Network, European NGOs coordinate their political positions and action strategies. In doing so, organizations come to embrace conventional forms of action and to sustain them even as political opportunities become more closed.

In Chapter Six, I also trace the development of contentious climate activism from 2005 to present, focusing on the creation of one key coalition: Climate Justice Action. This coalition welded together a number of grassroots and autonomous organizations, many of whom had previous experience working together in the global justice movement, and led to tactical harmonization. My research demonstrates that as a result of consensus decision-making procedures within the coalition, some organizations 'radicalized' significantly, while other organizations toned down their original action proposals. This coalition also popularized and diffused the repertoire of contentious action to many groups that were not previously mobilized on the issue of climate change.

Chapter Seven considers how we might describe organizational-level tactical decision-making processes more broadly as 'mechanisms.' Based on my interviews, I argue that relational processes of resource pooling, social influence and information sharing underlie decision-making in virtually all of the organizations studied. However, some mechanisms tend to be present in some organizations and not others. In particular, conventional organizations

seem to be much more strongly influenced by political opportunities than are contentious organizations.

I discuss the policy implications of the diffusion of contentious forms of participation for climate change policy-making in Chapter Eight. I particularly point to the importance of contentious political participation in encouraging radical states to block the Copenhagen accord in 2009 and in stimulating institutional reform within the UNFCCC. I suggest that the experience of Copenhagen may encourage the UNFCCC to introduce restrictions on civil society participation in response to the politicization of civil society groups and their contentious engagement with the climate change issue.

Chapter Eight also argues that the stark divisions between conventional and contentious groups had implications for their own success. Conventional groups were particularly disadvantaged by the emergence of contentious outsiders in Copenhagen, while contentious groups were targets of repression due to their relative isolation. This suggests that scholars and civil society groups themselves need to view the success of their tactics as partially dependent on the tactical choices of other groups working in the same arena.

In my concluding chapter I argue that the 'two worlds of European collective action' I have documented in this dissertation represent different types of civil society spillovers to the European level: one from the national politics to European politics, and the other from global politics to European politics. My network analysis suggests clear evidence of the existence of "fragmented spheres of action" in which anti-institutional, contentious organizations rarely cross paths with reformist and moderate organizations (Balme and Chabanet 2008).

I suggest that this segmentation (and lack of convergence) reflects a broader tendency in the European institutions towards emphasizing the 'participation' of civil society actors by channeling certain groups into the policy-making process while de-emphasizing or ignoring the voices of other (contentious) actors. As a result, the 'consultative' role of civil society – in which civil society organizations serve to represent the interests of affected parties to policy-makers – is not necessarily being fulfilled in EU policy-making, even in the context of increased participation. Thus I argue, contrary to Haas and other EU scholars, that the spillover of civil society into contentious European collective action can actually delegitimize climate policy and stall the integration process when it is not linked to the institutional representation of civil society in the European institutions.

PART ONE:

EXPLAINING CONTENTIOUS AND CONVENTIONAL COLLECTIVE ACTION

Introduction

On Wednesday, October 28, 2009 the European capital of Brussels was the site of three independent collective actions:

- Around 6am, campaigners from Oxfam International began to install two hundred miniature tents on a square in front of the European Parliament to represent "climate refugee camps." All day Oxfam volunteers and staff were on hand to distribute material claiming that climate change has already displaced twenty-six million people globally. The organization called on the EU to offer €35 billion in new public finance each year to help developing countries cope with the impacts of climate change. The miniature refugee camps were timed to ratchet up pressure before the meeting of Heads of State at the European Council later in the week, during which leaders would have to decide how much funding the EU would offer to developing countries to adapt to the effects of climate change.
- At the start of the business day, the Directorate General Environment of the European Commission found waiting an open letter from the pan-European association Transport and Environment [T&E]. The letter criticized the Commission's recent decision to bow to industry pressure in relaxing the fuel efficiency standards for vans. Coverage of the letter appeared in that morning's Brussels media and in major international newswires the following day. As T&E put it, "Europe is facing a climate and energy crisis that will have serious repercussions for decades to come… The EU is once again weakening

vehicle fuel efficiency standards, one of the most important tools for tackling carbon emissions and oil use." (T&E 2009).

- Shortly before 9am, a group of activists known as Climate Alarm swooped into the European Commission's Charlemagne Building and blockaded the entrance. The Charlemagne Building was scheduled to host a meeting between the Confederation of European Business and the European Commission that morning regarding EU climate change policy. Activists blockaded themselves inside the revolving doors with chains and glue, preventing delegates from entering. Those inside released loud noisemakers attached to balloons, which quickly went to the ceiling of the large atrium. As a spokesperson put it, "Corporate lobbyists are just there to try to obstruct real solutions – they just want to keep making profit off the carbon market. They should have no role in resolving the climate crisis… It just shows how close the EU institutions are to business when it comes to climate change." The building occupation lasted for two hours before the police finally managed to pry open the doors and dislodge the protestors using pepper spray (EU Observer 2009).

These three events are similar in their timing, location and criticism of the European Union's climate policy. But they differ substantially in the degree to which they engage confrontationally with political elites. The T&E action is an example of the kind of regularized, conventional interaction with the European Commission in which the organization has been engaged for twenty years. Oxfam's symbolic, media-friendly installation was aimed at educating morning commuters and the general public, and the material distributed framed the organization's demands in terms of an appeal to the European Institutions.

But the third event was entirely different. Not only did the Climate Alarm use confrontational language in framing its demands, but it also aimed to directly disrupt the business of the European Commission. As the EU Observer (2009) noted:

> "The major environmental NGOs and development groups in Brussels regularly engage in showpiece stunts outside the EU buildings… The events are almost always carefully coordinated with police and building security. But the Climate Alarm action was not authorized by the Brussels police, which the campaigners believe is why the police took the unusual step of using pepper spray."

The activist's interpretation is probably correct. The blockade of the Charlemagne Building was a highly unusual event in my sample of European collective actions: over two years I recorded only two collective actions in Brussels that involved direct action and police repression. Over this period virtually all collective actions in Brussels were either conventional (like the T&E open letter) or symbolic media stunts (like the Oxfam miniature camps).

I don't pretend that October 28, 2009 was a typical Wednesday in Brussels. But despite being somewhat exceptional, the contrast between the day's three collective actions highlights the wide range of tactics potentially available to civil society organizations active on climate change in Europe. The first part on this dissertation will show how organizations make structured and relatively consistent decisions among the diverse tactical options available to them.

As the introduction illustrated, civil society organizations attempting to influence climate change politics in Europe use different forms of action in different places and at different times. How can this variation be explained? An influential body of scholarly work has suggested that the timing, amount and form of collective action can be explain by characteristics of the context in which these actions occur – the 'political opportunity structure' for collective action (Eisinger 1973; Tilly 1978; McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1989; Costain 1992; Walker, Martin and McCarthy

2008). Another important approach emphasizes that characteristics of an organizational itself – its internal structure, the resources it holds and its ideological profile – determine its overall action profile (McCarthy and Zald 1977; Piven and Cloward 1977; Dalton 1994). My approach emphasizes that organizational decision-making is fundamentally relational, and that organizations are also influenced by the decisions of other organizations with which they are closely connected.

The next four Chapters will employ my original event data to explore the characteristics of European collective action on climate change, and in doing so, to assess a variety of hypotheses from these different theories of collective action. In Chapter 1, I situate this study historically by outlining the history of the European and international climate change policy process. In Chapter 2, I present and assess hypotheses from the two traditional approaches to collective action: political process and organizational theory. I will develop in Chapter 3 my own network theory of collective action and describe how this theory helps to explain some contradictions and overcome limitations of the earlier generation of theory. The final Chapter 4 will assess the three competing paradigms simultaneously, using statistical methods.

The goal of these chapters is to explain how organizations – like Oxfam, Transport & Environment, and Climate Alarm – make decisions about what forms of action they use when they act collectively on climate change. I argue that traditional approaches do well in explaining *volume* of collective action, but they do less well in explaining why collective action takes on certain *forms.* In other words, traditional approaches can explain why so many groups decided to do *something* on a particular Wednesday in October 2009, but they can't explain *what* they chose to do. A network theory of collective action provides unique insight into this question, as these next chapters will aim to demonstrate.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF CLIMATE CHANGE ACTIVISM

The 2009 Copenhagen Climate Summit attracted an enormous amount of attention in popular media and political debate. As the *New York Times* summarized:

> The massive interest in the meeting seemed a measure of rising expectations that negotiators will find their way to some sort of agreement or set of agreements — even if it's short of a treaty — that will render the meeting a success.
>
> "Within two weeks from Monday, governments must give their adequate response to the urgent challenge of climate change," said the United Nations climate chief, Yvo de Boer, in a statement on Sunday. "Negotiators now have the clearest signal ever from world leaders to craft solid proposals to implement rapid action" (Zeller 2009).

As this quote reveals, the time period of my study was one of intense political discussion on global warming. It is an important period, but also admittedly an exceptional one in some respects. Climate change, like many environmental issues, had been the focus of attention for scientists, activists and policy-makers for decades before its appearance on the top of the global political agenda in 2009. This chapter will provide the background necessary to situate this time period in historical perspective.

My first goal is to provide a chronology of two important facets of the development of climate change politics: the elaboration of climate change policy at the European level, and the role of the European Union in negotiating climate change agreements on the international stage. My second goal is to outline the history of the engagement of civil society actors in the policy process. In particular, I will highlight how civil society participation expanded, diversified and radicalized during the time period of my study, situating the ideological and organizational origins of these changes in historical context.

The Politics of Climate Change

Due to the nature of climate change as a global commons problem (Ostrom et al 1999), policy-making on climate change has always involved complex interplay between the negotiation of international treaties and the development of nationally-based policy solutions. I see three main periods in the development of climate change policy:

- *Emergence (1988-1995):* Entry of climate change onto the policy agenda and the establishment of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.
- *The Kyoto Protocol (1995-2005)*: Negotiation, ratification and implementation of the Kyoto Protocol and the European Climate Change Programme.
- *Post-Kyoto (2007-Present):* Negotiation of climate policy for the post-2012 period, including the Bali Action Plan, the European Climate and Energy Package, and the Copenhagen and Cancun Climate Summits.

The next sections outline each of these periods in more detail, giving particular attention to the role of the European Union in each phase.

The Emergence of Global Climate Change Politics (1988-1995)

Climate change is an ecological process caused by an increase in the release of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere due to human activity such as burning fossil fuels and deforestation. These greenhouse gases are heat-trapping, and as their density in the atmosphere increases, they warm the planet and cause changes in the climate. Scientists suggest that resulting changes in the climate can have a number of harmful consequences, including drought, sea level rises, food shortages, increased severe weather, shortage of drinking water, and the extinction of a number of plant and animal species (IPCC 2007).

Climate change emerged as a political priority as the result of pressure exerted by concerned scientists. By the mid-1980s, a growing number of scientists began to publicize findings that a buildup of greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide could warm the earth's climate. In 1988 the World Meteorological Organization and the United Nations Program on the Environment organized the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [IPCC] as a way to gather scientific evidence to fuel negotiations on policy solutions. The first report of the IPCC revealed a wide scientific consensus that average global surface temperature was rising and would continue to do so without action to decrease greenhouse gas [GHG] emissions (IPCC 1990).

Formal negotiations began on an international climate framework convention in 1991. The European Community was one of the lead states in this process, offering to lower its CO2 emissions to 1990 levels by 2000. Other developed countries were also willing to commit to targets and timelines, but the United States insisted that the talks would only concern a framework convention and not a protocol with specific requirements. EC member governments sent representatives to Washington to lobby the US government to adopt the EC's 1990 stabilization target, but President George H.W. Bush was not persuaded. In the end, Bush and German Prime Minister Helmut Kohl reached an agreement whereby the EC dropped its demand for binding commitments on GHGs in exchange for Bush's attending the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, where the UNFCC convention was signed.[5]

The text of the Convention commits developed countries to reducing their GHG emissions to 'earlier levels' – a phrasing that was interpreted by EC delegates to mean 1990 levels. It also established the principle of 'common but differentiated responsibilities' between

[5] This section mirrors Chasek, Downie and Brown 2010.

developed and developing countries. But the Convention text (UNFCCC 1992), which entered into force in 1994 after ratification by 50 countries, did not commit countries to concrete emissions reduction goals. The EC issued a statement on signing the Convention calling for the immediate start of negotiations for a protocol with binding targets and timetables. But this effort was largely stalled by US and Russian opposition until the election of Bill Clinton in 1993. With the support of the Clinton administration, talks began on a binding international agreement in 1995.

European Community Involvement in the Kyoto Protocol (1995-2005)

The first Conference of Parties [COP] to the UNFCCC took place in Berlin in March, 1995. In what was known as the 'Berlin Mandate,' delegates agreed to negotiate limits to GHG emissions for the post-2000 period. In this first phase, developing countries would be exempt from such binding emissions targets. The EU supported substantial reductions, but it faced opposition from the other developed countries (Japan, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand). The EU proposal was that states should reduce their GHG emissions by at least 7.5% by 2005 and 15% by 2010. These cuts would be made domestically, and would be shared across EU members so that richer states would make deeper cuts.

In contrast, the US proposed stabilization at 1990 levels by 2008-2010. The US proposal also suggested that countries be allowed to meet their reduction targets through emissions trading with other parties to the agreement. The EU and other developing countries expressed concern that giving emissions permits to Russia and former Soviet states would be nothing more than 'hot air' because these states had already reduced emissions 30% below 1990 levels due to economic restructuring in these countries. If countries were able to buy these 'hot air' emissions

reduction credits, rich countries could easily meet their targets on paper without reducing GHG emissions.

By the 1997 Kyoto Summit it appeared as though the negotiations would fall apart. The United States delegation challenged the EU proposal for equal reductions across developed countries, and began to call for differentiation to take into account the unequal costs of adjustment. The US also demanded that developing countries take on binding emissions targets. As the UNFCCC process requires decision-making by consensus, sticking with this demand would have blocked the entire process. The US delegation eventually withdrew this demand, but only in exchange for other concessions. The final Kyoto Protocol (UNFCCC 1997) did mandate an average reduction in GHG emissions of 5.2% below 1990 levels by developed countries, but to be shared unequally. The national targets under the Kyoto protocol ranged widely: the Protocol called for an 8% increase for Australia, stabilization at 1990 levels for Russia, a 7% reduction for the US and an 8% reduction for the EU.

The Kyoto Protocol was the product of intense negotiation and compromise. The EU took on the toughest target and also conceded on the issue of emissions trading. The final Kyoto Protocol contained provisions not only for emissions trading, but also for 'clean development mechanism' and 'joint implementation' projects. Both of these mechanisms allow developed countries to received emissions reduction credits for financing projects that reduce emissions in developing countries. While the EU initially argued that these mechanisms would undermine the environmental integrity of the Protocol, it later became an ardent supporter of these provisions.

Negotiating the Kyoto Protocol was only the first step. The text of the Kyoto Protocol stipulated that it could only enter into force after ratification by 55 parties to the Convention,

which must represent at least 55% of CO2 emissions in 1990. Thus while many developing countries ratified immediately (easily surpassing the 55 party threshold) many industrialized countries held out to try to negotiate more favorable conditions at subsequent COPs. By the 7th COP in Marrakesh it appeared as though there had been considerable progress on the finer details of the Kyoto Protocol. However, earlier in the year the US held an election, and newly elected US President George W. Bush announced that he would not seek U.S. ratification of the Protocol, claiming it would harm the US economy.

Ratification of the Kyoto Protocol was still mathematically possible without the US, but would require the participation of all members of the EU, Canada, Japan and Russia. By 2004, countries representing 44% of the developed countries 1990 emissions had ratified. If Russia – which represented 17.4% of 1990 emissions – ratified the treaty would come into effect. As previously mentioned, most commentators agreed that Russia would actually stand to gain from the Protocol because emissions trading would allow it to sell its 'hot air' credits to other countries. But ultimately, the EU had to cut a deal: it agreed to support the Russian bid to the World Trade Organization in exchange for the Russian ratification of the Kyoto Protocol. Thus the Kyoto Protocol entered into force in February 2005 with strong European support but without the participation of the United States.

The European Climate Change Programme and the European Emissions Trading System

The European Commission launched the European Climate Change Programme [ECCP] in 2000 in order to develop a strategy for the implementation of its commitments under the Kyoto Protocol (European Commission 2000). The Kyoto Protocol specified that the European Union collectively needed to reduce emissions of GHGs by 8% from 1990 levels by 2012. The ECCP was responsible for coordinating the response of the member states, including the

distribution of national reduction targets, monitoring compliance with national allocation plans, and making recommendations for European policies to encourage their achievement. The ECCP functions under a stakeholder structure where the Commission consults with both industry and civil society in developing cost-effective measures.

The ECCP developed a European carbon market – the European Emissions Trading System [EU ETS] – as its main policy instrument. The EU ETS is the largest carbon market in the world. Under the ETS, a set number of emissions allowances are given to each member state to distribute to their covered installations. Member states are primarily responsible for monitoring these installations and their net CO2 emissions. Those that exceed their allowance must purchase additional credits. The first phase of the EU ETS covered the period of 2005-2007, while the second phase will cover the period from 2008-2012.

The EU ETS was much criticized by civil society and industry actors in its first phase because of the over allocation of permits, the volatility of carbon prices, and the ability of industry to generate windfall profits from cashing in allowances and passing on cost increases to consumers (WWF 2005). The second phase of the EU ETS tightened the cap on allocations (which are still free), resulting in an increase and stabilization of the price of carbon around €15 for a ton of carbon dioxide.

According to the European Environmental Agency, as of 2009 the EU appeared set to meet its Kyoto obligations. The agency projected that the EU member states would collectively reduce emissions by 13% from 1990 levels by 2012, well beyond the 8% target (European Environmental Agency 2009). However, actual emissions reductions would only total 6.9%, with the remainder to be made up by member states buying offset credits in the global carbon

market. This report was used to establish EU credibility as a climate leader going into the next round of international negotiations.

Post-Kyoto Action: The Bali Action Plan (2007)

Almost as soon as Kyoto was ratified, states began to consider what would happen when it expired in 2012. The first major step in this process was the development of the Bali Action Plan [BAP] at the 13th COP in 2007. The BAP stipulated that delegates would negotiate a new treaty to succeed Kyoto within three years, at the 15th COP in Copenhagen. It also stated that any new text would require developed countries to give substantial aid to developing countries to aid in their adaptation to and mitigation of the effects of climate change.

The Copenhagen deadline was considered important because the Kyoto Protocol will expire in 2012, and it was estimated that states would need at minimum two years to ratify any new agreement. Simultaneously, scientists began to emphatically trumpet the urgency of the problem. The IPCC's Fourth Assessment Report, release in 2007, claimed not only that climate change was happening faster than expected, but that the consequences would be more severe (IPCC 2007). The report also indicated an increased certainty amongst scientists that the causes of global warming are anthropogenic. The convergence of the scientific and political factors made reaching an agreement in Copenhagen seem urgent to most actors.

Post-Kyoto: The European Climate and Energy Package (2008)

In parallel, the EU began to develop its own 'domestic' policy for the post-2012 period. In January 2007 the European Commission released a communication recommending that the EU commit itself to a 'unilateral' reduction of GHG emissions by 20% from 1990 levels by 2020 (European Commission 2007). This Communication also contained two other proposals for a

20% renewable energy target and 10% biofuels target by 2020. In March 2007 the Spring Summit of the Council of the EU endorsed the proposal, and launched a two year plan to develop a common European energy policy (European Council 2007). The Council also agreed to increase the EU emissions reduction target to 30% below 1990 levels by 2020 if other developed countries (chiefly the United States) would commit to comparable targets.

Table 1.2 details the policy process for the European Climate and Energy Package. The Commission released its full version of the package in January 2008. This bundle of legislative proposals featured controversial new rules for CO2 emissions reduction 'burden sharing' among the member states, the allocation of permits under the EU ETS post-2013, revised EU state aid policies for environmental protection, restrictions on car emissions, new funding for carbon capture and storage facilities [CCS] and more support for developing renewable energies, including biofuels (European Commission 2008). The Climate and Energy package came to be known as the 20-20-20 by 2020 proposal because it suggested 20% emissions reductions, 20% improvement in energy efficiency, and a 20% target for renewable energy by 2020.

Table 1.2: EU Climate and Energy Package Policy-Making Timeline, 2008

Date	Event
January 23, 2008	European Commission release of Climate and Energy Package Proposal
March 14, 2008	European Council Heads of State Meeting
September/October, 2008	European Parliament votes in Environment and Industry Committees
December 1-12, 2008	UNFCCC Negotiations in Poznan, Poland [COP 14]
December 11-12, 2008	European Council Heads of State Meeting
December 13, 2008	Trialogue Negotiations
December 17, 2008	European Parliament Plenary Vote

The Spring Council in March 2008 agreed to adopt the Climate and Energy package by the end of the year, in preparation for the 14th COP, to be held in Poznan, Poland. In September

and October of that same year the European Parliament's Industry and Environment committees voted in favor of the different elements contained within the package.

The final version of the Climate and Energy package was negotiated by the Council on December 11-12 (European Council 2008). The major changes from the Commission's original proposal were to postpone the auctioning of allowances under the EU ETS until after 2027, to provide more exemptions to heavily polluting industries (such as the power sector) and to increase the amount of emissions reductions that could be 'offset' abroad from 50 to 70% of the national target. Certain states (in particular Poland) also got concessions in terms of their reducing their national allocation targets and increasing their promised state aid. EU leaders Angela Merkel, Nicholas Sarkozy and Gordon Brown all declared that the package was evidence of the EU's global climate leadership and that it sent strong signals to the international process (Euractiv 2009a). But critics claimed the changes significantly undermined the environmental integrity of the deal. The text was highly criticized by non-governmental organizations and Green Party Members of the European Parliament, who gave it their strongest possible statement of non-support (European Greens 2009; WWF 2009). The final text was endorsed by the European Parliament (after Trialogue Negotiations) on December 17, 2008 (European Parliament 2009).

Post-Kyoto: The EU and the Copenhagen Climate Summit (2009)

Most of the EU's climate change agenda for 2009 revolved around developing a strategy for COP 15 in Copenhagen. In particular, a large part of the discussion concerned what kind of financing the EU would provide to developing countries to support their mitigation and adaptation activities. In January 2009, the Commission released a new Communication detailing its blueprint for Copenhagen (European Commission 2009). This Communication suggested the

creation of an OECD-wide carbon market and deviations from "business as usual" (reductions from a projected development trajectory) on the part of developing countries, including India and China.

The EU was also simultaneously working in a variety of international policy processes. Under the UNFCCC process, regular inter-sessional meetings are held between COPs to work out technical details related to the international policy process. In the year prior to Copenhagen, these discussions became much more frequent and important. World leaders also began to discuss climate change policy as part of the agenda of international financial summits such as the G8 and the G20. In 2009, important international gatherings took place nearly every month, as Table 1.3 shows. Moreover, since most of these meetings took place in Europe, European governments and civil society were highly involved in planning for these international events.

Table 1.3: The EU and International Policy-Making Timeline, 2009

Date	Event
January 28, 2009	European Commission Communication on Copenhagen
March 10, 2009	European Council Meeting delays decision of climate finance
March 28 – April 2, 2009	First Round of UNFCCC Negotiations in Bonn, Germany
April 2, 2009	G20 Meeting in London, England
April 23-24, 2009	G8 Ministers Meeting in Syracuse, Italy
June 1-12, 2009	Second Round of UNFCCC Negotiations in Bonn, Germany
June 18-19, 2009	European Council delays decision on climate finance
July 8-10, 2009	G8 Summit Meeting in L'Aquila, Italy
September 10, 2009	European Commission Communication on climate finance
September 28- October 9, 2009	Third Round of UNFCC Negotiations in Bangkok, Thailand
October 29-30, 2009	European Council delays decision on climate finance
November 2-6, 2009	UNFCCC Negotiations in Barcelona, Spain
December 7-18, 2009	Copenhagen Climate Conference [COP 15]
December 11, 2009	European Council agrees on climate finance proposal

The schedule for 2009 involved a lot of meetings, but by the June UNFCCC inter-sessional meeting it was clear that the talks were going badly. Delegates were failing to make

progress on the issues of what actions developing countries would take on and what a finance package might look like. Progress within the G8 was going slightly better, with leaders in this institution agreeing in principle to limit global emissions to a 2 degree Celsius increase and to halve their emissions by 2050.

European Heads of States and Finance Ministers meet in March and June, but failed to agree on an aid package to take to Copenhagen. The poorer countries in the EU, led by Poland, argued that they couldn't afford to pay for environmental protection in a time of economic crisis. In an attempt to break the deadlock, the European Commission presented a blueprint for international climate funding in early September. The Commission's calculations suggest that the EU's share of short-term climate mitigation and adaptation funding should be in the range of € 2-15 billion per year.

Yet despite this suggestion, the question of internal burden sharing remained intractable at the next European Summit in late October, when leaders only agreed in principle to short-term funding in the range of € 5-7 billion per year. It was only during an emergency Council meeting during the Copenhagen Summit that EU leaders agreed to their final finance package: € 2.4 billion per year (European Council 2009). All states contributed to the fund, but big states contributed much more: almost half of this funding was promised by the French government, while smaller states made symbolic contributions (Bulgaria, for example, pledged €20,000) (Euractiv 2009b). This offer was highly criticized by development groups for not representing new money but instead being a repackaging of existing overseas development aid (for example, Action Aid 2009).

Parallel to the intra-EU bickering, international negotiations in Copenhagen were also deteriorating. Going into Copenhagen, the EU appeared determined not to repeat the mistakes of Kyoto. The US decision not to ratify Kyoto had been one of the biggest sources of tension in the transatlantic relationship, and the EU was decided that this time any eventual deal would involve US participation. The inauguration of Barack Obama had led many to believe that this was a real political possibility. But by Copenhagen the mood had shifted. The EU wanted to lead by example: its emissions reduction target of 20% reductions in GHG emissions from 1990 levels – with a conditional 30% increase in the context of a global agreement -- was by far the most ambitious offer on the table. The US offer amounted to a 3-4% decrease in GHG emissions when calculated from 1990 levels, and major developing countries such as China and India still refused to accept any kind of binding commitment.

With the talks in chaos, Heads of State arrived in Copenhagen on Thursday evening, December 17, 2009. US President Barack Obama arrived in Copenhagen the next morning and immediately gave a speech to the UNFCCC plenary before meeting behind closed doors with a handful of world leaders. An 'accidental' recording of their discussions released by *Der Spiegel* captured European leaders Angela Merkel, Gordon Brown and Nicholas Sarkozy trying to broker a deal between US, Chinese and Indian delegates on three main sticking points: emissions reduction targets for developing countries, financing, and monitoring of national actions (Rapp, Schwägerl and Traufetter 2010).

However, the gulf between parties on developing country action remained too wide. Despite their attempts at brokerage, the EU leaders were ultimately sidelined as the US and Chinese Presidents met privately to try to work out their differences. The outcome of their discussion was that there would be no legally binding agreement in Copenhagen, but that states

would set up an international register to monitor one another's voluntary pledges. The Copenhagen Accord also established a fund for short term financing for adaptation. After announcing what he termed the 'only possible solution,' President Obama left Copenhagen, leaving European and other world leaders to decide if they would accept or reject the resulting Copenhagen Accord.

The US delegation initially proposed that this text be adopted formally by the UNFCCC. After an all-night discussion in the plenary of the UNFCCC, the majority of states (including the EU) agreed to support the Copenhagen Accord. But the states of Bolivia, Cuba, Nicaragua, Tuvalu, Sudan and Venezuela objected to the weak nature of the text and the non-transparent manner in which they felt it was brokered. Since the UNFCCC functions by unanimity and some of these countries blocked the proceedings, the Copenhagen Accord was not formally adopted and became simply a 'noted' document of the Convention.

Most observers considered that the Copenhagen climate summit ended in bitter disappointment. There was no legal agreement reached, no binding emissions reductions targets, and no firm commitments on long-term climate finance. European Commission President José Manuel Barroso said the deal was "clearly below" the European Union's goal and that he would "not hide [his] disappointment." As a result, Europe decided that the 'trigger' condition had not yet been met, and decided to keep its internal climate target at a 20% reduction until further discussion.

Overall, the time period of my study captures a crucial period in the long-term development of climate change policy. The years 2007-2009 were a period of great optimism on that part of many citizens and political leaders who believed that an ambitious successor to the

Kyoto Protocol was a real possibility. As a result, expectations for the Copenhagen Summit were exceptionally high, and climate change became a major foreign policy issue on which Heads of State were deeply engaged. The failure of the Copenhagen summit was a blow to the UNFCCC policy process from which delegates are still recovering. After a few hectic years of political negotiating, the wide gulf remaining between countries involved in the negotiations has led many delegates to consider that any eventual successor to the Kyoto Protocol is still a long way off. As the next section will argue, civil society groups were similarly engaged in the process during this time period, and were equally devastated by the outcome in Copenhagen.

The History of Civil Society Participation

Civil society actors have been involved in international climate change politics in all stages of regime development. However, the extent and nature of this participation has evolved over time. I identify three changes in civil society participation that are particularly relevant for this study:

- *Expansion of Participation:* Procedures for participation of civil society actors are formalized and more actors get involved.
- *Population Diversification:* A more diverse group of actors representing a wider range of constituencies participate in climate change policy-making.
- *Tactical Radicalization:* Organizations become more contentious in the forms of participation over time.

The next sections detail these three trends in order to provide historical context for the time period of my study.

Expansion of Participation

The rights of civil society observers to attend climate change negotiations are enshrined in the UNFCCC Convention:

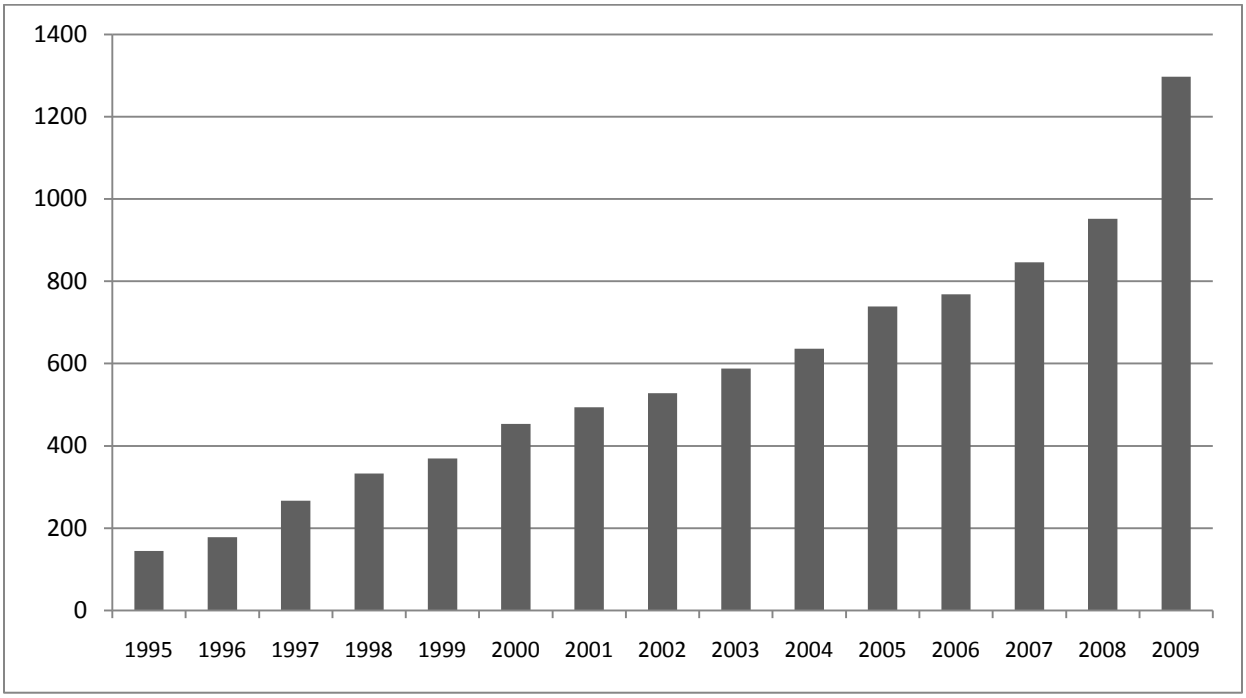
> Any body or agency, whether national or international, governmental or non-governmental, which is qualified in matters covered by the Convention, and which has informed the secretariat of its wish to be represented at a session of the Conference of the Parties as an observer, may be so admitted unless at least one third of the Parties present object (UNFCCC 1992).

As the UNFCCC institutionalized and developed its own Secretariat, working procedures for accreditation and participation (including concrete issues of access to meetings and documents) became more regularized. It is fair to say that by the development of the Kyoto Protocol, NGOs were understood to be an integral part of the policy process (Betsill 2008). At the EU-level, a similar process of the expansion of participatory rights of civil society groups also took place throughout the 1990s, as Chapter Two will detail. In both cases, the expansion and regularization of civil society participation was the result of the advocacy of early civil society participants and motivated reformers within these institutions.

Over time, an increasing number of organizations have taken advantage of the opportunity to participate in climate change policy-making. Although EU records are not available on this subject, the UNFCCC participation report offers clear evidence of this trend. For example, as Figure 1.1 shows, the participation of non-governmental organizations has been steadily increasing from the first COP (1994) to COP 15 (2009). Even within this long-term trend of participation expansion, there are major changes during the time period of my study. In particular, in the one year period from 2008 to 2009 there was dramatic growth in non-governmental observers registered at the UNFCCC: from 952 organizations in 2008 to 1297 organizations in 2009, a 36% increase (UNFCCC 2010). If business groups, local governments and research institutions were subtracted from the total number of non-governmental observers,

these figures show that in 2009 there were 587 registered environment, development, indigenous peoples, trade union and youth groups present in Copenhagen.[6]

Figure 1.2: Number of Registered Observer Non-Governmental Organizations to the UNFCCC, COP 1-15



Source: UNFCCC (2010)

In addition, these organizations sent increasingly larger delegations to COPs, especially after 2007. From 2006 to 2007, the number of individuals registered as non-governmental observers doubled from 2,533 to 4,993. In Copenhagen in 2009, the number of registered individuals increased fourfold, with 20,611 individuals registered as representatives of non-governmental organizations.

[6] My calculations indicate that there were also 298 'research and independent' organizations registered in 2009. Advocacy networks regularly involve the participation of research institutions. However, it is my assessment that most of the organizations in this group were major research universities that did not contribute to the population of advocacy organizations in Copenhagen.

Finally, there were an increasing number of participants in protests and collective actions outside the Copenhagen Summit. By Fisher's (2004: 184) calculations, there were approximately 5,000 protesters at the UNFCCC meeting in 2000; by 2009, as a result of tremendous organizational effort, there was a demonstration of 100,000 people in Copenhagen. Moreover, this demonstration was coordinated transnationally with other protests, which attracted 100,000 people in Australia (total), 50,000 in London, 15,000 in Brussels, 8,000 in Glasgow, and 2,000 in Paris. There were also approximately 3,000 smaller actions in almost every country in the world.[7] Overall, the time period of my study captures an unprecedented explosion of organizational involvement and collective action in climate change politics.

Population Diversification

Not only did more actors get involved in climate change politics during the time period of my study, but the type of actors involved substantially diversified. In particular, over the three main periods of policy-making the population of organizations working on climate change went from encompassing mainly environmental organizations to include development groups, youth, indigenous peoples, global justice organizations and anarchists. This will be closely connected to the diversification in the forms of employed forms of collective action, as I will show.

Emergence of Climate Change Politics (1988-1995): At the outset, major environmental NGOs were the principle actors involved in climate change politics. And as climate policy became increasingly formalized in the early 1990s, so did their cooperation. The biggest and oldest transnational coalition on the issue of climate change is the Climate Action Network [CAN]. CAN was founded in 1992 by three major transnational NGOs -- Friends of the Earth [FOE],

[7] See Global Campaign for Climate Action (www.globalclimatecampaign.org) for more details about globally coordinated activities (accessed August 31, 2010).

Greenpeace and World Wildlife Federation [WWF] -- to facilitate coordination for the UNFCCC negotiations. Initially CAN was composed of a number of regional nodes, but had no international secretariat.

European civil society coordination preceded and helped to provide a template for the creation of the international CAN network. The Climate Action Network Europe was originally founded as the Climate Network Europe [CNE] in 1989, and was the earliest CAN regional node. CNE also involved the European-level coordination of FOE, Greenpeace and WWF. It employed two staff members throughout the early 1990s, and up until 2004, the CNE office in Brussels also served as the de facto hub for coordinating all the regional nodes. Most of the policy work in Europe in this emergence stage was not very specific, and was primarily concerned with convincing the EC to put the climate issue on the international agenda – an objective that was basically achieved by 1995.

The Kyoto Protocol (1995-2005): Just as parties to the UNFCCC had difficulty negotiating their differences, civil society cooperation became more strained during negotiations on the Kyoto Protocol. Entering the Kyoto negotiations, environmental advocacy groups needed to develop much more specific policy positions on a number of controversial issues, chief among them, developing country targets and the use of carbon markets. At the time of the Kyoto negotiations, most of the major international environmental organizations were opposed to the use of carbon markets and 'offsetting' as a means to meet domestic emissions reduction targets. However, by 2004 when it appeared that Kyoto might actually stand a chance of entering into force, many of the major civil society groups changed their tune and supported the Protocol and its market-based mechanisms. This decision to support the EU's push for Kyoto brought the CAN groups closer to the political realities of the international negotiations, but also sowed seeds of

discontent within the network. As a result, there developed within Europe a strand of critical opposition to the EU ETS that found a home in more radical think tanks and small NGOs.

The CAN European node also underwent major changes during this time period. In the Kyoto and post-Kyoto period, many political discussions within the CAN international network became more contentious. For this reason, CAN-E ceased its informal coordination role, yielding this role in 2004 to the new 'impartial' International Secretariat. Things within the CAN-E network also became more complex. As the climate policy portfolio expanded, CAN-E began to delve more deeply into policy specifics, and increased its staff to include a number of experts in specific issue areas. In addition, the European CAN network merged with the CAN Eastern Europe network in 2004 following the accession of eight Central and European countries to the EU. Not only did CAN-E incorporate a large number of new members with the merger, but the organizations from the new member states often had different policy priorities than those in the old member states, making coordination more complicated.

Post-Kyoto: The Bali Action Plan (2007): Bali was a turning point in civil society coordination. Up until 2007, membership in both CAN-E and CAN International was growing steadily and coordination amongst the nodes was increasing. However, post-Kyoto, a number of organizations were becoming more vocal about their dissatisfaction with the use of carbon markets in international climate change policy. This created problems because this was a position that most CAN members had gradually come to accept.

By the 2007 COP in Bali, this anti-market group had reached a critical mass. In Bali these organizations formed a second policy-oriented coalition under the name Climate Justice Now! [CJN]. Some of these organizations split from CAN. But many of these organizations had

a background in the global justice movement[8], not in traditional environmental politics. The new coalition included diverse groups such as La Via Campesina, the Indigenous Environmental Network, Gender and Climate Change, and Focus on the Global South. .

This division also reflected a difference in issue framing: CAN-E has generally diagnosed the climate crisis as primarily a scientific problem. Its main call has been to 'limit global warming to 2 degrees Celsius' which is based on a scenario from the IPCC Report. Both the content and the style of their materials emphasize technical knowledge and try to establish these actors as 'experts.' But these new actors coalesced around a new framing of the climate issue as "a fight for social, ecological and gender justice" (Climate Justice Now! 2009). While few of these organizations were based in Europe, but these changes at the international level were quick to reverberate in the European advocacy sphere.

In response to this challenge from the CJN coalition and requests from many of the Southern groups within its membership, CAN International initiated a strategic review process of its political positions in early spring 2008. In particular, CAN called for an 'equity summit' to be held with representatives from the coalition, which was hosted by CAN Southeast Asia. The equity summit explored many of the issues that divide NGOs from developed and developing countries: climate financing, the status of developing country action in an eventual treaty, and procedural issues related to representation. Representatives from CAN Europe attended this meeting along with representatives from CAN nodes in all the other regions.

[8] [8] The global justice movement can be defined as "a loose network of organizations…and other actors engaged in collective action of various kinds, on the basis of the shared goal of advancing the cause of justice (social, economic, political and environmental) among and between peoples across the globe" (della Porta 2007: 6). The movement is known for its repertoire of summit protesting, perhaps best exemplified by the Seattle WTO protests in 1999 (Wood 2007).

One big issue on the agenda at the Equity Summit was whether Friends of the Earth International [FOE-I] would stay inside the CAN coalition. FOE-I had always been more critical of the use of carbon markets, and, over time, moved towards policy positions that diverged from those of a lot of the other coalition members. After the Equity Summit and a complicated internal decision-making process, Friends of the Earth International [FOE-I] decided that it would withdraw from CAN in Fall 2008, announcing it would instead participate in CJN. In an email to CAN members, FOE-I listed policy disputes that had arisen in the last twelve months over carbon trading and developing country action as their primary reason for leaving the CAN coalition. It also expressed concerns about the lack of representation of Southern countries in CAN leadership. Despite the departure of FOE-I, not all member organizations of FOE-I withdrew from CAN. This meant that a number of European members of FOE-I – like FOE Europe, FOE Germany and FOE UK – were curiously inside and outside both coalitions. This complicated partitioning of the civil society coalitions would have important consequences for policy positioning and collective action in the years to come.

Post-Kyoto: The European Climate and Energy Package (2008): The reform-oriented NGOs in the CAN-E coalition participated extensively in the development of the EU's Climate and Energy Package, and were devastated by the final EU Summit in 2008. Despite this setback, these groups renewed their energy for COP 15 in Copenhagen, only to again have their hopes dashed. But in parallel to their disappointment, a whole new group of actors were becoming involved in climate politics that had no faith in the policy process whatsoever. In September

2008, these actors coalesced around the creation of a new coalition: Climate Justice Action [CJA][9].

CJA was founded in 2008 as a loose coalition of groups and organizations, and was designed to be a vehicle for transnational mobilization and civil disobedience before, during and after Copenhagen. While theoretically international, in practice CJA is composed almost entirely of European groups. The majority of participants in CJA tend to have come from a global justice, not environmental background, although the eco-anarchist tendency is also present in the coalition. CJA draws on the Earth First! networks, the European Climate Camps (especially in the UK), a number of small, radical NGOs based in Amsterdam, and a number of autonomist/anarchist groups located mostly in Northern Europe.

CJA also had different ideological lineages and issue framing from the other coalitions. The main CJA slogan "System Change, Not Climate Change" is meant to accommodate the strong anti-capitalist tendency within the coalition. It also was an attempt to frame climate change issues in a way that appeal to the layman, not only the policy-makers themselves. CJA also often uses the CJN slogan "Climate Justice Now!" as a tool for mobilization. The introduction of this radical current added significant complexity to the already turbulent civil society coordination building up to Copenhagen.

Post-Kyoto: The Copenhagen Summit (2009): By the beginning of 2009, it became clear that the Copenhagen summit was going to be a major venue for civil society organizing. This meant that in addition to the groups previously mentioned, there was increased involvement of youth,

[9] This coalition did not adopt the name 'Climate Justice Action' until March 2009, but for simplicity's sake I will refer to it as such throughout.

development and internet-based mobilization groups, increasing the sheer number of organizations entering the issue area.

In late 2008, another coalition developed to facilitate collective action around the Copenhagen Summit. The Global Campaign for Climate Action [GCCA] was formed in 2008 by a group of individuals closely connected to Oxfam and to the CAN coalition. The aim of the coalition is to coordinate the actions of its members, as well as to provide resources for public mobilization in key countries at critical moments of decision-making. The political demands of GCCA are generally taken from CAN policy positions. GCCA itself does not aim to be a recognizable organization, but is mostly a behind-the-scenes workforce for the 'branded' mobilization of Greenpeace, WWF, Oxfam, Avaaz and 350.org.

In summary, from 1992 to 2009 the world of climate change organizing became significantly more complex. As Table 1.3 describes, while there was only one major coalition in 1992, there were four major coalitions going into Copenhagen in 2009.

Table 1.4: Transnational Climate Coalitions Present in Copenhagen, December 2009

	Climate Action Network	**Global Campaign for Climate Action**	**Climate Justice Now!**	**Climate Justice Action**
Acronym	CAN	GCCA	CJN	CJA
Founding	1992	2008	2007	2008
Orientation	Policy	Action	Policy	Action
Framing	Science-based	Science-based	Climate justice	Climate justice, Anti-capitalist
Major Members	Greenpeace, WWF, Oxfam	Greenpeace, WWF, Oxfam, Christian Aid, Avaaz, 350.org	Friends of the Earth International, La Via Campesina, Indigenous Environmental Network	Climate Camps, European Autonomous Groups

As the types of actors involved in climate change politics changed, and the range of political opinions and issue framings expanded. And as the next section details, the type of tactics used became significantly more radical as the Copenhagen summit approached.

Tactical Radicalization

Prior to 2008, the repertoire of transnational collective action employed by civil society organizations at the UNFCCC typically included lobbying of national delegates, making official interventions in conference plenaries, hosting 'side events,' and providing information through reports and daily newspapers (Hoffman 2008). As Chapter Two details, similar kinds of activities have become common practice in EU policy-making, along with official submissions and consultation with EU institutions (Greenwood 2007). In addition, many of the larger NGOs (e.g. Greenpeace) typically supplement these activities with creative and media-friendly protest stunts, such as banner hanging, melting ice sculptures, or marches of people wearing polar bear costumes.

In some ways, the 2008-2009 period continued this tradition. In the build-up to Copenhagen, non-governmental organizations devoted a massive amount of time to developing careful lobbying and media strategies both in Brussels and at the UN meetings. In Copenhagen, on December 13th, 2009, there was an impressive non-violent march of one-hundred thousand people. Once the march reached the conference center Desmond Tutu led a candlelight vigil that implored world leaders to reach an ambitious climate agreement. The march was both reform-oriented in its message and contained in its forms of action.

But in other ways, this period was dramatically different. Because many of the new organizations in Copenhagen came from a background in the global justice movement, they had

inherited a preference for the movement's repertoire of the summit protest. A 'counter-summit protest' involves using direct action and transgressive protest to try to shut down or otherwise severely disrupt the functioning of international summits (della Porta and Tarrow 2005; Reitan 2007; Smith 2001). In preparation for Copenhagen, climate justice activists called for the use of the counter-summit protest repertoire against the UNFCCC for the first time. These and other types of contentious actions became more common in the Fall of 2009, and were particularly noticeable in Copenhagen. In particular, on December 16th, five thousand people marched to the conference center in an attempt to enter the premises, take over the conference and install a 'people's assembly' in its place. This marked a radical departure from the actions of the days (and years) before.

There are two crucial differences between the transgressive protest at Copenhagen and the protest of earlier summits.[10] First, protests at the UNFCCC have previously mobilized in support of strong policies being taken through international environmental regimes (Fisher 2004; Hoffman 2008). Second, these protests have typically been sponsored by the same NGO activists who were organizing actions inside the UNFCCC, and functioned as a small complement to their work.

The transgressive summit protests surrounding Copenhagen were organized by a distinct group of organizations affiliated with the CJA and CJN coalitions. These summit protests were controversial because they fractured the activist community along the reformist-abolitionist divide (Levi and Murphy 2006; Smith 2001). While the community of global justice movement activists is accustomed to protesting international financial institutions, before Copenhagen "few

[10]There had been a few instances of activists trying to disrupt the functioning of the UNFCCC prior to Copenhagen, most notably in the Hague in 2000 (Revkin 2000).

groups ha[d] actively mobilized against the UN" (Smith 2008, 98; see also Fisher 2004, 179). The year 2009 marked a turning point in the number of organizations that were willing to mobilize transgressive, contentious action against the international climate change process.

Radicalized tactics were met with increased institutional restrictions. United Nations security in Copenhagen was concerned that these 'outsider' actors would try to enter the summit and compromise the security of the delegates. This in turn contributed to UN security crackdown which virtually excluded civil society groups as a whole for the final day of Copenhagen. Certainly, the exclusion of civil society groups was partially due to event logistics and poor planning on the part of the conference organizers who did not book a big enough venue for the massive number of participants. But as Fisher (2010: 11) notes, ironically, "the massive expansion of civil society participation at Copenhagen was not only accompanied by civil society disenfranchisement, it actually contributed to it." As civil society groups were not allowed to participate actively in the final days of the Summit, organizations couldn't lobby or provide information to the delegates on the inside.

In addition to dismay over changes in the rules of participation, civil society groups in general were devastated by the political outcome in Copenhagen. Reform-oriented NGOs took the opportunity to strongly condemn the Copenhagen Accord, and to 'shame' world leaders who they accused of taking the easy way out.[11] Climate justice groups were similarly disgusted with the text of the Accord. For these groups, the Copenhagen Summit was yet another example of why the UN political process does not work and will continue to discredit itself in the absence of

[11] See the Climate Action Network International for examples: http://www.climatenetwork.org/event/cop-15-2009 (Accessed February 23, 2011).

real solutions.[12] Thus, by the end of the Summit, virtually all parties and observers to the UNFCCC agreed that despite their best efforts the Copenhagen Summit had dramatically failed to live up to expectations, leaving the future of global climate change negotiations in jeopardy.

As this section detailed, civil society participation on the issue of climate change has become more extensive, more diverse, and more radical. This is particularly true of the time period of 2007-2009, during which this study takes place. Prior to 2007, most participation in climate change politics took the form of conventional advocacy on the part of transnational non-governmental organizations. But during the post-2007 period, a new type of contentious transnational activism was directed towards the political process on the issue of climate change. The chapters that follow will further explain the development and diffusion of this radical strand of climate change politics, and the contentious repertoire of collective action with which it is associated.

Conclusion

Between 1988 and 2009, climate change moved from being a peripheral scientific issue to a topic of central concern in international affairs. Throughout this process the European Union has been active in both pushing for international treaties and developing its own internal policy. While the Copenhagen Summit did not produce a legally binding outcome, it drew global attention to the climate change issue, and attracted a great deal of political activism.

As this chronology details, activism on climate change has deep roots. Environmental NGOs have been working in Europe and internationally on the issue for decades. But as climate change policy has matured, advocates have had to develop more detailed positions on

[12] See Climate Justice Now for examples: http://www.climate-justice-now.org/category/media/press-releases/ (Accessed February 23, 2011).

controversial issues such as the use of carbon markets and the appropriate role of developing country action. In turn, the population of civil society groups attempting to influence climate change policy has become more diverse ideologically and tactically, and more divided internally.

My study particularly documents the emergence and consequences of a radical current of climate justice activism that has emerged in the European context in the last few years. Not only did these new groups significantly politicize the often technocratic policy debates, but as I will show in the next three chapters, the involvement of these new radical actors had important consequences for the spread of contentious tactics in the network of civil society organizations mobilized on climate change in the European Union.

CHAPTER TWO

EVENTS AND ACTORS: TRADITIONAL APPROACHES TO COLLECTIVE ACTION

The period of this study was a crucial moment in climate policy making. The data show that during this time organizations employed vastly different strategies of influence. Given the importance of this time and the wide range of options potentially available to organizations seeking action on climate change, I ask: What did organizations do when they sponsored collective actions on climate change in the years 2008-2009? Where did they do it? What institutions did they target? When did they decide to act? And, most importantly, *why* did they choose to sponsor particular kinds of events in certain locations, targeting particular actors at specific times?

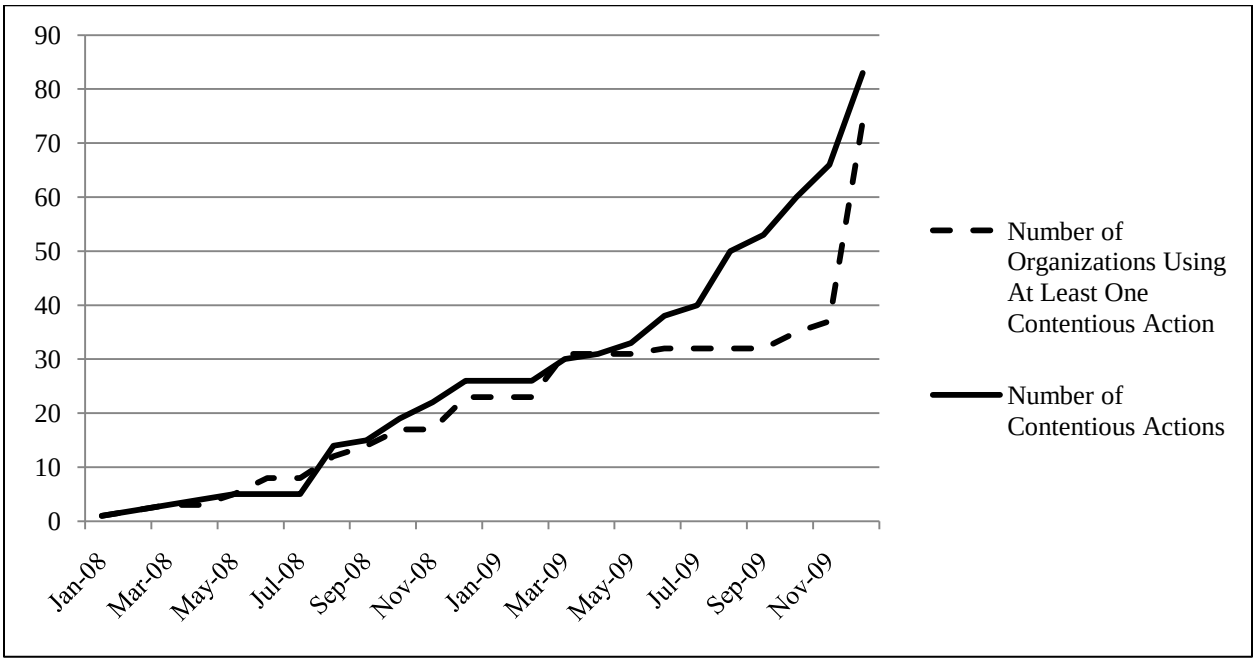
To answer these questions, I gathered an extensive amount of data about collective action on climate change and its sponsors. These data reveal – echoing the chronology in Chapter One – that there were major changes in the world of climate change activism during this two year period. Specifically, collective action on climate change became much more contentious. Not only was the number of contentious actions growing, but the number of organizations willing to sponsor contentious collective action[13] rapidly expanded in the span of two years. Figure 2.1 shows to growth in contentious forms of action from 2008 to 2009.

What explains this growth in contentious actions and contentious organizations? This chapter starts to answer this question by developing the expectations of two major scholarly traditions in the study of social movements and interest groups. Both groups of scholars point to two major sets of factors when accounting for the different strategies civil society groups use to

[13] [13] Events are coded as 'contentious' when then involve an element of disruption, such as a demonstration, sit-in or blockade. For a complete list of contentious forms of collective action, see Table 1.2. For the complete event code book, see Appendix A.

pursue their objectives, emphasizing that organizational choice of particular forms of collective action is explained by a combination of external political context and organizational-level factors (Baumgartner and Leech 1998: 162; Berry 1977; Schlozman and Tierney 1986; McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001: 17). For theories emphasizing contextual factors, organizational behavior should be determined by the external political opportunities for participation available to them. In theories at the organizational level, organizational behavior should be the product of intra-organizational dynamics, structure and resources.

Figure 2.1: Growth in Contentious Actions and Contentious Actors, 2008-2009



Both of these approaches have been repeatedly supported in social scientific work. The aim of this chapter is to outline the general theory and specific hypotheses associated with the political process and organizational approaches as they apply to my particular case. I then contrast the expectations of each approach with the findings from my data analysis, suggesting ways in which existing theory may be illuminating and ways in which it may be limited.

I evaluate traditional approaches to collective action in light of their ability to answer a number of questions about the timing, location and sponsors of contentious action. Specifically, I will find that the political process approach does well in answering the 'where' and 'when' questions, and organization theory helps unravel a portion of the 'who does what' question. But in order to get a more fine-grained picture of who does what, where, and when, we will need a theory that incorporates a relational element. This discussion forms the basis for the development of my relational network approach in Chapter Three.

The Political Process Approach

A large and influential body of research suggests that characteristics of the political and institutional context in which an organizational is operating should have an influence on an organization's strategic choices. Within this field, scholars working in the political process tradition have used the concept of 'political opportunities' to explain aggregate amounts, timing, and forms of collective action (e.g. Tarrow 2011; Tilly 1978; Kitschelt 1986).

Defining Political Opportunities

Tarrow (2011: 85) describes political opportunities as "consistent – but not necessarily formal or permanent – dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to engage in collective action by affecting their expectations of success or failure." Within this broad definition, researchers have identified many different factors that comprise a 'political opportunity' including the characteristics of political institutions, demographics, and public policy (see Meyer 2004; Meyer and Minkoff 2004).

There are many potential ways to measure political opportunities. [14] In this study, I following Marks and McAdam (1999) by suggesting that political opportunities are best measured as a combination of: a) formal institutional access (Joachim and Locher 2008); and b) policy responsiveness; and c) resources available from institutions to actors engaging in transnational action (see also Eisinger 1973 for a similar typology). This multi-dimensional measurement allows me to classify international institutions making decisions on climate change according to their relative openness or closure vis-à-vis one another.

Major Hypotheses

Political process scholars suggest that the political opportunities available in a given system influence both the volume and forms of action collective actors will employ. Discussing EU-level activism, Marks and McAdam (1999:107) state: "political opportunities do not merely serve to provide sets of incentives for groups to make claims in certain arenas, but they shape the way in which groups make claims." From this standpoint, on issues where institutions are more 'open' (such as EU environmental policy) we should expect to see more conventional action, and where institutions are more closed, actors should choose to use contentious tactics (see also Kitschelt 1986).

A more dynamic approach suggests that political opportunities are not fixed: they vary systematically over the course of policy-cycle (McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1989). Generally speaking, scholars taking this view characterize political opportunities on a continuum from 'open' to 'closed.' Collective action is expected to have a curvilinear relationship with political

[14] I specify political opportunities in a fairly narrow way that doesn't incorporate other aspects that previous researchers have found to be important, including degree of repression, significant allies and partisan balance (see Meyer and Minkoff 2004). However, this narrow specification is appropriate to my study, as it only concerns transnational collective action in the EU.

openness, peaking where opportunities are 'mixed' (partially open and partially closed) (Eisinger 1973; Tilly 1978). Additional research suggests that opportunities for protest specifically peak when opportunities move towards becoming more closed, generating incentives for protest (Meyer 1993; Schlozman and Tierney 1986).

In addition to the political opportunities provided by political institutions, other scholars have emphasized that it is the characteristics of the target – which may or may not be a political institution – that influence the forms of collective action an organization is likely to use (Walker, Martin and McCarthy 2008: 70). Targets are thought to be a central factor in shaping forms of collective action because the likely response of the target drives the form of collective action. As Walker, Martin and McCarthy put it, "each target's vulnerabilities and its capabilities for response – repression, facilitation and routinization – [are] explanations for the degree of transgressive protest each target faces (Walker, Martin and McCarthy: 35). Thus, if one can assess the degree of openness of the target, one should also be able to predict the contentiousness of the forms of action challengers will use against it.

Finally, political process research has also shown that 'openness' can expand and contract due to issue-specific opportunities, including issue attention cycles (McCammon et al 2001).[15] Interest group scholars in particular highlight that the 'salience' of an issue to the general public – generally measured in terms of media coverage – increases the use of outsider strategies because individuals are more aware of the need to act (Kollman 1998: 58; Mahoney 2008: 41).

Classifying Political Opportunities in European and Global Climate Policy

[15] A number of issue-level hypotheses won't be discussed here because my focus on the single issue of climate change doesn't allow me to consider them.

Climate change is a complicated issue area, in which many types of political opportunities are available to civil society groups. Given this complexity, I will first establish the expectations drawn from the political process approach by outlining the opportunities available to actors organizing collective action on climate change in the two years prior to the Copenhagen Summit. As Chapter One detailed, five different international institutions had a role in decision-making on climate change in Europe during this time period. Table 2.1 shows my classification of institutions and their relative 'openness' to civil society. I suggest that the European Commission and Parliament are characterized by high openness, while the European Council and the UNFCCC offer an intermediate amount of opportunities, and the G8/G20 are quite closed. [16]

Table 2.1: Comparison of the Relative Openness of International Institutions

	Access	Responsiveness	Resources	Overall Openness
European Commission	High	High	High	Highly
European Parliament	High	High	High	High
European Council	Low	Medium	None	Medium
UNFCCC	Medium	Medium	None	Medium
G8/G20	None	Low	None	Low

In this section I will explain my classification further, by first explaining variations in access in the various stages of the EU policy cycle, within in the UNFCCC process, and in the G8/G20. I then briefly sketch the policy responsiveness of each of these institutions, and the resources they make available to civil society actors. Finally, I discuss the event-specific opportunities of the Copenhagen Summit.

Institutional Access

[16] Tables 1.1 and 1.2 provide the dates of deliberation and decision-making on climate change of the different institutions for 2008-2009.

The European Union is a multi-level, fragmented system that should generally provide easy access for civil society groups (Greenwood 2007:23; Risse-Kappen 1995). But the opportunities for participation expand and contract over the course of the policy cycle, and according to the political process approach, should create incentives for actors to use more or less conventional forms of political action when they target the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council[17] (See also Beyers 2004: 218-220).

The European Commission is the initiator of most legislation, and is the most technocratic in mindset (Meyer 1999). The European Commission has a very limited number of staff in comparison to most national policy-making agencies, and thus relies to a great extent on information from outside actors. As a statement issued on civil society dialogue put it:

> The Commission has always been an institution open to outside input. The Commission believes this process to be fundamental to the development of its policies… Commission officials acknowledge the need for such outside input and welcome it. (European Commission 1992: 3).

Since the 2001 White Paper on Governance (European Commission 2001), the Commission has been procedurally committed to consulting affected interests when drafting proposals. All new initiatives must be announced publically, must contain a consultation plan that meets minimum standards, and the final proposal must detail consultations and responses to civil society input. There is no official accreditation process or registry of civil society actors, but the Commission relies heavily on the 'usual suspects' of NGOs and trade union actors present in Brussels.

Thus in general, the Commission is extremely open to conventional participation by civil society actors, providing access and resources for this sort of behavior. Within the Commission, access is most open in the early drafting phases in the Directorates General [DGs], while the

[17] There also exist opportunities in theory to target the European Court of Justice, although in this issue area this strategy has not been used very often.

higher the proposal goes within the Commission, the fewer opportunities there are for interest representation (Cini 1996).

The European Parliament also provides ample opportunities for conventional participation. Proposals from the Commission and from the Parliament itself pass first through standing committees in the Parliament, where both the Committee Secretariat and the Rapporteur can be targets of interest representation. In the committee stage of representation, any political group can propose amendments through its representatives, so there are many access points to the process. However, after the Committee has made a recommendation, the report is discussed in Plenary, where getting amendments adopted becomes more difficult. At this stage, political opportunities are more closed, and civil society groups can either try to influence particular MEPs or political groupings through direct lobbying, or through outside actions and media stunts that draw attention to EP activities in the media.

After the Parliament has agreed on a proposal, it is passed to the Council of the European Union. As the Council is a venue for inter-governmental negotiating, the opportunities for civil society participation can be somewhat unpredictable. There are no structured dialogues or consultation procedures at this phase, thus formal access is by far the most limited. However, there is sometimes access between national civil servants in the working groups or the Committee of Permanent Representatives. The amount of access can also vary depending of the preferences of the Council Presidency. Thus, in general, opportunities to influence the European process are most closed at the Council phase. As a result, the most contentious political actions in Brussels and in the Members States can be expected to take place when the Council is deliberating.

Parallel to the EU-level political process, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change has similar procedures for civil society participation to the European Council. The UNFCCC is structured around annual 'Conferences of the Parties' [COPs] held each December in a different world region (held in Europe in both 2008 and 2009), as well as semi-regular intersessional meetings (often held at the Secretariat headquarters in Bonn, Germany). Over the course of the development of the UNFCCC, it has become understood that civil society groups are an important part of the policy-making process. Civil society actors are organized in constituencies (e.g. environmental groups, trade unions, youth) which have the option to provide submissions, participate in workshops, host side events, attend plenary sessions, and occasionally make interventions in the plenary.

But on balance, access to the UN is more limited than in the early stage of the EU policy process. Following Joachim and Locher (2008: 8), I emphasize that the UN's use of formal accreditation procedures limits civil society access more than in the EU. In many ways, the UN is comparable to the Council, in that there are no formal procedures for consultation, and access depends to a great extent on the preferences of national delegations. In addition, because the UN process takes place at the inter-state level and frequently involves the presence of Heads of State, security measures are much stricter than in the EU. For example, all public 'actions' or materials that will be distributed within COP venues have to be cleared in advance with the civil society liaison, and any groups whose members disobey this rule can be ejected from the premises.

Within the UNFCCC, groups have to register, but there is no formal cap on admissions, and there are many opportunities to directly lobby national delegates (Hoffman 2008). Nevertheless, once policy-making moves to the UNFCC [especially at the COPs] access to policy-making is more limited. This represents a closure in political opportunities, and political

process theorists would expect more contentious political action in this phase. This was particularly true for the last days of the Copenhagen Summit. In the final three days of the conference, access to the COP was much more restricted as a result of security concerns and fears of radical activism. This shift towards closure was unprecedented, and surprised many. Connie Hedegaard, the President of the Copenhagen Conference, expressed her surprise and reiterated a common self-conception of the UNFCCC as a highly participatory venue when she stated to protestors in Copenhagen: "You don't have to exert that kind of violence to be heard because this is a process where your views are very much included" (Ritter 2009). Given the exclusion of civil society groups from the process in the final days, political process theory would predict that there should be even more contentious action during this period.

While access to the UNFCCC is more limited than to the EU, it is still more open than many of the international financial institutions (O'Brien, Goetz, Scholte and Williams 2000: 5). As I previously mentioned, the G8/G20 met to consider climate issues during this time period (mostly in 2009), but did not offer formal opportunities for participation. Thus political process theorists should predict an increase in contention when the G8/G20 is meeting.

Responsiveness

These institutions also vary in the extent to which they were responsive to the policy concerns of civil society actors during this time period. As the chronology of Chapter One detailed, the European Commission and Parliament were systematically the most responsive to the policy demands of civil society actors. For example, the Commission proposed, and the Parliament approved, of the originally quite ambitious Climate and Energy Package in 2008. The Commission also proposed a comprehensive climate finance package in 2009, in an effort to spur

action by other EU institutions. Although civil society was quite critical of the EU's actions of climate change, in comparison to other actors and institutions, the European Union was certainly among the most ambitious in its proposals on climate change (Kelemen and Bogel 2010).

In contrast, the Council was much less responsive to the demands of civil society actors. For example, the Council played the major role of watering down the Climate and Energy Package in 2008, and continually delayed making decisions of climate finance in 2009. Similarly, within the UNFCCC, both the outcomes of Poznan and Copenhagen were devastating to civil society groups, causing them to conclude that the UNFCCC was out of touch with their interests. Finally, although the G8/G20 did take some action on climate in 2009, these were environmentally weak agreements that did not respond to key civil society demands related to mitigation and climate finance.

Resources

International institutions also vary widely in the extent to which they offer resources to civil society organizations working on the issue of climate change. As previously mentioned, the European Commission and Parliament provide extensive financial resources to these organizations to encourage their activities. In justifying the Commission's budgetary expenditures in support of NGO activities, a joint decision of the European Parliament and Council explained:

> NGOs are essential to coordinate and channel … relevant information and views of the new and emerging perspectives, such as on nature protection and transboundary environmental problems (European Parliament and Council 2002).

In contrast, the European Council, UNFCCC and G8/G20 do not offer resources to civil society actors in order to encourage their participation. In many ways, this decision is common sense:

these institutions are not bureaucracies, and thus do not rely on civil society input in the same way as do the Parliament and the Commission. Yet at the same time, because these institutions do not help organizations overcome the barrier to transnational organizing, we can consider there are fewer opportunities around these institutions.

The Copenhagen Summit as an Opportunity

Finally, over the two-year period of this study, the Copenhagen Conference itself represented an important political opportunity. As I previously mentioned, the Copenhagen Summit was a major moment of political decision-making where many Heads of State would be present, and thus could be expected to be the target of a large amount of collective action (Tarrow 2005).

The salience of the climate change issue to the general public also skyrocketed in the month of the Copenhagen Conference. In order to measure 'salience' I recorded the total number of news articles from the Factiva database returned by a search for the terms "climate change" or "global warming" during this two year period. From January 2008 to August 2009, the number of returned results per month generally fluctuated between 16,000 to 20,000. But in the Fall 2009, this number rose to 25,000-30,000 articles per month, with a maximum of almost 46,000 articles in December 2009. Since there was so much media attention, interest group scholars would also expect that we should see a high volume of contentious collective action in Copenhagen.

Characteristics of European Collective Action on Climate Change: 2008-2009

As the previous section outlined, the two years preceding the Copenhagen Summit offered different kinds of opportunities to address climate change issues in Europe. But what did groups actually do during this period? My data show that over the two year period European collective

action on climate change became more frequent and more contentious. I argue that the volume of European collective action is tied to key moments of European and international decision-making, but that the forms of collective action are not fully explained by the political process approach.

In some sense, political process explanations carry a heavy burden: if political opportunities affect all actors in the political system, why should we expect to see any variation *at all* in forms of action? And yet, we observe persistent tactical variation among actors working on the same issue in the same political system. How can this be explained? One answer might be that a random portion of the population is not exposed to these opportunities or is not able to perceive them, accounting for some deviations. But what this section emphasizes is that the variation in event characteristics and locations is not random, but is highly systematic. This suggests that different social processes may be generating contentious and conventional events. The next chapter will explore this intuition further.

My data analysis reveals a clear division: there is a strong tendency for conventional events to be organized at the EU Institutions, for contentious events to take place in the member states, and for the two to be largely temporally unrelated to one another. The contentious events in particular seem much less tied to political opportunities, suggesting that they may be produced by a social process unrelated to political process theory.

Types of Events

What do organizations do when they organize collectively on climate change? My data reveal a wide range of action forms. My analysis of press sources identified 268 unique collective

actions during this two year period, in a variety of forms (See Methods Appendix A). There were six types of action that were used most frequently:

- *Press releases:* Civil society groups often issue (joint) press releases in order to publicize their opinions on the actions taken by European institutions or other actors. My data show that organizations use this type of action at all stages of the policy cycle.
- *Reports:* Many groups publish and submit reports on technical aspects of climate change policy. In some cases these groups may write these reports themselves, while in other cases they are commissioned. These reports tend to respond to pressing issues on the political agenda.
- *Media Stunts:* A number of groups use 'media stunts' to draw attention to themselves and the issues about which they are passionate. These types of action are more typical when the Parliament, European Council or UN are meeting, as in the Oxfam example used earlier. Because these actions often involve colorful performances – hanging banners, making giant ice sculptures, dressing up like polar bears – they are often well-covered in the media.
- *Climate Camps:* Climate camps are gatherings that last several days where participants will bring tents and camp outside a particular target, such as an airport, political institution, power plant or corporation. These camps take place all over Europe, and usually happen in the summer. The exception to this was the climate camp that took place during the G20 in London in March, 2009. At the camps, individuals also typically organize affinity groups that break off and engage in direct action at surrounding sites.
- *Marches and Demonstrations:* Organizations also often use marches and demonstrates to mobilize individuals and draw attention to their cause. The largest demonstrations in my

data were mounted in Copenhagen: the global day of action and the Reclaim Power action. The Global Day of Action also occurred in 2008, and is coordinated with similar marches all over the world. Other notable demonstrations on climate change took place during the G8 and G20 meetings in the Spring and Summer of 2009, as well as on October 10, 2009, which is another annual day of action.

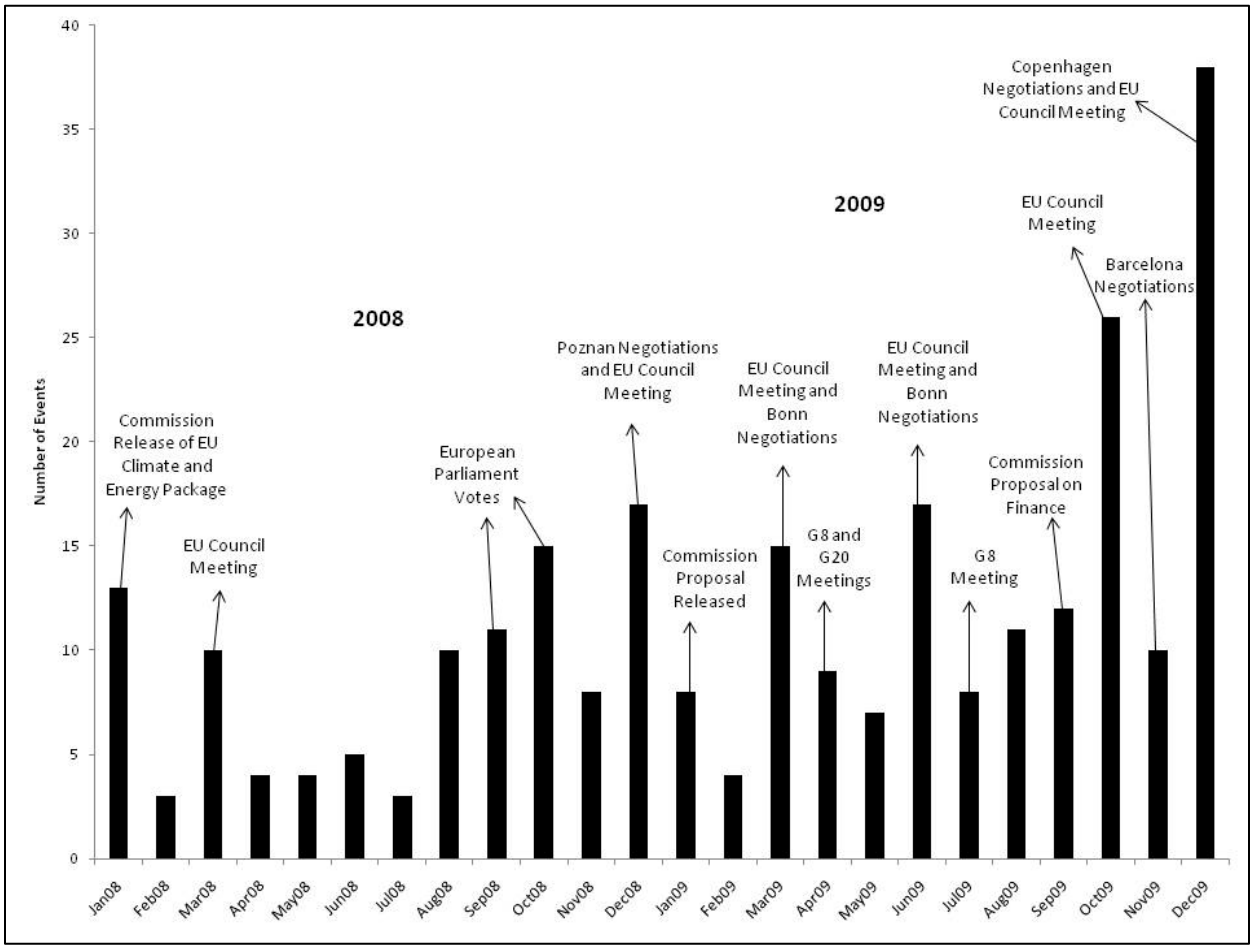
- *Occupations and Blockades:* Throughout the time period of this study a number of organizations sponsored occupations and blockades targeting political institutions and corporations. For example, the Climate Alarm action blocked the entrance of the EU Commission, another group blocked the entrance of the UN at the Conference in Barcelona, and Friends of the Earth occupied the lobby of the UN Conference in Copenhagen. In addition to political targets, transnational activists have also targeted industry meetings of carbon traders and coal-fired power plants, coal mines and boats delivering coal throughout Europe.

Volume of Events Tied to Key Moments of Political Decision-Making

When do organizations choose to act collectively on climate change? My event data suggest that civil society groups were more active overall in 2009 than in 2008. In 2008, I counted 103 total events based on my press source coding, whereas in 2009 I recorded 165 distinct events: a growth of 60%. Moreover, there seemed to be a growing momentum in the time period under study. By far the largest number of events appeared at the end of the time period, at the COP 15 Copenhagen Climate Summit. For sake of comparison, the number of events mounted by June 2009 (the time of the second Bonn inter-sessional) was already equal to the number of events in all of 2008.

Looking at the timing of these events, the volume of events seems to reflect key moments of political decision-making. Figure 2.2 displays the total number of collective actions, along with key moments in the policy cycle.

Figure 2.2: Total European Collective Actions on Climate Change with Policy Events, 2008-2009



These findings seem to support a strong relationship between political opportunities and the volume of collective action. We see peaks in collective action in January, March, September, October and December of 2008, which corresponded to key moments in the policy-making process of the European Climate and Energy package. We see a general decrease in collective action over the summer when political institutions are less active. In 2009, collective action was

particularly elevated in March, June, October and December, around key moments in the international process. There was less collective action in February and May, when institutions are less active. Since 2009 was a much more active policy year, we see a fairly high level of collective action during the summer. But in both years we also see an increase in collective action in August when there was no particular political process underway, which is puzzling from a political process perspective.

Issue salience and collective action are also positively related. The correlation between the number of Factiva articles in any given month and the number of reported collective actions in a month is 0.68. With the exception of November 2009, when salience was high but collective action was relatively low, collective action and salience seem to co-vary. Without commenting on the direction of the relationship at this point, it does appear as though media attention and collective action both increased in the build up to Copenhagen. However, as in the previous example, August still stands out as a month in which there is a lot of collective action but not much media attention. The next section explores this finding further.

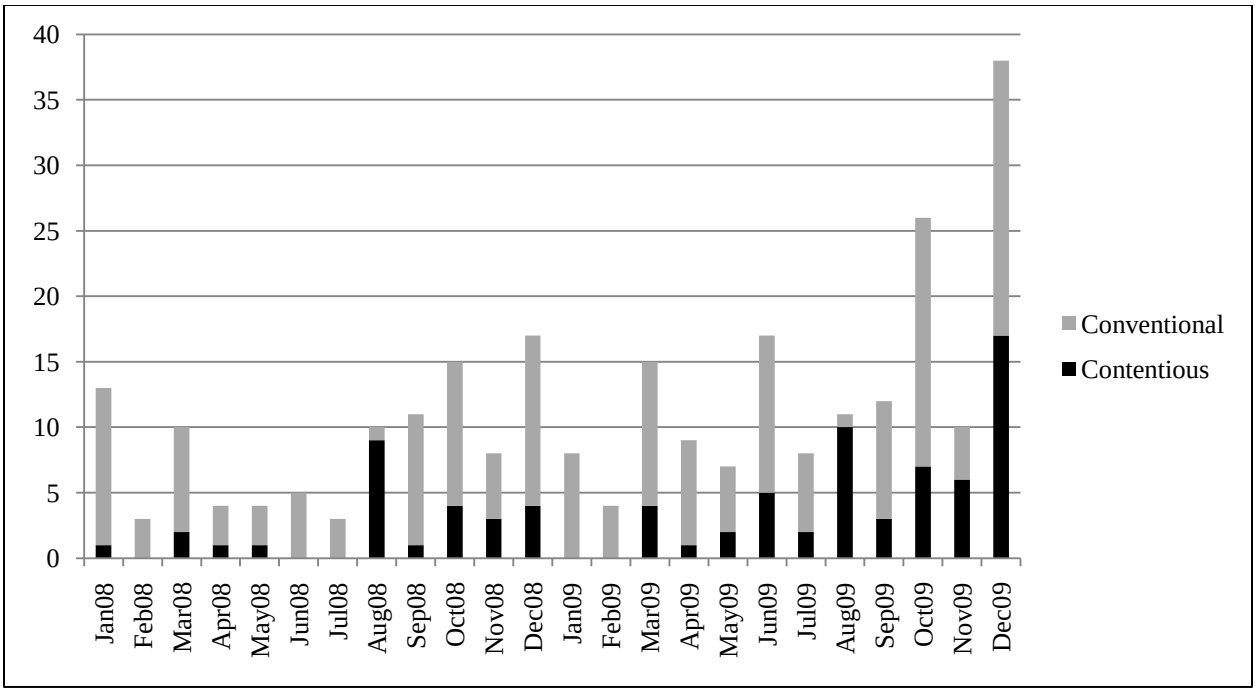
Increasingly Contentious Forms of Collective Action

When do organizations choose to use contentious, rather than conventional, forms of action? The data reveal that between 2008 and 2009 collective action on climate change became much more contentious. My sample of events contained 25% contentious events in 2008 and 34% contentious events in 2009. By far the largest number of contentious events were mounted December 2009 around the Copenhagen Summit. The second and third largest number of contentious events were organized in August of each year at the internationally-organized 'climate camps' – independent venues for direct action and education about climate change. The

fourth largest number took place in October of 2009, which was the time of the protests around the Barcelona UNFCCC meeting, the transntionally-coordinated day of action on '10/10' and the EU Summit in Brussels.

Although volume of ECA seems fairly well-explained by the presence of key political opportunities in the European or international policy-process (with a few exceptions), this data on action forms is harder to explain from a political process perspective. Figure 2.3 represents the number of contentious and conventional ECA in each month.

Figure 2.3: Conventional and Contentious European Collective Action, 2008-2009



Political process theory should predict that as political opportunities move towards becoming more closed, collective actors will use more contentious forms of action. Looking at Figure 2.3, we can see that there is a dramatic increase in contention over this time period. But there are also big spikes in contentious action in August of every year, which reflect the timing of the transnational European climate camp movement. These actions are deliberately scheduled for

August to coincide with summer holidays in Europe, and not with particular political opportunities. Thus it is plausible to conclude that contentious collective action is linked to, but not fully determined by available political opportunities.

Looking at conventional collective action, we see also that its volume is clearly linked to key moments of decision-making. But it is also somewhat puzzling that conventional action also increases most when opportunities are closing (December 2008 and 2009). Whereas political process theory would predict that collective actors should turn to contentious actions under these circumstances, it seems that they actually use more of both contentious and conventional forms.

Even more puzzling from a political process perspective is that these data suggest that there is no relationship between the amount of conventional and contentious collective action in any given month for the year of 2008. There is virtually no correlation (-.02) between conventional and contentious collective action in any given month for 2008. If the same set of organizations were responding to political opportunities and changing their forms of action over the course of the policy period we would expect to find an inverse relationship[18] between the amount of conventional and contentious collective action.

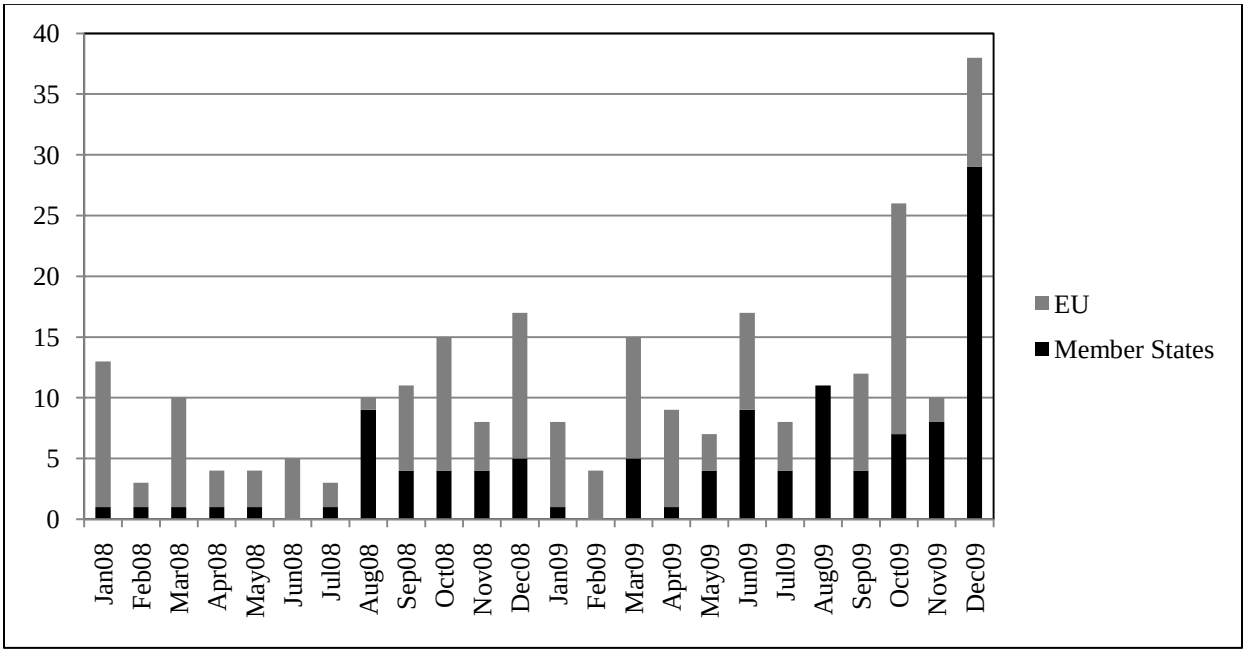
This finding suggests that perhaps there are two distinct groups working with contentious and conventional collective action, not one group varying its tactics according to political opportunities. Analysis of the data by location further supports this idea.

Action at the European Institutions vs. Action in the Member States

[18] In 2009 the amount of contentious and conventional collective action in each month is positively correlated (.53), when we expect it should be negatively correlated if the same groups were varying their forms of action.

Since organizations in Europe have many options as to where they will act, where do they actually hold their events? One clear change during this two year period is that far fewer collective actions took place at the European Institutions in 2009 than in 2008. This trend is fairly dramatic: 69% of the ECA in 2008 took place in Brussels, Luxembourg or Strasbourg, where the main EU institutions are situated, while only 50% of ECA took place in one of these three cities in 2009.[19] This reflects a growing number of transnationally-organized actions at the sites of international policy-making events of the UNFCCC and the G8/G20 in 2009, including important events in London, Bonn, Barcelona and of course Copenhagen.

Figure 2.4: European Collective Action 2008-2009, by Location



Political process theory would also predict that as opportunities at the European level become more closed, ECA would likely move towards action in the member states, where civil

[19] Although the coding schemes are somewhat different (this study only considers transnational collective action) this finding is somewhat similar to the percentage of 'Europrotests' identified in Imig and Tarrow (2001) at their end of the time period of their study (2001:35). Uba and Uggla (2011: 386) also find that the number of protests 'directly targeting the EU' is generally twice as large as the number of transnational protests.

society groups can also seek influence (Marks and McAdam 1999). As reported in Figure 2.4, the data support this prediction.

In 2008, virtually all conventional collective action was organized at the EU institutions, and almost all contentious ECA took place in the member states. This division is quite dramatic: the correlation between an event taking place at the European institutions and being conventional was .97. The correlation between an ECA being contentious and it taking place in the member states was .92.

But in 2009, the story becomes slightly more complicated. Contentious collective actions still mainly take place in the member states (the correlation between the two characteristics of an event is .96). But more and more conventional collective actions were also organized in the member states, especially in the cities where the UNFCCC met in its inter-sessionals. In addition, a small but growing number of contentious actions began to take place around the European Institutions. In 2009, the correlation between an event being conventional and taking place at the European Institutions was only .83 – still high, but almost 15% lower than for 2008. Despite the differences in June and December of 2009, the data analysis clearly demonstrates the overall strong association between contentious events and the member states and conventional events and the European Institutions. This data further suggest that maybe the sponsors of contentious actions are nationally-rooted and distinct from those organizing conventional actions in Brussels.[20]

Events by Target

[20] This finding would fit with Marks and McAdam's (1999) argument that social movements that work in Brussels are likely to use institutionalized tactics because of the open opportunity structure of the European institutions, although the development of contentious transnational activism outside of the sphere of Brussels is something that the authors did not anticipate.

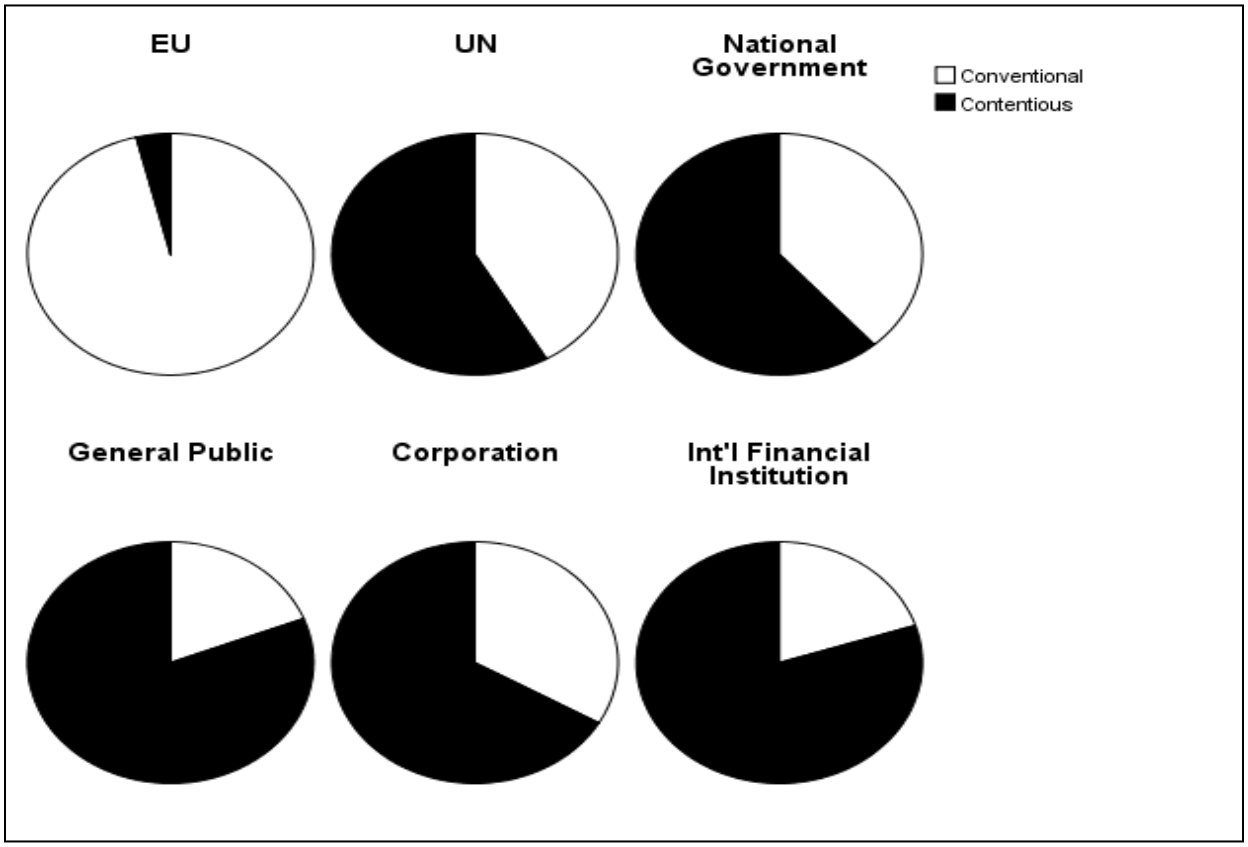
Actors make decisions not only about their forms of action, but also about which institutions they will target with their actions. This is particularly true in this issue area because many actors have a hand in determining policy outcomes on climate change. As Soule (2009) points out, activists do not only target state and international political institutions, but also frequently direct their claims towards corporations whose activities they wish to influence. Which targets did organizations choose during this time period, and which forms of action did they use when challenging different institutions?

The EU was by far the most frequent target for European collective action on climate change. Organizations targeted the EU 65% of the time in 2008 and 55% of the time in 2009. After the EU, the UN was the next most common target overall (about 14%). However, the UN accounted for only 3% of all event targets in 2008; this figure was closer to 20% in 2009. Organizations also frequently targeted corporations (about 11%) and the general public (8%) with their actions. International financial institutions (2%) and national governments[21] (5%) were much less frequent targets. These changes reflect that fact that the policy-process was much more international in 2009, and the EU Climate and Energy Package debate was concluded by December 2008.

As predicted, different institutions do tend to attract varying degrees of contention. Figure 2.5 represents this data. The most striking finding is that collective action that targets the EU is overwhelmingly conventional, while collective action that targets all other institutions, states and actors is more than 50% contentious (Marks and McAdam 1999).

[21] Many national groups surely target their own governments, but they do not necessarily do so in European-level coalitions, and thus are not in my event sample. The events I recorded involved actors from two or more states targeting a particular national government. The most frequent target was the Polish government.

Figure 2.5: Contentious and Conventional Events by Target, 2008-2009



At face value, it would then appear that target characteristics play a large role in determining the degree of contentiousness they face. The EU is by far the most 'open' political institution, and most actions that target the EU are conventional; international financial institutions are the exact opposite. But the observed correlations in the data are not necessarily causal. For the logic of this approach to hold, organizations must make decisions about what tactics to use independently of their choice of target. But how do we know that the relationship is not reversed? Do organizations change their forms of action when they target different institutions? Or do they 'venue shop' for an institution that is appropriate for their preferred tactical form? While this question is difficult to answer relying on quantitative data alone, the qualitative data I gather (See Chapter Seven) suggest that contentious organizations sometimes

choose their targets and action forms simultaneously, making the logic of this approach less plausible.

Summary

The analysis of my event data in light of political process theory suggests two main findings:

- The volume of events is well-explained by the political process approach, as is their location.
- The form of these events is not as well-explained by variations in the opening and closure of political opportunities.

The analysis of events by form and location suggest a possible common interpretation: there may be two different processes generating contentious events in the member states and conventional events at the European institutions. The organizational data will help to shed light on this question.

The Organizational Approach

The other major approach to explaining organization choice of action forms focuses on factors specific to organizational populations or internal to organizations themselves.

Major Hypotheses: Population Ecology

This population ecology approach emphasizes that the characteristics of the field in which an organization is embedded influence its traits, behavior and even survival. For example, Minkoff (1997) emphasizes that the density of an organizational population is an important determinant of social protest. This is because organizations that adopt contentious tactics early can open up opportunities for later organizations, and help to expand resources available for protest.

However, at a certain point the population can become too dense, generating inter-organizational competition and actually decreasing the likelihood of engaging in contentious action.

Another variation of this approach suggests that organizations tend to specialize in certain tasks of types of action, and that there are perils to changing (Hannan and Freeman 1984). Work in this tradition suggests that organizations have "socially enforceable" identities, and can be punished by both organizational insiders and those outside the organizations when they violate expectations as to how they will behave (Hannan et al 2006). As a result, one would expect to see a great deal of organizational behavioral inertia. Changes in the population should come from new entrants or the disappearance of older organizations, rather than through changes in the behavior of existing organizations (Haveman and Rao 1997; Scott et al 1999).

Major Hypotheses: Intra-Organizational Factors

At the organizational level, studies of intra-organizational factors tend to fall into three categories: life cycle approaches to organizational de-radicalization; resource mobilization approaches; and cultural/collective identity approaches.

First, Michels'(1958) classic thesis of the iron law of oligarchy states that organizations move inevitably towards de-radicalization over time. Starting from an individual case, Michels arrives at a general law: "He who says organization, says tendency towards oligarchy." (Michels 1958: 37) For Michels the necessity to facilitate mobilization through hierarchy and to stabilize the movement through leadership, creates a natural life cycle of movements in the form of increasing institutionalization and de-radicalization. Other scholars working in this tradition have similarly emphasized that with age organizations invariably become more professionalized and their radical goals become displaced (e.g. Offe 1990; Piven and Cloward 1977).

In a similar vein, the resource mobilization school argues that there is a trend towards the professionalization and institutionalization of social movement organizations (McCarthy and Zald 1987). Scholars working in this school emphasize that the resources available to a movement should greatly influence its choice of form of mobilization. In particular, those organizations with greater financial resources should tend towards professionalization and de-radicalization while those without these resources may tend to use more contentious means or 'weapons of the weak' (Piven and Cloward 1977; Lipsky 1968; Scott 1985). The availability of certain kinds of resources such as access to individual members is also expected to increase the use of outsider tactics (Scholzman and Tierney 1986). In addition, the source of resources should also matter: those organizations that are financially dependent on institutional actors may be less likely to employ contentious strategies (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978).

Finally, cultural and identity approaches suggest that the nature of the constituency that organizations try to mobilize may have an important influence on the types of collective action in which these organizations engage. This is because organizations always have to appeal to their core constituents, and therefore need to design collective actions that recognize and appeal to participants' set ideological preferences and pre-existing collective identities (Brulle 2000; Carmin and Balser 2002; Dalton 1994). In this way the 'symbolic life' of social movements may constrain their 'prognostic framing' and ultimately the kinds of actions which seem desirable or appropriate (Snow and Benford 1988).

The next section will examine these arguments in light of the descriptive evidence from my quantitative data. I first examine the growth of the organizational population and its increasing contentiousness, pointing to the sources of radicalization and the marginal changes among existing actors. I also present some preliminary evidence of the relationship between

organizational traits and their contentiousness, recognizing that this data will be need to be analyzed in a multivariate model in Chapter Four.

Characteristics of Civil Society Organizations: 2008-2009

The population of civil society organizations working on climate change is highly diverse and it evolved significantly during the time period of this study. Organizations acting on climate change have a wide range of ideological positions, available resources, organizing structures, relationships with political institutions and previous action profiles. This section describes the population of organizations, and both the growth in its size and its growing contentiousness. But it also highlights that organizations in the population tended to be *either* contentious *or* conventional, and that there was a great deal of stability in tactical repertoires among organizations that were highly active in the population.

This section contrasts the expectations of the organizational approach with the findings from my data. In general, growth in the organizational population and predicted organizational traits do seem to be correlated with increased contentiousness. But the correlations are not that strong, and organizations do change their forms of action during the time period of my study. The tendency for organizations to specialize in either contentious or conventional forms of action suggests that there may be steep tradeoffs between choosing one form of action or the other.

Describing the Organizational Population

My study is unique in that it captures a diverse population of organizations all working in the same issue area. Rather than make a priori distinctions between NGOs and social movement organizations, my research design allows me to capture the broadest possible spectrum of groups and to concretely measure their attributes and behavior.

For example, my population contains groups with vastly different resource profiles. While the average budget for a group in my sample was approximately 2.5 million Euros in 2008, one quarter of groups had access to less than 50,000 Euros per year, while another quarter had between 5 million and 175 million. Similarly, the average number of staff members was 35, but 17% of groups had no staff members, while the largest groups had over 200 full-time employees. In general, the most resourced groups tend to be the large development NGOs, specifically Oxfam, Tearfund and the Catholic Overseas Development Agency. The national offices of WWF UK, Germany and the Netherlands as well as Greenpeace Netherlands, Germany and International are also in this top bracket. The EU offices of the major environmental groups tend to be fairly 'average' in the population: they have approximately 15-20 staff, and budgets of about 1-3 million Euros per year.

Most of the population in 2008 was composed of environmental groups, while only 14% of the organizations had a 'radical' ideology, meaning that it had an anti-capitalist or anti-systemic rhetoric in its mission statement. In 2008, 25% of the groups in the population received funding from the EU Commission or Parliament, while most did not. Organizations also had different membership formats: 70% of the organizations had a structure that allows for individuals to join the group as a member, while 20% of groups were 'umbrella' organizations with structures that allowed for other organizations to join their own group.

The groups in the population covered the entirety of Europe, with at least one organization in every member state of the EU, as well as in Norway and Switzerland. However, it does appear as though the organizations in my population were more concentrated in Northern and Western Europe. The United Kingdom had the highest number of organizations (21), followed by Belgium (15), Germany (15), and the Netherlands (14). I believe that this reflects

the historically stronger development of the environmental movement in these countries, and not a data collection bias, for three reasons. First, as discussed in the Methods Appendix A, I took a number of steps to correct for possible geographical bias in the press search I conducted. Second, my analysis of the membership lists of the Climate Action Network reveals a similar concentration of organizations in these areas. Finally, previous research on the environmental movement in Europe (e.g. Dalton 1994; Rootes 2007) also suggests that environmental NGOs and social movements are more numerous in these areas than in Southern and Eastern Europe.

Finally, the data on organizational traits suggests that the national offices of international NGOs (Greenpeace, WWF and Friends of the Earth) are independent actors with very different attributes. For example, WWF Germany has a budget of approximately 40 million Euros and a staff of 130. WWF Hungary had a budget of approximately 250,000 Euros and a staff of 20. Similar differences exist within Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth offices in terms of resources profiles. These differences were also behavioral: already in 2008 some groups – Greenpeace Germany, Italy, WWF Germany, and Friends of the Poland – choose very different tactics than the other offices of their 'type.' The tactical diversity becomes even more pronounced in 2009. As a result of this analysis, as well as my qualitative interviews with these groups, I argue that the diversity in attributes and behavior of these groups supports my coding decision to treat these organizations as separate units in my analysis.

Population Growth: 2008-2009

As climate change became a more important political issue, more and more European actors became involved in the issue area. After extensive analysis of documents relating to the organization of European collective actions reported in press sources in 2008, I found that there

were 119 distinct organizations involved in European collective actions on climate change. In 2009, this same procedure suggested that there were 217 organizations in this population, which indicates a growth of 82%.

It may seem incredible that I observed such a dramatic population increase in a one year period. Nevertheless, I believe this rapid growth I found in my data accurately reflects the increasing salience of climate change to a broader range of civil society actors. Probably due to high issue salience, a whole new crop of organizations became involved for the first time in transnational coordination around Copenhagen. This was particularly, but not exclusively, true in Europe. For example, the major transnational climate change advocacy coalition in Europe – the Climate Action Network Europe [CAN-E] – had such a dramatic demand for new membership that the organization put a freeze on new members for the year of 2009. At the start of 2008, CAN-E had 110 members, and by the beginning of 2009 it had 129 members with 20 pending applications.[22]

Most of the growth in CAN-E membership can be attributed to the increased interest of national environmental non-governmental organizations in transnational coordination in the issue area. In addition, post-Bali, development organizations concerned about the affects of climate change on vulnerable states and the implications of global climate policy for development issues also became highly active on climate change. For some of these groups, the switch to focus on climate policy came almost overnight, which made joining a transnational climate change coalition an attractive way to get information and compensate for lack of expertise in this area by their existing staff members.

[22] Figures from CAN-E website (www.climnet.org), archived version of this site (www.archive.org), and internal membership documents.

Finally, two organizations known for internet mobilizations – 350.org and Avaaz.org – also became much more active in European climate politics during this period. 350.org started out as a US-based group that quickly went global and did massive outreach in Europe ahead of Copenhagen; Avaaz.org is a multi-issue group that shifted a large part of its focus to climate issues in the year of 2009. Both groups had vast resources and drew on a large youth constituency, which allowed them to become big players in Europe in the run-up to Copenhagen.

However, not all the growth in the organizational population can be attributed to these three sources. One of the biggest changes between 2008 and 2009 was the growing strength of the transnational climate coalition Climate Justice Action [CJA]. CJA mobilized many new organizations formerly associated with the global justice movement, introducing them to the issue of climate change.

A More Contentious Population

Not only were there many more contentious events in 2009 in comparison to 2008, but the population of organizations involved also became on average much more contentious. In 2008 16% of organizations in my sample used more than 50% contentious actions[23]; by 2009, 58% of the groups active in 2008 were using more than 50% contentious actions. As Figure 2.1 already showed, the number of organizations using at least one contentious action also increased dramatically between 2008 and 2009. But the number of organizations sponsoring more than one contentious event also increased. In 2008, 12 organizations were involved in more than 2 contentious events, compared to 55 in 2009.

[23] Although comparisons across studies are difficult, my findings are relatively similar to those of della Porta and Caini (2005), who find that 13% of national SMOs and NGOs report regularly using 'mobilization' in their EU level actions. Dalton, Recchia and Rohrschneider (2003), who found that 19% of environmental organizations worldwide report using protests, demonstration and direct actions "very often." These comparisons suggests again that my sample is probably not overly biased towards more 'radical' actors.

It is important to note that although many organizations sponsored at least one contentious event during this time period, the use of contention never reached the entire population, peaking at about 70%. This means that a substantial portion of the population *never* sponsored a contentious action, and many dabbled in contentious actions, while remaining primarily conventional.

Which organizations were the most contentious? Much of the growth in contentiousness amongst organizations can be attributed to the new entrants to the population in 2009, 62% of which used more than 50% contentious actions. But a significant portion of the contentious population in 2009 was made up of formerly conventional groups that became contentious for the first time in 2009, and finding that is not well-explained by organizational ecology approaches that emphasize the inertia of organizational repertoires. How did groups become more radical? The next section explains the growth of contention by pointing to three key stages.

Stages of Radicalization

Organizations didn't become contentious all at once: they adopted these new tactics in three distinct waves. Drawing on the literature on diffusion, I classify groups into three categories, based on the timing of their adoption:

- *Innovators:* In 2008 (and in some cases prior) organizations such as Klimax, Earth First! The Climate Camps, Rising Tide, Campaign Against Climate Change, and Greenpeace International were already using contentious tactics. As Chapter Six will detail, these organizations were early innovators that 'exported' their tactics to other organizations during this time period.

- *Early Adopters:* Early in 2009 many of the national Friends of the Earth offices became more regularly engaged in contentious European-level actions. As the previous Chapter mentioned, FOE-I underwent major changes post-Bali and a number of their members organizations significantly radicalized as a result. FOE offices in Belgium, France, Germany and the UK all became more contentious in the second time period. For example, these offices were involved in a number of transnationally-coordinated protest events, including global days of action in October and organizing to send members by bus to participate in the Human Flood protest in Copenhagen. Some Greenpeace offices also underwent a transformation in their tactical repertoires, although these decisions seem to have been made independent of one another (See Chapter Seven).
- *Adopters:* Finally, in the fall of 2009, the largest group of organizations adopted contentious tactics. Some of these organizations were other Friends of the Earth offices or nationally-based development groups. But the biggest growth came from members of CJA in 2008, such as Corporate European Observatory, Carbon Trade Watch, Focus on the Global South, Ecologistas en Acción, European Youth for Action and ASEED Europe, that became much more contentious in this last time period.

This chronology mimics the processes described in Minkoff (1997) and in the literature on the diffusion of innovations (e.g. Rogers 1995). It is important to note, however, that the use of contentious tactics never reached the total population. The spread of contentiousness seems to be concentrated among new organizations and a few older groups that changed behavior between 2008 and 2009. So while overall contentiousness does seem to be correlated with population growth, it seems as though organizational-level changes cannot be fully explained from a population ecology perspective.

Marginal Changes Amongst Those Most Active

While there were major changes at the population level, there was a great deal of tactical stability among the most active organizations. While the new organizations entering the population dramatically changed its character, the most active organizations in the population did not change much between the two years. Table 2.1 details the top ten organizations from each year and the characteristics of their actions, along with the mean for the organizational population in each year.

In general, organizations sponsored more or less the same number of actions in 2008 and 2009. This makes sense because most organizations did not hire additional staff in 2009, so there was a limit on their capacity (and any increase in number of events was probably due to existing staff working harder in 2009). Greenpeace EU Unit, WWF EPO, CAN-E, T&E and Birdlife all sponsored more or less the same number of events in each year. In addition, there was a general decrease in the number of actions at the European institutions, which reflects the growing importance of the international process in 2009.

Table 2.2: Organizations and Their Actions, 2008 and 2009

	2008				2009					
Organization Name	**Rank**	**# Actions**	**% Contentious**	**% EU**	**Rank**	**# Actions**	**% Contentious**	**% Change from '08**	**% EU**	**% Change from '08**
Friends of the Earth Europe	1	24	0.04	1	4	20	0.17	**.13**	0.78	-.22
Greenpeace European Unit	2	23	0.09	1	2	26	0.12	.03	0.85	-.15
WWW European Policy Office	3	20	0.05	1	1	29	0.03	.02	0.79	-.21
Camp for Climate Action UK	4	11	0.82	0	5	14	1	.18	0	0
Climate Action Network Europe	5	10	0.10	1	6	14	0.14	.04	0.71	-.29
Transport & Environment Europe	6	10	0	1	7	12	0	0	0.92	-.08
Oxfam International	7	6	0	1	3	**24**	0.21	**.21**	0.71	-.29
Rising Tide	8	6	0.83	0	19	5	1	.17	0	0
Birdlife International	9	5	0	1	49	3	0	0	1	0
Campaign Against Climate Change	10	5	0.60	0	13	6	0.83	.23	0	0
Greenpeace International	12	4	1	0	8	**10**	0.60	**-.40**	0.2	**.20**
ActionAid International					9	8	0.25		0.12	
Avaaz.org					10	7	0.71		0.14	
POPULATION MEAN		2.25	.13	.70		3.9	.45	.32	.18	-.05

There are a few exceptions to the observed stability. First, Oxfam International went from sponsoring 6 actions in 2008 to 24 actions in 2009. Much of this expansion is due to the increased importance Oxfam attached to climate change in the run up to Copenhagen. Oxfam also hired a former CAN-E staff member in 2009 to run a new climate advocacy campaign, which meant that not only did Oxfam have staff capacity to sponsor a larger number of events – including an increased number of outsider media stunts -- but that it was also especially well-positioned to participate in co-sponsored activities with other Brussels-based organizations.

Second, some organizations change their action profiles without changing the number of events they sponsored. Friends of the Earth Europe became the most contentious of all the major European NGO offices, although it still only used 17% contentious action forms. Both Rising Tide and the Camp for Climate Action UK become entirely contentious, although they used some conventional actions in 2008.

Third, two new organizations joined the top ten: ActionAid International and Avaaz. ActionAid opened an advocacy office in Brussels in 2009 (for only one year) in order to pressure the EU on its climate aid package. Similarly, Avaaz opened a number of 'action factories' around Europe in order to facilitate young people getting involved in media-friendly stunts to draw attention to the international climate policy process. These two new organizations displaced Birdlife International and Rising Tide, both of which were fairly consistent in their actions from 2008 to 2009, but did not devote new resources to the Copenhagen campaign.

Thus overall, it seems as though the evidence offers mixed support for the predictions from population ecology. On the one hand, the increase in contention does seem to partially come from the entry of new organizations into the population. However, some groups do change

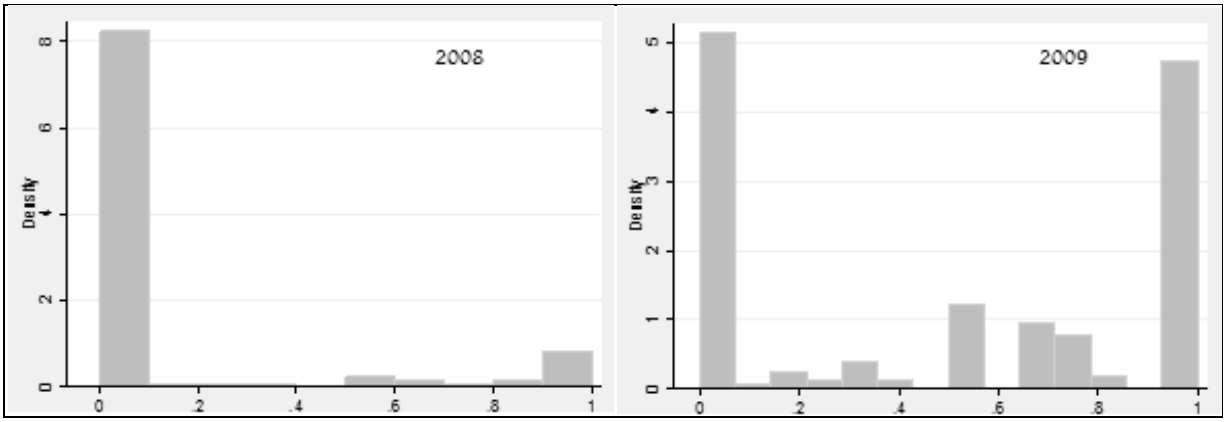
their behavior between the two years, which is not expected. In addition, the most active groups tend to be consistent in their choice of action forms between the two years, while the less active groups in 2008 are more susceptible to change in 2009.

Either Contentious or Conventional

Do organizations mix contentious and conventional forms of action? Or do they tend to specialize in one or the other? The organizational data suggests that during this time period, organizations tended to engage in *either* contentious political action organized around summits and in the member states, *or* in conventional lobbying tied to the policy process.

Figure 2.6 shows this in a histogram of the percentage of contentious actions used by organizations in my sample in 2008 and 2009. The vast majority of organizations have action profiles composed of either 0-20% contentious actions or 80-100% contentious actions. This is true even when those organizations that only participate occasionally in climate change politics (only sponsor one event) are dropped from the analysis.

Figure 2.6: Contentious Collective Action as Percentage of Total Actions, 2008 and 2009



In 2008 there were virtually no organizations that combined insider and outsider actions. While in 2009 the majority of organizations tend to use either conventional or contentious

actions, there is a sizable constituency of organizations that combine the two. Many of the organizations that fall in-between are nationally-rooted chapters of transnational environmental networks, including Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth. Nevertheless, the vast majority of organizations still specialize almost exclusively in one form of action or the other, which is consistent with the prediction of population ecology theorists (Hannan et al 2006). .

Organizational Traits and Action Forms

What types of organizations are sponsoring contentious events? The organizational approach suggests a number of traits of organizations may be correlated with it choice of contentious action forms. How well do these predictions hold up? Although I will later use a more sophisticated multivariate analysis, simple correlations between the proportion of contentious actions an organization uses and its other attributes already reveal some important trends. Table 2.3 represents this data for my sample of organizations.

Table 2.3: Correlations between Organizational Attributes and Contentiousness

	Correlation with Percentage of Contentious Actions Used by an Organization	**Sample Size**
Size of Budget	-0.01 (0.94)	83
Number of Staff	-0.10 (0.31)	108
Receives EU Funding	-0.20* (0.03)	118
Has Individual Members	0.10 (0.29)	115
Has a Radical Ideology	0.42* (0.00)	118
Age	-0.19* (0.04)	118

Note: * $p < 0.05$

These correlations generally support theoretical expectations, although not as strongly as organizational theorists might wish. For example, the size of the organization's budget and number of staff are weakly correlated with a decrease in contention, while having a radical ideology is moderately correlated with an increase in contention. Getting funding from the EU and the age of an organization are both negatively correlated with contention. The presence of individual members is weakly correlated with an increase in contention. Only receiving EU funding, having a radical ideology and age of the organization are statistically significant at the 5% level.

Although these coefficients generally follow theoretical expectations, the weak level of prediction suggests that organizational decision-making is highly complex. For illustration, both Greenpeace International and Greenpeace EU Unit have vast amounts of resources, similar intra-organizational structures, similar ideology and access to a similar constituency. Yet the EU Unit uses less than 10% contentious forms of action, while the International office sponsors almost exclusively contentious European collective actions. There also does not seem to be an necessary relationship between organizational 'age' and de-radicalization. Not only is the EU Unit younger than Greenpeace International, but other organizations such as the Climate Action Network Europe and Earth First were both founded in Europe in 1991, but have opposite action profiles. As a result, I would suspect that the hypotheses from the organizational tradition are indicative of trends, but far from determinative.

Summary

My analysis of the organizational data suggests two important conclusions:

- Growth in the organizational population is associated with increased contentiousness. But this change is not only due to new entries or 'deaths' in the organizational population; some organizations do change tactics over this time period, which is hard to explain from a population ecology perspective.
- As expected, organizations tend not to mix contentious and conventional forms of action, but prefer to specialize in one or the other.
- The predicted intra-organizational traits do seem to be correlated with contentiousness, but weakly.

Again, these findings suggest a common interpretation: organizations using contentious collective action are distinct from those using conventional action. Organizational approaches shed additional light on the question of who does what, but there seems to be additional systematic variation that they do not capture. The next Chapter will pick up this theme.

Conclusion

The political process and organizational approaches help to explain a number of interesting characteristics of collective action on climate change during this time period. My preliminary data analysis suggests that political opportunities may be most useful for explaining the volume of collective action at a particular time. This analysis also suggests that particular organizational traits – especially receiving funding from the EU, age and having a radical ideology – are correlated with organizational contentiousness, although not highly. But overall, the preliminary data analysis suggests that there may be more going on in organizational choice in action form than either of the traditional approaches can explain.

I find that both the analysis at the event level and the organizational level suggest a common interpretation: there are two very different worlds of collective action on climate

change in Europe. The event data, for example, shows that contentious events tend to take place in different locations than conventional events. It also shows that there is no correlation between contentious and conventional events in a given month for the year 2008. Both of these findings suggest that contentious and conventional events may be generated by different sponsors. The organizational data support this interpretation by showing that organizations tend to organize either contentious or conventional events, and that very few actually vary their forms of action.

These findings are not well-explained by existing theory. The next section will help to unravel this emerging puzzle by developing a relational approach and employing network analysis to explain why some organizations chose to engage in contentious forms of action while others did not.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RELATIONAL NETWORK APPROACH

Organizations do very different things when they organize collective action on climate change. How can we understand who does what, when, where and, especially, why? Existing theory gets us part of the way to answering these questions. But both the political process and organizational approaches are limited in that they view organizations as isolated units and assume that they make strategic decisions independently of one another. I argue that these assumptions are unrealistic given the importance of relationships, networks, alliances and coalitions in political life (e.g. Diani 1995; Klandermans 1990; Levi and Murphy 2006). This chapter develops a relational network approach to collective action that pays explicit attention to inter-organizational relationships as an important determinant of choice of action forms.

This approach to collective action builds on network research in four different traditions. First, it draws inspiration from the methods and conceptual work done in studies of policy networks (Broadbent 1998; Laumann and Pappi 1976), while narrowing the focus to relationships between civil society actors. Second, it adds empirical depth to the concept of 'transnational advocacy network' commonly used in literature on transnational activism and globalization (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Third, it draws on many of the insights from the literature on the diffusion of innovations in networks (Rogers 1995). And finally, it builds on existing work about the influence of networks on the mobilization of collective action (Diani and McAdam 2003). In doing so, it responds to a call to collect and employ fine grained, longitudinal data to conduct detailed analysis of the influence of networks on actor behavior (Diani 2004).

In this section I will develop a relational approach to organizational decision-making that gives explicit attention to patterns of inter-organizational ties. Drawing on the tradition of social network analysis, my research emphasizes that patterns of inter-organizational relations influence organizational strategic decisions by structuring the information and resources available to actors, as well as by diffusing strategies across connected actors. I will first outline this theoretical approach in more detail. I then develop its expectations for the data I collect on the inter-organizational network working on climate change in the European Union. Finally I present the results from my social network analysis, and discuss the implications of my observed network structure for the spread of tactics.

Relational Processes in the Mobilization of Collective Action

Relational thinking differs from the traditional approaches to collective action in that it considers organizational decisions to be interdependent. This means that knowing the structure of relationships between organizations can be as important as understanding the properties of organizations themselves or the characteristics of the political system in which they are embedded.

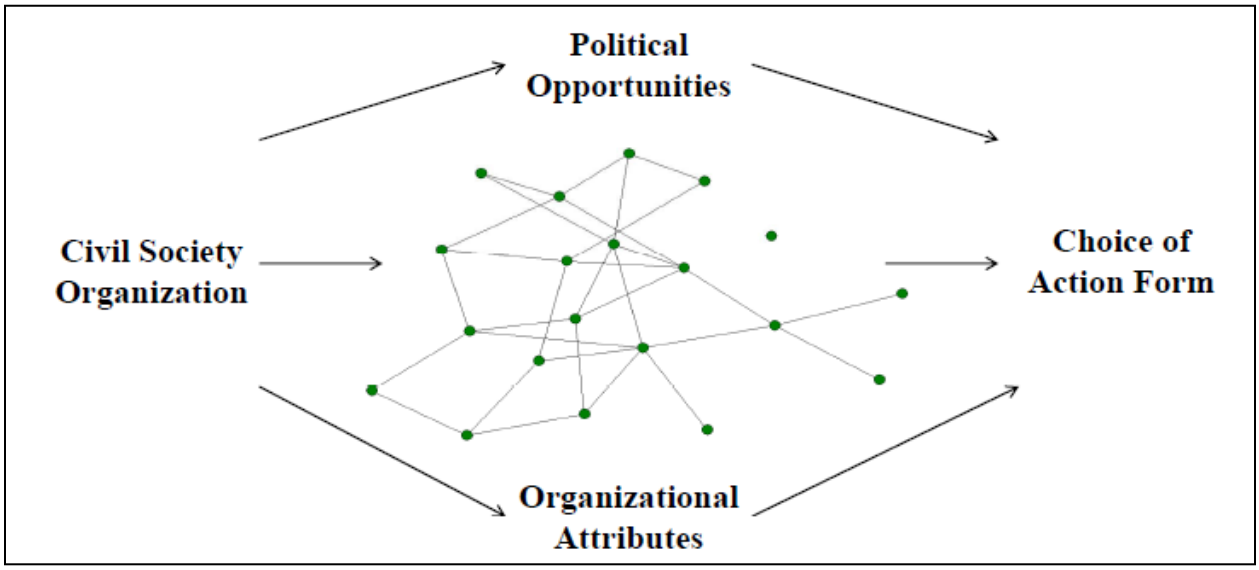
The relational approach does not disregard the importance of organizational-level and contextual factors. Rather, it conceives of relational processes as supplementing and sometimes intervening between these elements and the mobilization of collective action. Figure 3.1 represents how relational processes influence the mobilization of collective action. Civil society organizations are subject to a number of influences in the mobilization of collective action. For example, they encounter political opportunities in ways that affect their eventual choice of action form. They also have certain traits that may predispose them towards conventional or contentious kinds of action. But I argue that these organizations are also embedded in inter-

organizational networks that influence their choices in important ways. This is because inter-organizational relations can:

- Structure the information to which actors have access;
- Configure the resources available to actors; and/or
- Spread social influence across connected actors.

For example, the relational approach argues that it matters not only what kinds of resources are available to actors but also how they are distributed; not only what kind of political opportunities are available but how actors share information in order to perceive them. All three of these processes make the harmonization of tactics among connected actors more likely, as organizations become more like those with whom they share information and resources and are influenced by those with whom they are connected.

Figure 3.1: Relational Processes in the Mobilization of Collective Action



Information Sharing

As noted, political process theorists have demonstrated that the volume and form of popular contention correspond to the available political opportunities (e.g. Tilly 1995; Koopmans 1993, 1995; Eisinger 1973). But these theorists also recognize that it is not the presence of opportunities alone but the perception of these opportunities by actors that determines the mobilization of collective action (McAdam 1999: x). I argue that the exchange of information about political processes and tactical choices should structure how organizations perceive opportunities, and should influence the forms of action they chose to use, for three distinct reasons.

First, many organizations are not able to directly 'read' political opportunities off the political system itself. The European political process, in particular, is highly complex and the 'opportunities' are not necessarily apparent to the uninitiated. Very few organizations have the capacity to follow the European political process on their own, and instead rely on their contacts with other organizations in order to get information about possible opportunities for influence. Thus one can expect that inter-organizational exchanges of information will be important in determining when, where and how organizations act (Ansel 2003; Rucht 1989).

For example, a nationally-rooted advocacy organization may be interested in working on European politics, but only have a vague idea when the European Council meets and what kinds of actions would be influential in such a setting. Inter-organizational information exchanges can thus compensate for lack of political and strategic knowledge within any given organization and can encourage conformity of behavior amongst those organizations sharing information.

Second, political process theorists conceive of organizations as rational actors that choose their forms of action in order to minimize costs and maximize benefits within a particular

context. But as Granovetter (1973) demonstrates, an organizations perception of costs and benefits partially depends on what it thinks other organizations are likely to do. For example, an organization may perceive that in a closed political system it is unlikely to gain benefits and incur high costs (in the form of repression) if it engages in a confrontational protest action on its own. However, if hundreds of other organizations are involved, the organization may perceive that the likelihood of success is greater, and that the costs will be lower. In other words, organizational calculations about the costs and benefits of collective action are interdependent, and organizational decisions should depend on the decisions of other organizations which whom they share information.

Finally, a large literature emphasizes the importance of networks as a channel for learning and the successful diffusion of new practices (e.g. Davis and Greve 1997; Givan, Roberts, Soule 2010; Ingram 2002; McAdam 1995: 231). Organizations frequently learn about new forms of action – blockading, climate camping, etc. – from other groups with which they are connected. So relational ties can structure the kinds of action that organizations know about when they are considering their tactical options.

Resource Pooling

At the organizational-level, resource mobilization theorists have demonstrated that collective action is consistently correlated with the greater presence of available organizational resources (e.g. Cress and Snow 1996; Snow et al 2005). Yet these theorists have also recognized that it is the process of converting individually held resources into collective resources that is essential for facilitating their use in collective action (Edwards and McCarthy 2004: 116). I argue that the dynamic of 'resource pooling' can be an important factor in the organizational selection of

particular forms of collective action because it can allow organizations to overcome their individual resource limitations when they act with others (Lin 2001).

Transnational collective action is very frequently coordinated through inter-organizational coalitions (McCammon and Van Dyke 2010). Previous scholarship has identified inter-organizational coalitions as important conduits through which resources are shared (Levi and Murphy 2006). Coalitions can be essential to organizational decision-making when they facilitate the exchange of resources in order to make certain types of action possible or less costly (Rucht 1989).

For example, a small organization that does not on its own have the money or staff to produce reports and make the personal contacts necessary to lobby the European Union may be perfectly capable of engaging in this type of action through a coalition. Similarly, an organization that lacks certain types of resources can engage in actions that require those resources when it acts with partners (e.g. a think tank that lacks individual members but nevertheless sponsors a protest as part of a coalition). For this reason, the number and type of relationships in which an organization is engaged may be as important for its strategic decision-making as its individually held resources, and may encourage conformity with its partners.

Social Influence

Inter-organizational networks can also be channels for the spread of influence because they alter how organizations learn about possible tactics, perceive their success and appropriateness, and interpret or renegotiate their own identities. Network location determines the number and type of organizations – alters – to which an organization is exposed. These alters can provide models for behavior, particularly under conditions of uncertainty (Rogers 1995).

As previously mentioned, coalitions are often venues for inter-organizational learning and the diffusion of new tactics (e.g. Davis and Greve 1997; Givan, Roberts, Soule 2010; McAdam 1995: 231). Information-sharing interacts with social influence in these settings, and is more likely to produce tactical diffusion under two conditions. First, organizations are more likely to imitate tactics they perceive to be successful (Rogers 1995). But when success is not obvious at the outset, organizations often look to other socially proximate organizations in order to determine what kind of behavior is appropriate (Burt 1982). As a result, inter-organizational tactical diffusion via social learning should be more likely when there is an attribution of similarity between two organizations (Soule 1997, 2004).

Transnational organizing coalitions are in many ways ideal incubators for inter-organizational learning and attribution of similarity. Coalition meetings often involve organizations recounting examples of their past successful actions or drawing on historical examples to make the case for the likely success of particular forms of action. Coalition retreats may often involve 'skill sharing' workshops where organizations explicitly teach one another how to use certain tactics. Finally, inter-organizational meetings often center on organizations coming towards a 'common ground' in terms of their political positions that may open each organization to the action style of the other, creating ideal conditions for inter-organizational tactical diffusion.

Second, cultural approaches to organizational decision-making emphasize that social norms within organizations should make certain types of mobilization more desirable and appropriate than others (Zald 2000). In some versions of this argument, organizational collective identities are conceived of as fixed and 'exogenous' to the mobilization of collective action, driving more 'radical' organizations towards 'radical' forms of collective action (Dalton 1994).

But I argue that in most instances, collective identities are defined and re-defined through the process of mobilization, making relational dynamics inherent in the cultural approach (Mische 2003). Therefore, paying attention to patterns of ties between organizations should shed light on how collective identity can be (re)defined in organizational fields.

Generally speaking, transnational collective action involves the construction of new transnational collective identities. Therefore, it is also possible that when actors work in new political arenas and with different partners they will redefine their idea of their own identity, and in turn the 'appropriate' tactics to use as a result of inter-organizational social influence (della Porta 2005; Diani 1995; Taylor and Whittier 1992). This may be particularly true for climate change organizing in Europe. First, climate change is not just an environmental issue, and the organizations working on climate change come from diverse movement backgrounds (e.g. the environmental movement, the global justice movement, trade unionism, anarchism, farmers' movement) and need to construct a new collective identity to work together on climate. Second, since participants are aware of the diversity and complexity of acting at the European level, they may even be particularly sensitive to the influence of their partners in ways they are not in more familiar settings (Dörr 2009). For example, the construction of a highly diverse European climate coalition may induce some organizations to moderate their tactics, while it may 'radicalize' others.

Overall, attention to relational processes shows how inter-organizational processes can independently influence an organization's choice of action form. In addition, relational processes can intervene between political opportunities/organizational attributes and the mobilization of collective action. This is because inter-organizational relationships structure the

information available to actors, configure the resources to which they have access and spread social influence across closely connected actors.

Network Structure

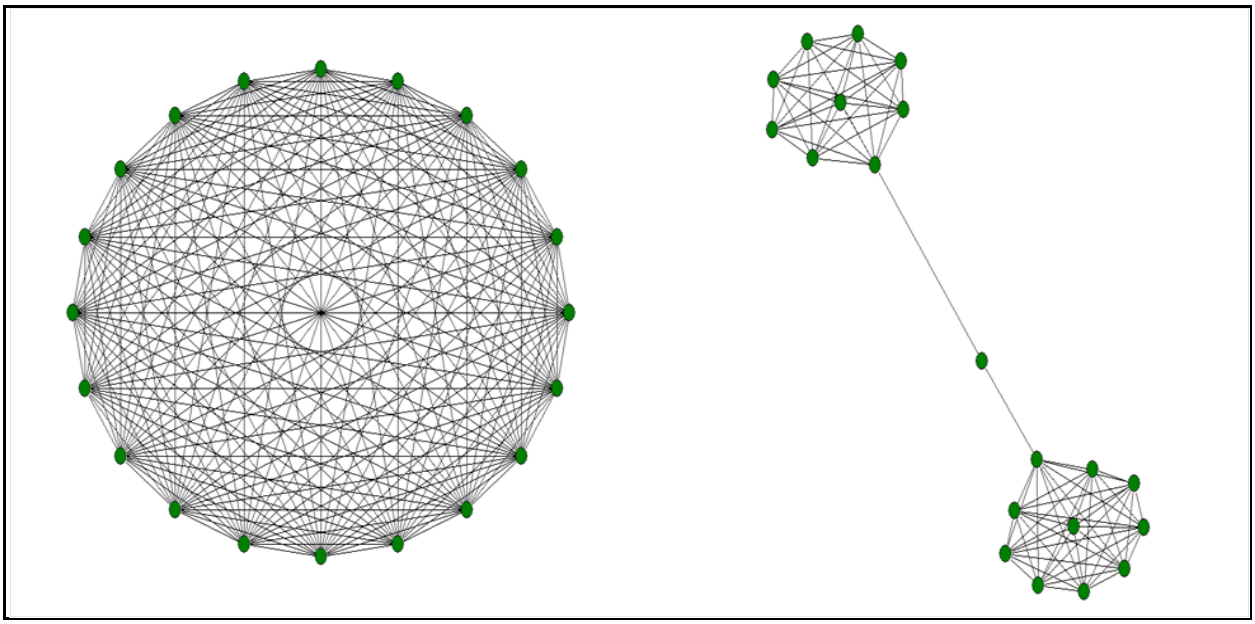
The previous sections outlined three mechanisms that help to explain why organizations would tend to use the same tactics as their local alters. But the number and type of alters to which an organization will be exposed varies greatly depending on the structure of the network being studied. Where organizations don't interact at all (isolated units) or where they all cooperate uniformly (the centralized, well-connected network), I expect their behavior to be more easily explained by existing scholarly literature. But I argue that where networks are segmented, organizations can more easily sustain behavior that deviates from the predictions of scholarly literature (e.g. protesting when opportunities are open, or radicalizing with age).

A relational approach emphasizes the importance of inter-organizational processes in determining political outcomes. But 'relationships' cannot be used as the deus ex machine in social theorizing; relationships must be measured empirically in order to be theoretically useful (Diani 2003). Social network analysis offers the toolkit to do just this (Scott 1991).

In social network analysis, organizations are thought of as discrete 'nodes' in a network, and interactions between nodes are measured as 'ties.' The structure of ties between organizations can be conceived of as inter-organizational 'networks.' Networks can take on a wide variety of structures, which can be represented visually. Figure 3.2 represents two ideal types of the 'clique' and 'segmented' network structures. The 'clique' on the left represents a perfect cooperative field, in which all organizations work together and have strong ties to one

another. The ‘segmented’ network structure represents a segregated field joined by one broker, in which organizations may only work with other organizations of their ‘type.’

Figure 3.2: Sample Clique and Segmented Network Structures



Knowing the overall network structure in which an organization operates matters for a number of reasons. Organizational sociologists have long emphasized that organizational fields are often defined by competitive or cooperative behavior (Carroll and Hannan 2002). Whether or not organizations share information, resources, or meaning can all be thought of as behavioral indicators of cooperation. But too often political scientists have assumed that organizations will behave competitively (Cooley and Ron 2001) or cooperatively (Keck and Sikkink 1998) without measuring the characteristics and development of the network structure in which these organizations are embedded. My approach to inter-organizational relationships will try to measure the influence of a particular, observable network structure on organizational behavior.

In our case, network structure matters because it can help explain empirical irregularities in the structural and organizational approaches. Where significant organizational subgroups

exist that share information, resources and meaning only amongst themselves (such as in the segmented network), we may see tactical choices that do not respond to political opportunities or the organizational imperatives of any individual organization. This is because subgroups can support and encourage 'deviant' behavior amongst themselves.

In addition, the structure of a network has important implications for the speed at which collective action is likely to occur and the extent to which new practices are likely to be adopted. Previous research demonstrates, for example, that practices that start at the center of networks spread faster than those that start at the periphery (Burt 1982). Simulations of network data suggest that centralized networks (as opposed to segmented ones) are better at overcoming the free-rider problem in order to facilitate the spread of collective action (Marwell and Oliver 1993). Moreover, tactical innovations can spread quickly in a clique, but may be slower to spread to the rest of the network, depending on the structure of ties. Networks need a minimum level of connectivity amongst cliques – weak ties in addition to strong ones – in order for innovations to spread throughout (Granovetter 1973). Thus networks that are centralized and well-connected with innovations occurring in central actors are more likely to facilitate complete tactical harmonization, and those that are segmented and have important cliques may see isolated innovators.

I expect that civil society organizations are usually involved in a complex web of relationships with one another, especially in transnational climate change politics. Therefore, the goal of the next few sections is to map the structure of relationships between these organizations over time, and outline how I expect this structure to influence the behavior of actors located in this network.

Network Data and Analysis

In order to map ties between organizations and measure the structure of an existing social network, it is necessary to gather data on the totality of the organizational population (or very close to it) (Marsden 1990). Because of imperfect response rates (especially among radical groups) survey data would be inappropriate for this task. Instead, I rely on press source data detailing organizational sponsorship of collective actions on climate change. I employ rigorous data collection routines to ensure that I capture the maximum number of collective actions and correctly identify their sponsors (See Methods Appendix for more details).

The boundaries of the network are determined by the selection of affiliations, not actors. As in Dahl's study of New Haven (1961), I choose the events that meet certain definitional criteria and are objectively significant to the study, and then identify the affiliated organizations. This approach is superior to 'positional' or 'reputational' strategies because there are no accurate population rosters and participants cannot be expected to be fully aware of the other organizations in the population (Scott 1991: 57).

In my data, the ties between organizations indicate that two organizations have co-sponsored an event. In the strict interpretation, this means that the two actors have both put their organizational 'names' on the same event, and may or may not be in direct contact. In practice, I interpret event co-sponsorship more broadly, using it as an indicator of inter-organizational communication. My field work suggests that this assumption is probably reasonable, as the population is small enough that most organizations are directly in contact with their partners.

In addition, because this is a two-mode network (a network based on the affiliation of actors and events), I will analyze both of the modes separately in this chapter. Although my

theoretical interest is in the relationships between organizations, the analysis of the relationship between events provides additional information that may be obscured in the inter-organizational network. Thus I begin by first presenting the inter-event network, then move on to a more detailed analysis of the inter-organizational network.

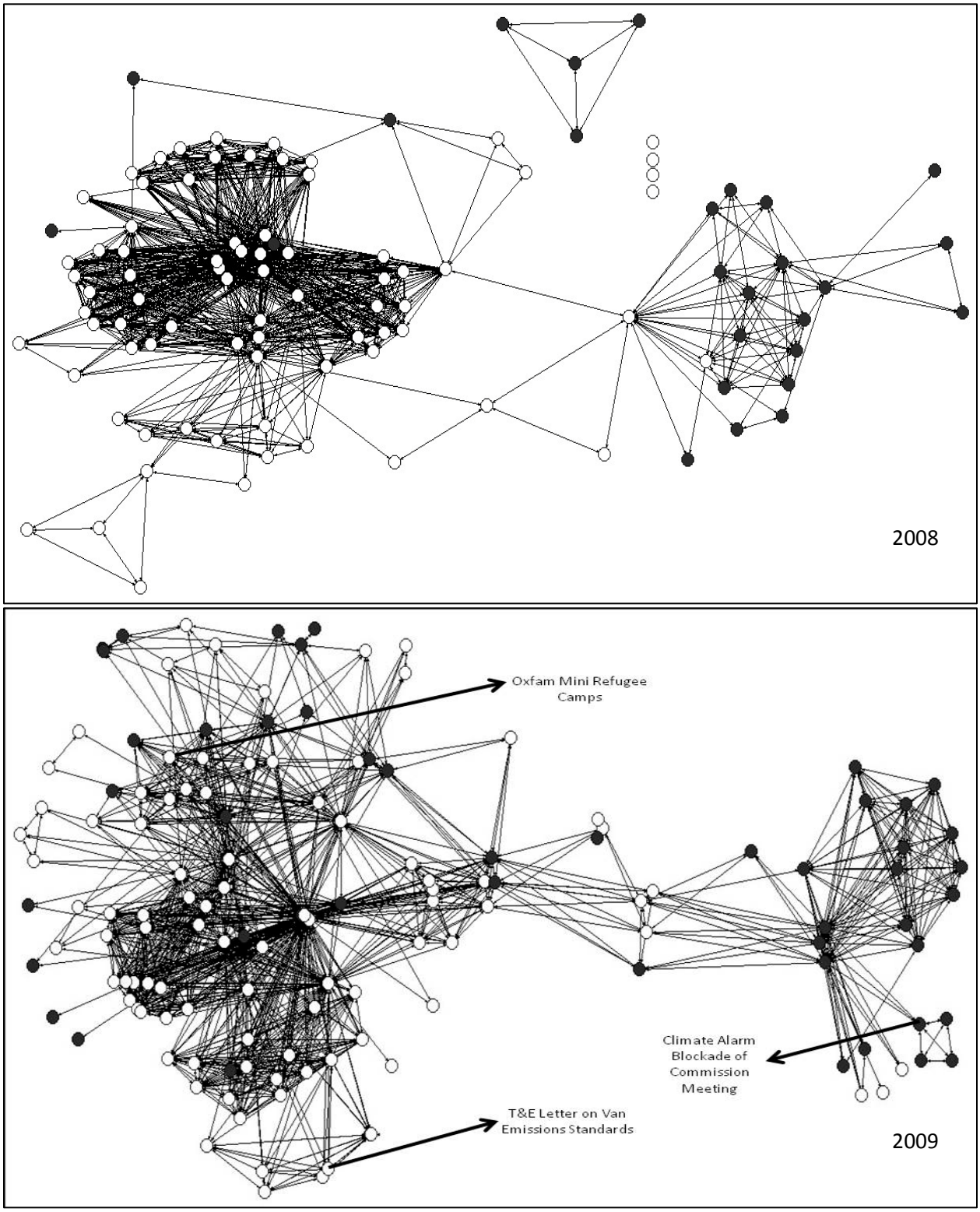
The Inter-Event Network

The previous chapter raised an interesting question: do contentious and conventional events have the same sponsors? This question matters for theory because political process theorists assume that organizations vary their tactics to respond to changes in political opportunities. This may also have policy relevance, because a protest sponsored by an organization that also engages in insider lobbying may be very different in its implications than a protest by a group that acts exclusively contentiously and outside the political system. My network analysis suggests that groups don't vary their tactics and that contentious and conventional events tend to have very different sponsors.

To show this, I extracted a 1-mode network of events and their ties with one another based on shared organizational sponsors.[24] Figure 3.3 represents this data. In Figure 3.3, I have colored the contentious events dark grey, while the contentious events are white. The lines between the nodes represent the fact that the events share at least one sponsor.

[24] Appendix A has more details on this coding procedure and the conversion of the 2-mode network to two 1-mode networks.

Figure 3.3: Inter-Event Networks, 2008 and 2009



Note: Circles (nodes) represent events. Events are connected by lines if they share one or more organizational sponsors. Nodes are colored white if they are conventional and dark grey if they are contentious. Layout of nodes is determined by spring embedding based on distances and node repulsion.

These visual representations show us a number of things. First, contentious and conventional events (grey and white) tend to have different sponsors. This suggests that organizations do not tend to work in coalitions where they collaborate with organizations using the opposite type of collective action. As these diagrams show, there are two main clusters of events that share sponsors: a conventional cluster in the left of each diagram, and a contentious cluster to the right.[25] Although both clusters contain at least one ECA of the opposite type, each cluster is overwhelming of one type or the other.

Looking first at the 2008 event networks, we see that on the right hand side of the diagram a cluster of contentious events, many of which take place in the member states of the European Union. On the left hand side is a cluster of (mostly) conventional events that take place around the European Institutions. In this diagram we can see that the four events sponsored solely by Greenpeace International show up as an unconnected component (top middle). In addition, the 4-star of events in the top middle connected to the conventional cluster represents those events that take place in Germany; the four star on the bottom left connected to the conventional cluster represents those events that involve trade unions. The few events that bridge the two clusters are press releases criticizing EU biofuels policy as a false solution to the climate crisis.

These events are virtually all reachable from one another, and yet there is a visible segmentation in this network between conventional and contentious events. For example, while

[25] The positioning of the conventional and contentious clusters on the left or the right is not meaningful. However, the distance of the nodes from one another (and thus the overall structure of the network) is determined by a force-based algorithm for graph drawing. A force-based algorithm treats the network as though it were a physical system, where edges are 'springs' and nodes are electrically charged particles. This is an iterative algorithm that applies forces to nodes until the system reaches equilibrium. Edges tend to be of the same length and their crossings are minimized. Nodes that are not connected by an edge tend to be drawn further apart because of their repulsion. This is implemented in all figures using the spring embedding based on node repulsion, which is an available feature in Netdraw Version 2.091 in the graph theoretic layout options.

the network density[26] overall is high (0.24), the distance-based cohesion measure of 'compactness'[27] is only 0.441, which indicates a tendency towards bifurcation.

In examining the 2009 event network, we can see that it exhibits a similar segmented structure. On the right side there is (again) a cluster of contentious events, and on the left side a cluster of (mainly) conventional events. For example, the 'climate alarm' protest mentioned earlier would fall into the cluster on the right, while the T&E press release would be a good example of typical conventional event from the cluster on the left. The Oxfam mini refugee camp also falls into this cluster. The events that bridge these two components are both conventional and contentious. For example, one of the bridging events is an award ceremony for the "worst EU lobbying" presented by the Corporate European Observatory and Friends of the Earth Europe, among others. Another example would be the opening ceremony of the Klimaforum – an alternative summit organized on the model of a social forum – held in Copenhagen and sponsored by a wide range of both NGO and social movement actors.

The 2009 event network has a very similar formal structure. The network is less dense (0.15) than the 2008 network, but it also has 1.6 times as many nodes. If we assume that organizations can only sponsor so many events in any given year, it is normal to expect the density to fall as the population expands (Mayhew and Levinger 1976). The compactness measure is 0.436, which indicates a tendency towards segmentation, as in the 2008 network.

What this network analysis tells us overall is that contentious and conventional events tend to have different sponsors. The contentious (grey) events and the conventional (white) events are

[26] The density of a binary network is the total number of ties divided by the total possible number of ties.
[27] Compactness is "the harmonic mean of the entries in the distance matrix (that is the normalized sum of the reciprocal of all the distances)…. This has a value of 1 when the network is a clique (everyone is adjacent) and zero when the network is entirely made up of isolates" (Borgatti et al 2002).

only very loosely linked. The network data and the event data together suggest that organizations are not varying their tactics over time, and that there is a clique of events (far right in both diagrams) that has a highly distinct group of sponsors. In other words, contentious events are produced by different processes than conventional ones. This directly contradicts the idea inherent in the political opportunities approach that organizations shift their forms of action in order to respond to different political opportunities.

But one key difference between these networks is that by 2009 the same actors that sponsored conventional events were also beginning to occasionally use contentious forms of collective action. In the event cluster on the left side of the bottom figure, we see a number of dark grey nodes that represent (mostly) transnationally organized protest actions by environmental and development NGOs in the member states. While we do see that some conventional groups on the left of the 2009 diagram begin to work with contentious groups, the same is not true for the right side of diagram, which remains overwhelmingly contentious. In addition, there is a difference in the degree of 'contentiousness' of these organizations. While NGOs may sometimes sponsor peaceful protests and marches on transnationally-coordinated days of action, many of the events in the cluster on the right are much more transgressive, including blockades, occupations, unauthorized demonstrations and event property damage. And as this diagram shows, these two kinds of events are worlds apart.

The Inter-Organizational Network

The previous section shows that contentious and conventional events tend to have different sponsors. This analysis suggests that European collective action on climate change is (primarily) divided between conventional actions at the European institutions and contentious actions in the

member states, which confirms the predictions developed in Chapter Two, and by Marks and McAdam.

But the social network analysis raises another question: who works with whom? What is the relationship between conventional and contentious groups? Are they forming coalitions where organizations work with groups using the opposite tactics? Or do organizations tend to work with others using similar tactics?

In order to evaluate my argument about how networks influence organizational decision-making, I will primarily need to examine the structure of relations between organizations: the inter-organizational network. My analysis suggests that the inter-organizational network is similarly bifurcated into two principal components. In particular, I find evidence of a significant subgroup of actors engaging almost exclusively with one another in 2008 and utilizing almost entirely contentious collective action in 2009.

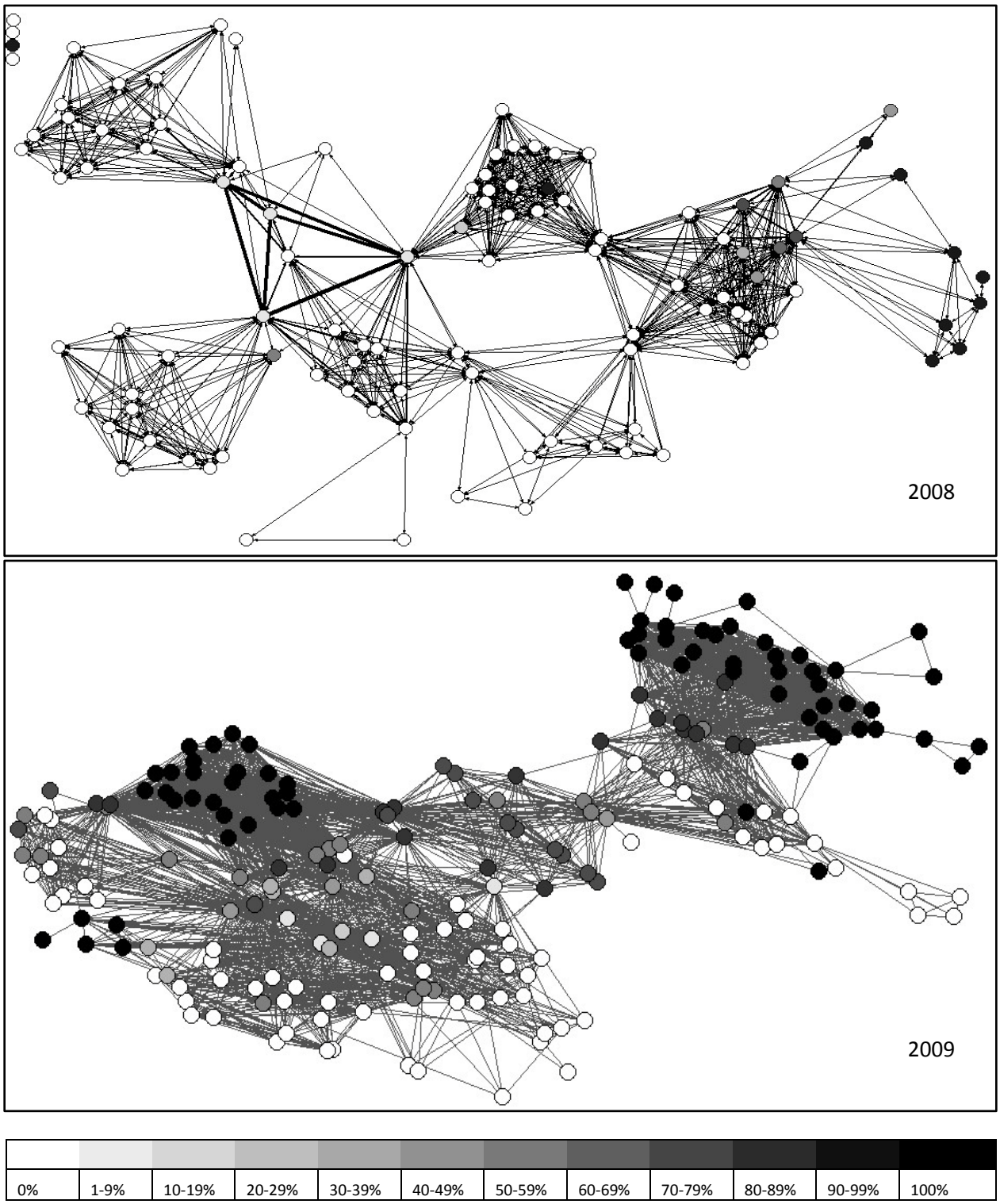
Visualizing the Climate Change Network

In order to visualize the structure of ties between organizations, I extracted a 1-mode network of actors and their ties with one another based on event co-sponsorship.[28] This is a valued network, with the maximum number of co-sponsorship ties between any two organizations ranging from 0 to 22.

Figure 3.4 shows the inter-organizational networks for 2008 and 2009. In Figure 3.4, inter-organizational ties (lines) represent events the two organizations co-sponsored, while the thickness of these lines represents how many events the organizations co-sponsored. The

[28] Appendix A has more details on this coding procedure and the conversion of the 2-mode network to two 1-mode networks.

Figure 3.4: Inter-organizational Networks, 2008 and 2009



Note: Inter-organizational ties (lines) in both figures represent events the two organizations co-sponsored. Thickness of lines represents how many events the organizations have co-sponsored. Organizational nodes (circles) are colored by the percentage of contentious actions the organization employed in 2008 and 2009, respectively. Layout of nodes is determined by spring embedding based on distances and node repulsion.

organizations are represented by circles, and are colored by the percentage of contentious actions the organization employed in 2008 and 2009, respectively.

The 2008 network on the top of Figure 3.4 has several visible components. Starting from the top left, we can see the national offices of the World Wildlife Federation, which are all linked to one another and to their European Policy Office. The bottom left represents the Greenpeace cluster, which has a similar structure in which national offices are connected through the European office. The middle left contains a 4-star of organizations that are densely connected. These are the European offices of Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, WWF and the Climate Action Network Europe. These groups form the core of the organizations working conventionally on climate politics in Brussels.

On the middle right of the top network in Figure 3.4 is another distinct cluster of organizations. This cluster contains many of the most contentious organizations, such as Klimax, Earth First, the Climate Camps and the Rising Tide Network. The conventional groups in this cluster tend to be small, anti-capitalist European think tanks. These organizations form the core of the contentious organizations working on European climate politics in the member states.

This diagram also reveals that there are two main bridges in the network. The cluster in the top middle represents the national offices of the Friends of the Earth network, which are joined both to the Friends of the Earth Europe office and to the more contentious cluster via Friends of the Earth UK and Denmark. This accurately reflects what is generally known about the internal divisions within this organization. The other major bridge is made up of critical think tanks and small NGOs working on EU policy. While this cluster is somewhat diverse,

those closest to the contentious cluster tend to be those that work on EU agricultural policy, especially regarding biofuels and climate change.

In the network from 2009 on the bottom, we also see a clearly segmented network structure that approximates the classic bicephalous structure (See Figure 3.2). On the bottom left is a large group of mainly conventional groups, with a small sub-cluster of contentious organizations. This cluster contains all the major Brussels-based NGOs. It is made up of all the national offices of Greenpeace and WWF (which are now no longer only linked through their European offices), as well as the nationally-based development organizations. Avvaz and 350.org are the two contentious organizations on the middle left. Most of the sub-cluster of contentious organizations are nationally-based development organizations that sponsored coordinated protest in European capitals on the global days of action and have ties to environmental NGOs in the same country.

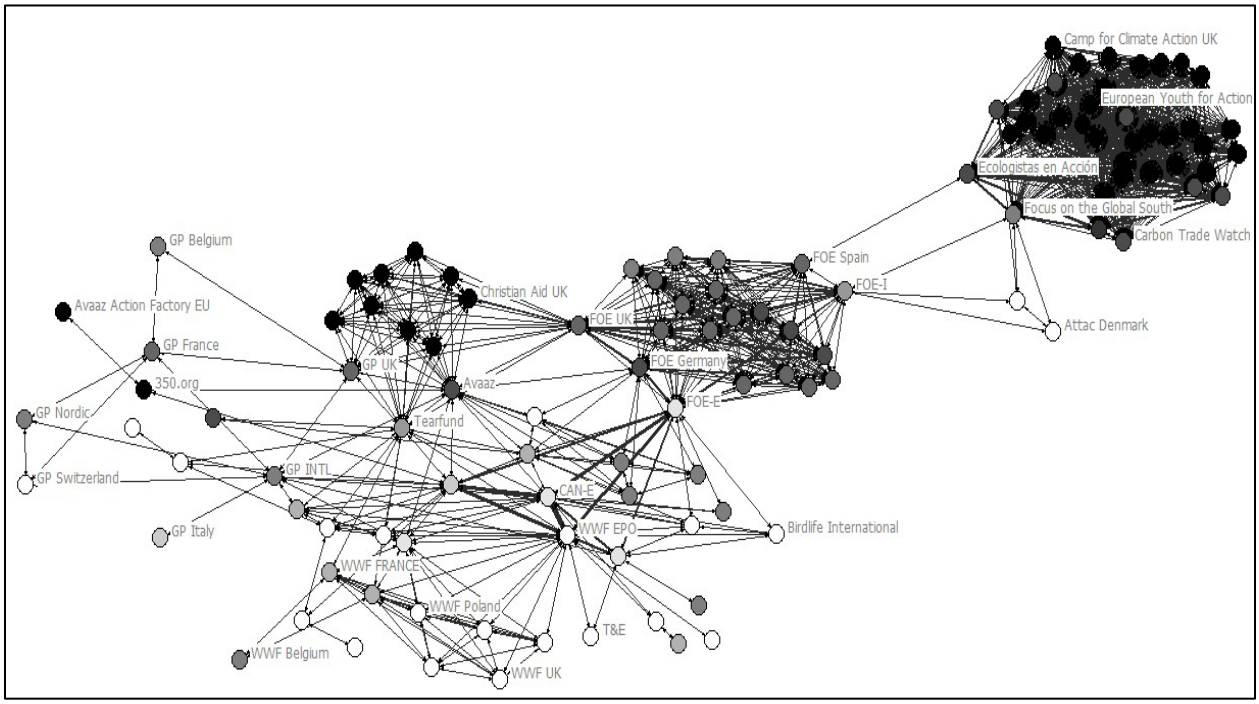
Moving to the far right of the diagram, we see a cluster of exclusively contentious organizations. These are the organizations affiliated with the CJA actions in Copenhagen. They are linked to a small cluster of conventional or middling-level contentious organizations that were involved in sponsoring the Klimaforum alternative summit in Copenhagen. These organizations are in turn linked to the national Friends of the Earth offices, which again bridge the more conventional and contentious clusters.

At first glance, it may be hard to determine a structure in the mess of ties present in the 2009 network: as we saw earlier, this network contains 82% more actors and thus is much more complex. In order to get a clearer view of its structure, I visualized the network again using only inter-organizational ties based on co-sponsorship of two or more events (the strong ties)

(Granovetter 1973). Figure 3.5 shows the resulting network diagram, with labels attached to some organizations.

As Figure 3.5 shows, the network in 2009 actually has a much more segmented structure than the 2008 network. There is only a very tenuous connection between the contentious organizations and the conventional advocacy groups, based on only a few ties within the Friends of the Earth offices. The additional bridge through organizations working on biofuels policy (present in 2008) disappears in 2009.

Figure 3.5: Inter-organizational Network 2009, by Strong Ties



0%	1-9%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40-49%	50-59%	60-69%	70-79%	80-89%	90-99%	100%

Note: Inter-organizational ties (lines) represent events the two organizations co-sponsored. Thickness of lines represents how many events the organizations have co-sponsored. Only those organizations that sponsored more than two events together are pictured. Organizations (circles) are colored by the percentage of contentious actions the organization employed in 2009.

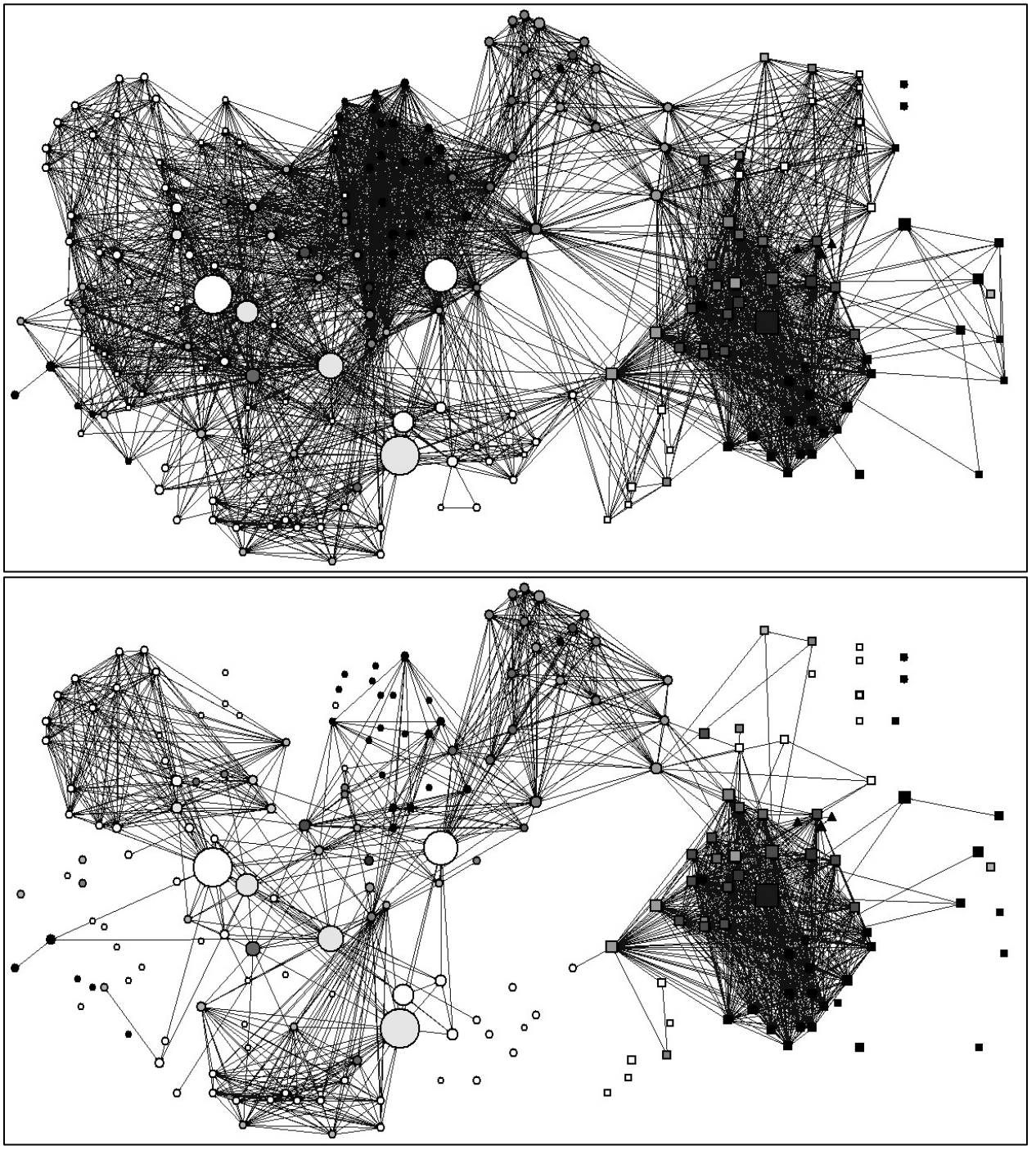
When the data from the two years are pooled in Figure 3.6, the overall network structure looks similar. In Figure 3.6, the nodes are also sized according to the number of actions they

sponsored. In the top network, all ties are represented, and in the bottom network only those ties based on co-sponsorship of two or more events are represented. In addition, in this Figure a Markov clustering algorithm[29], was used to partition the graph into non-overlapping clusters. This procedure returned distinct three clusters (one of which was composed of isolates). Those organizations that are in the first cluster are represented with circles; those in the second cluster are represented with squares. This algorithm puts the groups associated with Climate Justice Action and Friends of the Earth into one cluster, and all the others into the second cluster.

The visual comparison of these two networks shows three things. First, the network based on strong ties is much more segmented than the one based on weak ties: it only has one main bridge through the Friends of the Earth. Second, the sub-cluster of contentious national development NGOs is only weakly connected to those regularly engaging in conventional advocacy. When only strong ties are included, very few of these contentious organizations are still included in the European-level network. Third, organizations seem to be linked with organizations that use similar forms of action. While the first cluster (circles) is mainly made up of organizations using less than 50% contentious actions, the second cluster (squares) contains most of the highly contentious organizations. The visual inspection of this network suggests that the patterning of ties might be highly homophilous. The next section explores some of these intuitions further.

[29] A Markov clustering algorithm partitions a graph into non-overlapping clusters. It uses an iterative procedure to determine the appropriate number of clusters based on the structural properties of the graph. This procedure consists of applying two operations expansion and inflation, both of which are based on random walks." See Borgatti et al 2002 for technical details. In this case, I use the default UCINET settings of a Gamma inflation factor of 2.

Figure 3.6: Inter-Organizational Network 2008-2009, by All Ties and Strong Ties



0%	1-9%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40-49%	50-59%	60-69%	70-79%	80-89%	90-99%	100%

Note: Inter-organizational ties (lines) in both figures represent events the two organizations co-sponsored. The top diagram contains all ties, while the bottom has only ties between organizations where they have sponsored more than one event together. Organizations (circles and squares) are colored by the percentage of contentious actions the organization employed from 2008-2009. Squares and circles indicate the Markov cluster to which the organization belongs. The size of the shape represents the number of events the organization sponsored, 2008-2009.

Network Segmentation and Growing Homophily

Visual examination of these networks suggests they have a segmented structure and that ties between organizations seem to be related to tactical choices. My analysis of a variety of network distance measures confirms this suspicion. These measures also suggest that there is significant and growing homophily within the European climate change network, where organizations are increasingly likely over time to work with others using similar forms of action.

A variety of structural measures suggest that the inter-organizational network of climate change organizations is reasonably dense but segmented into two principal components. Table 2.3 shows these findings.

Table 3.1: Network Measures, for 2008 and 2009

	2008	**2009**
Number of Organizations	119	217
Network Density	0.16	0.20
Average Distance	2.70	2.79
Compactness	0.43	0.37
Spatial Autocorrelation (Geary's C)	0.38**	0.20**
E-I Index	-0.68* (expected -.46)	-0.62* (expected -0.02)

Note: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

In 2008 the overall network density[30] is .16, and in 2009 it was .20. This means that 20% of all possible ties are present in the 2009 network, which is quite high. At the same time, the average distance measure[31] indicates that it takes on average approximately 2.75 other

[30] The density of a binary network is the total number of ties divided by the total possible number of ties. For a valued network, it is the total of all values divided by the number of possible ties.

[31] For all of the distance measures (compactness and average distance), I employed the UCINET procedure constructs a distance or generalized distance matrix between all nodes of a graph using an algorithm to find the number of edges in the shortest path for each pair of nodes. Average distance is the mean of the number of edges on the shortest path for each pair of nodes.

organizations to link any two organizations in the network. Similarly, the 'compactness'[32] of the network is approximately 0.4, on a scale where 1 indicates all organizations are connected and 0 indicates they are all isolates. In combination, these two distance-based measures support the idea that while the network is dense, it is also segmented.[33]

In addition to having a segmented network structure, the measures of homophily also suggest that network ties in both periods seem to be patterned by the action profiles of organizations. A test for spatial autocorrelation indicated that organizations do indeed seem to be closer to those organizations that use similar forms of action. Specifically Geary's C statistic was .38 in 2008 and .20 in 2009 (significant at the .01 level in both years) where values smaller than 1 indicate positive autocorrelation.[34] Given mutually exclusive groups, homophily can also be measured as the proportion of 'in-group' to 'out-group' ties. I tested for this kind of homophily by using a dichotomous measure of whether an organization employed more or less than 50% contentious actions, and then calculating the overall E-I index for the network. [35] This measure also suggests that organizations are significantly more likely to work with organizations

[32] Compactness is a distance based cohesion measure, calculated as the harmonic mean of the entries in the distance matrix (the normalized sum of the reciprocal of all the distances). It has a value of 1 when the network is a clique (everyone is adjacent) and zero when the network is entirely made up of isolates. (Borgatti et al 2002).

[33] It is difficult to compare networks of different sizes in terms of density, average distance and compactness, therefore comparisons with the findings of other studies are often inappropriate. What can be said, however, is that the results indicate more segmentation and density than would be expect in a randomly generate network.

[34] Geary's C measures spatial autocorrelation. In this case, it tests whether organizations that have similar action profiles are closer to one another in the actor-by-actor distance matrix. Values of Geary's C range from 0 to 2: a value of 1.0 indicates perfect independence, while values smaller than 1 represent positive spatial autocorrelation and values larger than 1 indicate negative spatial autocorrelation.

[35] The E-I index measures the tendency for actors to associate with those outside their group. In this case, it measures whether actors who are contentious (use more than 50% contentious actions) work with those who are not and vice versa. The procure can be implemented in UCINET: "Given a partition of a network into a number of mutually exclusive groups then the E-I index is the number of ties external to the groups minus the number of ties that are internal to the group divided by the total number of ties… A permutation test is performed to see whether the network E-I index is significantly higher or lower than expected." (Borgatti et al 2002). The E-I Index ranges in value from -1 to 1, with -1 indicating complete autocorrelation and 1 indicating perfect independence.

like themselves. The E-I index was approximately -.65 in both years (significant at the .05 level), on a scale from 1 to -1 where -1 indicates complete autocorrelation.

Not only do both of these networks exhibit homophily, but this homophily seems to be growing over time. The Geary's C statistic indicates a significant growth in homophily between 2008 and 2009. The overall E-I index does not change as obviously, but the measure is much lower than expected in 2009. This is because the E-I index is sensitive to the size of the population in each group. The number of contentious organizations changed dramatically between 2008 and 2009 (from 16 to 58%), but since there was similar overall network density, we would expect in a random network that organizations would have more ties with those outside of their group. What the network measures tells us is that we actually see an increasingly homophilous segmentation.

Summary

The network analysis suggests two primary findings:

- The network of organizations working on climate change is segmented into two principal components.
- The network exhibits homophily in terms of organizations and action forms, and it is growing more homophilous over time.

Because the network has significant cliques and organizations are growing more like one another over time, it may be that organizations are harmonizing their tactics as a result of inter-organizational contact. Network theory would predict that contentious behavior should spread rapidly in a network like this within the boundaries of the clique, but may have difficulty reaching the whole network. This explanation fits the patterns observed in the organizational

and event data. But there remains the possibility that organizations may be self-selecting into relationship with similar groups. The next chapter will deal with this issue further, accounting for potential confounders.

Conclusion

I argue that organizations are influenced by the tactical decisions of those organizations with which they are closely connected. This means that ties between organizations should matter in determining the distribution and diffusion of tactics amongst organizations. It also implies that explaining an organization's tactical choices depends on knowing the structure of the broader network in which it is embedded.

My network analysis offers preliminary support for this theoretical perspective. First, both the inter-event and inter-organizational networks are segmented into two principal components, creating ideal conditions for the diffusion of tactics. Contentious and conventional events have different sponsors, and contentious and conventional organizations do not tend to work with one another. This becomes more the case over time, which potentially suggests a dynamic of inter-organizational harmonization. The next Chapter will test this explanation against other possible explanations and will deal with potential confounders in the analysis.

Overall, my perspective introduces relational complexity into how scholars think about organizational decision-making. In doing so, it complicates our understanding of how organizational, contextual and inter-organizational factors all influence organizational decisions to employ particular forms of action. But I argue that it also helps to explain the puzzle I began with: why Climate Alarm – a group which had only ties to contentious organizations based on the member states and not the Brussels-based NGOs – decided to attempt such an unusual

collective action in Brussels. The next Chapter will further elaborate on the complex determinants of organizational choice of action forms.

CHAPTER FOUR

MODELING CHOICE OF ACTION FORMS

The previous two chapters have established three theoretical perspectives. This Chapter tests the hypotheses of these perspectives simultaneously, trying to explain why organizations choose to use contentious forms of collective action. I suggest that an organization's decision to use a certain form of collective action is influenced by the decisions of the organizations with which it is connected. I further suggest that this dynamic is one of harmonization of action profiles, not of self-selection into relationships with organizations that use similar tactics. Thus my major hypothesis is that ties with contentious organizations in the previous time period should increase the likelihood that an organization will use contentious tactics in the second period. I test this hypothesis by analyzing a rich and unusual longitudinal dataset that combines information on inter-organizational relationships (networks) with data on the characteristics of the organizations themselves and the actions they sponsor.

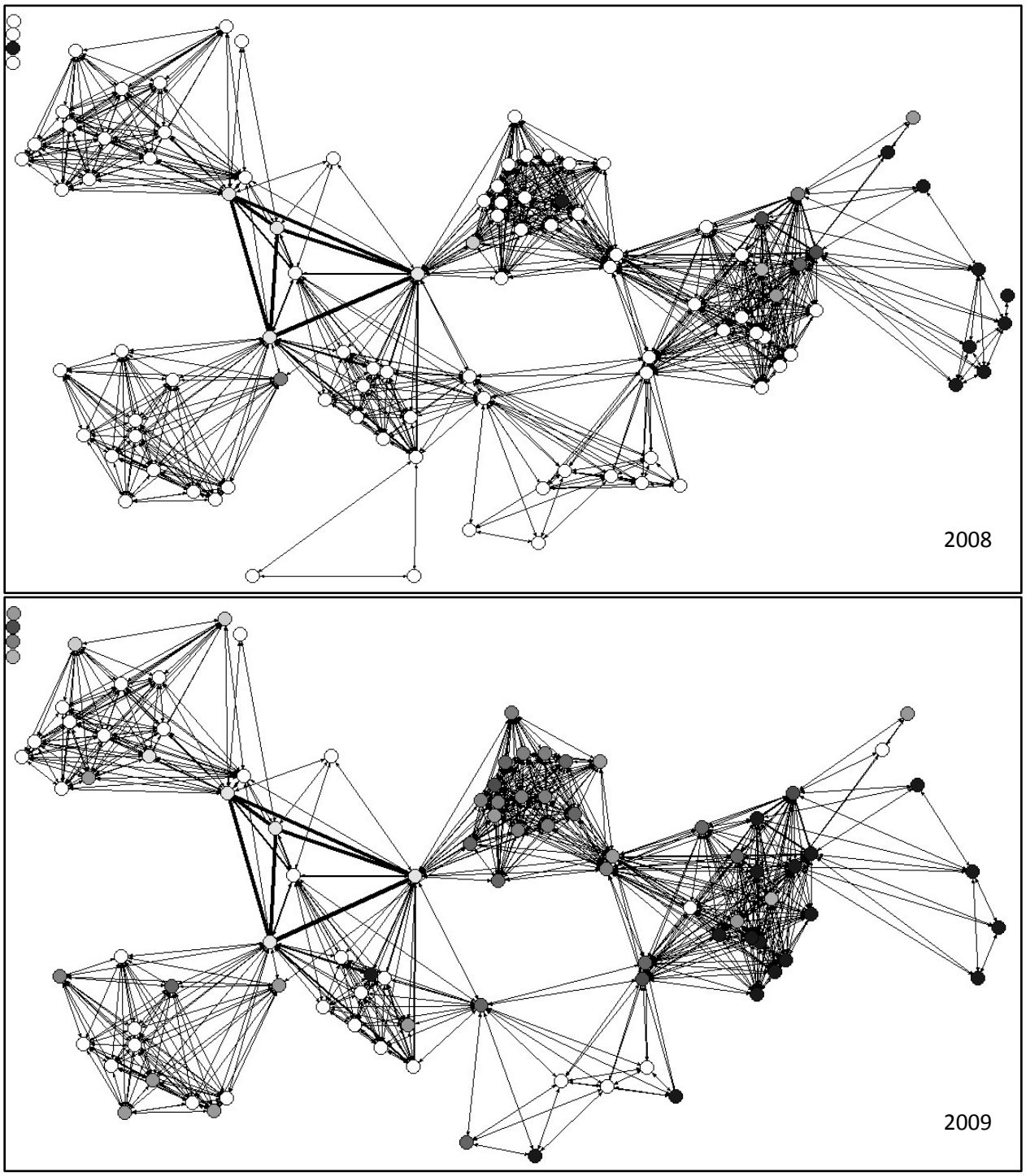
This chapter first outlines preliminary evidence suggesting that contentious forms of action may be spreading in my network over time. It then outlines some potential confounders that make establishing the presence of contagion difficult in quantitative analysis. After describing the variables I use in my analysis, I present the results from both a logistic regression and random intercept model. My interpretation of these results suggests that an organization's tie with a contentious organization in 2008 has a statistically significant and substantively meaningful effect on its choice to use contentious action forms in 2009, even after controlling for characteristics of the organization itself and the political context.

Identifying Contagious Contention

While social network analysis tells us that the inter-organizational network is growing more homophilous over time, it does not adequately explain how the process works on the organizational level. Previous literature demonstrates how tactics can diffuse between social movements (Givan, Roberts and Soule 2010). This literature identifies 'relational pathways' (Tarrow 2005) as one of the key avenues by which diffusion of tactics occurs, although diffusion can also take place via non-relational pathways such as common media exposure. In my analysis, I find descriptive evidence that organizations are diffusing their contentious tactics through relational ties in inter-organizational networks.

My event data show that contentious behavior was much more common in 2009 than in 2008. Organizational data show that only some groups engage in contention, and a large portion do not. Social network analysis shows that the growth in contentious behavior is concentrated in a certain portion of the network. Figure 4.1 shows the expansion of contention in the organizational population between the two time periods. In Figure 4.1, the ties between organizations are held constant between the two time periods, while the coloring of the nodes changes based on the percentage of contentious action the organization used in that year.

Figure 4.1: Inter-Organizational Network 2008, by Percentage of Contentious Actions 2008 and 2009



0%	1-9%	10-19%	20-29%	30-39%	40-49%	50-59%	60-69%	70-79%	80-89%	90-99%	100%

Note: Inter-organizational ties (lines) in both figures represent events the two organizations co-sponsored in 2008. Lines thickness represents the number of events two organizations co-sponsored in 2008. Organizations (circles) are colored by the percentage of contentious actions the organization employed in 2008 and 2009, respectively (not shown when inactive in 2009).

As this Figure shows, contention does not spread uniformly across the network, nor does it spread randomly. This Figure suggests that contentious behavior is spreading along relational ties. As we can see, between 2008 and 2009, contentious behavior becomes much more common on the right side of the network, while the left side remains primarily conventional (with some exceptions). This suggests that contentious organizations on the right of the figure are potentially transmitting their contention to others in their cluster.

Network theories also suggest that practices that start at the periphery may be slower to spread than those that start at the center (Burt 1982). This is particularly true in segmented networks, like the ones present in this area. Figure 4.1 supports this interpretation, by showing how contentiousness spreads rapidly within the clique on the right, but fails to reach the whole network.[36]

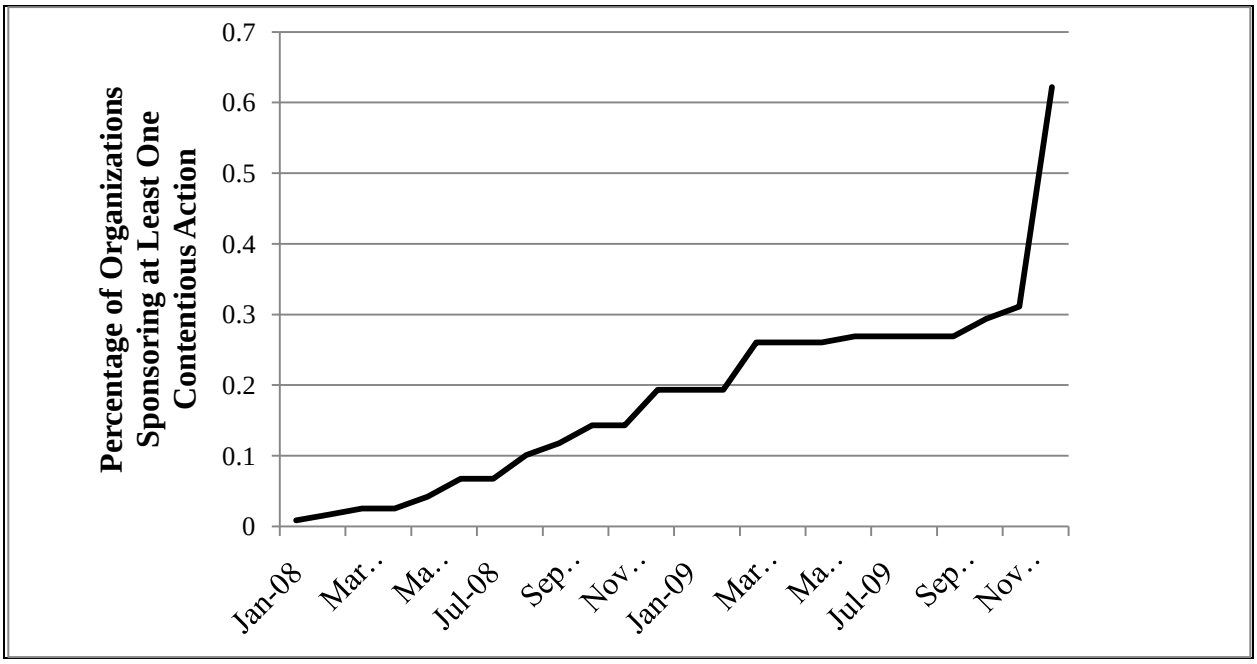
Second, organizations adopt contentious behavior at a rate that suggests a process of diffusion may be taking place. Studies of diffusion have documented a characteristic 'S-shaped curve' in the adoption of innovations (Soule 2004), where innovations start off slowly, then expand rapidly in a population, only to peak where the population is saturated and adoption can't grow any further. My data mimic this pattern, without ever reaching complete adoption.

As can be seen in Figure 4.2, the percentage of organizations using contentious action increases fairly steadily throughout 2008. In early January 2009, only 16% of organizations had previously engaged in a contentious action. This figure rises and eventually stabilizes around 26% from March to September, and then suddenly takes off, peaking at 62% in December 2009. While the adoption of contentious behavior never reaches 100% of the population, the dramatic

[36] Research also suggests that characteristics of the innovation – for example whether it is perceived as likely to be successful, whether there are clear benefits of adoptions -- should influence the speed of adoption. The qualitative chapters of this dissertation will consider these explanations in more detail.

spread of contentious tactics in the last half of 2009 suggests that a critical mass of organizations may have adopted by this point, facilitating rapid diffusion in November and especially December. Thus overall, both the network and organizational-level data suggest there may be an important diffusion process underlying the spread of contention.

Figure 4.2: Organizational Adoption of Contentious Tactics, January 2008 -December 2009



Potential Confounders

While there is plausible descriptive evidence that tactics are diffusing through the inter-organizational network from 2008 to 2009, I am aware that there are a number of potential confounders that make this process difficult to document and distinguish from other explanations. In this section, I will describe three problems in particular that can complicate causality in social networks: homophily, self-selection and shared environment.

Homophily

One of the biggest problems in measuring the effect of network ties on organizational behavior is that organizations tend to have ties with organizations that are similar to themselves (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook 1998). The social movement literature confirms the seriousness of this problem, as most studies suggest that organizations do tend to collaborate more with similar organizations (McCammon and Campbell 2002; Van Dyke 2003; Clemens and Minkoff 2004). Thus it is difficult to know if organizations are influenced by one another, or whether their common traits are driving similar behavioral outcomes. As previously mentioned, my network – like virtually all real-life social networks – does display significant homophily.

I adopt two strategies to deal with the homophily bias in my data. First, I collected data on a wide variety of organizational traits that I expect to influence the behavior of the organizations in my sample. By controlling for these traits in my statistical model, I hope to be able to estimate their effects vis-à-vis network ties. Second, homophily is less of a problem in my study than in many network studies because I do not observe ties and behavior simultaneously. Specifically, I use network ties from the previous time period to predict behavior in the second time period, which is particularly necessary where ties are based on event co-sponsorship.

Self-Selection

Another common bias in network studies is caused by self-selection. This bias takes two forms. First, organizations that collaborate may differ systematically from those that do not collaborate. It is also possible that organizations that collaborate frequently may be different from those that collaborate infrequently. Although I observe very few (3) isolates in my data set, the second form of bias may be an issue in my data, as the number of ties ranges widely from 0 to 22. The

second kind of selection bias in my data has to do with the process by which organizations choose their partners. In other words, if organizations that select into relationships with contentious organizations are systematically different than those that don't, the results of the statistical analysis may be biased by the fact that assignment to the 'treatment' is non-random.

I acknowledge that self-selection bias is a plausible problem for my analysis, and I tackle it using two strategies. First, because my statistical analysis relies on panel data of organizations and events over time, I am able to exploit this data structure to estimate the effect of possible unobserved variables. Specifically, I use a random intercepts model to try to measure the extent to which my data exhibit significant inter-class correlations that might suggest unobserved, organization-specific variables not present in the model. If I find significant inter-class correlation, this would suggest that there may be an unmeasured variable that accounts for selection into contentious relationships and is correlated with the outcome. In addition, the second half of this dissertation will employ qualitative interview evidence about how organizations choose their partners to bolster my claims about the causal sequencing.

Shared Environment

Finally, studies of diffusion and behavioral change in networks have to take into account the fact that the actors in the population are sharing a common environment, which exposes them to common exogenous pressures. Two varieties of this problem are present in my data, which concerns a small population of organizations in Europe. First, these organizations all have access to the same media, which means that contentious tactics may be diffusing in this population through indirect channels in addition to (or instead of) relational channels. Second, these organizations all share a common institutional environment, and are exposed to the same changes in political opportunities. Therefore, their behaviors may change uniformly as a result

of this common exposure. I attempt to deal with both of these potential biases by including variables measuring indirect diffusion through media and changes in political opportunities in my final statistical model.

Dependent Variable

For my analysis I collected data from press sources and documents on 110 organizations active in both 2008 and 2009. These organizations sponsor 165 unique collective actions on climate change in 2009, 35% of which were coded as contentious actions.

The dependent variable in this study is the choice of an organization to employ a contentious action. The model predicts the probability that an organization will employ a contentious action, and includes actor, network and event covariates. Many of the actions reported in my data are co-sponsored, yielding 405 unique event-by-actor combinations in 2009, 45% of which are contentious. Thus this analysis does weight events unequally: events with more than one sponsor 'count' for one decision on the part of each organization involved. This choice not only reflects the analytic goals of the study, but it also reflects the fact that co-sponsored events are often bigger and more substantively significant.

Explanatory Variables

In addition to the network data, I also collected data on organizational attributes from organizational websites, documents, and available institutional registers. I match these data on event sponsors with information about and event characteristics from press sources (see Methods Appendix).

Key Independent Variable

My main independent variable in my analysis is the amount of exposure an organizational has to contentious organizations in the previous time periods. I measure this as the number of ties an organization has with contentious organizations in 2008.[37] Contentious organizations[38] are defined as those that use more than 50% contentious actions in their overall action profile (e.g. 2 contentious actions out of 3 total actions).

A simple example should illustrate how the coding of this variable works in practice. Table 4.1 has a hypothetical example of what the data structure might look like. The data I collected have an event-by-actor structure in which I have data on the characteristics of events and their sponsors. In this example, there are three events and three actors. Events 2 and 3 are contentious, while Event 1 is not.

Table 4.1: Example of Data Structure

	Contentious Event (Y=1)	Actor A Sponsors	Actor B Sponsors	Actor C Sponsors
Event 1	0	1	1	1
Event 2	1	1	0	0
Event 3	1	1	0	1

I use this event-by-sponsor data to construct my key independent variable. For example, Actor B sponsors 0/3 contentious events, thus is not contentious. But Actor B co-sponsors Event 1 with Actor A. Actor A sponsors 2/3 contentious events, and thus is coded as a contentious organization. Thus Actor B is coded as having 1 tie with a contentious organization in 2008, despite never having previously employed contentious tactics (Table 4.2).

[37] It would also be possible to include a measure of an organization's coalition memberships in 2008 in addition to its direct co-sponsorship ties with other organizations. At this moment, I do not have complete coalition membership data in order to do this. However, I am attempting to collect this data, and hope to include this variable in later specifications.

[38] Theoretically, I do not consider organizations inherently 'contentious' or 'conventional,' and acknowledge that an organization's tactics are a product of choices, not innate character. But for the purpose of this analysis, I define groups that are already using contentious forms of collective action most of the time in 2008 as 'contentious' because of their pattern of choices, not because of their inherent traits. Doing so allows me to emphasize their ability to act as innovators and to spread new tactics in the climate change network.

Table 4.2: Example of Data Structure, By Actor

	Percentage of Contentious Actions in 2008	Contentious Organization in 2008 (Y=1)	Number of Ties to Contentious Organizations in 2008
Actor A	0.66	1	0
Actor B	0.00	0	1
Actor C	0.33	0	2

My hypothesis is that Actor B and C should be more likely to be contentious in 2009, because they both have ties with Actor A, which is contentious in 2008. Since Actor C has 2 ties to Actor A, it should be even more likely to be contentious than Actor B. I also control for previous behavior by an organization in the final model. For example, I account for the fact that not only do network ties vary, but Actor B has an action profile in 2008 that is 0% contentious in 2008, and Actor C's profile is 33% contentious in 2008, which may indicate a predisposition towards contention.

I use a measure of ties with contentious organizations in 2008 to predict behavior in 2009. Lagging the dependent variable is important because my network ties are based on event co-sponsorship, so I observe not only the ties but also the behavior of actors at the same moment. Therefore, I would naturally observe a good deal of harmonization between organizations if I included both the ties and behavior from the same period.

Other Variables

I also introduce a number of variables in the model to account for alternative hypotheses and potential confounders, which are outlined in greater detail in Chapter Two.

I use a scale variable to capture the extent to which the political environment provided organizations with opportunities for formal participation. I analyzed a variety of institutional documents and secondary academic sources in order to get a picture of the available

opportunities for civil society participation in the policy-making process during this time period. Based on these sources, I constructed a scale variable that measures the variation in available political opportunities during the time period of the study (see Chapter 2). I coded each day of 2009 according to whether it was within one week of decision-making by a relevant international institution. Actions that took place within one week of decision-making by the European Commission or Parliament were assigned a 3 on the scale, actions around the UNFCCC or the European Council received a 2, actions within a week of a summit of an international financial institution received a 1, and all others scored 0. In some specifications of the model I also include a dummy variable to indicate whether an action targeted a particular institution.

In addition to my measure of direct exposure to contention via inter-organizational ties, I also measure 'indirect exposure' to contentious behavior through popular media. I measure this by the number of reports of contentious actions reported in my press sample in the previous month. This measure is meant to capture the possibility that organizations are 'imitating' strategies that appear successful.

Finally, in order to deal with hypotheses from the organizational literature and help to account for possible homophily effects, I include a number of measures of organizational traits. The majority of these traits are measured by website coding: having a radical ideology; having individual members; number of full-time staff; and age. I take the measure of number of staff as a proxy for the size of an organization's budget. I tried to collect data directly on the size of organization's budgets, but encountered too much missing data to use this variable in the final analysis. The two variables are highly correlated for the cases on which I have data (.87). Finally, I pooled institutional records from the European Commission and European Parliament

to determine whether an organization received funding from the European Union. Table 4.3 summarizes the variables used in the analysis.

Table 4.3: Summary Statistics for Variables Used in the Analysis

Variable	Mean	SD	Description
Number of Contentious Ties in 2008	1.77	2.16	Total number of ties an organization had with contentious organizations (those using >50% contentious actions) in 2008.
Number of Contentious Actions in 2008	1.03	2.01	Total number of contentious collective actions the organization sponsored in 2008.
Political Opportunities	1.23	1.00	Coded on the basis of researcher judgment of available opportunities for civil society participation in formal institutions during the 2009 policy-cycle (see Chapter 2). 3=Decision-making by European Commission or European Parliament within a week of the date of the action 2= Decision-making by European Council or UN within a week; 1= Meeting of an International Financial Institution within a week; 0= no decision-making.
Number of Contentious Events Reported in the Previous Month	8.63	6.26	Total number of contentious events reported in press sample in the previous month/ 1000.
Action Target	2.45	1.67	Based on coding of primary target of collective action as either: EU; UN; National Government; General Public; Corporation; International Financial Institutions; or Other (Yes=1).
Radical Ideology	.155	.362	Yes = 1. Coded for the presence of anti-capitalist or anti-systemic ideology on the organization's website.
Receives EU Funding	0.34	0.47	Yes=1. Based on coding of whether the organization appears in the register of the European Commission and the European Parliament as receiving funding for the year 2009.
Has Individual Members	0.57	0.50	Yes=1. Based on the coding of websites and organizational charters to see if the organization permits individuals to join as members.
Number of Full-Time Staff	36.97	67.57	Number of full-time staff employed by the organization in 2009.
Age	21.64	12.87	Age of the organization in 2009 (i.e. 2009 - founding date).

Methods

To assess my network explanation vis-à-vis the other theoretical approaches, I estimated a model predicting the probability of a contentious event in 2009, taking into account both characteristics of the event itself and the organization that sponsors it. I implement this by using both a logistic regression model with clustering on organizations (Table 4.4) and a logistic regression with random intercepts (Table 4.5).

Logistic regression is appropriate for situations in which we observe a single, dichotomous response and observations can be assumed to be independent. In my data, I observe multiple 'responses' (events) for the same organization. Therefore the events observed may not be independent from other events that are sponsored by the same organization. This is a problem because non-independence can cause clustering, and this can cause the usual standard errors to be incorrect (usually too liberal) (See Hosmer and Lemeshow 2000: 308-33).

I use two methods to correct for this. First, I estimate a logistic regression model with clustering on organizations, in order to generate cluster-robust standard errors (Long and Freese 2006: 86). Second, I use a random intercept model which takes into account the hierarchical nature of the data in estimating both coefficients and the extent of intra-class correlation. In essence, the random intercept model allows the intercept to vary for each cluster while estimating a common slope. Thus random intercept models are useful for capturing the distinction between effects of covariates that are within-cluster from those that are between-cluster. As there is no a priori reason to prefer either estimation method (UCLA 2011), I employ and compare the results of both.

In addition, my use of a random intercept model can help control for unobserved variables that are group-specific. Because I am concerned that my results may be affected by selection bias, the use of the random intercept model increases my confidence in the estimated coefficients, assuming that these unobserved determinants of selection are time-invariant (Winship and Mare 1992: 346-347).

Results

Model Estimation and Specification

Table 4.4 shows the coefficients from various stages of the model estimation. A comparison of model 5 (full) and model 6 (no network) shows that the effect of my network measure is consistently significant, and that it helps to explain additional variation not captured in the other two approaches. A difference of 6.341 in Bayesian information criterion provides strong support for the full model as compared to the 'no network' model (Long and Freese (2006:113).

Including the network variable particularly decreases the size of the estimated coefficient for the 'radical ideology' variable, suggesting being radical is a less important predictor of contentiousness once exposure to contentious organizations is included. The Wald test of the equality of the two coefficients indicates that we can safely reject the hypothesis that two coefficients for the 'radical' variable are equal (chi2 = 6.12, p =.01). While it is not significant in the model, the coefficient for having individual members also decreases significantly from model 6 (network) to model 5 (full), suggesting that this resource is much less important once inter-organizational ties have been accounted for (chi2 = 3.8, p = .05).

A comparison of the estimated coefficients from the logistic regression with clusters and the logistic regression with random intercepts (Table 4.5) shows that the direction, magnitude and significance of the effect are consistent. The results from the random intercepts model also

suggest that the inter-class correlation is fairly limited (.082). The likelihood-ratio test that rho is equal to zero suggests that we cannot reject the null hypothesis that the between-cluster variance is zero. The lack of strong intra-cluster correlation can also make us more confident that the results are not overly biased by self-selection into the treatment.

Estimated Coefficients and Interpretation

My results from Table 3.1 (logistic regression with organizational clustering) suggest that an increase in the number of ties an organization has with contentious organizations in 2008 does increase the propensity of an organization to sponsor contentious events in 2009. The effect is also substantively meaningful: when other variables are at their mean, if the organization sponsoring the event goes from the minimum (0) to maximum (9) number of ties with contentious organizations in 2008, it is 55% more likely to sponsor a contentious event in 2009. Increasing the number of ties by one standard deviation (about 2) increases the probability of sponsoring a contentious event by 18%. Moreover, the number of contentious events an organization sponsored in 2008 is not a statistically significant predictor of behavior in 2009.

For example, an old organization with a lot of resources, that receives money from the EU, that does not have a radical ideology and that is planning an event during the most open period of decision-making, has a 38% likelihood of sponsoring a contentious event in 2009 if the organization had the average number of ties to contentious organizations in 2008. For an organization that has the same characteristics but had the maximum number of ties to contentious organizations in 2008, the predicted probability of sponsoring a contentious event in 2009 is 88%. If the organization had no ties to contentious organizations in 2008, the predicted probability of it sponsoring a contentious event in this time period is 27%.

Indirect diffusion via mass media is also important, although the effect is much smaller. A one standard deviation increase in the number of articles reporting contentious events in the previous month (about 6) increases the likelihood of an organization sponsoring a contentious event by 8%. This effect is, however, distinct from the effect of direct contact. This suggests that contentiousness is diffusing via both relational and non-relational means during this time period.

Table 4.4: Logistic Regression Predicting the Probability of a Contentious Event in 2009, with Organizational Clustering

	(1)Network	(2)Opportunities	(3) Targets	(4) Org	(5) Full	(6) No Network
Number of Ties with Contentious Organizations in 2008	.625*** (0.121)	.585*** (.131)	.523*** (.120)	.414*** (.130)	.337*** (.122)	
Political Opportunities Scale		.906*** (.167)			.830*** (.192)	.835*** (.191)
Reports of Protest in Previous Month		.038* (.021)	-.045 (.038)		.054** (.022)	.071*** (.021)
Target						
EU			-2.00*** (.447)			
UN			1.22** (.624)			
National Government			-.143 .573			
General Public			-1.22** (.605)			
Corporation			1.29* (.701)			
Number of Contentious Actions in 2008				.112 (.185)	.050 (.141)	.060 (.141)
Has Radical Ideology				3.71** (1.59)	3.69*** (1.41)	4.98*** (1.53)
Has Individual Members				.500 (.501)	.369 (.448)	.703 (.420)
Receives EU Funding				-.468 (.436)	-.272 (.418)	-.150 (.360)
Number of Full-Time Staff				-.000 (.003)	.000 (.003)	-.000 (.003)
Age				.016 (.017)	.019 (.016)	.010 (.014)

Constant	-1.08*** (.241)	-3.12*** (.421)	-.541 (.354)	-1.47*** (.493)	-3.69*** (.668)	-3.49*** (.589)
Pseudo R2	.20	.27	.38	.26	.32	.28

Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses. *significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Table 4.5: Comparison of Logistic Regression with Organizational Clustering and Logistic Regression with Random Intercepts

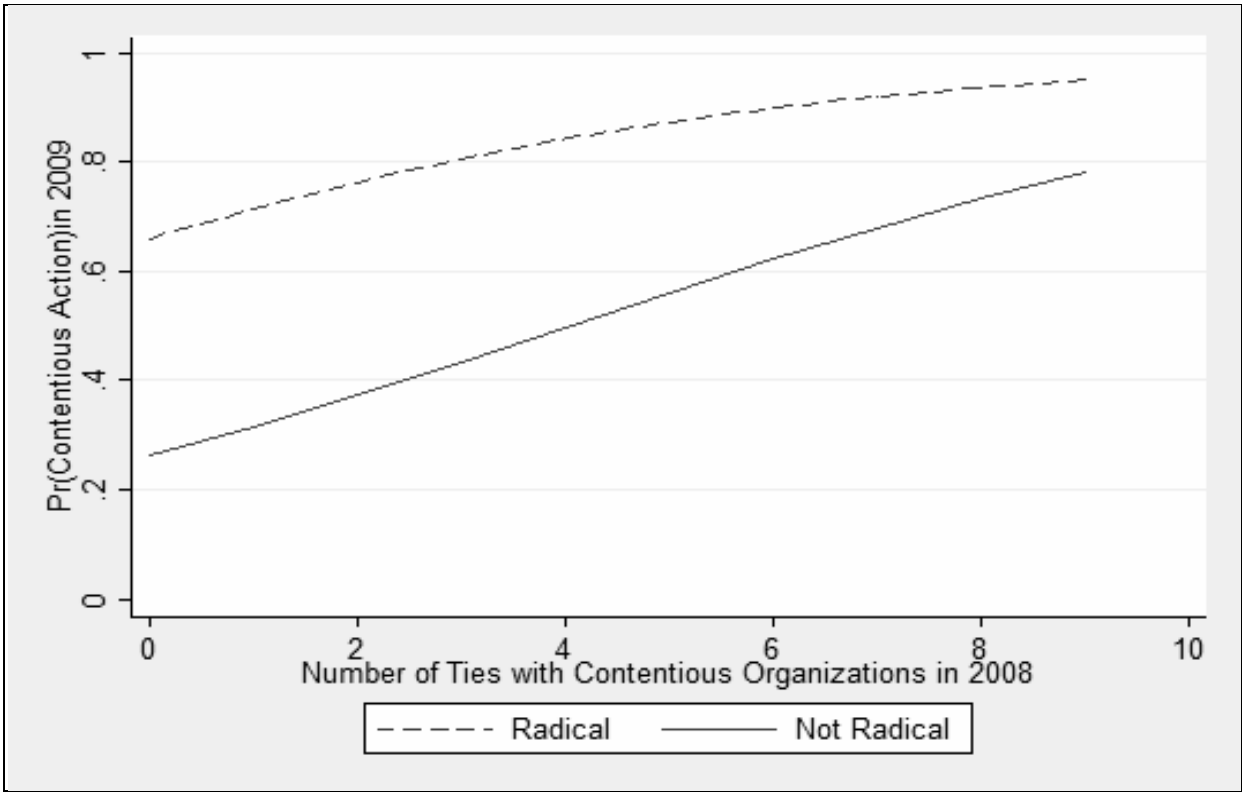
	(1) Logit with Clustering	(2) Logit with Random Intercepts
Number of Ties with Contentious Organizations in 2008	.337*** (.122)	.346*** (.121)
Political Opportunities		
Scale (1-3)	.830*** (.192)	
Scale = 2		1.86*** (.413)
Scale = 3		1.78*** (.476)
Reports of Protest in Previous Month	.054** (.022)	.058** (.028)
Number of Contentious Actions in 2008	.112 (.185)	.127 (.145)
Has Radical Ideology	3.71*** (1.59)	3.81*** (1.26)
Has Individual Members	.500 (.501)	.468 (.450)
Receives EU Funding	-.468 (.436)	-.159 (.401)
Number of Full-Time Staff	-.000 (.003)	-.000 (.003)
Age	.016 (.017)	.018 (.017)
Constant	-3.70*** (.668)	-3.62*** (.681)
Sigma_u		.543 (.290)
rho		.082 (.080)

My results suggest that both the political opportunity and organizational approaches have merit. Changing the timing of the event from a period of completely open or completely closed to a mixed opportunity period increases the probability of the event being contentious by 15% (when other variables are held at their mean).

Several of the 'target' measures are also statistically significant and substantively meaningful. Most dramatically, targeting the EU vastly decreases the probability of an event being contentious, while targeting the UN or a corporation increases the probability of an event being contentious. However, these strong results make me wonder if the causal relationship might not be reversed. Since climate change is an issue on which many different institutions have authority, groups often don't have fixed targets when they decide on their tactics. As my qualitative chapters will illustrate further, I suspect that organizations sometimes decide what tactics they want to use and then decide which institutions they will target (venue shopping), reversing the causal relationship underlying this correlation.

My results suggest that most organizational characteristics are not significant predictors of contention. Neither age, number of staff, receiving EU funding nor having individual members is a significant predictors of contention. However, having a radical ideology is a significant predictor of using contentious tactics. When other variables are held at their mean, adopting a radical ideology increases the probability of being contentious by 59%. This effect is particularly dramatic where organizations have few ties to contentious organizations. But as Figure 4.3 shows, the gap between the predicted probabilities of contention for 'radical' and 'non-radical' organizations grows smaller as organizations acquire contacts with other organizations using contentious tactics.

Figure 4.3: Predicted Probability of Contention by Number of Contentious Ties in 2008, for Radical and Non-Radical Groups



Illustrative Examples

A few examples from the dataset should help to illustrate the relationship between the variables in the model. Organizations that have similar traits and share a common environment can be embedded in very different portions of the network. As a result, they are exposed to dramatically different organizational alters, and their behavior can be substantially different.

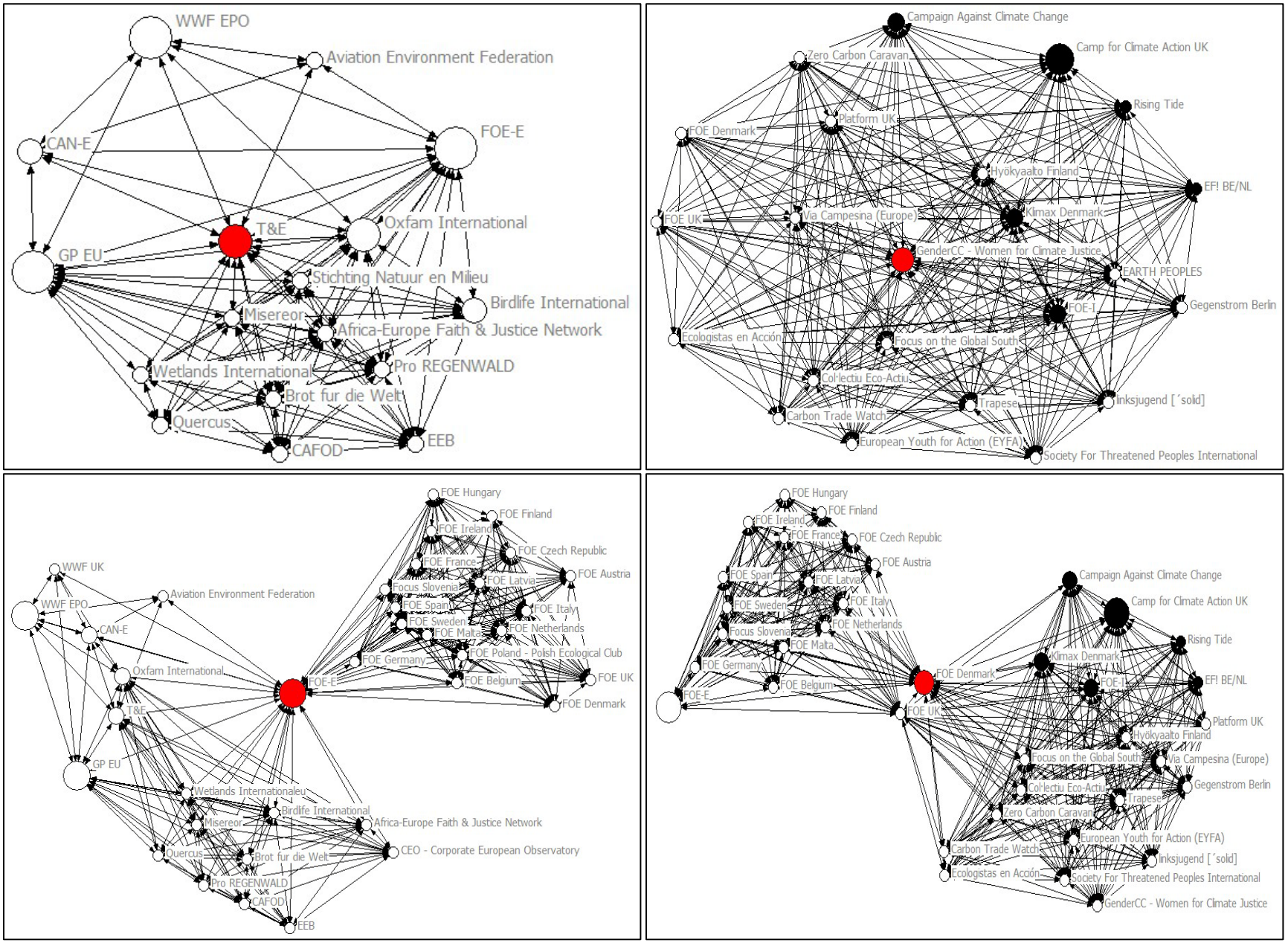
For example, Transport and Environment Europe and Gender and Climate Change are both NGOs with non-radical ideologies that combine the issue of climate change policy with another substantive topic. Both organizations had an action profile in 2008 that was 0% contentious, but with a very different pattern of ties. As Figure 4.4 illustrates, T&E's network of ties with other organizations in 2008 included *no* contentious organizations; Gender and Climate Change's network included 6 ties to contentious organizations. Thus while T&E was exposed

primarily to the NGO world of conventional Brussels activism, Gender and Climate Change was making contacts in 2008 with a number of contentious organizations that could influence its choice of action forms.

Similarly, both Friends of the Earth Europe and Friends of the Earth Denmark have reform environmentalist ideologies, and have regular ties to one another and other FOE offices. FOE Europe used 4% contentious actions in 2008, while FOE Denmark used exclusively conventional forms of action. However, these organizations differed substantially in the ties they had to other organizations. While Friends of the Earth Europe was embedded in the Brussels NGO world, Friends of the Earth Denmark was already connected in 2008 to the emerging world of contentious climate activism.

As Figure 4.4 illustrates, the world of climate change organizing in 2008 looks very different from these different vantage points. Some organizations – like Gender and Climate Change and FOE Denmark – were already exposed to contentious organizing at this stage. These organizations were engaged in collaborative behavior with contentious organizations, and were likely sharing information, resources and ideas with one another. And as a result, Gender and Climate Change used 100% contentious actions in 2009 and Friends of the Earth Denmark used 66%. In contrast, organizations that lacked exposure did not radicalize in the same way. Friends of the Earth Europe used only 12% contentious actions in 2009, while T&E did not use any.

Figure 4.4: Egonets for Selected Organizations, 2008



Conclusion

The results of my statistical analysis take apart the various influences on organizational choice to sponsor contentious action. My analysis suggests the utility of a relational network approach to collective action. The political process and organizational approaches help to explain a portion of the puzzle as to why organizations choose different forms of collective action, but the results suggest that the network approach explains additional variation. Moreover, the magnitude of the effect is meaningful: small changes in the composition of an organization's network can have a big effect on its behavior. These results raise interesting questions: why do network ties matter in organizational choice of action forms? How can a relational theory help explain harmonization of action repertoires?

The second part of this dissertation will shed light on these questions by exploring the mechanisms underpinning the relationship between exposure to contention and adoption of contentious behavior. These chapters will rely primarily on my qualitative data gathered from interviews, documents and participant observation. I will highlight the three main mechanisms from Chapter Three -- information sharing, resource pooling, and social influence – linking network ties to choice of action forms, and I will illustrate how they are important in organizing both contentious and conventional collective action.

PART TWO

TWO WORLDS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE

Introduction

Late in the evening on December 18, 2009, several hundred people clustered around a wood burning stove in a former army barracks in Copenhagen, bundled up and struggling to keep warm in the bitter Danish winter. In one corner, a communal kitchen had been established to serve vegan pasta dishes at the price of a few Kroner. In another corner, a group of young people had set up a boom box to play mellow reggae music. Individuals were seated on the floor in small groupings, deeply engaged in political discussions on the central question: what happened to the Copenhagen Summit? How should they respond? After consulting in small groups, the discussion moved upstairs for a broader group discussion, in which everyone spoke and all positions were debated. The meeting lasted until late into the evening without reaching any ultimate resolution. After reconvening the next morning, it was finally decided to hold a protest the next day in support of those protestors arrested in previous demonstrations. The non-violent march through the streets of Copenhagen attracted approximately 1,000 people, and was coordinated with similar actions in London and Milan.

Hours earlier on December 18th, a much more orderly scene took place in a large meeting hall in Central Copenhagen. Individuals representing a wide variety of non-governmental organizations – having been kicked out of the official conference venue several days earlier – set up an impromptu meeting space in a former train station in which to hold their own strategy session. Although outside the UN perimeter, access to this space was restricted by the organizers to only those holding official conference badges. Although there were rows of seats to hold several hundred people, this meeting was standing room only. One topic of discussion was how

to continue to influence the Copenhagen summit from *outside* the venue itself. In general, individuals supported the idea of continuing 'business as usual': working with the media and trying to lobbying delegates as best possible without direct access. While the idea of protest or civil disobedience was raised, it was defeated in the plenary vote, with only roughly 20 out of 400 votes in support.

Two different forms of action are evident here. On the one hand, groups organize symbolic and confrontational protests across the national boundaries of EU member states. On the other hand, they engage in regularized, professional lobbying and consultations with European and international political institutions. Broadly speaking, these forms of action can be characterized as 'insider' or 'outsider' strategies of collective action.

My network analysis demonstrates that the 'insider' and 'outsider' spheres are largely disconnected. In Part Two of this dissertation, I use qualitative data to help answer two outstanding questions from the quantitative analysis: 1) Where do the inter-organizational ties I observe in 2008 come from?; and 2) How exactly do these ties influence organizational choice of action forms?

To answer the first question, the chapters that follow will document in greater detail these two very different worlds of collective action on climate change, focusing on the question of how organizations get involved in one or the other. Specifically, in Chapters Five and Six, I use my qualitative data to discuss *how* the network I observe in the first part of this study came into being. In each chapter, I outline the genesis of the most important inter-organizational coalitions and the development of their preferred action strategies.

My statistical analysis suggested that contact with a contentious organization increases the probability that an organization will itself employ contentious forms of action. The second part of this dissertation, and in particular Chapter Seven, also aims to explain *why* I observe this relationship in the quantitative data. I particularly focus on how different patterns of ties influence an organization's decision to employ contentious or conventional forms of collective action. In some cases – like Gender and Climate Change or Friends of the Earth Denmark – contact with contentious organizations leads these organizations to radicalize their forms of action during the time period of this study. In other cases – like Friends of the Earth Europe or Transport and Environment Europe – having ties with conventional organizations encourages these groups to engage in conventional forms of action and *not* to radicalize, even during the heady final days of the Copenhagen Summit.

Part Two of this dissertation should be of particular interest to scholars of social movement organizations and coalitions. In these chapters, I am responding to a longstanding call for more qualitative fieldwork on the meso-level dynamics of collective action. As McAdam, McCarthy and Zald summarized my motivating questions:

> How do macro and micro propensities get translated into specific mobilization attempts? What are the actual dynamics by which movement activists reach decisions regarding goals and tactics?.. To answer these questions, what is needed is more systematic, qualitative fieldwork into the dynamics of collective action at the meso level. We remain convinced that it is the level at which most movement action occurs and of which we know the least (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1988: 729).

As a result, Part Two relies extensively on my original qualitative data. To collect this qualitative data I conducted eighteen months of fieldwork, interviewing, observing and gathering documents from organizations active in organizing transnational collective action on climate change in

Europe. I reconstruct this period by relying on three main data sources: 1) transcripts from interviews with over 80 organizational representatives; 2) field notes from roughly 250 hours of participant observation at organizational meetings and actions; and 3) internal and public organizational documents, including emails from internal and inter-organizational list serves. While I do not comprehensively detail all of the documents I consulted in writing the text (which total more than 10,000 emails and hundreds of other types of documents), a description of the most important sources appears in Appendix Two.

The chapters that follow will both introduce additional qualitative evidence and evaluate the implications of the findings of my study as a whole. Specifically, Chapters Five and Six explore the processes by which conventional and contentious collective action are organized, respectively. Chapter Seven outlines the different combinations of mechanisms that underpin strategic decision-making in contentious and conventional organizations. And finally, Chapter Eight considers the consequences of different forms of activism – and the relationship between them -- for climate change governance and for civil society itself.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONVENTIONAL CLIMATE CHANGE ADVOCACY

This chapter deals with the portion of the inter-organizational network engaging in conventional climate change advocacy in the period of 2007-2009. Climate activists in this sphere were tireless in their advocacy during these years. As one described the experience of being at COP 14 in Poznan:

> I've been up since 7am, every day, because I've had to meet with the coordination group in the morning. I do media, I meet with my working group. Then I have to go to the CAN coordination meetings – two of them every day of course. I'm, of course, really here to meet with delegates and discuss our issues. Sometimes it's hard to remember that. Getting intelligence, feeding it back to the working groups, writing statements, sending them to the media. I barely eat - I don't have the time. Last night I was up until 2am because I was working on an article for [the NGO newsletter]. It's completely exhausting. But I just keep asking myself, if we didn't do it, who would? You know that the business groups are working twice as hard, so we have to be here too. (Interview 18, Climate Action Network Europe)

The kinds of activities described – lobbying, working with the media, writing articles – are all well-established routines on the Climate Action Network [CAN]. By the start of this study, transnational cooperation was already formalized in this coalition. Through joining CAN, organizations gained access to key information about the policy process and the actions of other organizations. But as I will argue here, by joining this coalition they also came to adopt similar forms of collective action. Specifically, groups working in CAN harmonized their activities, adopting a conventional and professional style of advocacy vis-à-vis institutional elites. Additionally, they were encouraged to resist radicalization, even when conventional strategies were less obviously useful.

I will begin this chapter by first detailing the history of environmental advocacy in Europe, focusing on the two important processes of Euopeanization and professionalization that

pre-date the start of this study and affect choice of action forms in many of these organizations. I particularly detail the development of Climate Action Network prior to 2007, which accounts for many of the inter-organizational ties between conventional organizations. Finally, I document the coalition's influence on its members' decisions to use conventional forms of action and to resist radicalization at various points in the policy cycle. I end by discussing the special case of the Friends of the Earth, as it was for many reasons unique in the inter-organizational network.

History of Environmental Advocacy in Europe

Europe has a long history of environmental activism. In order to situate my study in the longer time period, I will first briefly outline the history of environmental advocacy. I particularly focus on the ideological, organizational and tactical divisions between the three biggest actors in the issue area: WWF, Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace.

Key Initial Actors

Though the environmental movement has always contained a diverse set of actors, the core of the environmental movement[39] in Europe is composed of three organizations:

- *WWF*: The World Wildlife Fund was established in London in 1961. The founders of the organization were government insiders, and were closely affiliated with the International Union for the Conversation of Nature. WWF quickly adopted an international structure, and developed branches in Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain and Switzerland by the end of the 1960s. The organization's original campaigns focused on the fate of endangered species, such as the black rhino.

[39] For accounts of the origins of these three groups, see Dalton 1994; Hunter 1979; Rootes 2003; Pearce 1991; Weston 1989.

- *Friends of the Earth [FOE]:* Friends of the Earth was founded in 1969 in the United States as a confrontational splinter group from the Sierra Club. FOE was from the beginning conceived of as an international organization, and by 1971 there were FOE Chapters in Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK. Early campaigns of FOE focused on the fur trade and whaling.
- *Greenpeace:* Greenpeace was founded as the "Don't Make a Wave Committee" in Vancouver, Canada in 1969. The early organizers were a mixture of pacifist Quakers and former Sierra Club members. Their early actions focused on opposition to underground nuclear testing. Later, the organization became well-known for its anti-whaling campaigns. Greenpeace was slower to establish chapters in Europe, opening its first offices in London and Paris in 1977, and then in Amsterdam and Geneva in 1978.

These three organizations differ in their approach to environmental issues. Ideologically, WWF was devoted to the cause of nature conservation and the protection of wildlife. Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace were both founded in the "new environmental wave" of the late 1960s (Dalton 1994: 35), and adopted a more ecologist ideology. This perspective emphasizes the environmental problems associated with industrial societies (acid rain, air pollution, toxic chemicals, water quality, etc.) and challenged the dominant paradigm of capitalist economic growth. Thus, WWF is often thought of as being a 'light green' organization, whereas FOE and Greenpeace are 'medium-dark' green (Greenwood 2007: 137).[40]

These groups also differ in their organizational structures. In the 1980s, Greenpeace grew from a loose and unruly bunch of activists to a highly centralized and fairly top-down

[40] The 'shades of green' metaphor is used to categorize environmental groups along a continuum from light to dark green based on the depth of their commitment to the environmental cause, with more radical groups being 'darker.'

organization. In Greenpeace, the international office in the Netherlands generally sets the issue agenda for the national organizations. To become 'Greenpeace' offices, national organizations must agree to cooperate with other offices on priority issues, so there is a great deal of consistency in what issues they pursue.

WWF functions somewhat similarly to Greenpeace, in that there is a strategic process at the international level to determine priority issues. However, unlike in Greenpeace, national groups are theoretically allowed to dissent from these issues and focus on different topics. In contrast, decision-making at FOE has over time become largely 'bottom up' in style. Within the Friends of the Earth network there is more variation in what issues are prioritized, as are internationally priorities designated for three year periods, but organizations are encouraged to adapt international priorities to local environments.[41] Nevertheless, all three groups adopted climate change as their key priority during the time period of this study.

While all chapters of FOE, Greenpeace and WWF retain tactical independence, these organizational 'brands' are traditionally associated with different forms of action. WWF, perhaps owing the governmental background of its founders, has a reputation of being the most tactically moderate. WWF is known for lobbying, issuing reports, doing media work, fundraising for conversation issues, and lending its logo to corporations that undertake green efforts. Because of their overlap with the student movement of the late sixties, FOE and Greenpeace are associated with more confrontational tactics. Greenpeace is known for the Quaker tactic of 'bearing witness' and non-violent direct action, which it has used extensively in its opposition to nuclear testing and whaling. Early members of Friends of the Earth were

[41] One example might be that "Friend of the Earth" groups tend to all use different (non-English) names at the national level, while Greenpeace keeps the same "brand" in every country.

influenced by Ralph Nader's consumer movement to adopt the citizen-oriented advocacy campaigns for which FOE became well-known.

History of International Coordination

Groups in Europe have been coordinating transnationally on environmental issues for a long time. Most obviously, WWF, Greenpeace and FOE are all international organizations that have chapters in almost every country in Europe. These national chapters often meet one another in regionally-focused coordination meetings. But there are also a number of opportunities for cross-organizational cooperation. Transnational cooperation in the environmental issue area has mainly taken four forms:

- *Peak-level associations:* The European Environmental Bureau [EEB], founded in Brussels in 1974, was the original peak-level organization for environmental interests. The EEB was originally intended to inform its members of developments at the EU level and to coordinate their participation in the process. Many of the original members of the EEB were national WWF, Greenpeace and FOE offices.
- *European Policy Offices:* FOE, WWF and Greenpeace themselves began to open Brussels-based offices in the late eighties in order to follow the EU policy process and coordinate the actions of their members.
- *Sector-wide coalitions:* International NGOs based in Brussels have also formed a sector-wide advocacy coalition, the Green 10, which unites all these groups and the EEB. Members of the Green 10 include: the EEB, WWF, FOE, Greenpeace, Transport and Environment [T&E], Birdlife International, Friends of Nature International, the Health and Environment Alliance, CEE Bankwatch Network and the Climate Action Network Europe.

- *Issue-specific coalitions:* On the issue of climate change, coordination among Brussels-based NGOs and national groups is facilitated by the Climate Action Network Europe. The structure of this group will be discussed in greater detail in the subsequent section.

The existence of these four separate coordinating bodies means that cooperation in Brussels is complex on paper.[42] But due to small number of individuals involved, coordination is usually not terribly difficult.

The relative importance of these different forms of coordination has changed over time. Originally, the EEB was the most important actor in Brussels. But since the EU has expanded its competencies in environmental issues: a) national groups have established stronger cross-national coalitions in certain issues (like CAN Europe) and; b) international organizations have consolidated more power in European-level advocacy offices (like Greenpeace EU Unit, WWF European Policy Office, and FOE Europe). As a result, the EEB and the Green 10 have become less central avenues for coordination over time.

It also worth noting that the environmental movement in Western Europe has historically been divided between groups in Eastern Europe and those in Western Europe. Greenpeace groups, for example, originally refused to cooperate with local environmental groups in Eastern Europe (Pearce 2000: 41). Friends of the Earth were more open to groups from Eastern Europe, and included the Polish Ecological Club as a member in 1980. WWF still has few members in Eastern Europe. While these ties are strengthening post-accession, it is fair to say that the

[42] Membership in these different coalitions and associations is overlapping and uneven. None of the European policy offices are members of the EEB, but a lot of their national members are. The European policy offices work with EEB in the Green 10 and in CAN, and some of their national members are also members of CAN directly. This complexity can sometimes lead to confusion and redundancies in action planning.

environmental movement is stronger and more internationally-coordinated in Western and Northern Europe.

Building the Climate Action Network Europe [1989-2006]

International coordination on the issue of climate change has mostly been coordinated through the Climate Action Network [CAN]. CAN Europe [CAN-E] is the original node of CAN International, and was founded by the three major transnational NGOs -- Friends of the Earth [FOE], Greenpeace and World Wildlife Federation [WWF] -- to facilitate coordination for the European groups in the UNFCCC negotiations. When CAN Europe was founded in 1989, it was originally called "Climate Network Europe" – a separate "Climate Network Eastern Europe" was founded several years later. After a decade of European integration, these two regional coalitions did merge in 2004. But the population of groups working on climate change remains more developed and more integrated in Western Europe than in the East.

The original membership in CAN-E came from three main sources:

- National affiliates of WWF, FOE, and Greenpeace, that joined CAN to complement the work of their EU advocacy offices.
- Big environmental groups in the member states (e.g. Deutscher Naturschutzring in Germany, Legambiente in Italy, Stichting Natuur en Milieu in the Netherlands and Danmarks Naturfredningsforening in Denmark) that independently recognized the importance of working transnationally and sought out alliances at the European level.
- Smaller environmental groups in the newer members states, that joined CAN as a result of targeted outreach on the part of the CAN Secretariat (Duwe 2001: 182).

Coordinating action through CAN was politically expedient, but was not without challenges and risks. From the outset, these groups realized that it would be useful to divide tasks related to European and international advocacy. At the same time, groups had to be careful in forming CAN not to allow their independent identities to be subsumed by the coalition. As one participant put it:

> Yes, we work together quite a lot. But we know that we all represent different brands, so we have to be careful to give the appearance of not working together all the time (Interview 15, WWF European Policy Office).

Not only did the founders of CAN resist working together all the time, but they also tried to keep the coalition from developing a strong independent profile. As one observer put it:

> They intentionally created something in Brussels that wasn't a well-known brand ... This was largely because there was a lot of policy coming from Brussels and it was extremely technical. It wasn't 'save the whales' and it wasn't at all sexy; it was technical and boring stuff. And they needed someone to help them with it, but not to compete with their own efforts. (Interview 16, Transport and Environment Europe)

As a result, CAN is less-well known than its major members. But the development of CAN was crucial for the coordination of climate change activism in the changed political environment of the early nineties. Groups working in this time period were dealing with two important trends -- Europeanization and professionalization – that made coordination in CAN even more attractive. The next section details the two most important aspects of these two processes.

Europeanization and Professionalization

Environmental groups in Europe have been affected by two big trends since the early days of the 1970s: Europeanization and professionalization. These two trends are related, as the EU has provided some of the stimulus for the professionalization of these groups. As European integration has progressed, nationally-based groups have gradually come to 'Europeanize' their

interests, shifting their efforts to target the European Union, in addition to or instead of their national governments. And there is ample evidence that groups have also adopted a more professional style in doing so, as I will outline in the following sections.

Europeanization

As the previous section suggests, European environmental advocacy groups have had a long history of international cooperation. This coordination became particularly important after the introduction of the Single European Act in 1986 which dramatically increased EU competencies in the field of the environment. Europeanization in the field of environmental advocacy took two main forms:

First, groups coordinate transnationally in order to gather information about the EU political process and to seek influence at the EU level by working through the policy process. But because of the 'pro-environmental' reputation of the EU, and particularly the European Commission, these groups tend to use conventional strategies of influence (Rootes 2003: 250).

In addition, European politics increasingly influences how organizations behave domestically. In some cases, groups may try to use EU regulation against their national governments. For example, in the United Kingdom, domestic environmental groups sometimes use non-compliance with EU law as a basis for bringing complaints again the national government. Groups may also recognize their government's role in the EU process, and target their national government when they 'stall' the process at the EU-level. For example, Polish and Italian environmental groups often target their national leaders for obstructing the development of environmental policy at the Council phase of decision-making.

Cross-national research in Western Europe has identified a trend of general Europeanization among environmental advocacy groups, pointing to both increased EU-level work and the domestication of EU issues (Grant, Matthews and Newell 2000; Sbragia 2000). But the effect may be uneven across the new and old member states. Many groups located in Eastern Europe still complain of a lack of resources and local support for the kinds of 'participatory' action that are commonplace among Western NGOs. As one Polish representative put it:

> I think the political culture is still in transition. NGOs are not seen as the voice of civil society. But maybe this is justified, because most people don't actually agree with us, and aren't happy with what we do. The EU obliges certain participation standards, but these are really imposed from the outside, they have no roots in society. And this obviously makes it hard for us (Interview 71, Polish Ecological Club)

Because of these limitations, transnational coalitions often work to promote the work and participation of environmental groups in the new member states, to provide them with additional resources to encourage them to engage in transnational action.

Professionalization

Environmental groups in Europe have also become increasingly professionalized since their early days of the 1970s. This is particularly true of Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, both of which have gone from small upstarts to huge, financially well-off organizations. We can observe this trend towards professionalization in three ways:

- *Expansion of support and resources*: Greenpeace was originally made up of a few activists and a boat. Greenpeace International had an annual budget of about 50 million

euros in 2009; WWF International had more than 100 million euros in the same year.[43] The chapters of Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth in the UK, Netherlands and Germany often have budgets that are even larger, with hundreds of staff members. These groups have also dramatically expanded their membership over the past forty years. Collectively, the NGOs participating in the Green 10 are estimated to represent 5 million European citizens.

- *Integration into the policy-making process:* Environmental groups have also gone from 'outsiders' to 'insiders' in the policy process, although the nature and extent of the policy access of green groups varies depending on the state. In the Netherlands, Germany, Nordic Countries (and to some extent UK), environmental groups have regular and formalized access to the policy-process. In other countries, such as Belgium and France, these groups have strong ties to Green parties.
- *Improved quality of scientific information:* Perhaps reflecting their changed role, environmental NGOs have improved the quality of the scientific information they use to make their claims. For example, Greenpeace International today has its own science office with over 100 staff members. The practice of using independent experts, producing independent reports and using in-house staff to re-analyze government reports is now standard in the environmental community. Groups that are not able to do this on their own often report relying on allies to get access to this kind of information.

The professionalization of these groups can limit the forms of action they can use. For a lot of groups, there is a need to balance maintaining grassroots support with outside action and having

[43] As a point of reference, the annual budget of the UNFCCC Secretariat was about 55 million US dollars for 2008-2009 (See http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2009/sbi/eng/02.pdf). Greenpeace International regularly rents an office at the UNFCCC negotiations that is as large as the office for the entire US Delegation.

access to policy-makers, both of which are necessary to keep the organization financially viable. As these groups grow and gain financial assets, they can also become the targets of legal action, as both Greenpeace and FOE have experienced after attempting anti-corporate campaigns (Rootes 2003: 5). This may make these groups more conservative about sponsoring actions that may get them into legal trouble.[44]

Working in Brussels

The dual processes of professionalization and Europeanization are particularly evident among environmental groups that work at the European level. These processes generate two main outcomes: the development of reformist and moderate demands, and the selection of EU-level targets for advocacy.

The positions the major environmental groups in Brussels tend to be moderate and reform-oriented. Because these groups usually work in coalitions, they also try to coordinate their demands. This means that they develop joint programs with demands that are slightly beyond what they feel can be reasonably achieved in the next policy-cycle. Most of their work is concerned with advocating for these proposals and fending off criticism from other actors (e.g. industry representatives or laggard states).

Staff members in Brussels repeatedly state that they have to put forward positions that are 'politically possible' in order to be taken seriously by decision-makers. As one participant put it:

> The main job is to push for the most ambitious proposal. But in reality, that often means working to prevent getting something worse. We spend a lot of time defending ourselves

[44] Based on cross-national protest event analysis, Rootes and his colleagues report that groups in Northern Europe have tended to use less protest actions since the late eighties. However, the trend seems to be reversed in Southern Europe, where groups rely on protest to a greater extent and have less policy access (Rootes 2003: 247).

> against reactionaries, and this means going for what is politically possible (Interview 3, European Environmental Bureau).

Environmental activists in Brussels are certainly aware that their political positioning is close to that of the European institutions. But they interpret this as a sign that they hold influence in the process. As a CAN-E staff member puts it:

> When people criticize us for being too close to DG Environment, I tell them that we're not close to them, they're close to us (Interview 7, Climate Action Network Europe)

Environmental groups working in Brussels are also highly attuned to the stages of the EU policy process. These organizations overwhelmingly follow the "Brussels route of interest representation" through the various stages of policy-making (Greenwood 2007:30).[45] Practically speaking, a 'Brussels strategy' has several components, which can combine actions in Brussels and in the member states (see also Long and Lörinczi 2009). The process generally starts with the European Commission. A respondent from Greenpeace described the process like this:

> We identify issues to take up on the basis of the Commission's work plan. We know from experience what are the likely country positions and controversies. Then we move up the ladder of people to talk to, starting with desk offices, then unit heads, then to the DG, and eventually to all the DGs. If there is one particular Commissioner who is posing a problem, we sometimes take the issue to the Greenpeace chapter in their home country. This strategy works particularly well if the Commissioner is well known, and if there is some sensitivity to environmental issues already in that country. The idea is to leak the Commissioner's position to the press, so as to embarrass them publicly (Interview 14, Greenpeace EU Unit).

All organizations report a great deal of success in influencing the Commission, and generally consider this institution to be the most favorable to their interests. Representatives of CAN-E, for example, reports that they have excellent ties inside DG environment, and can often 'see their language' in the proposals of the Commission (Interview 7, Climate Action Network Europe).

[45] The European Court of Justice is not a regular target for these groups, although they have in the past brought suit on issues of non-compliance by member states.

After the Commission, the proposal goes to the Parliament. Here environmental groups focus on talking to the Rapporteur, as well as to the parties that support the legislation. They suggest specific language and send questions through sympathetic Members of the European Parliament [MEPs]. They also prepare voting lists, and will divide up MEPs with the other environmental groups so that they can lobby individually all 700+ members. On important pieces of legislation, they may also choose to bring in campaigners from national level groups. At this stage in policy making, these organizations consider 'public-facing' strategies of influence to be more appropriate, given the democratic character of the Parliament. Thus they focus a lot of their attention on doing joint and individual media work and reacting to votes and decisions in the Parliament.

After the Parliament has taken action on a proposal, it generally goes to the European Council. These organizations consider that they have much less access to this institution. As FOE-E puts it, "The Council portrays itself as an institution where no lobbying takes place; the secretariat keeps no listing of lobbyists and takes the position that all contact with lobbyists and NGOs is handled with the European Commission" (Interview 28, Friends of the Earth Europe). This means that:

> In light in this lack of access, we pursue three strategies. The first is to pursue the attachés. The second is to develop a good working relationship with the Presidency. And the third focuses on working through national groups to influence their home countries. This is done primarily through lobbying and information sharing. Before important environmental conferences the [European Environmental Bureau] will send out a report to the ministers, informing them of the demands of the organization. Ministers have come to expect and rely on these reports, particularly those in new member states who have little access to information. If we are a week late sending these reports we will get calls asking for them. (Interview 3, European Environmental Bureau)

Information leaks present groups in Brussels with an opportunity to target those countries that are 'being difficult.' But because of the lack of access to the Council, these groups often choose to work through national channels. This often means calling on national member organizations to lobby or protest against their home governments. However, this approach can also be difficult to implement. For one thing, it requires close communication with national groups. Also, the effectiveness of these kinds of actions also depends on the political situation of the target country. In climate change policy, national governments may or may not be more vulnerable in their home countries, as most of the decisions are being taken by foreign ministries, which are also somewhat 'off limits' to civil society groups.

Becoming Stakeholders

Groups that follow the Brussels process have even more incentives to professionalize and institutionalize than those working at the national level. This is true for at least three reasons: a) the European Commission provides more access to groups that are more professional; b) the Commission provides a great deal of funding to most of the organizations working in Brussels; and c) the nature of policy-making in Brussels tends to be technical and information-driven. As a result, these groups also tend to be very moderate in the forms of action they employ.

Environmental groups in Brussels continually point to the importance of having a good relationship with the European Commission as a motivation for wanting to appear professional. The Commission is particularly important to these groups because it is the arena where NGOs consider they can have the most influence, provided that they have 'politically useful' information. Moreover, all of these organizations, except Greenpeace, get a large portion of their annual budget from the Commission (European Commission 2011).

The Commission itself reiterates the importance of these same ‘professional’ criteria:

> NGOs work to establish their credibility with the institutions so that they can get resources and have influence. This credibility is established through the size of the organization (how many people it represents), its representativeness, and the quality of the work that it does. The institutions favor actors who provide them with information that is politically useful, or can provide them with a specific service. It seems, however, that this is a difficult question to answer, because in almost every policy sector the credible actors are already established. (Interview 4, DG Environment)

Among the organizations working in Brussels, there seems to be a consensus that conventional ‘lobbying’ actions have the greatest possibility of success. Thus although protest action and strong criticism may be a theoretical possibility, or even a logical choice for these groups at various points, there seems to be a strong norm that this type of thing is not done. Moreover, the evidence suggests that this moderation in action forms is not only driven by budget concerns. Even Greenpeace EU Unit, which does not take funding from the Commission, uses primarily conventional tactics. Evidence suggests that the EU Unit is unusual within the Greenpeace network. As an internal newsletter describes the Director of the EU Unit:

> You won't have seen pictures of her handcuffed to an anchor chain or hanging a banner from a smokestack. As a Greenpeace climate and energy policy advisor stationed in Brussels, she's more likely to be decked out in a smart suit than a wetsuit, working the corridors of the European Parliament (Greenpeace International, 2005).

Greenpeace International does, however, very occasionally sponsor protest actions in Brussels. Interestingly, when these actions take place, they are coordinated by the International office, and not the Brussels office (Interview 21, Greenpeace International). Campaigners are ‘imported’ from Amsterdam for such actions, not pulled from the locally-based staff.

Nationally-based Greenpeace groups are also encouraged to be professional when they target the EU as well. The very contentious Greenpeace Italy described their decision to occupy coal-fired power plants during the G8 summit like this:

> During the G8 it was a big moment of decision-making, so we needed a confrontation... So we wanted to do something to confront the government in a big dramatic way, to make a show on the outside too (Interview 75, Greenpeace Italy)

But when it comes to working with the EU, the same group reports using primarily conventional actions – such as lobbying for a directive on energy efficient light bulbs – in cooperation with the EU Unit.

Professionalization doesn't only affect long-time groups in Brussels. The fact that the 'credible actors are already established' can create favoritism in Brussels policy-making. As a participant from the Parliament notes, 'breaking in' to Brussels politics can be difficult, because the big groups tend to act as gate keepers:

> It's a good question how organizations establish credibility with us. Generally speaking, if a new NGO comes forward, I'd ask the big groups what their opinion is of that group. But this is all done through personal networks, and it's very small. (Interview 6, European Parliament)

This means that groups that want to work in Brussels often need to gain the support of the already-established actors. And in climate change policy, this usually means joining or coordinating with the Climate Action Network.

The Climate Action Network Europe [2007-2009]

The time period of this study – 2007 to 2009 – comes after more than two decades of Europeanization and professionalization. Transnational cooperation through the Climate Action Network was already well-established from the outset of my research.

CAN-E wasn't new; its routines had been tried and tested in the previous decade. But the 2007-2009 time period was unique, for two reasons. First, during this time the membership of CAN-E dramatically expanded and diversified, bringing in actors from new issue areas and with different tactical histories. Second, Copenhagen was a major political moment for these groups, who viewed COP 15 as 'the most important meeting of our lives' and 'a moment that will determine the fate of humanity.' For both these reasons, this time period might have been a moment of transformation for the coalition and its members.

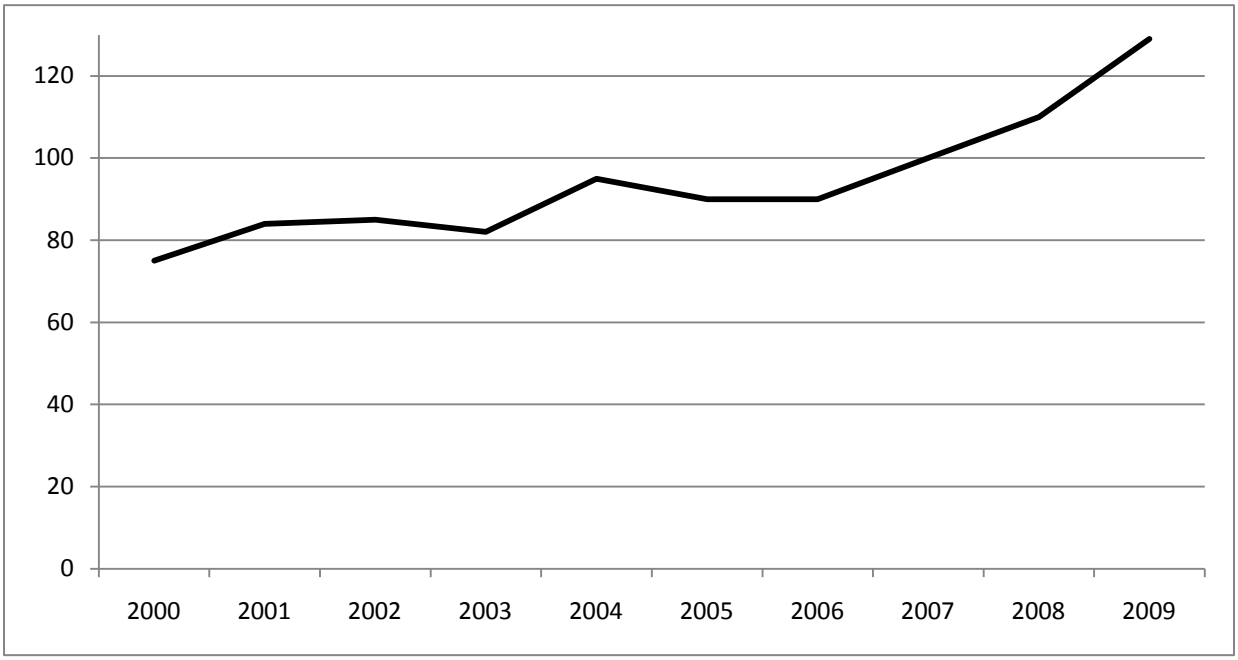
CAN-E was a vehicle for the harmonization of political positions and tactics among a large and diverse group of organizations, many of whom were new to the issue area. Participating in CAN-E also encouraged groups to adopt conventional tactics, and to continue to use them even when such forms of action became less obviously useful. In joining CAN-E, new actors were exposed to the influence of moderate gate-keepers that used their influence over others to convince them to adopt a moderate, professional style of advocacy and to actively resist radicalizing their tactics. This section focuses on how CAN-E functions and how it develops joint positions among its diverse members. The next section focuses on how the coalition coordinates action plans and helps members to resist radicalization.

Membership Expansion

In advance of the Copenhagen summit, the number of organizations working on climate change dramatically increased. This is reflected in the quantitative data I discuss in the first half of this dissertation, but it can also be seen in the increase in the number of groups that participated in the CAN coalition. Membership in CAN Europe dramatically expanded during a very short time

period. In 2000 CAN-E had 75 organizational members, and by 2007 it had grown to 100 organizational members. By 2008, this figure had jumped to 129 (See Figure 5.1). [46]

Figure 5.1: Growth in Membership in the Climate Action Network Europe



Not all organizations that requested to join CAN become members. By 2009, the number of demands to join CAN-E was so high that the Secretariat placed a freeze on most new memberships. The membership freeze was based on the concern that these new organizations might want to join 'opportunistically' for the Copenhagen summit and not stay active afterwards.

The rationale for freezing membership requests illustrates an important element about how CAN functions. Though the stated reason for the freeze was that adding more members would make it hard to reach a quorum for voting, a lot of the concern voiced privately was that there wasn't enough time to build common positions and trust with new organizations in order to make joint action and information exchange profitable. CAN wanted to be a coalition in which extensive coordination took place, and new members could not commit 'lightly' to participation,

[46] Membership figures are drawn from internal organizational records provided to the author.

nor should they benefit too easily from the common goods. Essentially, coalition members feared that new members might not be adequately socialized into the coalition in the limited amount of time, or might be able to 'free ride' on the actions of others without true participation.

Most of the growth in approved CAN membership from 2007-2009 can be attributed to the increased interest of national environmental non-governmental organizations in transnational coordination. Virtually all environmental groups wanted to work on climate change during this time period, because for these groups "climate has become our meta-frame" (Interview, Danish 92 Group). In addition to environmental groups, development organizations concerned about the effects of climate change on vulnerable states and the implications of global climate policy for development issues also formed a large component of the new CAN membership.

The new members increased complexity in CAN-E coordination. In the early days, the entire network of CAN Europe consisted of about 30 people; by Copenhagen, a CAN Europe meeting could easily have 250 people. This meant that the informal norms of the coalition had to become increasingly formalized as operating procedures.

Operating Procedures

Responding to the growth in its membership, CAN-E developed more formalized membership agreements, a code of conduct, and standard operating procedures for the development of policy papers and related action strategies. Becoming a member of CAN-E means agreeing to three essential rules:

1) Refraining from criticism of the positions of the coalition or other members;
2) Keeping internal communications confidential[47]; and

[47] This rule makes research on the CAN-E coalition more difficult than within more radical coalitions, which were (perhaps ironically) more open to observers. During the time period of my research I had exceptional access: I spent approximately one day per week observing meetings of the Climate Action Network Europe in Brussels and daily

3) Respecting the procedure that the coalition releases its joint press release before any individual organization.

Members in CAN also agree to contribute funding to the Secretariat. This membership fee is based on a sliding scale, in which organizations with bigger budgets pay more. The Secretariat uses this money to pay the staff that produces the analysis and policy updates that are distributed to members. In addition, a portion of the money that is contributed to CAN is redistributed to member organizations in 'outreach countries' – mainly in Eastern Europe – to help these organizations attend meetings in Brussels and at the UN.

CAN also formalized procedures for coordinating policy development. On paper, CAN functions according to 'consensus' procedures. But, as the organization acknowledges, the positions on which participants are invited to contribute are often 'premeditated' by the big member groups. This means that the international NGOs in CAN – FOE, WWF, Oxfam, and Greenpeace – are extensively consulted before proposals are drafted. Once these groups have given their line-by-line critiques of the document, the proposal is then circulated to the entire membership via an email list for an 'up-or-down' vote. Member groups are given a deadline to submit comments on the proposal, although extensive revisions are unusual.

When the UNFCCC meetings are in session, CAN operating procedures are somewhat different. CAN-E works as a regional node within the CAN International network, and a lot of the positions it takes are broader than its work in Europe. Action or policy proposals in this setting are arrived at by a modified consensus procedure. Proposals are first discussed in topic-based working groups, which are open to all participants. They are then taken up in a Political

---

during COPs at the UNFCCC, had many informal chats with participants, and was subscribed to several of their internal mailing lists. These observations inform my understanding of how the coalition operates, and helped me to develop better interview questions. But as per my agreement with CAN participants, I do not report directly on internal communications unless they have been discussed with me in on-the-record interviews.

Coordination Group that consists of representatives of all the regional nodes, working group chairs and representatives of the international NGOs. Then the proposals are taken to the daily meeting, where individuals are asked to vote on whether or not they support the initiative. Generally speaking, proposals tend to pass at this stage. In practice, 'consensus' at this stage means that no more than 5% of members (and none of the big groups) disapprove of the proposal.

During the time period of this study, CAN-E was active in two main areas: 1) the EU's Climate and Energy Package; and 2) the coordination of action for the UNFCCC summit in Copenhagen (Climate Action Network Europe, Document 17). This meant developing both policy positions and action strategies on these topics. The next sections illustrate how these procedures operate concretely.

Developing Reform-Oriented Aims

Through the process of affiliating with CAN, organizations agree to contribute to the development of joint positions. This coordination is the core of CAN's work: most NGOs believe that by coordinating their activities and 'speaking with one voice' they increase their chance of influencing the policy process.

Regardless of the specific issue, CAN joint positions share a science-based, reformist and professional character. This style is evident in the position papers and joint programs CAN produces for the international negotiations, which tend to use technical language and draw on environmental science as a justification for government action.

Both the content and the style of CAN materials emphasize technical knowledge and try to establish these actors as 'experts.' For example, the 2009 joint program of the Climate Action Network for the Copenhagen negotiations stated that:

> The new science also shows that with any delay in action the costs of mitigation and adaptation increase significantly. Delaying significant actions by even 5-10 years undermines our ability to stay well below 2°C and severely undermines the effectiveness of long-term adaptation action (Climate Action Network 2009, Document 42).

The language here frames the climate issue in a scientific manner, addressing its proposals to existing policy tracks within the UNFCCC, and draws on scientific research to justify its policy prescriptions.

It is important to note that the 'science-based' frame does not ignore justice issues such as the issue of north-south equity, adaptation or finance – but it frames these issues in a technical manner. The same joint program also stated on its first page:

> Efforts to address climate change must adequately reflect the right to sustainable development and also the principles of historical responsibility and common but differentiated responsibilities and capabilities as enshrined in the Convention (Climate Action Network 2009, Document 42).

By using the awkward language of 'common but differentiated responsibilities' (which comes directly from the UNFCCC) CAN appeals to an insider constituency of experts, while not framing issues in terms of broader systemic issues or social consequences.

Organizations within CAN tend to adopt this same moderate and reform-oriented approach in their individual activities, for two reasons. First, organizations within CAN get access to similar kinds of information, which can lead them to develop similar analyses. The benefits of working within CAN include gaining access to list-serves on which developments in the policy process are reported and discussed, and participating in workshops in which groups

develop their analyses and recommendations. This is particularly important for small groups that do not have independent access to information about the policy process, or the new non-environmental groups that do not know the issue area well.

Second, the operating procedures of the coalition make it so that the process of developing joint positions tends towards the 'least common denominator' political position. For example, in the discussion of which targets for emissions reductions CAN-E should ask for during the Climate and Energy Package, group's positions ranged from 30-45%. The official position of CAN-E called for emissions reductions of 'at least 30%' in order to accommodate the demands of least ambitious groups (Climate Action Network, Document 42). Thus in practice, the positions of the network tend to be fairly close to those of WWF, which many consider the 'lightest' of the green groups. Thus more radical groups (like Friends of the Earth) have to moderate their demands to a fairly large extent when they work within CAN.

Finally, the general position within CAN-E is to avoid making joint decisions on controversial issues if they are 'non-essential' to the coalition's core advocacy goals. Important fault lines exist between members on issues such as the use of carbon markets, biofuels, and carbon capture and storage technology. These divisions have been dealt with by either not taking joint positions on these issues or by being intentionally vague about the coalition's positions.

Coordinating Collective Action in CAN

In addition to influencing the kinds of aims organizations develop, CAN also has a strong influence on the forms of collective action that its members use. Members of CAN tend employ conventional forms of lobbying when they work at the transnational level. This continued to be true even after a variety of development groups with social justice backgrounds joined the

coalition in 2007-2009. This section details why organizations within CAN tend to be – and remain – conventional in their forms of action.

Advocacy and Lobbying

As the previous sections outlined, the large environmental organizations in Europe have been influenced by processes of Europeanization and professionalization for decades prior to Copenhagen. The structure and operating procedures of the CAN coalition make these groups de facto 'gate keepers' controlling the access of new members to international institutions, and policy, and strategic information. As a result, CAN is mainly a vehicle for the coordination of contained forms of advocacy.

For example, CAN-E was tireless in coordinating member activities during the development of the European Climate and Energy Package. As part of its strategic work plan, CAN distributed to member organizations in early 2008 a calendar with all the anticipated dates of European decision-making on climate change.[48] For each of these moments, CAN-E drafted an action strategy, which included coordinated demands, writing joint letters, and making plans for dividing up the work of lobbying national and European delegates (Climate Action Network Europe, Document 17). CAN-E participated in stakeholder conferences, held briefings at the Parliament, and worked with the media to publicize their demands during this crucial time period. National members of CAN-E and the big NGOs also got involved directly during the Council phase, particularly those coming from Germany and Poland.

This conventional and regularized style of advocacy is sometimes a bit odd for nationally-based groups that are used to a more confrontational style of activism. For example,

[48] This likely explains the findings from Chapter Two that conventional forms of collective action are closely linked to major moments in the policy-making cycle.

the stakeholder consultation at the European Commission on the Climate and Energy Package in fall 2008 included a number of representatives making fairly technical speeches, followed by comments invited from the floor. Afterwards, participants were invited to a buffet lunch that included gourmet food, wine and champagne. As one participant unaccustomed to Brussels-style politics commented, "This is all pretty weird for me. I mean we're environmentalists! Why are we drinking champagne? Shouldn't we be out on the streets or something?"

This same style of advocacy pervades within the UNFCCC. These work routines are well-established, and the 2008 and 2009 COPs followed a familiar pattern of conventional advocacy (See Betsill 2008; Fisher 2004; Hoffman 2008; Mori 2004). CAN activities in Poznan and Copenhagen included lobbying national and EU delegates, making official interventions in conference plenaries, hosting 'side events,' and providing information through reports. CAN also produces a daily newspaper – ECO – that provides a humorous and informative overview of the coalition's political positions and objectives. As Figure 5.2 shows, the first issue for Copenhagen translated the joint program into a 'checklist' that delegates could use to assess the outcome of the COP. CAN-E's work also consists of making joint statements, holding press conferences, and being interviewed for European and international media.

Organizations learn how to engage in these kinds of activities from their peers. For example, prior to every COP, CAN holds a weekend 'strategy session' for member organizations. At these sessions, organizations come together to finalize their plans for the COP and to gain political intelligence from one another.

Figure 5.2: ECO Newsletter on the FAB Essentials, December 2009

CLIMATE NEGOTIATIONS COPENHAGEN DECEMBER `09 NGO NEWSLETTER

ECO

7 DECEMBER FABULOUS ISSUE

ECO has been published by Non-Governmental Environmental Groups at major international conferences since the Stockholm Environm ent Conference in 1972. This issue is produced co-operatively by Climate Action Network groups attending COP15 in Copenhagen in December 2009.

It must be a FAB deal

The attention of the world will focus on Copenhagen over the next two weeks, and eagerly awaits the outcomes of this conference. As we come together at this defining moment in time, the Climate Action Network (CAN) presents the essentials for a successful climate deal. It has to be FAB – Fair, Ambitious and Binding. In effect, the agreement which comes out of Copenhagen must safeguard the climate and must be fair to all countries. Specifically, it must include the following commitments.

- **Keep warming well below 2°C**
  - Reducing greenhouse gas concentrations ultimately to 350ppm carbon dioxide-equivalent.
  - Peaking emissions within the 2013-2017 commitment period and rapidly declining emissions by at least 80% below 1990 levels by 2050.
  - Achieving this in a way that fully reflects the historic and current contributions of developed countries to climate change and the right of developing countries to sustainable development.

- **Industrialised countries as a group must take a target of more than 40% below 1990 levels by 2020**
  - Reductions for individual countries should be assigned based on historic and present responsibility for emissions as well as current capacity to reduce emissions.
  - The use of offsets must be limited. As long as developed country targets fall short of ensuring that domestic emissions are reduced by at least 30% below 1990 levels by 2020, there is no room – or indeed need – for offsets.
  - Accounting for emissions and removals from Land Use, Land-Use Change and Forestry (LULUCF) must be based on what the atmosphere sees.
  - Major sources of emissions must be accounted for, for example forest and peatland degradation.
  - LULUCF credits must not undermine or substitute for the significant investments and efforts required to reduce fossil fuel emissions.

- **Developing countries must be supported in their efforts to limit the growth of their industrial emissions, making substantial reductions below business-as-usual**

- **Emissions from deforestation and degradation must be reduced to zero by 2020, funded by at least US$35 billion per year from developed countries**

- **Developed countries need to provide at least US$195 billion in public financing per year by 2020, in addition to ODA commitments, for developing country actions**
  - At least US$95 billion per year for low emissions development, halting deforestation, agriculture, and technology research and development in developing countries.
  - At least US$100 billion per year in grants for adaptation in developing countries, including an international climate insurance pool.

- **Double counting must be avoided**
  - Offsets, purchased by an industrialised country from developing countries to help meet the industrialised country's emissions reduction goal cannot be counted as also helping the developing country to meet its emissions reduction goal.
  - Payments for offsets should not be double counted. At least US$195 billion in public financing is required to support developing countries in reducing their emissions to the level demanded by science, and payments for offsets must not contribute towards this minimum public financing.

- **An Adaptation Action Framework that immediately and massively scales up predictable and reliable support to developing countries to adapt to the impacts of climate change**

- **Copenhagen outcomes must be legally binding and enforceable**
  - Until the international community agrees to a system that provides better environmental outcomes, a stronger compliance mechanism, and has widespread support, the Kyoto Protocol should continue with a second commitment period.
  - A complementary agreement should provide emission reduction commitments by the US comparable to other developed countries, incorporate financial commitments, and cover developing country action.

ISSUE N01 VOLUME CXXII FREE OF CHARGE

But these sessions are also a crucial venue for groups new to the process to learn the work routines of CAN. [49] Every strategy session includes at least one breakout group on 'how to work within the UNFCCC' and another that outlines 'a typical day in the life of a climate campaigner at the COP.' As another participant put it, CAN has a large influence on the kinds of strategies organizations choose to use, which often differ from the things they do in national settings:

> It seems like in CAN a lot of the large groups set the tune, and we all tend to follow that. But when we work at home, we can't always sell that, so we might do different things (Interview 67, Greenpeace Germany).

The institutionalization of NGO activities within the UNFCCC has not gone unnoticed by the institution. For example, prior to Copenhagen Yvo de Boer, the Executive Secretary of the UNFCCC at the time, commented informally to development NGOs during a meeting the UK that he was 'surprised at how bureaucratized NGOs are in the climate negotiations, wearing suits and negotiating instead of slinging bricks through the windows.' Similarly, in Copenhagen Lumumba Da-Ping, lead negotiator for the G77[50], stated much more critically in a public briefing with civil society during COP 15:

> I'll say this to our colleagues from Western civil society: you have become instruments of your governments. Whether you say it's tactically shrewd or not, it's an error that you should not continue to make.

NGO representatives were well-aware of these critiques of their 'insider' strategies. But, for the most part these groups tended to interpret these comments as calls to not 'be captured by low ambitions of political leaders' and have not necessarily taken them as a comments on their tactics themselves.

---

[49] Wang and Soule 2011 find that tactics tend to diffuse from larger to smaller groups. My study of the CAN coalition supports the idea that inter-organizational coalitions can also be venues for learning and the diffusion of tactics, and that the dominance of large groups within coalitions means that smaller groups tend to imitate the larger ones.

[50] The G77 is a negotiating block that grew out of the non-aligned movement, and includes most developing countries within the UNFCCC.

Global Days of Action and Media Stunts

Despite the extensive use of conventional forms of action, NGOs do not work exclusively in the hallways. Many of the larger NGOs typically supplement these activities with creative and media-friendly protest stunts, such as banner hanging, melting ice sculptures, or marches of people wearing polar bear costumes. Although these actions constitute a small percentage of their overall action profile, these types of action can be important in keeping the support of members who may be attached to the radical images of these groups.

For example, during the 2008 Climate and Energy Package, FOE, Greenpeace, WWF and CAN-E worked together to organize the 'Time to Lead Campaign.' The goal of this campaign was to draw media attention to the need for the EU to develop a strong climate policy in order to lead the international negotiations. As part of this campaign, groups organized a phone bank outside the European Parliament where individuals could call their representatives to tell them 'it's time to lead.' They also did a number of other media-friendly stunts, such as placing a block of melting ice outside the Parliament to represent 'the EU's melting ambition' and staging a skit in Poznan where Santa Claus arrived to give different 'industry representatives' and 'key countries' a 'very special climate package' as an early Christmas present.

Publicity stunts such as these became much more frequent in 2009. One of the reasons for this was the development of the Global Campaign for Climate Action [GCCA]. The GCCA was intended to be the public action arm behind CAN positions, and was a coalition of many of the same groups (Greenpeace, WWF and Oxfam). The GCCA was not branded as a high profile organization in its own right, but worked to complement the insider lobbying strategies of the big NGOs. For example, the GCCA sponsored a 'rapid response' team in the Spring of 2009 to react to EU-level decisions related to the development of the Copenhagen strategy. These 'responses'

were closely coordinated with CAN, and included placing advertisements criticizing key governments and doing media stunts to draw attention to key moments in decision-making.

Non-violent marches and demonstrations are understood to be part of the repertoire of contention about the UNFCCC. The main activity of the GCCA was to sponsor a non-violent climate march during the Copenhagen summit. Since 2005, these marches have been sponsored by a small organization out of London calling itself the Global Campaign Against Climate Change. In Poznan, this march attracted a few thousand people, and was coordinated with similar marches throughout the world. As the organizers explained it:

> We envision ourselves as the public protest that stands behind the CAN positions. And a big part of our task is just to show that such a movement exists (Interview 20, Global Campaign Against Climate Change)

Copenhagen continued this tradition, but on a much larger scale. By reaching out to (mainly) CAN members and local Danes and Swedes, the GCCA mobilized an impressive non-violent march of one-hundred thousand people from the center of Copenhagen to the conference venue, according to media reports. Once the march reached the conference center, Desmond Tutu led a candlelight vigil that implored world leaders to reach an ambitious climate agreement. The march was both reform-oriented in its messaging and contained in its forms of action. Authorities did not hassle the protestors, and the demonstration was even broadcast to those inside of the conference center.

Resisting Radicalization

Groups within CAN not only encouraged one another to use conventional forms of action; they actively resisted processes of radicalization. Groups adopt conventional tactics because they genuinely believe in the power of their own influence. While they are aware of the potential

dangers of being co-opted, conventional groups knowingly decide to accept restrictions on their behavior in exchange for the opportunity for influence (Willetts 1999). As one put it:

> Do we get played by them? Of course we do. But at a certain point you have to decide that it's worth it to try and have an influence on the outcome (Interview 29, WWF European Policy Office 2009).

This doesn't mean that the NGOs always support the decisions of institutional actors. On the contrary, European officials frequently complain that no matter what they do, the NGOs will tell them that it's not good enough.[51] But the European groups also have developed good working relationships with these institutions that allow them to be outwardly critical, while still constructive. As one puts it:

> We're hard in the sense that they know that we're not just going to roll over when they suggest something dodgy. But they also know that we're not going to propose something off the wall either. (Interview 32, WWF UK)

Here the exception proves the rule. After the release of the Council conclusions on the EU Climate and Energy Package in December 2009, this group of NGOs decided to issue a very strongly worded joint press statement, criticizing the package and asking the Parliament to reject it unless it was improved.[52] This was done at a joint press conference in Poznan, and was picked up as a new story in a number of major media outlets.

Officials from DG Environment were furious that the NGOs had criticized 'their' package, and expressed their disapproval to the leaders of these groups through private channels. This censure seemed to work, as, almost immediately, these organizations told me that they

[51] In doing so, European leaders frequently complain that environmental groups in the United States are much more supportive of Democratic administrations, and that the European groups are overly critical in comparison. The divide between European and American groups is one of the biggest tensions within the international CAN coalition.
[52] This may seem mundane, but this is probably the strongest statement of non-support the NGO community can make. In calling for the Parliament to reject the package they essentially argued that they would rather have nothing than what had been proposed.

began to worry that they may have gone too far and damaged their credibility with the Commission. In the New Year, there was still talk about doing something positive 'for the Commission' to repair the relationship.

There is another reason to resist radicalization: groups can face serious institutional sanctions within the UNFCCC if they deviate from contained forms of collective action. Groups that receive accreditation to attend UNFCCC negotiations have to agree to a code of conduct which limits the scope of their potential actions. If a member of a group engages in a non-authorized action, the entire group risks exclusion. Thus groups that wish to participate inside the UNFCCC need to monitor the behavior of their members. Prior to and during COP 15, CAN representatives repeatedly reminded members of the 'code of conduct' they had agreed to, specifying the clause about 'no un-authorized demonstrations.' Groups within CAN were made very aware that a decision to use contentious action in the conference center could result in the exclusion of other members of their delegation.

More broadly, because civil society groups work in coalitions, they fear that the status of civil society as a whole may be threatened if they appear 'irresponsible.' Therefore, groups also try to rein in other groups that may be considering deviating from contained forms of advocacy in order to protect their own interests. One example of this was the inter-organizational negotiations that took place before the GCCA's Global Day of Action in Copenhagen. The GCCA had billed the event as a 'family-friendly climate walk' and had held many meetings with police to ensure them that it would be entirely non-violent. However, once the GCCA representatives got word that there would be a large number of anarchists and radical protesters in town at the same time, they became highly concerned that these groups would hijack their march and engage in property damage or civil disobedience. This kind of violence – it was

thought – would damage the reputation of civil society as a whole. As a result of this concern, the GCCA sent representatives to a meeting of more radical groups [Climate Justice Action] to try to convince them not to engage in radical forms of protest. Although the GCCA representatives did not convince them to give up their own action plans, the CJA did eventually agree not to disrupt the plans for the Saturday march, which went as scheduled.

CAN leaders were also important in restraining protest actions by other organizations. For example, once it became clear that only 90 civil society representatives would be allowed to be present during the high-level segment of the negotiations, some individuals and groups within CAN began calling for a mass protest, and others began circulating plans to refuse to leave the venue. In this context, prominent CAN members sent emails urging their colleagues to leave the venue when instructed, warning that any resistance could result in all civil society accreditation being revoked. Youth delegates to the COP, for example, reported that big groups were important in exerting behind-the-scenes pressure to get them to give up their protest plans.

In the end, there was no organized resistance to leaving the conference center. The next day CAN members met in a new meeting space outside the venue, where they continued their normal procedures of sharing information and drafting statements more or less as usual. While this decision was broadly accepted, some groups were outraged by the lack of action by the coalition. One prominent member raised the point that the decision to comply with the UNFCCC's decision had been too pragmatic – the issue raised core issues of the legitimacy of the process. Another participant reported that an enraged reporter had informed him that he could easily bring 100 journalists to cover a protest sponsored by NGOs to highlight their exclusion. But nevertheless, neither of these proposals seemed to carry much weight within the coalition, and because of the 'consensus' procedures, the dissenting groups were obligated to go

along. By and large, groups in CAN stuck with their original game plan and encourage one another to resist radicalization, even once political opportunities had more or less completely closed.

Outcome

The outcome of the Copenhagen Summit was politically devastating for conventional advocacy groups. After years of developing careful policy based on what they believed were politically possible scenarios, the ultimate agreement fell dramatically short of what they felt was fair, ambitious and binding.

Not only were groups devastated by the outcome, but they were crushed that they had been almost completely sidelined in the final hours of the negotiations. They felt betrayed by their leaders, and were completely unwilling to accept the emerging Copenhagen Accord, which was eventually supported by the EU. As a result, the experience in Copenhagen made many of these groups believe that the UNFCCC should not be the only venue for international action on climate change. This had important policy consequences, as Chapter Eight will demonstrate.

Friends of the Earth

Because of its unique position in the climate change network, the Friends of the Earth require a bit of additional explanation. Because FOE transitions during the time of this study from being a conventional to more contentious group, it does not fit easily in either category. Therefore, I will discuss FOE separately in both this chapter and the next, highlighting its overlap with both contentious and conventional groups, and the reasons for its distinctiveness.

As this chapter notes, FOE started around the same time as Greenpeace, and was originally associated with confrontational public campaigns. The organization underwent a

similar process of professionalization and Europeanization in the 1980s and 1990s, and at the start of this study was still primarily involved in conventional actions when acting at the European level.

But Friends of the Earth underwent major changes during the time period of this study. First, as previously noted, FOE International had decided in 2007 to join the emerging Climate Justice Now! coalition, and in 2008 had withdrawn from CAN, in what observers called a 'no fault divorce.' This meant that FOE adopted a climate justice frame in its mobilization materials, and was taking more radical positions than in the past.

Within Europe, many FOE organizations opted to stay within CAN, largely because FOE Europe still had close working relations with the other Brussels NGOs. FOE-E worked through the CAN process, and did work in Brussels on the Climate and Energy Package and climate financing for Copenhagen. This meant that FOE groups were divided and in a pivotal position in the inter-organizational network, as Chapter Three demonstrated.

The procedure for organizing campaigns within FOE also changed during the 2007-2009 period. While it used to be that FOE-E developed materials and proposed them to national offices, during this time period national groups within FOE increasingly began to coordinate directly, diffusing strategies from the bottom up. One example of this was the 'Big Ask Campaign' which pushed for national climate bills. This campaign was developed in the UK and imitated by FOE offices all over Europe. Another example was the Human Flood action, in which participants dress in blue and march through the streets, simulating what a climate-induced flood might produce. This action was developed by FOE Finland, and eventually became the core of FOE's action plan for Copenhagen.

FOE groups thus gradually came to learn from one another more than from their European office. There were a number of key venues in which this learning took place. One was that FOE groups used a practice of 'twin-ing' in which bigger offices were paired with smaller ones in order to share skills. FOE groups also engaged in extensive skills trainings at their European-wide meetings. During this time period FOE also developed a European Youth organization that was (typically) much more interested in engaging in contentious actions, and had more ties to radical left groups.

Because of its position between CJN and CAN, FOE also learned about the early planning meetings for more radical actions, and was the only major environmental NGO to send representatives to the early meetings of the radical coalition CJA. At the national level, groups in France and Scandinavia also reported that they began to develop new alliances with more radical groups in 2008, which they believed to be common in the network.

Building these new alliances created both opportunities and difficulties for FOE. While they theoretically could benefit from having new allies, staff reported that they were often worn thin by having to balance the different meetings and messaging. A lot of participants also noted that there were drawbacks to taking part in more than one coalition. As one put it:

> I think this is a strong position because we are able to link two different things that otherwise would be unconnected. We get a lot of info from both sides... At the same time, it makes our identity more complicated. People feel like we're never 100% their allies. We're always the ones that don't quite belong, and we get looked at suspiciously sometimes because of that (Interview 48, FOE France).

Other interviews also established the fact that being the 'bridge' between the two sides of the network created additional challenges for FOE. For example, FOE representatives did not find that it was profitable to share information between coalitions. As one explained:

> [JH: BUND [FOE Germany] is in both CAN and CJN, right? So do you ever help share information between the two coalitions?] R: No, we don't do that. Because they're different networks, and we keep them separate. [JH: Why's that?] R: We don't really see that the two can mix well. Bringing things from one to the other only creates conflict, and it makes people think that we are representing the opposite side instead of being fully their allies. (Interview 87, Friends of the Earth Germany)

The sentiment wasn't only in the heads of FOE members. Individuals involved in more radical actions repeatedly mentioned that FOE was 'on the fence' about its alliances, and as a result, couldn't be fully involved in CJA coordination. CAN members also began to notice the change in FOE. As one put it (anonymously), "now they only have negative positions – 'no offsetting' -- but aren't participating constructively in discussions."

All this goes to show that starting in 2008, FOE underwent major organizational changes that distanced the organization from CAN and drew it a lot closer to the world of contentious activism. The next Chapters will detail more specifically what that change in orientation meant for the organization's choice of action forms.

Conclusion

Environmental groups in Europe have gone from radical upstarts to professionalized powerhouses in the span of thirty years. In particular, WWF, Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth have increased their membership, financial resources, scientific expertise, and in turn, access to the policy process. This is especially true at the EU-level, where the major environmental groups have regularized ties to the European Institutions, and engage in conventional advocacy in the European policy process.

The build up to the Copenhagen summit was a turbulent time for groups working on climate change. As this chapter detailed, because COP 15 was a major moment of decision-making, the population of groups working on the issue rapidly expanded. As a result, the size of

the Climate Action Network grew and diversified, even though the long-time member Friends of the Earth International withdrew. Debates within the coalition became much more heated during this time, although consensus decision-making meant that official positions generally represented the 'lowest common denominator.'

For individuals who dedicate their lives to climate advocacy, this was an incredibly stressful period. As one anonymous participant explained to me:

> I think the problem is that for those of us working on this now, we weren't around in the 60s and 70s. We don't know what it feels like to win big victories. And I'm fatigued – honestly, I just don't know if I can keep doing this. Every time we get close to something, the NGOs decide they'd rather fight with each other than to push for big change... And it's going to happen again in Copenhagen, I just know it. It's going to be a circus, and I'm dreading it.

In a lot of ways, Copenhagen was a circus. Conventional groups that wanted to use their well-established professionalized advocacy routines were, for the first time, challenged by an explosion of new groups working on the issue area, many of which wanted to use more contentious tactics. The long-time participants were not only irritated by the newcomers, they were fearful that the use of radical tactics would result in security restrictions for all participants. As a result, many of the big groups within CAN worked hard to rein in their members, and to persuade them *not* to radicalize their tactics in the final days of Copenhagen.

NGOs are not anti-protest – Greenpeace, CAN, Oxfam and WWF were of course the main organizers behind the massive 'family friendly' march on December 12th, 2009. But because of their ties with international institutions, NGOs face tough choices. They are particularly penalized for trying to combine insider and outsider action strategies, as the experience of Friends of the Earth demonstrates. Thus it should not be surprising that the

contentious challenge in Copenhagen does not come from the world of CAN, but that it originates in a separate sphere, as the next chapter will document.

CHAPTER SIX

CONTENTIOUS CLIMATE CHANGE ACTIVISM

In the weeks preceding Copenhagen, it became clear that COP 15 was going to attract a different kind of activism than a normal UN summit. This was particularly troubling to police forces in the city of Copenhagen. In early December, the head of the Police Intelligence Service in Copenhagen made a public statement claiming that "violent extremists will try to abuse and get a free ride on the peaceful activist involvement in the climate debate" (Van der Zee 2009). The fear of violence during COP 15 led to aggressive police action. As one participant described a raid on activist sleeping quarters:

> Last night at about 2:30am we were all sleeping [in the warehouse] and the fucking cops came and woke us all up. They locked us in, and then they raided our supply room. I guess we should have seen it coming – they just came in and raided us. [JH: What did they take?] Like, the riot shields we had been making, some stuff they said could be used to help us get over the fence or in 'violent' activities. They were harassing us too – they handcuffed some people and were telling us that we didn't have a permit to be there. But they fucking know that we do, they were just trying to scare us. A lot of people were really frightened and alarmed. And it makes me wonder what we can expect when the go out in the streets on Wednesday (Interview 79, Climate Justice Action).

This quote makes it clear that despite being in the same city for the same event, contentious organizations operate in a very different world than conventional groups. In Copenhagen, individuals participating in contentious groups spent most of their time planning protest strategies, making banners, props and supplies, attending alternative climate forums, speaking to the press and making contacts with similar individuals from all over Europe. And as this quote illustrates, not only does the repertoire of collective action these groups employ differ dramatically from the advocacy of conventional groups, but they are also engaged in a highly conflictual relationship with political authorities that gives their activism a very different character.

This chapter explores similar questions to the previous one: where do inter-organizational networks come from? What influence do they have on individual organizations working within them? Here I argue that much of the structure of the contentious portion of the 2008 network reflects the regularized interactions of organizations participating in a new organizing coalition: Climate Justice Action [CJA]. When CJA appeared on the scene of climate change organizing in 2008, it brought new actors to the issue area of climate change, while at the same time disrupting the pattern of ties of organizations previously engaged in the issue area.

In this chapter I will first explore the origins of radical climate change politics in the European context. I then focus on the organizational and political lineages of the 'climate justice' organizing frame. My main focus is the development of CJA, including its organizational and intellectual heritage, its operating procedures, and its outreach strategy. The final section covers the evolution of strategic discussions within the coalition and the influence of CJA on the development and diffusion of contentious forms of action on climate change in advance of the Copenhagen summit. I conclude by discussing the relationship between CJA and Friends of the Earth, and CJA's influence on FOE's action strategies in Copenhagen.

Radical Climate Organizations (2005-2008)

Prior to the formation of Climate Justice Action in September 2008, there were relatively few organizations working on climate change from a radical perspective. But these organizations shared common views on tactics and targets that made coordination between them possible and profitable. And starting in 2007, they began to link internationally in order to form the basis of the radical CJA coalition.

Profiles of Key Actors

Prior to 2007, there were four main types of actors in the sphere of radical European climate change politics:

- *Climate Camps*: The first Camp for Climate Action grew out of the Eco-village that was built at the Gleneagles G8 summit in Scotland in 2005.[53] Climate camps are temporary sites that are put up for several days and exist as autonomous living communities. They are usually committed to direct action against the root causes of climate change (such as airports and coal-fired power plants) and educating the public about the climate crisis. Since 2006, activists have organized climate camps in England, Ireland, Scotland, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Sweden and Denmark. These camps have also evolved into well-developed organizations when camp is not in session, with national and regional organizing structures and complex decision-making procedures. An estimated 10-15,000 people have participated in one of the European climate camps, with the UK Camps being the largest and most developed.
- *Germans from the Radical Left*: German groups involved in alter-global or radical left protest were also interested in the issue of climate change as early as 2007. These groups were already mobilizing on the issue of climate change at the G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, but felt that they had failed to get this message across to the media. Around one thousand committed activists could be found in this sphere, mainly in Berlin and Hamburg.
- *Danish Anarchists, Squatters and Radical Left Groups*: Much of the local support for CJA came from a relatively small group of young activists associated with the anarchist and squatter movement in Copenhagen. The chief organization involved was named

[53] The tradition of 'camping' as a form of contentious action in the UK grew out of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, which was organized as a protest against nuclear weapons.

KlimaX. KlimaX was founded in 2007 in Denmark, and is composed of young activists who have been involved in a number of anti-summit protests, mainly in Sweden and Germany. At the outset, this group comprised less than one hundred participants, although it grew rapidly as the Copenhagen Summit approached.

- *Eco-Anarchists*: The original mix of radical climate activists also involved a substantial number of individuals with eco-anarchist backgrounds. For example, there were several British, Dutch, and German activists with backgrounds in Earth First! groups. The first European branch of Earth First! was founded in the early nineties in the UK, and then spread chapters all over the continent. Its original struggles tended to focus on logging, road building, and genetic crops. Recently, many more of its actions have focused on climate change and biofuels. An important spin-off organization -- Rising Tide -- was founded in 2000, by a group of Earth First! activists who wanted to work more on climate change issues and interact more regularly in coalitions. The two organizations overlap in membership and approach, although Rising Tide tends to see itself as more open to working with other organizations. The number of participants in these groups is hard to estimate, but is probably less than 1,000 across the continent.

These four groups of organizations have a lot in common: they are non-hierarchical, decentralized, and consensus-based in their structures. But there exists a certain amount of diversity within each of these organizations as to their 'aims.' In general, one can say that all of these organizations approach the climate change issue from a social justice viewpoint, which is very much informed by the principles of the global justice movement. As one climate camper puts is: "Some people see Climate Camp as the environmental end of the anti-globalization movement, or the anti-globalization end of the environmental movement" (Interview 22, Camp

for Climate Action UK). Moreover, Rising Tide explicitly adopts this social justice perspective by organizing itself around the charter of the Peoples' Global Assembly, an important global justice movement document. Earth First! is the most ideologically pure of all of these organizations, and its members are united by a "deep ecology" view point that is somewhat more narrow than the other organizations.[54] To a greater or lesser extent, all these organizations also tend to have a do-it-yourself or anarchist inspired philosophy. As a Climate Camper puts it:

> I think we can say the political frame-work of the Climate Camp tends to be very much inspired by anarchism. It's not to say it's an anarchist movement at all… [but] there is trust in people's capacity to self-manage and that will be the path to addressing climate change (Interview 22, Camp for Climate Action UK).

Targets and Tactics

The original founders of CJA also had similar ideas about the appropriate targets and tactics of collective action on climate change. For these organizers, this is "a battle for the hearts and minds of individuals" more than an exercise in political influence on decision-makers (Interview 22, Camp for Climate Action UK). These organizations are skeptical about conventional actions that target decision-makers because, as Rising Tide puts it: "lobbying our so-called leaders can have no major impact on the biased and undemocratic institutions they run, in which profit is the only real policymaker" (Interview 23, Rising Tide UK). From a deeper ecological perspective, Earth First! actions are meant to "directly -- not symbolically -- stop environmental destruction" and at the same time raise awareness about the issues involved through media coverage (Interview 57, Earth First! BE/NL). As KlimaX puts it, the EU institutions are not much of a draw either, as "the EU is just a bunch of old guys shaking hands inside glass palaces. They

[54] The most controversial issue for these organizations is whether or not they are explicitly anti-capitalist. While these organizations are all anti-corporate, Earth First!, KlimaX and Rising Tide position themselves as explicitly anti-capitalist, while the Climate Camp is more diverse, focusing more on "economic failures" than anti-capitalism. But this is a hugely divisive ideological and strategic issue both within and among these groups.

aren't going to help us…" (Interview 11, KlimaX Denmark). Thus because these organizations do not recognize the legitimacy of their political institutions and government, they tend not to have direct political targets.

But despite their professed ambivalence about the efficacy of political targets, international summits are a major draw for these organizations. Certainly within the German radical left, this had been the major focus on their activism prior to 2008. Within the more anarchist groups, the question of whether or not to target the Copenhagen Summit was a hugely divisive issue. Many consider that targeting summits has natural advantages: there are great media opportunities, world leaders are present, and it is an opportunity to reach out across Europe and form new alliances. But for those on the anarchist end of the political spectrum, there is concern that by making "demands vis-à-vis the summit we run the risk that we legitimize them, when really they can't solve our problems" (Interview 19, Earth First! UK). Moreover, others consider that playing the summit game increases the chances of the co-optation of the message of the movement.

Target choices are crucial because these founding group have strong preferences about their 'tactics': all of these groups were formed explicitly to facilitate grassroots direct action by individuals. In its statement, Rising Tide "rejects lobbying and calls for a confrontational attitude," the Climate Camp has 'direct action' as one its four organizational pillars, and Earth First! is organized on the "general principle… of the use of direct action." The rejection of the conventional tactics of NGOs is another frequently cited reason for forming these types of organizations.[55] Training guides for activists in these circles tend to advise activists to "make

[55] From Earth First! recruitment materials: Are you tired of namby-pamby environmental groups? Are you tired of overpaid corporate environmentalists who suck up to bureaucrats and industry? Have you become disempowered by the reductionist approach of environmental professionals and scientists?

your tactics match your message."[56] For some in the movement this commitment to these tactics is a strategic effort to connect to previous movements and gather public support, while for others it is the result of personal commitment to these methods.[57]

Consideration of media coverage also plays a big role in action planning. For example, the Great Rebel Raft Regatta – in which activists at the Climate Camp tried to go by boat to the site of the Kingsnorth power plant in England -- was almost certainly not going to yield results in terms of entry to the plant, but was mostly devised for its visual appeal. For most actions, broad organizations like Rising Tide and Climate Camp try to combine elements that are both "fluffy and spiky" to appeal to different constituencies. Even Earth First! And KlimaX have organized 'banner drops' that are meant to make good photo opportunities.

Overall, these organizations share a critique of climate change as a problem rooted in limitations of the capitalist economic system. They are all strongly anti-corporate, and choose a variety of governmental, summit, corporate, and non-governmental targets. Their direct action tactics form a large part of their organizational identities, and they tend to see themselves fighting for influence at the grassroots level more than changing the opinions of decision-makers, who they tend to view as illegitimate.

The Origins of Climate Justice Politics

During the time period of this study, radical climate change organizations began to approach the problem of climate change in a new way. Radical climate change organizations, along with

[56] From movement materials "Direct Action: A Handbook." Author and Publisher unknown.
[57] Additionally, Earth First! is often associated with the tactic of 'mokeywrenching' (acts of vandalism or violence in the name of environmentalism), although at the organizational-level, there is no official position on this.

global justice movement[58] groups, self-consciously pieced together issues in order to develop a new and innovative frame around which to mobilize. Specifically, these new actors adopted a 'climate justice' collective action frame[59] for the first time in 2007. The 'climate justice' frame established a diagnosis of the origins of the climate crisis as the logical outcome of unjust global trade, agriculture and production system. In emphasizing these new conceptual linkages, activists engaged in deliberate frame bridging[60] with the issues of the global justice movement in order to broaden their mobilization. This new frame was also extremely successful, and was adopted rapidly by organizations in the time period of 2007-2009, resulting in a 'framing cascade' (Byrd 2010).

Radical Insiders Reach Out

The origins of the 'climate justice' frame can be traced back to the vigorous inter-organizational debates around the development of the Kyoto protocol. At the time, many big transnational NGOs had been opposed to the inclusion of carbon markets in an eventual climate change treaty. However, once it became clear that the Kyoto protocol had a chance to succeed, these same groups reluctantly decided to support the idea of carbon markets. This decision caused a split between these transnational NGOs and other, more radical NGOs that strongly rejected carbon markets. The strongest statement of this rejection was the 'Durban Declaration' issued by a group of organizations in 2004, which introduced the term "climate justice."

[58] The global justice movement can be defined as "a loose network of organizations…and other actors engaged in collective action of various kinds, on the basis of the shared goal of advancing the cause of justice (social, economic, political and environmental) among and between peoples across the globe" (della Porta 2007: 6). The movement is known for its repertoire of summit protesting, perhaps best exemplified by the Seattle WTO protests in 1999 (Wood 2007).

[59] The 'framing perspective' on collective action holds that grievances are abundant, but that interpretative processes are important in establishing things that might otherwise be 'annoyances' or 'inconveniences' as conditions for collective action (see Snow 2004: 380-384 for an excellent summary). Collective action frames are purposely constructed to "mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists" (Snow and Benford 1988: 198).

[60] 'Frame bridging' is the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem (See Benford and Snow 2000).

Following the Durban Declaration, many groups within the UNFCCC recognized that they had a common critical view that was not well represented inside the CAN coalition at the time. Their next step was the creation of the Climate Justice Now! coalition at the 2007 UNFCCC conference in Bali. Climate Justice Now! framed its work both in layman's terms (e.g., "fighting for social, ecological and gender justice") and in terms appropriate for submission to the UNFCCC (e.g. "We ask Annex I countries to agree to ambitious emission reductions in future commitment periods in the Kyoto Protocol that will unlock LCA discussions about non Annex I actions based on the availability of appropriate financing")[61] (Climate Justice Now! 2009).

In addition, Climate Justice Now! framed its diagnosis of the climate crisis in ways that would make linkages to trade, agricultural and gender issues. In doing so, it tried to develop a broader systemic critique that distinguished them from the narrow and pragmatic approach of most NGOs. As one participant put it:

> It was a strategic mistake of the environmental movement in the past to work on issues separately, rather than to make a systemic critique. But it's hard because we need to come up with something that trade unions, farmers and indigenous peoples can all agree on and that will make these different groups understand the importance of climate change. We have to build bridges between all of these different movements. The environmental movement has been too isolated for too long. (Interview 80, Climate Justice Now! 2009).

This approach seemed to work, and it quickly gained favor amongst radical groups within the UNFCCC as well as in a new constituency: European alter-global and autonomous groups that were becoming interested in mobilizing around new issues.

The Global Justice Movement Looks to Redefine Itself

[61] In layman's terms, this means that CJN! is calling on developed countries to commit to ambitious emissions reductions targets and provide funding for developed countries to take on similar actions after the expiration of the Kyoto Protocol.

At the same time as a more radical group of organizations was breaking off from the reformist framing of transnational NGOs, a group of global justice movement activists were becoming increasingly frustrated with their own invisibility in public discourse. This was particularly true in the UK and Germany, where the movement had been strong since the 2000s, and where tension between disruptive and institutionalized groups had been growing (della Porta 2007: 27).

In the UK, global justice movement activists commonly perceived that their movement had been in decline since their disastrous experience with the 2005 Gleneagles G8 Summit and the Labour government sponsored 'Make Poverty History' campaign. A lot of their self-criticism focused on their inability to unite as a movement with a common and positive political agenda to challenge the co-optation of their issues by government agencies and more mainstream civil society groups.

For UK activists, the climate change issue offered them the opportunity to build a coherent, radical narrative and start to put forward concrete political demands. One of the most direct outcomes of the Gleneagles protests was the creation of the 'climate camps.' The climate camps had important direct action, sustainable living and public education components. The philosophy of these camps was also a direct bridge between global justice and climate change issues. For example, one of their 'welcome guides' to the camp complains about "market driven approaches" that "deny those most severely affected that opportunity to speak up for climate justice" (Climate Camp UK, Document 35, 2009).

The German global justice movement went through a remarkably similar process of critical self-reflection after the anti-G8 Heiligendamm mobilization in 2007. These groups were

similarly frustrated, and latched onto the climate change issue for strategic reasons. As one prominent activist put it:

> It was like, in Heiligendamm we kept talking about neoliberalism and [the leaders] had already moved on. In a lot of ways, neoliberalism was already dead at that point – they were even saying that in the Financial Times... And [the leaders] were saying, 'look at all the great stuff we do, we're for the environment, we're such good guys.' And we didn't have any way to counter that because we weren't where things were happening. So we started looking around… And as much as we were a movement without a story at that point, there was also a story without a movement: climate change. (Interview 84, Climate Justice Action 2009).

Frame Bridging

As a result of the growing dissatisfaction within the global justice community in both countries, activists in Germany and the UK independently began to conceptually link global justice issues such as global finance, debt, food and militarism to climate change. One of the ways they did this was by distributing texts online and in print. For example, activists associated with coalition Climate Justice Action! printed and distributed pamphlets entitled "Why Climate Change is not an Environmental Issue." The introduction stated that:

> This pamphlet looks at climate change from the angles of capitalism, militarism, nuclear energy, gender, migration, labour & class, and food production. Climate change is not just an environmental issue. It is but one symptom of a system ravaging our planet and destroying our communities (X-Y Solidarity Fund 2009).

By diagnosing the climate problem from each of these angles, this document deliberately framed the problem as both "not environmental" and as an issue that would appeal to as many constituencies as possible.

Injustice Frames

Previous research has shown that the use of "injustice" frames can be a successful way to broaden mobilization (Cable and Shriver 1995; Capek 1993; Gamson 1992: 112; Sherman 2004). Climate justice movement activists self-consciously engaged in exactly this kind of frame bridging in order to broaden their movement. As one activist put it:

> Obviously we want to make the movement as broad as possible. And it's kind of inspiring to see how much and how many movements can fit under this umbrella of climate justice now. So it has the urgency of direct action, it has the 'justice' aspect where you can fit quite a lot of different approaches under this umbrella, and it's about climate but it's about more than climate. I mean, everybody knows that climate justice is also social justice. And it's really comprising quite a lot of different aspects (Interview 77, Climate Justice Caravan 2009).

Moreover, many activists with a history of global justice movement involvement explicitly mention broad frames or 'umbrellas' as one of the keys to movement success. As one long-time activist put it:

> And also [summit protests] are a kind of an umbrella… In order to unite a movement you need something that is catching all the movements like 'another world is possible' or 'ya basta!' So you share the rejection, but there are many yeses. And you don't have this if you just have campaigns on single issues. And this is one strength that you get from these kinds of protests – it always worked really well for us to do it this way. [JH: So do you think that 'climate justice' is such an umbrella?] Exactly. It's just that (Interview 78, Peoples' Global Action 2009).

These activists use the frame of 'climate justice' to bridge the global justice and climate justice movements. In doing so they developed a systemic diagnosis of the climate change problem that made it possible to mobilize a new constituency on the issue of climate change.

Using Movement Symbols

In addition, climate justice activists also deliberately linked the mobilizations in Copenhagen to previous global justice movement events in order to broaden their appeal. They particularly drew

on the historical precedent of the Seattle WTO protests, which was all the more important because the Copenhagen Summit was originally scheduled to open on November 30th 2009: the tenth anniversary of the Seattle WTO shutdown. As prominent global justice movement thinker Naomi Klein wrote prior to the Copenhagen Summit:

> There is certainly a Seattle quality to the Copenhagen mobilization: the huge range of groups that will be there; the diverse tactics that will be on display; and the developing-country governments ready to bring activist demands into the summit....If Seattle was the coming out party, this should be the coming of age party… The Seattle activists' coming of age in Copenhagen will be very disobedient (Klein 2009).

Thus climate justice activists developed a new frame that bridged the radical environmental community and the global justice movement in an attempt to make Copenhagen into 'the new Seattle.' In doing so, they mobilized new types of actors and brought them together with actors with whom they had not worked previously. But implicitly, their use of this issue frame also sowed the seeds for a new type of mobilization: the climate change summit protest. The next sections detail each of these developments.

Building Climate Justice Action (2008)

Initial Contact

Starting in 2007, the few organizations working in the sphere of radical climate change politics began to come into contact with one another, spread ideas about climate justice, and exchange ideas for mobilization. The UK Climate Camp was something of a beacon in this original organizing effort. Many young German leftists attended the climate camps in 2006 and 2007, and found the process very exciting and inspiring. As a result, they decided to hold a similar camp in Hamburg in 2008. As one participant put it, "a few of us had been to the climate camp in the UK, and we thought it was brilliant. So basically we just took the idea – we copied it directly from them" (Interview 63, German Climate Camp). The German climate camp in 2008

was broader than the UK camp in that it attempted to unite the radical German left, by also focusing on other issues such as militarism, immigration policy and racism.

At the time, similar discussions were going on in Germany and the UK about possibly mobilizing on the issue of climate change. But these groups might have remained nationally-rooted had it not been for the organizing efforts of a small but enterprising group of young Danes. The original Danish organizers were motivated to organize the mobilization for a number of reasons. Locally in Copenhagen, there had been disputes between these groups and their government about a squatted youth center. Some of these activists felt the government had mistreated them in this struggle, and wanted to embarrass Danish leaders on the international stage. But more importantly, many of these activists were interested in honoring the anniversary of the Seattle WTO shutdown with their own radical mobilization. And in order to do that, they wanted to make the mobilization as large, broad and radical as possible.

These individuals (most of whom were already involved in KlimaX) travelled around Europe to the various climate camps and organizational meetings in the summer of 2008 to try and convince people and organizations to participate in an international meeting on the Copenhagen Summit in September 2008, in Copenhagen. Invitations to this meeting were also distributed widely across activist list serves and websites. In addition, the meeting was organized to take place two days before the European Social Forum [ESF] across the border in Malmö, Sweden. The ESF itself was expected to attract 80,000 participants from a wide variety of leftist backgrounds, so the timing of the event was aimed at attracting the broadest possible spectrum of groups. The next section details how these linkages were established.

The first meeting of the coalition that would become CJA was organized by a group of individuals from the climate camps, from radical left and from eco-anarchist groups. As one observer quipped, it was, "a small group of European professional activists – all the usual suspects really."

The first meeting of CJA set the tone for those that would come. The meeting was organized over two days in the cafeteria of an alternative school in Copenhagen. The Danish groups took care of the meeting logistics, and the agenda was set by a small organizing committee and facilitators. Approximately 100 people attended the first meeting, all of whom were engaged in the participatory meeting process. My informal count of the stated backgrounds of participants suggested that one half of the meeting consisted of environmental activists and the other half of participants with a background in anti-summit organizing.

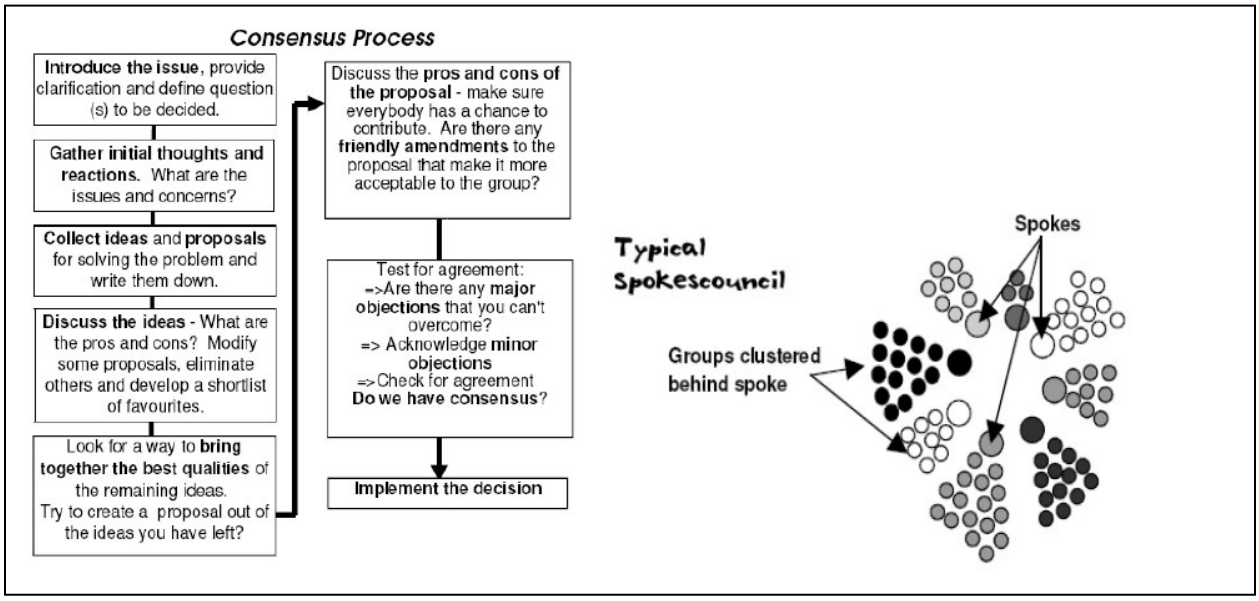
Operating Procedures

Because CJA had its roots in the global justice movement, it adopted many of the operating procedures associated with this movement. Most importantly, it functioned (without any discussion of the matter) according to procedures of consensus decision-making. In order to take a decision by consensus, a specific process has to be followed for considering every individual's opinions. Generally speaking, proposed meeting agendas are circulated in advance via email, and individuals are given the opportunity to contribute. At the face-to-face meetings, designated facilitators raise the agenda items, and ask for feedback on the items (See Figure 6.1). After discussion, during which hand signaling is often used to communicate agreement or dissent with other people's opinions, the facilitator tests the group for consent. At this stage, individuals can propose a 'block' of the decision, which means that if the decision went forward they would leave the group. If this happens, the group returns to discussion. The process repeats itself until

agreement has been reached (or until it has been decided not to take a decision), and can often be quite time-intensive – most CJA meetings lasted several days, and often decisions were not reached on the most divisive issues.

For larger groups a 'spokescouncil' format was used (See also Figure 6.1).[62] In a spokescouncil, each consensus group nominates one person (a 'spoke') to speak on its behalf to the larger gathering. These consensus groupings can be based on geographical affiliation, ideological affiliation, working group membership, or language usage. The spoke has the task of taking proposals from the larger group back to the smaller group, and vice-versa. This procedure is used to make decisions in groups up to six hundred people, although it is often even more time-consuming.

Figure 6.1: Consensus Decision-Making in Large Groups[63]



[62] This is a common organizing format in the global justice movement, and was used most notably to organize the Direct Action Network prior to the Seattle WTO protests.
[63] Taken from, Climate Camp UK "How Our Meetings Work": http://www.climatecamp.org.uk/node/485 (May 28, 2009). Similar material is widely used in other organizations for training meeting facilitators.

Consensus procedures meant that participants in CJA had to come to full agreement on every joint statement or action proposal. This had important consequences: consensus decision-making procedures were a vehicle for tactical harmonization amongst participating organizations. The next sections illustrate how this procedure operated in practice, focusing on the first crucial CJA task: writing the 'Call to Action.'

Legitimacy Debates

Summit protests have always been controversial because they have the potential to fracture the activist community along the reformist-abolitionist divide (Levi and Murphy 2006; Smith 2001). This tension was evident in the preparations for Copenhagen. While the community of alter-global activists is accustomed to protesting international financial institutions, before Copenhagen "few groups ha[d] actively mobilized against the UN" (Smith 2008: 98, c.f. Fisher 2004: 179). Given this tension, the fundamental question of the CJA coalition was how to position their actions vis-à-vis the UNFCCC.

Given the complexity of the issue, on the first day of the meeting the entire afternoon was spent discussing the question 'does COP 15 have any legitimacy?' Since individuals came from a broad range of backgrounds, there was a full spectrum of opinion on this. Based on my observation, I would place the responses in three categories[64]:

- *Legitimate*: "The best way to influence the outcomes of Copenhagen as a whole would be for the movement to make demands on the UN and ask the UN to accept certain demands: this is what we want out of a treaty, they need to accept this. I think this would

[64] These quotes are drawn from my field notes from these early meetings. As per my agreement with the participants, I do not identify individuals or their organizations.

be legitimsing the UN, but they could still come up with a good treaty this way. We have to note the differences between the UN, WTO and this summit."

- *Intermediate*: "Our processes should be to change the balance of forces inside the negotiations, to support countries pushing for immediate reductions, to support the Global South. I see the potential for the breakdown of the negotiations with divisions between north and south, and this could be a good thing for us. But it would be bad for us to start off by saying that the UN is illegitimate because it could play into the hands of climate deniers and people trying to ignore climate change."
- *Not legitimate*: "The UNFCCC is illegitimate. Period. At root it has good intentions, but these have been completely co-opted. UNFCCC is more like the WTO, in coercing southern countries to go along with market mechanisms, etc. We need to look at this as more of a WTO or G8 meeting than a UN meeting. I don't think these people can come up with a good deal for us – they're voices of money and accumulation and power."

My informal count suggests that the original participants were fairly evenly divided amongst these three positions. To generalize broadly, those supporting the legitimacy of the UNFCCC tended to come from a background in environmental advocacy, those from other kinds of international NGOs mostly supported the intermediate position, and those global justice movement groups with autonomous or direct action heritage supported the final interpretation. Despite extensive discussion, there was no final consensus on this issue at the first meeting.

Writing the Call

Despite having no resolution on the 'legitimacy' debate, the first CJA meeting needed to produce a mobilization document, mainly for practical purposes. In this spirit, the second day of the first CJA meeting was devoted to synthesizing the legitimacy debate and producing the coalition's

‘Call to Action.’ The Call was a key document for this coalition, because it needed to summarize the ideology behind the movement and attract others to participate. Because this document needed to reflect the ideological diversity of the initial participants, the text went through a number of iterations and was subject to agreement by consensus. Figure 6.2 shows a draft version of this call on the left, along with the final version on the right.

The first version on the text was prepared by an organizing group that consisted of mainly of individuals who considered the COP illegitimate and wanted to engage in direct action. But consensus was only reached by modifying the text along a number of dimensions. I would particularly emphasize three axes of change:

- *Targets:* The original text contained only references to corporate action targets and the inadequacy of ‘so-called leaders’ to solve the problem. The final version of the text scratches both of these elements, retains the language of ‘acting on the root causes of climate change,’ but adds a section on targeting ‘the key agents responsible.’ In other words, the final text bridges the gap between different constituencies by being vague about the targets of any eventual action.
- *Tactics:* The proposed version of the text suggests the coalition will sponsor ‘direct action’ – this is removed in the final version (it is changed to simply ‘action’). In fact, the final text explicitly mentions that the plans for the mobilization are not set, and invites groups to participate with their own ideas. This change is also the result of compromise among diverse groups present at the first meeting.
- *Outreach:* The final version of the text incorporates text to try to reach out to a broader constituency by referencing affected peoples (women, indigenous people, poor people and farmers). It also drops the term ‘civil society,’ because it was felt that this phrase has

different connotations in different places. Finally, it adds a reference to the Seattle WTO anniversary, in an attempt to reach out to global justice movement groups.

In summary, the text of the CJA 'Call to Action' became less of an autonomous, direct action-oriented document and transformed into something much broader as a result of group discussion. The point of discussing this example is to emphasize that participating in CJA was initially an agreement in principle to work together more than an agreement on specific ideological positions or tactics. Despite strong preferences of some within the group, neither the ideology nor the action proposals in the group were pre-set, and both were subject to continuing re-negotiation. Organizations came to cooperate in CJA (by affiliating and formally endorsing the Call) without necessarily knowing what the final outcome of the mobilization would be.

Figure 6.2: Draft of the 'Call to Action' Put Out by Climate Justice Action, September 2008

Towards climate action in Copenhagen 2009

We stand at a crossroads in history. The facts are undeniable. Global climate change, caused by human activities, is happening. We all know that, world over, we're facing a manifold and deepening crisis: of the climate, energy, food, livelihoods, and of political and human rights. Scientific, environmental, social ~~and civil society~~ movements from all over the world are ~~calling for~~ action ~~against climate change~~:

~~Massive consumption of fossil fuel~~ is one of the ~~major~~ causes of global warming, a problem that threatens the lives of hundreds of millions of people around the world. ~~Instead of leading the way, governments are prioritizing economic growth and corporate interests while ignoring the speeding train of climate change hurtling towards the abyss. The corporate exploitation of the planet's resources cannot be allowed to continue any longer. We have precious little time to react to this threat. We need action NOW to stop climate change, and if the so-called 'leaders' won't lead the way, we must.~~

On the 30th November 2009, world leaders will come to Copenhagen for the UN Climate Conference (COP15). This will be the ~~most important summit~~ on climate change ever to have taken place, and ~~it will determine how the countries of the world are going to respond to the climate threat. The decisions taken there will define the future for all the people of the world.~~ The previous meetings give no indication that this meeting will produce anything more than empty rhetoric and a green washed blueprint for business-as-usual.

There is an alternative to the current course and ~~it's not some far off dream~~. If we put ~~reason~~ before profit, we can live amazing lives without destroying our planet. But this will not happen by itself. We have to take direct action, both against the root causes of climate change and to help create a new, just and joyous world in the shell of the old. And so, we call on all ~~responsible~~ people ~~of the planet to take direct action against~~ the root causes of climate change during the COP15 summit ~~in Copenhagen 2009.~~

The exact plans for our mobilization are not yet finalized. We have time to collectively decide what our best course of action may be. We encourage everyone to start mobilizing in your own countries. It is time to take the power back ~~from the leaders not responsible enough to hold it~~. The power is in our hands!

Please circulate, translate and distribute this call widely.

Figure 6.3: Final Version of the Call to Action Put out by Climate Justice Action, September 2008

A Call to Climate Action:

We stand at a crossroads. The facts are clear. Global climate change, caused by human activities, is happening, threatening the lives and livelihoods of billions of people and the existence of millions of species. Social movements, environmental groups, and scientists from all over the world are calling for urgent and radical action on climatechange.

On the 30th of November, 2009 the governments of the world will come to Copenhagen for the fifteenth UN Climate Conference (COP-15). This will be the biggest summit on climate change ever to have taken place. Yet, previous meetings have produced nothing more than business as usual.

There are alternatives to the current course that is emphasizing false solutions such as market-based approaches and agrofuels. If we put humanity before profit and solidarity above competition we can live amazing lives without destroying our planet. We need to leave fossil fuels in the ground. Instead we must invest in community-controlled renewable energy. We must stop over-production for over-consumption. All should have equal access to the global commons through community control and sovereignty over energy, forests, land and water. And of course we must acknowledge the historical responsibility of the global elite and rich Global North for causing this crisis. Equity between North and South is essential.

Climate change is already impacting people, particularly women, indigenous and forest-dependent peoples, small farmers, marginalized communities and impoverished neighbourhoods who are also calling for action on climate and social justice. This call was taken up by activists and organizations from 21 countries that came together in Copenhagen over the weekend of 13-14 September, 2008 to begin discussions for a mobilization in Copenhagen during the UN's 2009 climate conference.

The 30th of November, 2009 is also the tenth anniversary of the World Trade Organization (WTO) shutdown in Seattle, which shows the power of globally coordinated social movements.

We call on all peoples around the planet to mobilize and take action against the root causes of climate change and the key agents responsible both in Copenhagen and around the world. This mobilization begins now, until the COP-15 summit, and beyond. The mobilizations in Copenhagen and around the world are still in the planning stages. We have time to collectively decide what these mobilizations will look like, and to begin
to visualize what our future can be. Get involved!

We encourage everyone to start mobilizing today in your own neighbourhoods and communities. It is time to take the power back. The power is in our hands. Hope is not just a feeling, it is also about taking action. To get involved in this ongoing and open process, sign up to this email list: climateaction@klimax2009.org

Please circulate, translate and distribute this call widely.

This meant that within the group there was room for a great deal of compromise and influence in the ongoing consensus procedure, and that the process involved a strong element of deliberation, rather than simply diffusion of certain groups' preferences.

CJA Outreach

As the modifications to the text also reveal, CJA was concerned from the beginning with questions of how to build the biggest mobilization possible. In general, most of the groups that got involved with the coalition had been targets of outreach by earlier members. Having a vague call helped to broaden the potential appeal, but it also made recruitment difficult in some ways. Early organizations had to join the coalition without necessarily knowing what the ultimate action proposal would look like. As one CJA participant complained, "it's pretty hard to build a movement before we know what it's about."

One main venue for recruiting potential participants and organizational sponsors was the European Social Forum in 2008. Although CJA representatives did also hold a meeting at the World Social Forum in Belém in 2009, the scope of the mobilization for Copenhagen was mostly European. The purpose of the Belém meeting was mostly to get the input of Southern groups, but it was generally not expected that they would participate in joint actions.

Within Europe, CJA organized a regional structure in which organizations participating in the coalition took the lead in recruiting other organizations in their area. This often took place by holding regional organizing meetings that fed into the international CJA meetings. This regional organizing structure also facilitated the coordination of many contentious actions in the build-up to Copenhagen. For example, Dutch-speaking groups formed their own CJA coalition in the Spring of 2009, and organized a number of actions in Amsterdam and Antwerp.

CJA also did significant outreach at the COP 14 UNFCCC meeting in Poznan, Poland. The coalition sent representatives to this meeting, and managed to attract a number of groups that were not part of the 'usual suspects.' The space for this meeting was itself rented by a Brussels-based advocacy organization – IBON International -- and included a number of small think tanks and NGOs. A second meeting, focused more on strategy, took place at the Rozbrat squat in Poznan, and attracted more individuals from the Polish autonomous community.

CJA particularly targeted groups associated with the CJN coalition. This was natural because some of the original members of CJA were also active within CJN. However, few of the members of CJN were based in Europe, so this effort was important to CJA mostly for symbolic (not practical) reasons. In particular, CJA was interested in gaining the support of La Via Campesina, (which has a European advocacy office) and the Indigenous Environmental Network (which includes members from a number of Arctic countries). It was felt that without the support of these groups, actions taken on 'their behalf' would lack legitimacy. This becomes particularly important once CJA begins to discuss the possibility of holding a major summit protest in Copenhagen.

Meeting at the Fence: The Evolution of the CJA Action Concept

As my discussion of the CJA 'Call to Action' illustrated, the tactics of the coalition were not pre-set at the time of its formation. The CJA action concept was hotly debated within the coalition, and as the result of consensus procedures, evolved significantly over time.

The Repertoire of Summit Protesting

The conveners of the first CJA meeting clearly intended that the group would organize a classic summit protest. The summit protest is perhaps the most visible performance in the repertoire of the global justice movement (Bennett 2004; della Porta 2007; della Porta and Tarrow 2005;

Reitan 2007; Smith2001; Smith 2009). In preparation for Copenhagen, climate justice activists called for the use of the Seattle-style summit protest repertoire against the UNFCCC for the first time. As one early and influential mobilizing document put it:

> Where do the strengths of the radical global movements lie both in comparison to our enemies and to our more moderate allies? Answer: in the organisation of large-scale, disruptive summit mobilisations. It is precisely in summit mobilisations that we have developed something that could be called 'best practice', where we have before achieved a substantial political effect... Forget Kyoto – Shut down Copenhagen 2009! (Müller 2008).

Most of the founders of CJA were committed to this type of action from the outset. But because of the diversity of participants, 'shutting down the summit' was by far the most controversial topic of discussion within the CJA coalition.

Towards Consensus

Much like the discussion on the 'Call to Action,' groups within CJA did not originally agree on what kinds of tactics they wanted to use: there was a fundamental tension between more autonomous and more reformist positions. This diversity was clear from an exercise facilitators organized at the first meeting. People were asked to engage in discussions with their neighbors about what kind of action they would like to see used to fight climate change, and then to physically arrange themselves along a continuum from most radical to least radical forms of action. On the one end of the room, some organizations wanted to use a friendly mass march that would appeal to leaders in the UN to act on climate and complement inside lobbying. A proposal in the middle of the room called for groups to hold 'tribunals for climate criminals' outside the venue. On the far end of the room, it was clear that many organizations were very committed to the idea of a Seattle-style shut down. Because of the lack of consensus, the first meeting evaded making a decision on this issue.

The Poznan meeting changed the balance of positions because it brought in more people to CJA from NGO backgrounds, and many of the autonomous groups from the first meeting did not attend. The Poznan groups were concerned about the idea of shutting down the UNFCCC because they felt that the institution could still come up with valid solutions. The groups present at the Poznan meeting floated a number of ideas on the CJA listserve about possible 'inside-outside' actions that would be designed to link mass action outside the conference to strengthening the position of progressive delegations inside it. As one advocate put it:

> The action has to be strong enough to show what we need – it can't just be a classic demonstration. At the same time, this isn't just a direct action movement, and we need to use our diversity.

This was hotly debated at meetings and on the list-serve, re-activating the original tensions within CJA about the extent to which the coalition would be more radical or more reformist.

Given the heated nature of the debate, the March meeting of CJA was designated as the crucial meeting for tactical discussions and designing the action strategy of the coalition. In advance of the meeting, the facilitators invited different organizations to write up and submit their proposals for an action strategy. These were included in the Handbook for the March meeting, and participants were asked to come prepared to discuss the proposals and make decisions for their group.[65] In particular:

- The German COP 15 network and the UK Climate Camp proposed the 'shut it down' strategy.

[65] Two other issues were proposed before this meeting. Some groups associated with CJN insisted that the type of action didn't matter as much as the date (had to be in the second week once heads of state arrived). Another German autonomous group proposed that the coalition had to function so that groups could not criticize or disassociate from other groups using confrontational tactics (a common operating procedure in the global justice movement). Both proposals were adopted by consensus at the March meeting.

- The Danish groups preferred the ‘shut them in’ or ‘take it over’ strategy.
- A few international NGOs proposed a mass march and demonstration to call on UN leaders as an ‘insider/outsider action.’
- A number of NGOs in CJN suggested an ‘Ecological Debt Tribunal’ outside the conference venue.
- A number of eco-anarchists supported a strategy of targeting lobbyists and problematic delegates to prevent them from entering the venue.
- An anonymous participant (who identified himself only as ‘from Geneva’) suggested a strategy of participants forcing their way into the venue while some inside come out to meet them.

Despite its lack of strong organizational sponsors, the final proposal seemed to gain ground quickly at the March meeting. For a variety of reasons, this strategy seemed to be a way out of the tactical debates that plagued the group. As one participant put it:

> At the March CJA meeting there was consensus that we would organize one central action, so the discussion then became what should we do? The Danes were very attached to the shut in idea. But at the strategic level, such an action involved an appeal to the UN to do something. And that’s not we wanted at all ... Not to mention that at the tactical level it was never going to work: how are you going to shut people in when you have to stay on the streets of Copenhagen for two or three days in the winter? It just wasn’t going to happen. So the next idea was the shut out, which is kind of the classic summit action. But Via Campesina didn’t want that, with a bunch of Northern activists storming the summit, so we agreed to take it off the table. On the list there was a guy from Geneva who had proposed a kind of inside-outside action, and at the meeting we called this the ‘meet at the fence’ idea. It was still a bit fuzzy, but that was the general idea. And it just sort of took off from there. (Interview 79, Climate Justice Action)

Thus by the end of the March meeting, the members of CJA had already begun to compromise on the kind of action they would sponsor in Copenhagen. In this environment, the idea of the ultimate action – called Reclaim Power – started to take hold in CJA.

Designing 'Reclaim Power'

Reclaim Power was designed as an interesting compromise strategy on the part of the various groups present in CJA. As developed in the June and October CJA meetings, the official action concept for Reclaim Power involved four components:

1) A disruptive outside action;
2) An inside disruption;
3) A walk out from the conference center; and
4) A People's Assembly 'in the area of the conference center.'

Taken in order, the disruptive outside action was the biggest component of the action. The concept for the outside disruption was a combination of the German 'five fingers' tactic used in Heiligendamm, the UK Climate Camp tactic of converging blocs, and the Danish 'pushing' tactic.[66] Participants organized in blocs would take different routes and means of travel to converge at the fence of the conference center at the same time. Once they reached the conference center, they would form a mass that tried to push past the police to enter the area inside the fence. Simultaneously, participants inside the conference center would cause disruptions and staged a walk out from the venue. The two groups would meet outside the conference center and stage a "Peoples' Assembly" to discuss their own solutions to the climate crisis.

[66] The 'converging blocs' tactics involves multiple autonomous groups that take different routes to arrive at the same site at the same time. The 'five fingers' tactic is similar, but involves having multiple moving blocs that engage in blockades at different locations. Finally, the 'pushing' tactics simply involves activists forming solid blocs and pushing up against the police until they give ground.

The action itself was a significant innovation on the summit protest repertoire for several reasons. While utilizing tactics such as jail solidarity, protest puppetry, affinity groups, and (limited) blockading (Wood 20007), activists decided against a 'shut down' approach to the summit, which would have alienated some influential groups within the coalition. Instead, climate justice activists designed an action that would highlight their own solutions to the problem while at the same time delegitimizing the official international process. In addition, this action made explicit linkages between radical social movements, critical NGOs, and progressive country delegations in the negotiations.

But already by June it was clear that there was tension within CJA because the action was not autonomous enough. While most of these groups agreed to go along with the action, they did express reservations, and decided to organize other actions for Copenhagen that were more direct action oriented. As one participants noted:

> Targeting summits works well because you are interrupting their show. And you know that they will notice that too. But the message here is really complex -- no deal is better than a bad deal – I think there's a big possibility that we will be misunderstood. (Interview 64, Climate Camp Germany)

As a result, while agreeing to Reclaim Power, some groups within CJA also started to proliferate their own more autonomous action plans. These included an action called 'Hit the Production' where groups targeted corporations in the Copenhagen Harbor and 'Our Climate, Not Your Business!' which targeted corporate delegates to the COP process. But by the June meeting of CJA, it was clear that the central action was not going to be autonomous enough for some participants, and a small group did break off to form another (much smaller) organization, calling themselves 'Never Trust a COP' [NTAC].

Once the outline of Reclaim Power was set, CJA started to call on groups to go back to their regions to mobilize and organize similar actions. These actions become much more frequent in the summer and fall of 2009, as groups took these kinds of ideas for contentious action back to their own cities and began to practice them at home.[67]

On the other end of the spectrum, some moderate groups also began to feel uncomfortable about the design of the central action for CJA. In particular, Friends of the Earth International ultimately decided to pull out once it felt that it could not control the direction of decision-making within CJA. This meant that CJA ultimately lost groups on both sides of the political spectrum. As a participant summarizes:

> At the CJA meeting in October, FOE and some CJN people did a pitch to 'liberalize' Reclaim Power and take out the civil disobedience. This was rejected, and FOE withdrew from CJA. After the March meeting there were also some old school autonomous groups that realizes that CJA wasn't going to organize militant actions. So they withdrew to form NTAC [Never Trust A COP]… But basically Reclaim Power was aimed at the middle, and that meant losing groups on the right and on the left.

Both NTAC and FOE-I did leave CJA, although they continued to send representatives to the meetings. As I detail in the next section, both groups ultimately decided to sponsor separate (contentious) actions before and during the Copenhagen summit.

Since Reclaim Power was 'aimed at the middle', CJA tried to reached out to individuals within the NGO community in order to get them to participate in the 'walk out' portion of the action. This includes distributing a flyer within the meetings of CAN inside the Bella Center. As Figure 6.4 shows, CJA significantly moderated its messaging to appeal to this constituency and

[67] This partially accounts for the growth of contentious actions in the member states in the Fall of 2009, as reported in Chapter Two.

Figure 6.4: Reclaim Power Outreach Flyer for Distribution Inside the Bella Center

Are you going to walk out on the 16th?
What will it take?

- **It's COP15, not COP1, and global emissions have dramatically increased since the UNFCCC was formed and Kyoto signed and ratified.**
- **Report after report shows carbon trading is a great money-making machine, but not a strategy to radically reduce greenhouse gas emissions.**
- **Rich northern countries are offering pathetic targets, such as the US 4% reduction on its 1990 levels.**
- **The emissions targets tabled – if achieved – would result in sea-level rises that threaten the very survival of entire nations and peoples**
- **The rich north's favourite institution for controlling the rest of the world's economies – the World Bank – is becoming the central broker of 'climate finance'**
- **Leading climate scientists, like James Hansen, have said that 'no deal is better than a bad deal'.**

There are things we all know. Limiting climate change requires keeping fossil fuels in the ground. That means putting oil and coal companies out of the business of mining fossil fuels. Emissions are coupled with economic growth. This means fundamentally changing the way the economy works. The 'development model' of the West has not only failed. It has brought us to the edge of catastrophe.

There is no acknowledgement of this inside COP15.

It's business as usual. It's depressing. Climate change is a catastrophic market failure, the economic crisis was a massive market failure, yet, magically, carbon markets are supposed to solve climate change. It's the blindness of using ideology to tackle physical reality.

This all raises a critical question: have your interventions inside the process been effective in delivering the outcomes you know are necessary to avert a climate crisis?

We all know radical changes are necessary.

What will it take to avoid a climate catastrophe?

You came here thinking, the COP process is our only hope…

Now, walking out of this process might be our only hope.

African delegates made a powerful statement in Barcelona by walking out. You can do the same: On the 16th of December, the emerging global movement for climate justice will take action to attempt to change the course of history. We will disrupt the sessions inside the Bella Center and walk out. At the same time thousands of us will descend on the UN area outside the Bella Center. We will come together outside to hold a "peoples assembly" for climate justice. This will be an act of civil disobedience, and we will not respond with violence if the police try to escalate the situation, nor create unsafe situations; we will be there to make our voices heard.

If you believe in pushing for solutions that actually keep carbon out of the atmosphere, that deliver justice to the world's people, then don't just ride the failing UNFCCC process, walk out of the talks and join us.

12 noon Wednesday 16th
It's an hour to change history.

Join together with us for the Peoples Assembly to reclaim power and avoid a climate crisis.
www.climate-justice-action.org - Linking social movements across the world for climate justice

make the ultimate mobilization as broad as possible. Despite this effort, the flyer seemed to be ignored by most moderate groups.

Friends of the Earth

For FOE, the decision to leave CJA was difficult for a number of reasons. FOE had been present since the founding of the coalition, and had participated actively in the meetings. As a result, national groups within FOE had also changed their orientation, and were starting to work with different partners than they had before, altering the structure of the inter-organizational network in important ways.

But at a strategic level, FOE groups seemed to suspect that they would be able to sway groups within CJA towards their own action proposal. The fundamental sticking point between FOE and more radical groups was the issue of non-violence, which FOE strongly supports and some CJA members felt they could not guarantee. A participant characterized the break strongly:

> FOE can't be involved in CJA, because of the big question: where will it all end? There is no question that the mainstream of CJA is non-violent, but who knows what will happen when they get on the streets. Diversity of tactics[68] is a bullshit British idea. The anarchists love it, and they love using it because that means no one can tell them not to do what they want to do… The whole rhetoric is to 'not water down' what others do. But as FOE Sweden, we did want to water it down. I don't mind saying that. And we don't support the closing of discussion on it either... We needed them to be strong on non-violence and against property damage (Interview 69, Friends of the Earth Sweden)

Because FOE had strong pre-existing positions against property damage, most leaders felt that the organization could not participate in Reclaim Power. Representatives also mentioned that

[68] 'Diversity of tactics' is a principle strongly associated with organizing in the global justice movement. The idea is that groups agree not to condemn one another's tactics, which may range from purely non-violent (peaceful protest) to the more 'violent' end of the spectrum (usually meaning property damage).

FOE does work within the UNFCCC process, and would be at serious risk of expulsion if the organization were to sponsor this kind of action.

Friends of the Earth Denmark particularly "went into turmoil" over the Reclaim Power Action. Originally, the organization wanted to support the action, and had been meeting frequently with CJA supporters in the local context. But ultimately, the organization also pulled their support for it, mostly as a result of pressure from the international FOE network (Interview 59, FOE Denmark). Because FOE was counting on the Danish group to help host them in Demark and liaise with the Danish government (which was chairing the COP), the organization ultimately decided it would not be able to be involved in CJA. But at the same time, FOE Denmark did engage in an increased number of contentious actions in 2009, although not with the more radical CJA groups.

Ultimately, European groups in FOE decided to do an independent demonstration in Copenhagen, along the Finnish model of a human flood. As one described the goals of the action:

> We want to use the march to make a strong statement about off-setting. The afternoon march is going to be organized by CAN and GCCA, so we won't be a part of it. FOE feels like it wants to make its positions known independently, and we have the members and money to do so (Interview 48, FOE France).

Despite the official withdrawal from the CJA action, FOE insiders also commented that they were surprised at how widespread the dissatisfaction with the UNFCCC had become in the organization. On the individual level, anecdotal evidence suggests that many FOE staff members still supported Reclaim Power. This could be a problem, FOE leaders feared, because the staff of FOE are 'very undisciplined.' Ultimately, FOE was forced to take the position that staff members could attend the Reclaim Power action as individuals, provided that they did not

carry their conference badges (which would note their FOE affiliation) to the demonstration. This decision put FOE in a particularly difficult position vis-à-vis the UNFCCC, as Chapter Eight will show.

Outcome

After fifteen months of debate and planning, the Reclaim Power was held on December 16th, 2009. The outside action attracted approximately 5,000 participants. In addition, there were disruptions on the official UN plenary and 200-300 participants from groups affiliated with CJN and official delegates from countries of Bolivia and Venezuela tried to leave the conference venue in order to join the protesters outside. Once the 'inside' and the 'outside' components met, these delegates tried to meet to stage a 'people's assembly' in which participants would discuss "the real solutions to the climate crisis."

Activists involved in Reclaim Power faced overwhelming police repression. CJA leaders were targeted and taken to jail before the action even occurred. Participants in the walk out were beaten by police and prevented from meeting the 'outside' group. On the morning of the 16th, various groups thought to be 'sympathizers' with the action (including Friends of the Earth) had their accreditation for the Bella Center revoked. The 'outside' group did make a deal with the police to go ahead with their people's assembly, but the process only lasted for 20-30 minutes. Given the horizontal, consensus-based nature of the process, this was much less time than most people felt was needed.

Many organizers of Reclaim Power were bitterly disappointed. After the fact, many activists complained that the people's assembly was far too rushed, and that the media had completely misunderstood the intention of their actions. However, judging by the swift and

aggressive response of UN security to the protesters it is clear that Reclaim Power did represent a significant threat to the UNFCCC in ways that the 'global day of action' sponsored by GCCA did not. Moreover, the messaging of the protest as being 'against the UNFCCC' did resonate with some critical delegates, mainly from Bolivia, Venezuela and Tuvalu, as Chapter Eight will document. Thus on the political level, most of CJA considered their actions to be a moderate success. At the time of writing, CJA still holds regular meetings and plans actions all over Europe.

Conclusion

This chapter draws on qualitative data to explain the emergence of radical climate change politics and contentious activism on climate change in the build up to COP 15 in Copenhagen. Prior to 2008 there were relatively few radical groups working on climate change politics in Europe. But in 2008 these groups began to link internationally to discuss the possibility of organizing a large-scale disruptive action for the Copenhagen climate summit.

COP 15 was appealing to these groups because it overlapped with the 10th anniversary of the WTO protests in Seattle. And given that many of these groups were coming from backgrounds in the global justice movement, and not in environmental politics, this was an important stimulus for mobilization. Key individuals from radical climate change organizations were particularly instrumental in developing a novel 'climate justice' frame that linked the issues of the global justice movement to the emerging climate justice movement.

The combination of these elements resulted in the formation of a key organizing coalition: Climate Justice Action. CJA engaged in broad outreach, bringing in new organizations to the issue of climate change and disrupting the pattern of ties for some existing organizations.

As my document analysis, participant observation and interviews should demonstrate, CJA did not emerge with pre-set tactics. On the contrary, organizations within CJA came to harmonize their tactics, meaning that some radicalized while others significantly moderated.

The Reclaim Power action in particular emerged from inter-organizational bargaining and persuasion among diverse groups. The ultimate consensus was difficult for some groups, in particular those from an autonomous background that did not support targeting the summit itself. As one describes it:

> I feel that the movement is both hopeful and hopeless: we don't believe our leaders can solve the crisis. But we also don't totally believe in the movement yet either. We are working within the frame given to us by the Copenhagen summit because we are desperate. And I worry that that means we are not dealing with the climate crisis, but we are dealing with how the climate crisis is dealt with (Interview 63, Climate Camp Germany).

As this quote reveals, despite the success of CJA at spreading contentious tactics around COP 15, the coalition was extremely broad, and, potentially fragile. The defection of Friends of the Earth particularly illustrates the volatility of the negotiations within CJA, and the seriousness with which organizations weigh their tactical options. This observation raises another question: how do the organizations *within* coalitions like CJA or CAN make decisions about their forms of action? The next chapter will try to answer this question by exploring the dynamics of tactical decision-making at the organizational level.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MECHANISMS OF ORGANIZATIONAL DECISION-MAKING

Chapter Four established that co-sponsoring an event with a contentious organization increases the likelihood that an organization will itself use contentious forms of action in the future. This chapter sheds light on *why* we observe this relationship in the quantitative data. My goal is to supplement the quantitative analysis of the first half of this dissertation with an intra-organizational qualitative analysis that focuses on the mechanisms that underpin tactical decision-making. In doing so, it draws on a new research agenda in the study of contentious politics (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001), and exploits a mixed methods research strategy to better establish my major claims.

This chapter takes a much finer-grained view of the organizations in my study in order to offer additional insight into organizational decision-making. To complement the variable-based approach, I look for evidence of organizational-level mechanisms that could support the three theoretical approaches – political process, organizational, and relational network – that I explore in Part One. In doing so, I introduce different kinds of qualitative evidence, including observations, documents, email exchanges and organizational interviews, to gain additional insight into the question of how organizations make decisions about what kinds of collection actions they will sponsor when they act on climate change. I also draw on the histories of the two coalitions I detail in Chapters Fix and Six in order to better support my claims.

My major finding is that the relational mechanisms of information sharing, resource pooling and social influence drove organizations in both the contentious and the conventional sphere to harmonize their forms of action in advance of the Copenhagen Climate Summit. The coalitions discussed in the previous two chapters were particularly important venues for the

formation of ties and the spread of tactics. Mechanisms associated with the political process and organizational approaches operate unevenly. In particular, I emphasize that the choices of contentious organizations are not as well-explained by political process and organizational approaches as are the choices of conventional organizations.

I will begin by first briefly reviewing the mechanism approach to the study of contentious politics. I then define and discuss examples of the mechanisms I expect to be associated with the three main theoretical traditions. After providing an overview of the interview evidence, I then discuss the different combination of mechanisms that underpins decision-making in conventional and contentious organizations. The final section discusses the implications of my findings for the literature on social movements.

Defining and Measuring Mechanisms

The McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001) book *Dynamics of Contention* outlined and popularized the approach to the study of mechanisms in contentious politics that I employ in this chapter. *Dynamics of Contention* called for the study of mechanisms as a complement to or even substitute for the variable-based approach. The authors define mechanisms as "changes that alter relations among specified sets of elements" or "events that link effects to causes" (McAdam et al 2008: 307). My approach also draws on developments in the field of qualitative methods in political science, especially as regards techniques for qualitative process-tracing (e.g. George and Bennett 2005). The McAdam et al definition overlaps to a great extent with Gerring's proposal that a mechanism be defined as "the pathway or process by which an effect is produced or a purpose is accomplished" (Gerring 2007: 178).[69]

[69] There is an open debate in the methodological literature on whether mechanisms should conceived of as unobserved entities that when activated are sufficient to alter outcomes, or whether mechanisms should thought of as

In my study, I introduce a number of mechanisms in order to better understand the linkages between network ties, organizational attributes, political opportunities, and the choice of action form in an organization. My measurement of the presence or absence of different mechanisms is based on my coding of interview transcripts.[70] These data were produced in organizational interviews in which respondents were asked to respond to open-ended questions about how their organization chose its tactics. I code these interviews in order to both be able to say something about the relative frequency of different mechanisms and to provide illustrative examples of how these mechanisms operate.

The next section will sketch the key mechanisms of interest and how they can be expected to operate. It is important to keep in mind that the outcome produced by a mechanism can vary depending on its co-occurrence with other mechanisms and the context in which it occurs (Staggenborg 2008; Lichbach 2008). But in my study, I see remarkable similarity in the combination of mechanisms present in contentious and conventional organizations, respectively. Therefore, I argue that organizational decision-making in these two different spheres follows remarkably similar patterns. It also follows that in similar contexts of divided networks, we might expect to see these mechanisms operating in similar ways.

Mechanisms and Choice of Action Forms

In order to code my interview data, I identified in advance a number of potential mechanisms that might characterize how organizations make decisions about their forms of action based on my review of the literature on social movements and interest groups. While existing literature is

---

processes that intervene between independent and dependent variables (see Mahoney 2001; Hedström and Swedberg 1998). My strategy in this chapter is closer to the latter approach.

[70] See the Methods Appendix for more detail on interview sample selection and the interview protocol.

infrequently explicit in specifying the mechanisms operating at the organizational level, I was able to identify a number of mechanisms that implicitly inform the broader theoretical traditions I considered earlier in Chapter Two and Chapter Three.

I am interested in the mechanisms that link the three main explanatory factors from Part One to the choice of action form. I often identified multiple causal mechanisms that could be associated with the hypotheses used in the quantitative analysis. In the sections that follow, I explain each of the mechanisms associated with each theoretical tradition, and explore how they might be expected to operate in this context.

Political Process Approach

The literature in the political process tradition argues that organizations vary their forms of collective action in response to available political opportunities. A variable-based approach to social science might tell us that we observe a positive correlation between open political opportunities and aggregate levels of social protest. But this could be the case for a number of distinct reasons, and the mechanism approach has the advantage of telling us *why* this relationship might hold. I suggest that there are three potential mechanisms that may explain the relationship between political opportunities and forms of collective action:

- *Rational Evaluation*: Most studies in the political process traditional implicitly assume that organizations make rational evaluations of political opportunities and vary their tactics in order to maximize the probability of achieving their desired ends. When a mechanism of rational evaluation is present in an organization, tactics are tools that are deliberately selected to achieve the efficient realization of an organization's goals. Groups that choose their action forms according to rational evaluation should also respond

to institutional incentives. As Tarrow explains, "Sensible people do not often attack well-fortified opponents when opportunities are closed; gaining some access to participation can provide them with such incentives" (Tarrow 2011: 165). Researchers have also adopted this perspective to analyze the EU. Marks and McAdam (1999:107) state: "political opportunities do not merely serve to provide sets of incentives for groups to make claims in certain arenas, but they shape the way in which groups make claims." As a result, they expect that civil society groups will rationally evaluate the (open) structure of opportunities at the European level and decide: a) to target the EU; and b) to employ conventional tactics (Marks and McAdam 1999).

- *Institutional Capture*: It is also possible to explain the predominant use of conventional tactics used around 'open' institutions with the familiar concept of 'institutional capture.' 'Capture' is a commonly-used concept used in the policy studies literature. As Sabatier explains "when the policy preferences of regulator and regulated attain coincidence, the agency is said to be 'captured by its clientele" (Sabatier 1974: 303). In the case of the EU we would expect the direction of capture to be reversed: 'open' institutions may over time 'capture' civil society groups by offering them resources and access in exchange for the moderation in their positions and forms of action. Some scholars have argued that the European Commission in particular encourage the growth of organizations that are able to adopt the role of responsible 'stakeholders' in the policy-making process, and are willing to moderate their actions and 'join the cocktail circuit' (Lahusen 2004).
- *Venue shopping*: organizations may vary their targets more than their tactics through a process of venue shopping. Venue shopping is a political strategy whereby an organization looks for a decision-making setting that will maximize the likelihood that it

will achieve its political goals using its preferred tactics. Scholars who have documented venue shopping show that targets for mobilization are not fixed, and can be selected strategically in order to maximize the probability of success (e.g. Keck and Sikkink 1998). This matters for my study because when the mechanism of venue shopping is present, organizational tactics influence targets, and not vice versa. In other words, organizations may specialize in certain types of collective action and then 'venue shop,' choosing targets for which their preferred form of action is likely to be successful. For example, Mazey and Richardson (2006) demonstrate that interest groups in the EU often target the institutions that they believe will be most receptive to their lobbying strategies.

Each of these mechanisms suggests a different view of the organization. If organizations rationally evaluate opportunities and alter their behavior accordingly, they should respond to incentives provided by institutional actors. However, if organizations specialize in tactics and shop for different venues in which to use them, 'opening' opportunities in one institution could simply cause protest to gravitate to a new institution. Therefore understanding which mechanism is operating at the organizational level is very important for understanding how political systems might respond to the challenge of contentious groups.

Organizational Approach

The organizational approach suggests that organizations have certain attributes that predispose them towards certain forms of action. I particularly look at three types of attributes – resources, structure, and ideology – that are hypothesized to have a strong effect on the forms of action that organizations employ. Though I am somewhat oversimplifying a rich tradition of work in this area, I identify three key mechanisms that are expected to operate at the organizational level:

- *Resource dependence:* When a mechanism of resource dependence is present, an organization's tactical choices are driven by the supply of resources at its disposal. For example, organizations may be limited in their choice of forms of action, due to constraints in access to needed supplies such as money, information, or constituents. As Edwards and McCarthy (2004: 136) summarize, "means of resource access… constrain the choice of forms of collective action." On the other hand, an abundance of resources can facilitate certain kinds of collective action. For example, the availability of funding to moderate groups helped expand the use of moderate tactics within the civil rights movement (Jenkins and Eckert 1986). Overall, the resource dependence perspective supports the idea that resource availability 'channels' groups towards certain forms of action, and suggests that while protest is useful for groups that lack financial resources, groups with more resources will be able to work through institutional channels (Lipsky 1968).
- *Professionalization:* Organizations may also develop internal structures or work routines that impede or prevent them from using contentious forms of collective action (e.g. Piven and Cloward 1977; McCarthy and Zald 1973; Staggenborg 1988). McCarthy and Zald (1973:26) argue that professional social movement organizations can "diffus(e) the radical possibilities of dissent . . . by applying large amounts of resources . . . in ameliorative directions." For example, looking at the pro-choice movement, Staggenborg (1988) argues that the professionalization and formalization of organizations led to their adoption of more institutionalized tactics because 'activists' were replaced by 'professionals' who wanted to sustain the organization over the long term in order to protect their careers. Another perspective on professionalization suggests that directing limited resources

towards creating professional organizations directly subtracts from the resources available for protest action (Piven and Cloward 1977).[71]

- *Ideological commitment:* Organizations may also be limited in the choice of forms of action by the ideological preferences of their leaders or core constituency (e.g. Dalton 1994; Rucht 1990). Groups need to maintain their support among their members or sponsors, which often entails maintaining their image as either 'radical' or 'pragmatists.' As Dalton (1994: 201) argues, "conservation and ecology groups will adopt different political tactics that can be traced back to their underlying political identities." This leads directly to the predication that "Greenpeace will act like Greenpeace, whether it is in Britain or Italy" because of the fixed ideology of the organization and the radical tactics it implies (Dalton 1994: 209).

Understanding the pathways by which organizations make decisions can help explain how organizational structures, resources and ideology can channel groups into certain forms of collective action. In many respects, the organizational-level variables used in the quantitative portion of the study link closely to the mechanisms I study qualitatively. Thus in this instance, the qualitative data help provide a greater level of detail into why exactly ideology is an important predictor of contention, while resources seem to be much less of a constraint.

In addition, population ecology approaches emphasize that characteristics of the overall organizational population can also affect tactical decisions. In particular, the density of the population can encourage groups to compete with one another. Therefore, I also look for evidence of:

[71] This perspective has been subject to extensive debate. McCarthy and Zald's general perspective actually suggests that professionalized movement organizations will support the development and spread of protest. Staggenborg (1991) also argues that professional groups do not *necessarily* impede protest, but can under certain conditions.

- *Competition*: Organizations may also choose to adopt the forms of collective action that will give them a comparative advantage vis-à-vis other rival groups (e.g. McAdam 1982; Minkof 1994) In a competitive setting, groups vary their strategies strategically taking into account the behavior of other groups in order to attract the most benefits from third parties (the media, governments, etc.). For example, Minkoff (1994) argues that the rise of organizations with protest strategies in the women's and minority rights issue areas fueled the legitimacy of the 'advocacy' organization, channeling activities into a more moderate direction due to resource competition.

In this context, I look for evidence that organizations might reference other organizations and position themselves and their actions as an alternative to the actions of others. As such, the competition mechanism is partially relational, but not cooperative (like the other relational mechanisms I employ). My qualitative analysis is particularly useful because it allows me to explain how organizations come to understand other organizations are 'competitors' or 'allies' – a level of detail that is often lacking in quantitative studies.

Relational Network Approach

Finally, the relational approach I outlined in Chapter Three implies a different set of mechanisms. Networks may influence an organization's choice of action form because they can encourage tactical harmonization between closely connected groups. Thus groups that have ties with one another would be expected to behave in similar ways. This can take three specific forms:

- *Information Sharing:* We can recognize 'information sharing' as the communication of knowledge or perceptions between two groups. Networks structure an organization's relationships with other organizations, and thus can facilitate the flow of information. As

a result, an organization's position in a network may provide it with information about opportunities or choices about which it otherwise might not be aware (Ansell 2003). Likewise, information sharing can also produce inter-organization learning about tactics (Wang and Soule 2011) that leads to the adoption of new forms of action. Finally, information sharing can function to spread information about the planned tactics of other organizations, which can help organizations figure out whether a particular collective action proposal will meet the threshold at which it is likely to be successful (Granovetter 1978). To provide just one example, Wang and Soule (2011) argue that as a result of collaboration on a joint protest event, the Black Panthers learned how to use a number of new tactics from the Students for a Democratic Society.

- *Resource Pooling:* Resource pooling is the sharing of supplies needed for collective action – individuals, money, facilities, etc. – between two or more organizations. Resource pooling is important because it can help overcome an organization's individual resource limitations. Through resource pooling an organization can draw on not only one's own resources but the resources of others for purposive action (Lin 2001: 43). Organizational coalitions are often created as permanent vehicles for resource pooling between participants (see Bandy and Smith 2005; Van Dyke and McCammon 2010). For example, Diani, Lindsay and Purdue (2010: 220) find that coalitions in Bristol and Glasgow share material and symbolic resources, regardless of the type of collective action they organize.
- *Social influence:* Groups may also persuade one another of the utility or desirability of using certain tactics. This influence can function directly, by convincing others to change their plans for action as a result of negotiation or discussion. Or it can function indirectly, by convincing organizations to change their underlying identities, which may then come

to imply different forms of collective action. For example, drawing on the history of the lesbian feminist movement, Taylor and Whittier (1992: 118) suggest that "groups negotiate new ways of thinking and acting" which can change both the forms of action and the identities of the participants.

Understanding if and how relational mechanisms operate is important for developing a more complete knowledge of the dynamics of collective action. My documentation of the operation of relational mechanisms helps to establish that ties precede and produce tactical harmonization, buttressing my claims about the direction of causality. I also argue that relational mechanisms matter because they directly affect the choice of action form and affect the operation of other mechanisms, as the next section will develop.

Combining Mechanisms

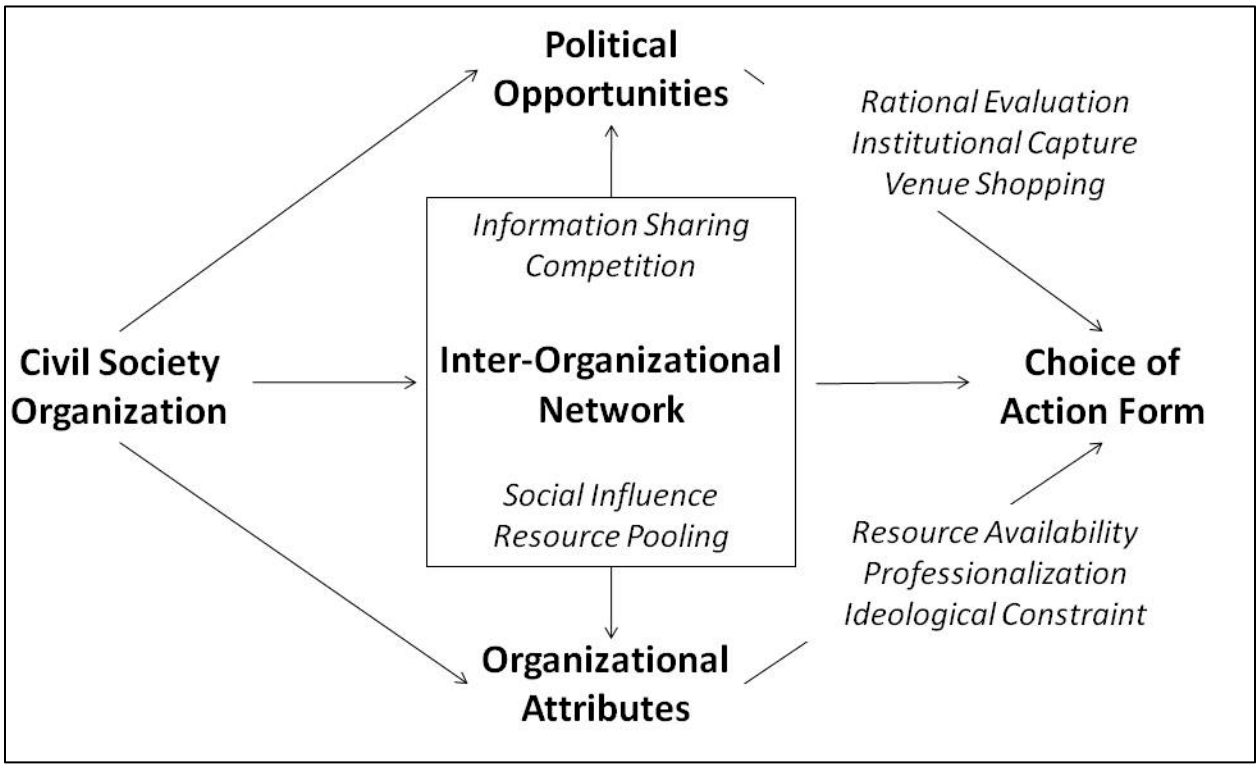
Mechanisms are context dependent. Although my organizations all operate in the same general political context, they have different network positions that particularly alter the ways in which relational mechanisms operate. In other words, network position defines the relational context of the organization. And as a result, it also alters the political content of relational mechanisms (e.g. the kind of information or influence to which actors are exposed). For example, the effect of 'information sharing' in the contentious and conventional portions of the network can encourage opposite kinds of collective action.

Studying mechanisms is difficult because mechanisms can co-occur in ways that radically alter their outcomes (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2008b: 363). I argue that relational mechanisms have direct effects on the choice of action forms, as well as effects on other mechanisms. Figure 7.1 describes the relationship between the three main approaches and their

associated mechanisms. Given this complexity, I particularly specify that relational mechanisms matter because:

- They have an independent effect on what organizations will do (e.g. social influence).
- They intervene and change the way political opportunity and organization explanations work (e.g. by altering how opportunities are perceived or what type of resources are available).

Figure 7.1: Mechanisms of Decision-Making and Theories of Collective Action



For example, the effect of the relational mechanisms of information sharing on an organization's tactical decisions can be both direct and indirect. Organizations may get information from their peers about how to engage in certain kinds of collective action, such as building a camp or using a certain kinds of materials to construct a blockade. This kind of learning could directly influence the kind of actions that organization might be able to sponsor. By organizations may also get information from their peers that lead them to perceive political

opportunities in similar ways, thus encouraging certain kinds of collective action. For example, they may also be more likely to join a protest because they receive information through their social networks that the target is closed to conventional participation. In this case the operation of the relational mechanism has an indirect effect, by encouraging them towards outsider action based on a rational analysis of (perceived) opportunities. My qualitative analysis will try to tease apart these various pathways by which relational mechanisms might operate.

Establishing that relational mechanisms underpin decision-making in organizations – both contentious and conventional – will be important in understanding *why* inter-organizational networks are so important in the quantitative analysis. As a result, the goal of the next two sections is to specify which of these ten mechanisms – or what combinations of them – are operating in the contentious and conventional organizations in my study.

Overview of Interview Evidence

Based on my interviews, I find that the mechanisms posited by the literature occur with different frequency in conventional and contentious organizations. Table 7.1 summarizes the results.

Tactical decision-making within conventional organizations is often driven by mechanisms of rational evaluation of political opportunities, institutional capture and professionalization. These organizations do not seem to venue shop is choosing their targets, nor are they ideologically committed to pre-set tactics. Organizations in certain countries do sometimes report that resource limitations influence their choice of action forms. These organizations are driven by a number of relational mechanisms, including information sharing, resource pooling and social influence, but less so by competition.

The contentious organizations I studied make tactical decisions in ways that are strikingly different than conventional organizations. Contentious organizations are much less influenced by political opportunities when choosing their tactics, and do not report resource limitations or professionalization. A segment of these groups are committed to certain tactics due to ideological constraints, and some do to some extent 'venue shop' in selecting their targets. But for a large portion of these organizations, the ultimate choice to use contentious tactics was driven by relational processes. Decision-making in contentious organizations operates via the mechanisms of information sharing, resource pooling and social influence. These organizations are also driven by a mechanism of competition – not with one another, but with more moderate organizations.

Table 7.1: Frequency of Reported Mechanisms of Organizational Decision-Making

	Frequency with which Mechanism is Reported	
	Contentious Groups	**Conventional Groups**
Political Process Approach		
Rational Evaluation	Low	High
Institutional Capture	Low	High
Venue Shopping	Medium	Low
Organizational Approach		
Resource Dependence	Low	Medium
Professionalization	Low	High
Ideological Constraint	Medium	Low
Competition	High	Low
Relational Approach		
Information Sharing	High	High
Resource Pooling	High	High
Social Influence	High	Medium

The following sections present qualitative evidence of how these mechanisms operate at the organizational-level in contentious and conventional organizations. I also rely on examples

from the history of the two main organizing coalitions, as detailed in the previous chapters, to illustrate my argument when appropriate.

Conventional Organizations

In general, conventional organizations are much more influenced by political opportunities than are contentious organizations. Conventional organizations use decision-making processes that closely resemble mechanisms of rational evaluation, and are often subject to institutional capture and professionalization. Relational mechanisms are also very important, and frequently operate in the context of the CAN coalition.

Rational Evaluation

Officially, tactical decision-making in conventional organizations follows remarkably rational procedures. Interestingly, both the descriptions of this process and the campaigner training materials I consulted seem to be remarkably similar across Greenpeace, WWF and FOE.

These organizations teach their campaigners to indentify political opportunities and alter their tactics to fit the situation. FOE staff, for example, employ a 'SWOT' analysis technique – identifying strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats – for the achievement of their aims. Campaigners tend to brainstorm along these guidelines to come up with actions that respond to these criteria. Figure 7.2 shows some training material used by Friends of the Earth to encourage the development of campaigns along the 'SWOT' guidelines.

Within Greenpeace, this technique is called 'power analysis,' and is typically taught to new campaigners in organizational trainings. As one campaigner described it:

> We do a power analysis to see what kind of pressure the politicians are susceptible to. Are they susceptible to mobilization? Are they scared of Greenpeace? Can we use the

> media? Is it better to work through other organizations? We consider questions like this when we decide which tactics are best. (Interview 83, Greenpeace Nordic)

Thus in principle, most environmental NGOs are trained to recognize the opportunities available in a given political environment, and are theoretically open to altering their tactics to make the achievement of their aims more likely. [72]

Figure 7.2: Excerpts from Friends of the Earth Bulletin "How to: Campaign Strategise"

Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT)

Do a SWOT analysis – to analyse the **S**trengths, **W**eaknesses, **O**pportunities and **T**hreats to your campaign.

Perhaps there is a **weakness** in your argument at present – do you have an alternative proposal? Maybe there is the **threat** of being labelled as alarmist if you choose a shocking message. Perhaps one of your **strengths** is the truly excellent technical sub-group which knows so much more than the supposed experts you are opposing. Maybe there are local elections only months away, providing the perfect **opportunity** to get councillors on-side or voted out.

Tactics – what are you actually going to do?

Which tactics you choose will be influenced by the issue, the timing, who your target is, what stage of the campaign you are at, how much pressure you want to apply and the channels open to you. Some examples include: consumer pressure, stunts, demonstrations, street theatre, shareholder actions, public meetings/debates, engaging with processes such as public inquiries and consultations, MP lobbying street stalls, petitions, letter writing, email actions, web actions, using celebrities for media work, exposés, exhibitions, publishing research/reports and peaceful protest.

Institutional Capture

But despite the training in rational evaluation of political opportunities, the perception of the 'opportunities' available to groups working at the EU-level is strongly influenced by their desire to appear 'professional' and 'responsible,' and to maintain a strong relationship with the political institutions, especially the European Commission. As Chapter Five established, there is strong

[72] The Friends of the Earth Bulletin "How to: Campaign Strategise." Issue 39, February/March 2003, p. 3-4 is a good example. Chris Rose, who has worked as a consultant for FOE, Greenpeace and WWF, popularized the "SWOT" analysis technique in this NGO community. His approach is explicitly taught in both FOE and Greenpeace trainings. The WWF approach follows similar guidelines.

overlap between the political positions of CAN and those of the European Commission, which might constitute evidence of capture.

The desire to maintain relationships with political institutions can have important consequences for tactical choices. For example, when these groups in CAN deviated from their moderate messaging at the close of the European Climate and Energy Package, they were privately sanctioned by institutional representatives. As a result, they became highly concerned about damaging their relationship with Commission officials, and tried to moderate in the next policy cycle.

While conventional groups do use some forms of protest, the types of action they engage in are usually carefully coordinated media stunts, and not highly confrontational actions. This is overwhelmingly true of the groups that work in Brussels. Because of the importance of the relationship with EU institutions, 'protest' actions are generally considered off limits for these groups in the Brussels context.

Despite theoretically being open to using a wide range of tactics, groups that work at the European level often experience an especially strong pull towards conventional forms of action. This remains true even when political opportunities close almost completely, as they did in the last few days of the Copenhagen Summit. Because of their strong relationship with the UNFCCC, these groups were unwilling to tactically radicalize, and continued their conventional actions even in the face of severe limits of their participation.

As Chapter Five also detailed, groups that work within the EU and the UNFCCC are not being 'fooled' by the institutions. These organizations make these tactical decisions consciously, and share a consensus that it is worthwhile to trade tactical moderation for the opportunity for

influence in the political process. As a result of this push from Commission, groups tend to use conventional action to push reformist ends. As one respondent commented about the NGO community in Brussels:

> We play by the rules of the game because there aren't that many options. In the end, we all cook with water. (Interview 29, WWF European Policy Office).

Organizational mechanisms operate differently across conventional and contentious groups. Many conventional organizations are highly professionalized in their structure, and report that this has a strong influence on their use of conventional forms of collective action. Conventional groups in some countries also report that resource limitations drive them to behave in conventional ways. But ideologically, most of these groups are in principle open to a wide range of action.

Professionalization

Within conventional organizations, there is ample evidence to document the importance of professionalization. As Chapter Five previously outlined, this professionalization of European environmental groups can be observed in three main forms. First, environmental groups have expanded their budgets and number of supporters. Second, these groups have developed increasingly sophisticated scientific capabilities. Third, these groups have gained more significant and regularized access to the policy-making process, particularly in countries in Northern Europe.

In countries where these trends have been pronounced, there has also been a significant institutionalization of the movement and its forms of action (Rootes 2004: 247). My interviews suggest that this dynamic is also powerful when groups work at the transnational level, where they try to be seen as 'professionals' and not as 'activists.' As the Greenpeace EU puts it:

> We don't want to be seen as a bunch of environmental Nazis who like to hang ourselves from things. We want to be seen as professional, responsible people who understand what is politically possible and are experts in our field (Interview 1, Greenpeace EU Unit).

As another puts it:

> Our space is the expertise: the impact assessments, the policy evaluations, the nitty gritty of the political process… We're the specialists in Brussels, and to some extent our job includes telling our members where the agenda lies (Interview 16, Transport and Environment Europe).

Big, professional NGOs are provided lots of access to international institutions, partially because of the useful kinds of information they provide these actors. This is one of the main reasons that transnational coalitions, like CAN-E, tend to rely on scientific issue framing when they make their claims. Although not all groups have been affected by the dynamic of professionalization, a significant section of the population has experienced this change in organizational structure. And as the next section shows, these groups also have a great deal of influence over other organizations, spreading tactical moderation even further in the population.

Most conventional organizations do not have ideologies that constrain their choice of action forms. Because of their radical origins, the vast majority of organizations working in the field of climate change politics are at least in principle open to using contentious tactics as a method to achieve their aims.

Resource Dependence

Contrary to theoretical expectations, most groups did not mention being limited in their selection of forms of action by the availability of resources. Because many of these groups work in coalitions they often were able to overcome their individual resource limitations by working together, as the next section documents.

There were two notable exceptions to this. First, groups that work in countries with weak environmental movements reported that they were more likely to use conventional forms of action. This was particularly true for groups located in Eastern Europe, that often reported needing to adopt conventional actions (like making reports) because these are the kinds of things they can get paid for (Interview 71, Polish Ecological Club). Despite using the language of 'opportunities' to a much greater extent, these kinds of limitations also affected groups located in France. As one puts it:

> We try to indentify and act on strategic points. This means working with the opportunities we are provided. [JH: What kind of opportunities are you talking about?] Well, that essentially means we respond to subjects coming from the media and government agenda. Our actions are also largely subject to funding opportunities – what kind of project we can get money for. (Interview 49, RAC France)

But for the most part, groups seemed to recognize the importance of evaluating opportunities and trying to act on them, even when they were somewhat limited by their resources.

Second, groups with lots of resources seemed to be less constrained by the need to cooperate with others, and thus more flexible in their forms of action. This seemed to be particularly the case with Friends of the Earth, and Chapter Six documented. Part of the reasons FOE chose to sponsor independent collective actions was undoubtedly that the organization had the members and money in order to pull off independent events. Smaller groups would be unable to sponsor these kinds of action without working in a coalition, and may have been more subject to influence.

Information Sharing

In conventional organizations, the ability of groups to evaluate political opportunities is limited by the information that they receive about the political system. National groups don't necessary

have the ability to follow the European or international policy process, and frequently rely on one another to get information about when and how to act. Most obviously, organizations get information from coalitions – often through CAN or through the EU offices of their parent organization. As the Greenpeace EU Unit explains:

> Once the decision is made, the EU office provides strategy, analysis and timeline to the offices. Generally speaking, the EU office is in charge of the Commission and the Parliament, while the national offices are in charge of the Council. The 'method' by which the national offices try to influence their governments is up to them. But when they act in Brussels, campaigners in the European offices get lobby trainings, and sometimes also are brought in to target the Parliament. (Interview 14, Greenpeace EU Unit)

As Chapter Five explained, CAN provides information to their members that encourages them to get involved in conventional advocacy at the European level and within the UNFCCC. Many small groups report that without CAN emails and list-serve discussions, they would not know when to act, and would not understand the 'possibilities for influence in the European political process' (Interview 72, Polish Green Network).

Information sharing influences not only the targets organizations choose, but also the kinds of tactics they know how to employ. Conventional groups teach one another how to engage in lobbying at workshops, through newsletters and via conference calls. These kinds of informational exchanges were regularly reported through CAN-E, and also through the inter-organizational contacts in the big NGO families. Greenpeace and WWF offices frequently report learning new tactics from their European or international offices. In FOE, however, more effort is put into developing non-hierarchical information exchanges. The FOE Europe office has less of a coordinating role, and FOE offices are frequently paired with one another directly to spread tactical innovation across national borders. Thus a FOE office is much more likely to get

information about new forms of contentious action than would a Greenpeace or WWF office in the same country.

Resource Pooling

When working at the European level, conventional organizations pool their resources in order to overcome lack of funding or staff. Most obviously, many organizations cannot afford the staff or office space they need in order to adequately follow the EU policy process. By building coalitions with other groups, they can engage in forms of action that they might not be able to do otherwise. As one explains:

> At the European level we work with T&E, Birdlife and the EEB. We can't afford an office in Brussels, so we basically work through these representatives. We give our partners the technical information, and then they take it to meetings. Our main asset is our technical knowledge. And we tend to work with more campaign-oriented groups to complement that. (Interview 73, Wetlands International)

These inter-organizational relationships are important because groups that have a particular niche (technical expertise) may not have the resources to target the European process independently. But this kind of group can work with groups with other kinds expertise (lobbying) in order to coordinate actions and to more effectively target the institutions.

This dynamic also plays out within the big NGOs. The European advocacy offices are critical in helping the national offices keep up with what is going on within the EU. As FOE France explains:

> AdT [FOE France] uses FOE Europe press releases. And honestly, often we just translate them and add our own name. Lots of offices do this… because this kind of lobbying requires so many resources – staff, travel budgets, technical knowledge – most national offices just can't do this. But being in Brussels is an important strategic position for the whole network, and I am glad we are able to take advantage of that (Interview 48, Friends of the Earth France).

Working with other organizations allows a lot of nationally-based NGOs to engage in EU-level lobbying that they might not be able to do otherwise. Members of CAN-E also report receiving similar kinds of benefits from engaging in coalition work. This is one of the major reasons that groups within CAN are willing to contribute a portion of their funds to the budget of the CAN-E Secretariat every year.

Social Influence

As the history of CAN should illustrate, conventional organizations support one another in using conventional tactics. The big NGOs in CAN serve as moderate gatekeepers, and have influence on the kinds of demands groups make as well as the types of actions in which they engage. Because of the structure of decision-making within the coalition, the big groups hold a veto over any strategic initiative of CAN, which leads to the adoption of 'least common denominator' positions among the groups. In practice, this means that the most moderate groups tend to restrain those that want to be more radical. Those desiring more radical action are often faced with the option of moderating their plans or quitting the coalition all together, which can result in loss of significant resources associated with participation.

As a result, the leaders of CAN exerted a lot of influence to keep other organizations from radicalizing tactically, even when political opportunities closed. And because many CAN groups had worked together for so long (and planned to do so again in the future) influence could flow between them fairly easily. For example, on the final days of Copenhagen, CAN leaders were important in convincing most accredited organizations not to radicalize their forms of action once they were excluded from the summit. Thus not only does CAN encourage conventional action, it actively discourages contentious behavior.

Competition

It is worth noting that while I find ample evidence of the operation of relational mechanisms, conventional groups working transnationally do not report much competition with one another. This may be because in Brussels and in the UNFCCC, the circle of people involved in regular advocacy activities is quite small, and it has developed into a tight knit community of individuals. As one observer notes: "there is almost zero competition within Brussels amongst NGOs." A second reason for the lack of competition might be that these groups have effectively built a low profile coalition – CAN – in order to serve as a (fairly) neutral broker of compromises between their various positions. While the groups do disagree, they have developed regular procedures for arriving at joint positions and ensuring cooperation with one another.

This transnational cooperative spirit is not a reflection of harmonious relations between conventional groups at the domestic level. Based on interviews, it seems that some countries have very cooperative relations between their major NGOs (e.g. the UK) while others have much more competitive relations (e.g. Germany). My data show that when organizations act at the EU-level, they tend to do so much more often with organizations of their same 'brand' (e.g. Greenpeace with Greenpeace) than with other NGOs in the same country, which may also help to explain why behavior at the transnational level is more cooperative.

Contentious Organizations

Relational mechanisms are particularly important in organizing contentious collective action. In addition to the mechanisms that lead to tactical harmonization with local alters, contentious groups often select their tactics to deliberately compete with more moderate groups. In addition, a few groups are tactically constrained by the radical identities, and some report that they do venue shop in selecting their targets.

Information Sharing

Information sharing is also very important for contentious organizations. Most of the original organizations involved in the coalition knew very little about climate change, and even less about the UNFCCC. As a result, part of the goal of these early meetings was to explain the political process and how (badly) it worked. As a result of getting information from a common source, these organizations developed a common perception of the workings of political institutions and the opportunities for access in them which were not necessarily accurate or comprehensive.

These organizations were often less aware of the potential range of targets of their actions and the opportunities for participation they afforded. As one member of Rising Tide put it, the perception of opportunities matters a lot in the selection of targets for action within these groups, but the process by identifying opportunities is not very systematic:

> In general, we tend to come and go with the opportunities that are available to us. So we might know that there is a shareholder meeting coming up, or an election, or a day of action and we would want to do something for that. But there's not always the greatest coherence to it - it tends to be kind of ad hoc. And it's really based on how much individuals know about what is going on and what they bring to the table. (Interview 86, Rising Tide UK)

Contentious groups commonly discussed in interviews that they find out about 'opportunities' from their peers. For example, a number of organizations that met at the CJA meetings began to follow the practices of the major energy company Vattenfall in Spring 2009 – these organizations planned a number of transnational collective actions to target this company by sharing information about the timing of the company's public events and demonstration projects. The 'Climate Alarm' event mentioned previously was organized after information about the Commission's meeting with Business Europe representatives was published on a CJA affiliated list serve (Interview 55, Climate Alarm). In general, these groups were not nearly as informed as

their conventional counterparts about the operating of the EU or UN system, making them less likely to perceived political opportunities available there.

Contentious organizations also often reported learning about new forms of collective action from their peers. The climate camps were crucial for this kind of tactical diffusion. Not only was the climate camp model itself imitated all over the continent, but many of the practical skills associated with organizing blockades, occupations, and non-violent civil disobedience were taught to activists at these camps. For example, at the UK Climate Camp in the summer of 2009, activists assembled in a field to practice marching in various formations to avoid police maneuvers (i.e. kettles) that might stop them on their way. Activists attending the Dutch/Belgian climate camp could learn how to assemble tripods, how to use concrete lock-ons effectively, or how to scale a fence. Some sessions at all the camps focused on how to do political research on corporations and their lobbying practices. Individuals trained at these sessions could then – and often reported that they did – bring this information back to their own organizations, expanding that group's tactical repertoire.

Finally, inter-organizational contacts were important for learning what other organizations planned to do. This was particularly important going into Copenhagen, which was the highest stakes moment for these groups. As organizations learned that others intended to use contentious protest action, this in some ways lowered the costs of using the same action and made 'bandwagoning' more appealing. As one group put it:

> We look to alliances to build momentum. These can be temporal – some are for one event, some for one month, one year, whatever. It depends a lot on the situation. But in principle, we don't want to be out on the streets alone [laughs] – we want to be out there with our allies, so they can't ignore us! (Interview 81, Ecologistas en Acción)

Organizations didn't have to sponsor CJA actions in order to be influenced by them. For example, representatives from Friends of the Earth and Attac attended CJA meetings regularly from the beginning of the process. As one participant described it, "in some sense, CJA was also a space for conversation" (Interview 48, Friends of the Earth France). Knowing that there would be a big confrontational demo may have changed the action plans of these organizations as well – both ended up significantly radicalizing their earlier plans. This exposure to information about CJA may have been critical to this decision, as they did not want to seem too 'tame' in the eyes of their members of the media.

The experience of FOE was also in many ways different than that of most of the conventional NGOs. Most NGOs did not seem to know that confrontational actions were being planned until late November 2009, when their plans were already set. In this way, the core of the conventional groups tended to be somewhat myopic: knowing only about their own plans and not those of the contentious groups. And as I established earlier, though FOE groups theoretically could have spread information between the two coalitions, most of these groups found that it was not profitable to do so because it raised suspicion about their own allegiances.

Resource Pooling

In organizing contentious collective action, organizations also did not seem to be held back by their individually-held resources. In fact, organizations very frequently pooled their resources in order to create larger events and different kinds of actions than they may be able to do alone.

Coordinating logistics for Copenhagen was one of the reasons for creating CJA in the first place. Local Danish groups like KlimaX and the Climate Collective took on a lot of responsibility for finding places for activists to sleep in warehouses, army barracks, schools and people's homes.

They also organized communal kitchens and legal aid services. All of these things made it more attractive for non-Danish groups to come to Copenhagen for the ultimate event. Groups from other regions also pooled their resources to sponsor buses to the protest itself. In general, the structure of support for these services was based on 'pledging' – organizations that had more funding paid more, and poor organizations that could contribute otherwise (either through bringing lots of individuals or by donating services like copies or translation) paid much less, if anything.

Organizations particularly recognized the importance of ties and resources in convincing them to join the mobilization. For example, one participant explained the importance of the 'Climate Justice Caravan' – a cross-Europe tour of speaking engagements and protest actions leading up to the Copenhagen Summit – in the decision of La Via Campesina to get involved:

> Our organization is quite new in Europe, so primarily we are working on building our profile and on building a lobbying strategy. It's difficult for us because our capacity for mobilization is much less than it is in Latin America or Asia... This is why alliances are so important for us – what we're doing here is building social movements, and building support for the farmers whose livelihoods are at stake… And our partners help not only with our analysis, but also to support large scale public mobilizations like [Copenhagen]… [The Copenhagen protest] was a mobilization in particular by groups who tried to discuss the climate issues as being more or less about trade… So when we knew that people we worked with would be going, and we knew that they would organize a caravan to get there, we started to think that maybe we should get involved too. (Interview 82, La Via Campesina Europe)

Also as a result of resource pooling, organizations that might not otherwise been able to sponsor a protest were able to get involved. A great example of this is that a few small think tanks became sponsors of protest actions leading up to the Copenhagen Summit, including climate camps, actions targeting corporations and Reclaim Power. These organizations were sought out in the coalition because they provided much needed political analysis; they themselves were

interested in participating because it gave them access to the membership of other organizations. As one think tank staff member put it, talking to others convinced the organization that contentious action wasn't outside the realm of possibility for them:

> It was hard because for some groups they had never worked on this issue area before... But we had been doing stuff on this for years, you know, making reports and the like. So for us, when people starting talking to us about this movement and the action we thought, this is our chance to take it to the next level, yeah? And so maybe there is something we can contribute after all. (Interview 56, The Transnational Institute)

Social Influence

As the experience of organizing CJA clearly demonstrates, organizations can also be influenced and persuaded by their peers to adopt contentious forms of collective action. These ties can help to change opinions as to what constitutes desirable and appropriate kinds of behavior given the circumstances. And as a result, organizational identity can change or be in flux when patterns of ties are disrupted.

It was clear that influence went both ways within CJA: some organizations became more moderate than their original proposals, and others became more radical. The ultimate result was a harmonization of tactics, with many organizations adopting contentious forms of action for the first time, and using them before, during and after Copenhagen. As one participant put it:

> At the CJA meeting in June… some people were still uncomfortable about the direct action component. But at that point, a lot of Germans -- mostly people who were formerly involved in the Peoples Global Action network and the G8 network[73] -- pushed and gained dominance within CJA, and they convinced other people to go along with this idea. And so some of us really changed our plans. (Interview 54, European Youth for Action)

[73] Both the PGA Network and the G8 network are associated with organizing anti-summit protests, and are important organizing vehicles in the European global justice movement.

A lot of organizations were convinced by the lobbying efforts of the global justice groups that direct action was the way to go. But even among those organizations that were fully comfortable with contentious action from the outset, there was still a process of influence operating within the coalition that convinced them to moderate their earlier proposals.[74] Specifically, these groups gradually gave up the part of the action that actually involved shutting down the summit itself. As one activist described the process:

> For about half a year me and German colleagues tried to get CJA to have a position to shut down the COP. But once Via Campesina got involved they said that CJA couldn't shut down the COP altogether – it would also be shutting down all the conversations that happen on the inside. And Via Campesina, I mean you know, they are one of the most democratic and legitimate organizations in the world. So from that point on we knew that it had to be something different. So I think that was one really good thing about the CJA mobilization – there was a lot of discussion, a lot of mutual learning. We couldn't just say 'all institutions are the same, all governments suck.' And because of that, for a lot of us on the radical left, it pushed us out of our comfort zone. (Interview 63, Climate Camp Germany)

As this quote also reveals, some organizations seemed to hold more sway in the coalition than others. My observation at a lot of CJA meetings was that more experienced activists (who often had a background of summit protesting) held a higher status in the group, and thus were capable of being more influential. Consensus decision-making privileges skills of persuasion[75], and those with more experience knew how to use the process to their benefit. Organizations capable of mobilizing large numbers of people were also closely listened to. And ultimately, many organizations deferred to the opinions of groups representing the global south – such as La Via Campesina – because they felt that these organizations had a greater claim to legitimacy in

[74] The exception to this is the more autonomous group NTAC [Never Trust a COP] that broke off from CJA in order to organize more contentious actions. This suggests that some groups do have important intra-organizational identities that cannot be pushed too far. But this seems to constitute the exception in my study.
[75] It also seemed clear that those who were best able to communicate in English (not necessarily native speakers) held an advantage in the process.

the political discussion. As representative from Attac puts it, persuasion was very important in CJA:

> We didn't decide *not* to lobby, we just didn't decide *to* do it. At the beginning it was clear that we wanted to do something together, but we just didn't know what... And many people in the coalition have a long experience with demonstrations and believe in the power of them. So I guess they were able to convince the others that that's what we should do… It is a strength that the coalition is so broad. [Attac is] radical in our ideology, but that doesn't necessarily imply that we will be radical in our methods. (Interview, Attac France).

This quote illustrates that CJA was a vehicle for social influence, and that ideologically 'radical' groups were not necessarily constrained in their tactical choices.

Even organizations that were not sponsors of CJA actions were influenced by the political discussions taking place among organizations at the time. One prime example of this would be Friends of the Earth. Staff members particularly describe how the organization felt 'pushed' by others to radicalize their actions in advance of Copenhagen:

> So FOE has always been about protest, but it's something maybe we've grown too far away from in the past few years… So when everyone starting talking about [the Copenhagen mobilization] it was almost like we were being pushed from all sides. And some our staff got really jazzed about it and I think it really made a big difference, because FOE is really democratic in its structure (Interview 59, Friends of the Earth Denmark)

However, there seem to be limits to this influence. When leaders of GCCA tried to get CJA to cancel their Reclaim Power! action, they were remarkably less successful. This is likely driven by the fact that these organizations did not have previously established ties that might become the basis for influence.

Competition

Contentious groups are also mostly cooperative with one another, as the history of CJA illustrates. But in addition to cooperating with local alters, contentious organizations also organize their contentious actions to compete with conventional organizations. Because the conventional organizations were older and more established, a lot of these groups felt that they needed to be more radical in order to 'take over their political space.' As one put it:

> The big NGOs are totally unable to react to the most important political issues of the COP... We showed them that we really want change, we aren't just going to wait behind our stands and give out leaflets and hold stupid side events. And I think that should scare them. And it makes us re-evaluate what kinds of relationships we might want to have with them. (Interview 81, Ecologistas en Acción)

As my previous discussion mentioned, some of these groups (in particular eco-anarchist groups) were explicitly founded in order to compete with NGOs. The Climate Justice Now! coalition was formed in order to compete with the more moderate demands of the Climate Action Network, and over time came to also support more confrontational forms of collective action.[76]

CJA members took their relationship and positioning vis-à-vis moderate groups much more seriously. As previously mentioned, representatives of the GCCA scheduled a presentation of the December 12th march to CJA at its October meeting. In this presentation, GCCA implored CJA not to cause disruptions or violence at the march, which they were billing as 'family friendly.' The response shouted from a CJA participant said it all: "But you are the reason we have to be so radical!" Another example is that fact that WWF – an organization known for its history of working with large corporations on green initiatives -- became a particular target for

[76] But this isn't to say that groups of both sides did not try to reach out to one another. CJA activists did distribute flyers to CAN members, asking them to attend their walk out on the 16th. But this action seemed largely ignored by CAN members at the time, who did not seem to feel threatened by the radical upstarts. GCCA representatives went to one CJA meeting, but were not successful in influencing the actions of this coalition.

some contentious groups, and in fact sometimes faced protest by more radical green groups outside their headquarters in Geneva.

I don't want to overstate the animosity between these two groups. But it is important to note that contentious groups were always well-aware that they were acting in a political space that was populated by more moderate groups as well, and in many ways framed their actions to compete with them. In this sense, they did not at all intend their actions as 'complements' to the inside efforts, but as something that challenged those efforts in both content and form.

Ideological Constraint

However, my interviews suggest that a segment of the contentious population is constrained in their choice of action form by prior ideological commitments. While I do not find that this is true for most groups, I specifically find that groups coming from eco-anarchist backgrounds tend to be categorically opposed to lobbying actions, as Chapter Six documents. As one Rising Tide member put it:

> One of our defining features is that we don't do lobbying. So others will do an occupation of a government office or another target, and we won't even do that. We try to focus on corporate targets instead, and particularly big oil. [JH: Why don't you do lobbying?] Well, I guess it all comes back to our underlying autonomous philosophy. We believe that the government doesn't have the power to make real changes because they are beholden to corporate interests. So we try to focus on the real source of the problem. (Interview 86, Rising Tide UK)

I particularly want to emphasize that ideological constraint is not an important mechanism for every group that ended up using contentious forms of action. But a significant subgroup of organizations did have strong preferences for contentious action. As the next sections will outline, these groups engaged in significant outreach to others in order to popularize their own approach, and in the process altered their original proposals as well.

Venue Shopping

Conventional groups tend to follow all phases of the policy process, and do not engage in much 'venue shopping' when considering how to select their targets. However, 'venue shopping' does seem to be important in organizing contentious collective action. My interviews suggest that contentious organizations like to target summits because they feel that meetings of heads of state are clearly illegitimate (making them good targets), and that they offer the opportunity for them to showcase their more radical demands in the media.

Because of the logic of venue shopping, we see that organizations will choose more 'closed' targets in order to use their preferred tactics. A quote from the Dutch/Belgian Climate Camp illustrates this logic:

> The camp was set with a view of the [Antwerp] harbor. And all of the axis of evil was there: the big corporations, the polluters, the nuclear, the coal. It was like being a kid in a candy shop – we could take our pick of which ones we wanted. There was a general idea to target one of these evils, but the whole idea was for things to not be decided beforehand, for it to develop organically at the camp. And that did happen. People developed affinity groups and did autonomous actions at grocery stores, at the power stations, at corporations, and of course at the harbor. And I guess they picked what they wanted to hit depending on how autonomous and how radical they wanted to be. And there was a lot of training for people to learn skills, and lots of space for them to discuss how to do things. (Interview 53, Climate Camp Belgium/Netherlands)

The mechanism of venue shopping does seem to operate for a number of longstanding groups in the contentious population, especially among those from the eco-anarchist tradition. And if this mechanism operates in conjunction with information sharing, these groups may disseminate information about potential targets to other groups, making venue shopping a more important dynamic over time.

This finding complicates the approach of Walker, Martin and McCarthy (2008), who argue that characteristics of the target determine the extent of contentious collective action it will face. The logic of this argument is that since institutions – political, educational or economic – use different degrees of 'facilitation' in their interactions with challengers, those that are more 'open' will attract less contention. The quantitative analysis did find that targets that facilitate less do face more contention. But the qualitative analysis suggests that the causal relationship may sometimes be reversed: some organizations are choosing their forms of action (contentious) before they choose their targets. This complicated issue should be explored further in future research.

Conclusion

Overall, my qualitative data suggest that relational mechanisms are important in the organization of both contentious and conventional forms of collective action. These mechanisms both operate independently and may intervene in the organization of collective action in ways not fully theorized by existing approaches.

Mechanisms associated with organizational theories appear less often in interviews with contentious groups than with conventional ones. Organizational theorists seem to be correct that large environmental groups are professionalized and this drives them to behave conventionally. There is also evidence that a portion of contentious groups are ideologically committed to direct action. But on both sides, it also seems clear that groups are not wholly constrained by their resources, structures or ideologies. Groups pool resources to overcome their limitations; organizational identities and strategies can be observed to be in flux during inter-organizational negotiations; and professionalized groups like FOE do sometimes change their strategies as a result of new information or influence.

My interview data seem to suggest that the effect of political opportunities is stronger on conventional groups than on contentious ones. Conventional groups are literate in the political process of complex international institutions and try to evaluate opportunities systematically. They are at least in principle open to altering their tactics as the degree of 'openness' changes, although often they end up being captured by open institutional structures.

But contentious groups are not as well-versed in the political process, and perceive opportunities in ways that differ systematically from conventional groups. Contentious groups in my population are usually isolated from conventional groups and political institutions. They systematically share information, analysis and strategic information only with one another in a way that shields them from a rational evaluation of opportunities and predisposes them towards more radical forms of action. These groups make intentional decisions to form contentious enclaves which help them to maintain their radical political analysis and to promote their preferred tactics. The next chapter will more fully develop the implications of this finding for European and international political institutions.

Finally, the findings from the qualitative data lend validity to the correlations I find in the quantitative portion of this dissertation (See Appendix A for more information on data integration). Network ties seem to be important because organizations are supporting and influencing one another to use certain forms of action. Many groups report that professionalization encourages moderation, but the fact that there are major exceptions (like FOE) suggests why variables measuring size of budget or institutional access are not significant. Having a radical ideology is a strong predictor engaging in contentious action because a portion of eco-anarchist groups are constrained ideologically. Changes in political opportunities are a significant predictor of contentious action because conventional groups tend to rationally evaluate political

opportunities. But the fact that contentious groups 'venue shop' when they choose their targets makes the influence of targets on tactics less certain.

This chapter illustrated the mechanisms that operate at the organizational-level when groups choose their forms of collective action. The next chapter deals with a bigger question: why does it matter if collective action is contentious or conventional? I argue that the emergence of contentious collective action – and its lack of connection to conventional advocacy – had important implications for the European and international policy-making process. The next chapter develops this argument further.

CHAPTER EIGHT

IMPLICATIONS FOR CIVIL SOCIETY AND CLIMATE CHANGE GOVERNANCE

Previous chapters established that a contentious repertoire of collective action emerged and spread among closely connected organizations in advance of the Copenhagen Climate Summit. This contentious activism reflected the development and diffusion of the climate justice movement and of its radical political analysis. At the same time, conventional groups mobilized tirelessly and used creative advocacy strategies in an effort to bring about an ambitious climate treaty. This chapter tries to answer a broader question: why does it matter if collective action is contentious or conventional?

At the most basic level, the spread of contentious protest holds the potential to turn violent: a contentious protest can easily turn into a riot when either police or demonstrators overreact. This can cause injury, as in Gothenburg, or even death to participants, as in Genoa. More commonly, this leads to extensive property damage, which can cost cities and businesses tens of millions of dollars. The presence of contentious activism also makes protest policing more costly, and generates new risks for the host government, making it harder to find suitable venues for future international summits. In Copenhagen, for example, the presence of contentious groups generated extensive costs to the city in order to employ additional police officers, pay for legal proceedings against demonstrators, defend against lawsuits by protesters, and to cover property damage to the city and local businesses. Thus, overall, it is safe to say that contentious activism poses challenges that conventional tactics simply do not.

But I also argue that the emergence of contentious climate change activism matters because it complicates our understanding of the role of civil society participation in global

environmental governance. Civil society participation in international institutions – and in environmental governance in particular -- is often seen as a good by policy-makers and scholars alike for the integrative and legitimizing effect these civil society actors can produce in international institutions (e.g. Florini 2000; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Kohler-Koch and Rittenberger 2007; Reinicke 2000; Schmitter 2000; Sikkink 1999; Willets 1996). But my research suggests that when civil society groups are contentious and divided, this promise may not be fulfilled.

The first section of this chapter develops this argument further as it relates to the international negotiations on climate change within the UNFCCC. I argue that the mobilization of actors in Europe for the Copenhagen Summit had implications for global climate change politics and for the UNFCCC itself. By using historical process-tracing, I argue that, in contrast to conventional climate change advocacy, contentious activism in Copenhagen may actually have undermined the consensus process within the UNFCCC by encouraging states to block the Copenhagen accord. I also argue that the contentiousness of civil society in Copenhagen caused the UNFCCC to reform itself as an institution, and may shift from the relatively open political opportunity structure associated with the UN to a more closed style of politics more often associated with international financial institutions.

The second section explores the implications of these developments for the study of the politics of the European Union. In particular, I contest the view that civil society participation will necessarily serve as a motor of European integration (Haas 1958). Based on the 'two worlds of collective action' I have documented with my network analysis and interview evidence, I argue that contentious participation reflects the development and diffusion of a politicized and highly critical view of European integration. Contentious participation is also transnational in

nature, but is aimed at discrediting the institutional politics of the European Union and slowing the integration process. This finding leads me to reconsider some of the foundational approaches to European integration. It also suggest that the solution to the 'democratic deficit' of the EU institutions should be framed not in terms of increasing the volume of civil society participation, but by improving the ability of the European institutions to integrate fundamentally oppositional viewpoints.

Finally, the findings of this study have implications for civil society groups themselves. One major finding is that the success or failure of group strategies is interdependent. Contrary to the positive version of the 'radical flank' effect (Haines 1984), contentious groups actually undermined the success of conventional groups in Copenhagen. And due to the institutional pressures in the climate change issue area, groups trying to broker the two sides were especially disadvantaged. Network structure also has implications for the repression of civil society groups. Where there is division between radical and moderate groups, the spread of contentious tactics is more likely. But at the same time, the relative isolation of these groups makes their repression potentially much easier to accomplish, posing a dilemma for those groups that are considering contention as a political strategy.

Implications for Climate Change Governance

Scholars have documented both growth in the number of environmental civil society groups working at the transnational level (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 11; Wiest and Smith 2010), and the regularization of their forms of participation within the UNFCCC since 1992 (Mori 2004). This section highlights the ways in which the emergence of contentious activism in the arena of climate change governance complicates traditional scholarly understanding of the effect of civil

society participation. In particular, the case of Copenhagen demonstrates how the overlap between radical social movements and state delegations can discourage consensus in such settings.

Traditional Views of Participation

Current scholarship and policy recommendations tend to assume that increased participation in transnational policy-making by civil society organizations will improve institutional functioning and enhance democratic legitimacy (e.g. Florini 2000; Reinicke 2000; United Nations 1992; Willets 1996). In this literature, participation is generally considered desirable because civil society actors perform five distinct functions:

- *Supplying Information:* Civil society groups provide information to states, especially those with limited capacity (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 16; Stone 2000: 218).
- *Consulting with Institutions:* Civil society groups fill a consultative role in global governance, representing the interests of their constituencies to policy makers and ultimately improving outputs (Mori 2004: 159; Princen and Finger 1994; Sharpf 1999).
- *Persuading States:* Civil society groups can persuade states to support environmental norms, help overcome divides between states, and convince states to adopt international environmental treaties (Epstein 2006; Florini 2000: 10; Jakobsen 2000: 276; Keck and Sikkink 1998: 25; Princen and Finger 1994; Wapner, Ruiz and Falk 2000).
- *Providing Legitimacy:* By virtue of their nature as 'principled actors,' the participation of civil society groups can provide legitimacy for the decisions taken in international institutions (Princen and Finger 1994; Willets 1982: 24).

- *Supporting Implementation:* These groups can provide monitoring for international treaties and support their implementation at the domestic level, providing a crucial link between global agreements and domestic politics (Asubel and Victor 1992; Scholte 2000: 262; Susskind 1994)

As a result of these expected benefits, not only do these scholars recommend that international institutions open to civil society organizations, but they actively encourage the participation of civil society groups as a means to improve global environmental governance. In the field of environmental politics many high profile UN projects – including Agenda 21 and the Global Compact – aim to encourage civil society participation for exactly these reasons.

Participation as a Double-Edged Sword

My study of the UNFCCC meeting in Copenhagen suggests several ways in which the earlier literature on civil society participation needs to be amended and nuanced.

Based on my case, I argue that participation can be a double-edged sword for global governance. On the one hand, conventional actors can supply information, consult with institutions, persuade states, provide legitimacy and support implementation, just as these scholars expect. But on the other hand, contentious participation by outsiders unconnected to institutional politics can have just the opposite effect. When civil society is divided and some use contentious tactics – as it was in Copenhagen – it can actually undermine decision-making in international institutions. This is because they can:

- *Politicize Debates:* Divided groups can provide conflicting information to state actors, as well as politicize technocratic debates and make consensus less likely.

- *Divide States:* Radical groups can exacerbate divides between states, decreasing the likelihood of international action.
- *Create Security Concerns:* Contentious groups create security concerns that lead to restrictions on participation, making consultation less likely and decreasing the stake of civil society groups in the implementation of any eventual agreement.
- *Challenge Legitimacy:* Contentious groups challenge the legitimacy of international institutions, and undermine public and governmental perception of the effective functioning of these institutions.

As a disclaimer, I would like to emphasize that my goal in this chapter is not to discredit or demonize contentious civil society groups. Nor do I have a particular bias about whether conventional or contentious strategies are ultimately better from a democratic or environmental standpoint. However, what I do wish to point out is that civil society groups can and do play very different roles in international environmental politics, some of which may be extremely challenging to states and international institutions. Current scholarly literature tends to focus on the benefits of conventional participation, while not considering the potentially disruptive implications its contentious twin. This chapter tries to balance the literature, by suggesting the ways in which contentious participation deviates from the expectations of most scholars. My goal is to trace the implications of the emergence of contention for the international negotiations within the United Nations. But of course, the politics of the UNFCCC are still unfolding, and the ultimate implications of these strategic choices on the part of civil society may still be unknown.

At the same time, I do not argue that civil society actors are solely responsible for the political outcomes within the UNFCCC. Obviously the lackluster conclusion in Copenhagen was driven by factors other than civil society activism - the gap between EU, US and Chinese

ambitions is usually cited as the prime culprit. But I argue that the contentious and divided nature of civil society activism also contributed to the collapse of the Copenhagen negotiations, for reasons I will elaborate below through historical process tracing. And as a result, I expect that in other cases in which civil society is divided between reformist insiders and radical outsiders, we may see similar effects on global governance.

Civil Society and States

It is often deceptive to talk about civil society actors and states as if they were distinct. Civil society and state actors are often intimately intertwined in transnational governance. As Mitchell (1991: 77) puts it, the boundary of the state is "elusive, porous and mobile." This porous relationship between some states and civil society makes untangling the influence of civil society on states more complex than is often acknowledged.[77] I argue there are two main types of overlap between states and civil society that produce contrasting forms of influence.

First, when large states go to international climate negotiations, they bring with them teams of negotiators from foreign ministries and other relevant government bodies. But many smaller countries with more limited capacity (in Eastern Europe, Africa and the small Island Nations, for example) often hire civil society representatives to be members of their official delegations at UN climate conferences. These delegates play a dual role at these conferences, both taking the positions of their civil society groups to their governments and leaking information from the official process back to their own organizations. In Europe, many governments in the new member states will employ NGO staff as part of their delegations, giving

[77] Another source of confusion is that our traditional view of civil society as David battling the Goliath of states (e.g. Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002: 5; Willets 1996) is often factually incorrect. Big NGOs often have considerable resources to dedicate to these negotiations and frequently are better prepared and informed than national delegations of smaller states.

these individuals access to EU-level coordination. Thus on some occasions, civil society actors are participating very directly in making foreign policy in the context of these negotiations.

Second, some states in the UN process closely identify with grassroots social movements and contentious activism. In particular, states in the ALBA alliance[78] -- in particular Bolivia and Venezuela – typically offer their vigorous support to social movements and claim to act on behalf of 'the peoples of the world.' In many respects, states like Bolivia and Venezuela have more in common with grassroots anti-capitalist protesters than they do with most states in the UN, and they draw on these movements to promote the legitimacy of their claims.

The complex linkages between some states and civil society mattered for the political process in Copenhagen two ways. First, civil society activism raised the visibility of particular states within international negotiations. In Copenhagen, this meant the small state of Tuvalu was elevated to the status of 'cause célèbre' due to its vulnerability and ties with conventional activists willing to publicize its position. Second, overlap with contentious actors caused some states to radicalize and sustain their critical positions within the UN. At COP 15, the overlap between climate justice activists and the ALBA states particularly encouraged ALBA leaders to adopt the justice-based issue framing of the movement.

The radicalization of ALBA leaders in Copenhagen was especially important because the UNFCCC as an institution functions by consensus rules. As Young (1994) argues, in situations in which consensus rules operate:

> The availability of arrangements that all participants can accept as equitable is necessary for institutional bargaining to succeed (109).

[78] ALBA is comprised of: Antigua and Barbuda, Bolivia, Cuba, Dominica, Ecuador, Honduras (which was not present in Copenhagen), Nicaragua, St. Vincent and Grenadines, and Venezuela.

Radical civil society groups deliberately tried to undermine consensus in the negotiations by politicizing debates and spreading ideas about 'climate justice.' As a result, the states that were targets of their outreach were less likely to perceive the talks as equitable, and more likely to block the eventual accord. The next two sections illustrate this argument by drawing on two examples of different kinds of state-civil society linkages from the Copenhagen Summit: the Island nation of Tuvalu and the ALBA states.

Civil Society Representing States: Tuvalu

It was hard to attend COP 15 and not encounter the rallying cry "Save Tuvalu." Because of its immense vulnerability to climate change, and despite its small size, Tuvalu[79] is a prominent actor in the international climate change negotiations. As the lead negotiator puts it, Tuvalu has become 'the canary in the coal mine for climate change.' This is no accident; other countries such as the Maldives are bigger than Tuvalu and almost equally as vulnerable. The prominence of Tuvalu was the result of a self-conscious effort on the part of the nation to engage in activism in order to attract attention to its plight. The major prong of Tuvalu's strategy to blend diplomacy and activism was the decision of to hire a former Greenpeace Australia climate campaigner – Ian Fry – as the country's lead negotiator at the UNFCCC. Fry does not live in Tuvalu, but is known for passionate outbursts in the plenary sessions, as well as for maneuvering within official procedures in order to highlight the nation's positions.

[79] Tuvalu is a small island nation in the South Pacific with a population of approximately 12,000 people. The nation is composed of nine low-lying coral atolls, and is generally considered the most vulnerable nation in the world to sea-level rise due to climate change. Based on IPCC projections of sea level rise (IPCC 2007: 45), the islands of Tuvalu are expected to disappear within the next 50-100 years, and the government of Tuvalu has already begun a program to relocate its island's residents overseas. See the official website: www.tuvaluislands.com (accessed April 2, 2011).

Tuvalu's decision to link itself with the NGO community had a number of consequences. Most obviously, Tuvalu benefited from additional monetary and strategic resources which it desperately needed.[80] For example, prior to Copenhagen, Greenpeace staff helped draft an ambitious climate treaty that was presented to the plenary as the official position of the Tuvalu government. As Tuvalu is also a member of the Alliance of Small Island States – the AOSIS group within the UNFCCC – the nation's information and strategy was diffused to many small state actors.[81]

Moreover, Tuvalu became an iconic 'victim' of climate change that big NGOs were able to draw on in their activism. For example, the GCCA and youth delegates engaged in several 'rapid response' actions in Copenhagen to highlight the proposals of the government of Tuvalu and to support the nation's progressive environmental positions. As Kumi Naidoo, chair of Greenpeace International, describes the strategy:

> Inside the meetings, Greenpeace and its partners in the TckTckTck campaign have set up a rapid response process. For instance, on Wednesday, Tuvalu called for a suspension of the talks because they wanted leaders to discuss committing to a legally binding treaty with more ambitious emissions cuts and goals. They cited threats to Tuvalu's people because of rising sea levels. The negotiations were actually suspended briefly. Within half an hour, our rapid response team mobilized 300 activists to stage a demonstration inside the convention center. They held banners with the slogan, "Tuvalu is the real deal," to support Tuvalu's call for an ambitious climate deal. The story of that demonstration was covered on media channels around the globe. It put pressure on the negotiators" (Naidoo, quoted in Ostrander 2009).

Greenpeace wasn't alone in support of Tuvalu. CAN was so enamored of the actions of Tuvalu in Copenhagen that the coalition voted to give the country its first ever "Ray of the Day

[80] The total GDP of Tuvalu was approximately $29 million in 2009; Greenpeace International spent approximately the same amount (27 million Euros) on its climate and energy campaign alone in 2009. See State Department country profile: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/16479.htm and Greenpeace International Annual Report 2009: http://www.greenpeace.org/international/Global/international/publications/greenpeace/2010/Annual_Report_2009/AR2009.pdf. (Accessed April 23, 2011).

[81] The AOSIS group was, however, often divided during Copenhagen due to the extreme political positioning of Tuvalu in comparison to the more moderate position of members like Singapore.

Award" for its progressive positions, a contrast to the state-shaming practice of awarding "Fossil of the Day Awards" to the most obstructionist states. These actions drew media attention to the plight of the nation, and may have helped it to gain standing in the negotiations. As Fry noted in a published interview:

> [The activism in Copenhagen] helped our negotiating position… in highlighting the fact that our concerns couldn't just be swept under the carpet. There was a strong voice of civil society supportive of our concerns. (Fry, quoted in Block 2009).

This is a perfect example of how NGO advocacy is supposed to work. NGOs worked behind the scenes most of the time, feeding information and intelligence to the delegates, while occasionally attracting media when it would be beneficial. State delegates 'talked tough' in the plenary, pushing other countries to more ambitious action. However, as the talks progressed, this strategy began to backfire. In the first week, Tuvalu seemed to benefit from the support of civil society and the attention of the media as it tried to push for more progressive outcomes. But in the end, the government was sidelined in the official negotiating process because it became 'too broad' in its concerns. As Fry notes again:

> But, of course, in the end we weren't brought to the table… the broad public viewpoint of civil society limited our input into the process… Protests, demonstrations, reflected a much broader concern about climate change than the Danish government was willing to acknowledge. They became too entwined in narrow political negotiations. (Fry, quoted in Block 2009)

Despite this strong statement and tough negotiating all week, Tuvalu ultimately came under intense pressure to accept the conference agreement. Late Friday night the COP president submitted the text for official adoption. In the final hours, when it became clear that the non-binding Copenhagen Accord was the only possible outcome, Tuvalu (contrary to much speculation) decided not to block consensus on the agreement, while strongly denouncing the weakness of the Accord and the negotiating process.

The relationship between NGOs and Tuvalu represented a sophisticated advocacy strategy that blurred the lines between state and conventional non-state actors. It is also an example of how scholars typically imagine civil society activism to operate in global governance, although it did not ultimately succeed in producing the desired outcome. But Tuvalu wasn't the only state with ties to civil society. The next section reveals remarkably different patterns of civil society-state collaboration, with dramatically different consequences.

States Representing Civil Society: The ALBA Alliance

Contentious civil society groups had different alliances with states in the UNFCCC negotiations. In particular, these contentious groups were closely aligned with the ALBA[82] states during Copenhagen. From the founding of CJA, there was tension within the coalition about denouncing all state actors – mainly because many within the global justice movement in Europe look to the ALBA states, in particular Bolivia, as examples of legitimate governance. In fact, the Reclaim Power action was specifically designed to highlight this nuanced political position of support for these states but overall distrust of the negotiations.

Deciding to support the radical states in the UNFCCC was a deliberate strategy on the part of the climate justice movement. These activists hoped to replicate the experience of the 1999 Seattle World Trade Organization meeting, in which outsider activist organizations were credited with supporting the dissent of developing country delegations participating in the talks (Edelman 2009). As an early organizing document put it:

[82] The Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America [ALBA] is a coalition of states in Latin America and the Caribbean. ALBA promotes the idea of social, economic and political integration among its members. Only five ALBA countries (Bolivia, Cuba, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Venezuela) negotiate as a block within the UNFCCC, and these countries also participate in the coordination of the G77. Many of the ALBA leaders came to power on anti-neoliberal platforms and with support of national social movements. As a result, the often frame their actions in the international context as being about supporting 'the people' – meaning not only their domestic constituencies, but 'people' from all over the world.

> In Seattle, we not only managed to shut down the conference by being on the streets, we also exacerbated the multiple conflicts that existed 'on the inside' between the negotiating governments… If we manage to do the same thing again... we would both be able to keep open the political space to discuss potential 'solutions' to climate change that go beyond the reigning, market-driven agenda (Muller 2008).

This task was made easier because many of the ALBA delegations to the UNFCCC intentionally included a large number of social movement and indigenous participants. As a result, these delegates were natural targets for the climate justice movement, many of whom decided to participate in the walkout as part of the Reclaim Power demonstration. Not only did this demonstration include actual state delegates; it mobilized other civil society representatives who wanted to pressure heads of state. As one participant from the Indigenous Environmental Network shouted upon leaving the conference center:

> We are here to support our brothers. We are here to support Evo Morales, he is coming here today. We are here to give him direction and to support Bolivia.[83]

ALBA leaders seemed to be listening. In Copenhagen, these leaders actively consulted and coordinated with climate justice activists. One example of this coordination was Evo Morales' decision to spend a full day of his time in Copenhagen attending the Klimaforum, as opposed to the official UNFCCC conference. At the Klimaforum, Morales held an 'open forum' where he sought advice from the social movements on what actions he should take in Copenhagen. As he put it at this meeting:

> Politics is a science of serving the people. I live to serve the people. Participating in politics is part of assuring our dignity, our traditional way of life. It is my duty to take your message to the heads of state here. If I make a mistake, let me know so that I can rectify it.[84]

[83] Transcribed from video recording of the Reclaim Power! demonstration, December 16, 2009, available from *Democracy Now!* at: http://www.democracynow.org/2009/12/16/headlines#1 (accessed April 12, 2011).
[84] Transcribed from field notes from the Klimaforum open meeting with Evo Morales, December 17, 2009.

After this meeting, Morales offered to present the official declaration of the Klimaforum to the UNFCCC. Although this never ended up happening (the UNFCCC Secretariat reportedly stated that the document was 'lost'), it signals the extent of overlap and collaboration between the climate justice movement and the Bolivian state.

The leaders of ALBA also held a public meeting in Copenhagen before the start of the high-level negotiating segment. This event was held in a football stadium, and attracted approximately 4,000 participants. The structure of the event involved the leaders first presenting their positions, followed by a question and answer period in which individuals could ask questions and make requests.

In addition to increasing their efforts to coordinate with civil society, Copenhagen marked a shift in the public discourse of ALBA leaders on climate change. While these states had always been anti-capitalist, their rhetoric in Poznan, the year before, had mostly aimed to point out the 'limits to growth' inherent in the capitalist system (see Stevenson 2011). For example, a typical Bolivian intervention in Poznan sounded like the following:

> Competition of the capitalist system is destroying the planet… climate change has therefore become a business. We need to discuss the structural causes of climate change, because for us what has failed here is this very model, and we want to live better. This development model needs to be questioned.[85]

With the development of more contentious politics and activism in Copenhagen, the political positions of ALBA became more radical and specific, in two ways. First, ALBA leaders began to directly adopt the 'climate justice' framing of the social movements in Copenhagen. As Evo Morales put it in his floor speech:

[85] Transcribed from video recording of Bolivian intervention in the Ad HocWorking Groups on Long Term Cooperative Action (AWG-LCA), December 3, 2008. Available at: http://copportal1.man.poznan.pl/Archive.aspx?EventID=28&Lang=english (Accessed April 4, 2011).

> Our proposal is to have this climate justice tribunal *in* the UN, to judge those who are responsible for destroying the earth... We are not going to resolve anything without the peoples of the earth. Peoples of the earth you need to unite, to organize yourselves to defeat capitalism, and that is how we are going to save the Mother Earth (Evo Morales, Bolivia) [86]

Second, these leaders increasingly began to draw on the protest movements as a source of legitimacy for their radical political positioning. In doing so, they explicitly mentioned protests and climate justice slogans (e.g. "system change, not climate change"), and used them to support and justify their opposition to the UN process. This was particularly true in Hugo Chavez's floor speech:

> But there are lots of people outside too… there are a lot of protests in the Copenhagen streets. I would like to say hello to all those people out there [applause]… we could say there's a ghost running through the streets of Copenhagen, and I think that ghost is stalking us silently in this room... I was reading some signs out there is the street … one, for example, is 'don't change the climate, change the system.' Don't change the climate, change the system. I take that; I take note of that. Let's change the system, and then we will begin to change the climate and save the world. [applause] (Hugo Chavez, Venezuela) [87]

Other ALBA countries also adopted the rhetoric of the movement, and criticized the UNFCCC for its hard stance against civil society:

> I would like to associate myself with the protests and the demonstrations… we note with concern the exclusion of non-governmental organizations from this hall, and the clear repressive measures being used against demonstrators… selfishness and the interests of developed countries in preserving an unjust and inequitable world order are preventing us from undertaking the changes that are demanded by present and future generations. (Esteban Lazo Hernández, Cuba) [88]

This use of climate justice language by heads of state was new in Copenhagen, and promoted a perception of inequality in the talks. Thus when it came time to debate the

[86] Transcribed from video recording of UNFCCC floor speech December 17, 2009, available at:http://unfccc2.meta-fusion.com/kongresse/cop15_hls/templ/play.php?id_kongresssession=4287 (Accessed April 12, 2011).
[87] Transcribed from video recording of UNFCCC floor speech December 18, 2009, available at:http://unfccc2.meta-fusion.com/kongresse/cop15_hls/templ/play.php?id_kongresssession=4288 (Accessed April 12, 2011).
[88] Transcribed from video recording of UNFCCC floor speech December 17, 2009, available at:http://unfccc2.meta-fusion.com/kongresse/cop15_hls/templ/play.php?id_kongresssession=4205 (Accessed April 12, 2011).

Copenhagen Accord, these leaders were already primed to see the negotiations through a justice angle. The main opposition to the accord came from this radical alliance of states that had already been associated with the climate justice movement. In particular, Bolivia, Cuba, and Nicaragua spoke early and strongly against the Accord and the inequitable way in which it was brokered. [89] These states were the ones mainly responsible for blocking the Copenhagen Accord from becoming an official decision of the UNFCCC.

Thus although it is impossible to definitively establish, there is evidence to support the idea that radical activism encouraged some states to sustain their critical positions *within* the UNFCCC and to block the Copenhagen Accord (McGregor 2011). Given that civil society is often viewed as having moral authority, calls by civil society for delegates to reject the Copenhagen Accord may have persuaded delegates (particularly in populist states) to radicalize their rhetoric and sustain their opposition. The extensive overlap between the climate justice movement and the ALBA delegations makes this kind of influence is quite plausible, if impossible to definitively demonstrate.

At the very least, it is clear that these delegates were listening to contentious activists and using their actions as a way to legitimize their political positions. This is very clear in the final statement put out by ALBA on the outcome of the Copenhagen Summit:

> Today more than ever, before the lamentable maneuvering that has been practiced in Copenhagen for petty economic interests, we reiterate that, "Don't change the climate, change the system!"… We recall that while the conference failed in an irreversible way, the voices of the youth who know that the future is theirs, grows stronger. They strongly denounce the maneuvers of the developed countries and they know that the struggle will

[89] Transcribed from video of speeches available from the UNFCCC at: http://www1.cop15.meta-fusion.com/kongresse/cop15/templ/play.php?id_kongressmain=1&theme=unfccc&id_kongresssession=2755 and http://cop15.meta-fusion.com/kongresse/cop15/templ/play.php?id_kongresssession=2761&theme=unfccc (Accessed April 12, 2011).

> continue. We join with them and their protests, and we salute and support them. The people must stay on their guard (ALBA 2009).

After Copenhagen, these states also evaluated their actions by standards set by civil society groups. The weak status of the Copenhagen Accord was represented as a 'victory for the people' by Morales, and at the same time was viewed as a 'success' by radical civil society actors who had publicly stated that 'no deal is better than a bad deal.'[90] As Morales put it:

> I would say that Copenhagen is not a failure, it is a success for the people, and a failure for the developed governments. Because in December 2009, the developed countries tried to approve a document, and thanks to the struggle of you, the leaders of social movements of the world meeting in Copenhagen, along with presidents of some countries, we communicated the feeling of suffering of the peoples of the world. [91]

Thus not only was Copenhagen represented as a victory, but the alliance between these states and the climate justice movement was strengthened in ways that may have implications for future climate change negotiations.

Legitimacy and Implementation

Beyond influencing states, current scholarly literature argues that civil society actors will work to legitimize international institutions and to promote the implementation of environmental agreements. Again, my study suggests that the effect of contentious participation is more complicated. The Copenhagen case shows that civil society actors can also work directly to delegitimize international institutions, and that contentious participation can lead to security restrictions that may indirectly contribute to an institutional loss of legitimacy.

First, contentious actors in Copenhagen actively tried to delegitimize the summit with their actions, as the history of CJA illustrates. And partially as a result of their radical tactics,

[90] Meeting notes from CJA evaluation meeting, December 17-18, 2009.
[91] From speech by Evo Morales at the International Peoples Summit on Climate Change, Cochabamba, Bolivia, April 20, 2010. Available in Spanish at: http://alainet.org/active/37560 (Accessed April 12, 2011).

security restrictions were put in place that limited the participation of civil society groups more generally. Since civil society was not allowed to participate actively in the final days of the Summit, there was little chance for these actors to provide useful information and fill the consultative role that scholars and policy maker have come to expect them to fill.

Second, climate justice activists not only worked to block the Copenhagen Accord, but also to delegitimize its implementation. Some conventional organizations, following the lead of Obama, Yvo de Boer and Ban Ki-moon, were critical but accepting of the Accord as a 'meaningful' document. But climate justice groups took the opposite position, working publically to denounce the agreement and undermine its implementation. The Friends of the Earth press release on the subject is typical of the 'illegitimate' position:

> Countries seeking a just and effective solution to climate change should not sign this illegitimate and distracting 'Copenhagen Accord'… Developing countries have shown real leadership in Copenhagen and must not give up the UNFCCC for the 'Copenhagen Accord.'

Perhaps because of this lackluster support for the agreement, parties to the UNFCCC have not seemed eager to register commitments under the Copenhagen Accord, making progress to date slow and weak (Doyle and Wynn 2010). Since civil society actors were not allowed to participate in developing the eventual Accord, we can reason that it also becomes less likely that they will have a stake in its implementation. And as the next section will argue, after the failure to reach consensus on an outcome at COP 15, there seems to have developed a serious malaise around the institution itself and its ability to reach any eventual agreement, which resulted in renewed interest in alternative venues for climate change governance.

Implications for the Institutional Politics of the UNFCCC

The move towards the use of contentious tactics by civil society organizations in Copenhagen has had important consequences for the UNFCCC as an institution. This was particularly evident at COP 16 in Cancun a year later, when it seemed clear that the institution had modified in substantial ways to respond to the transformation in civil society groups. This section will outline those changes in terms of security reforms, procedures for dealing with civil society and the interest of parties in new venues for climate change policy-making.

Security Reforms

One clear outcome of the contentious activism in Copenhagen was that security around the conference became more strict and proactive in targeting potential threats. This can be seen in the number of people arrested during the two week summit: Copenhagen police arrested over 1,500 protesters in total, even though only a handful were ever charged. Authorities justified these arrests because there was a 'fear of violence' around the summit, and they argued, the preemptive action was necessary to prevent property damage and violence.

Within the UNFCCC itself, there were important changes in the way UN security dealt with civil society groups. Most notably, for the final few days of the conference when heads of state arrived, authorities decided to severely limit civil society participation. For the final two days, civil society access was cut to merely 90 of the 20,000 participants registered. Under this procedure, most delegations were granted passes for the second week based on a percentage of their registered delegation. As an email from the UNFCCC Observer Organizations Liaison Team explained, "unexpected developments … compelled the secretariat to install a series of safety and security measures." Thus the UNFCCC acknowledged that the restrictions were not

purely due to logistical problems with the small size of the venue (as some later claimed), but were also due to security concerns.

In addition to these general restrictions, the UNFCCC completely removed the accreditation from specific groups as of the morning of the Reclaim Power Action. The UNFCCC security targeted groups – like Friends of the Earth – that were believed to support Reclaim Power. Leaders of FOE report in interviews that they were told that they were viewed as a threat in a security report, but the UN security declined to elaborate on why.[92]

These changes were not limited to Copenhagen. Despite the almost complete absence of heads of states at the COP 16 in Cancun, security procedures were even stricter in this venue. While in Copenhagen 'actions' were permitted if cleared with the Secretariat, in Cancun the UN Security imposed a two day waiting period for any civil society action, effectively curtailing the ability of civil society to respond to events in the negotiations in a timely manner.

In addition, in Cancun the UN Security was active in removing individuals who took part in protest actions. Activists noted that they did this by either noting participant's names from their badges or reviewing footage of protests and matching it with photos from the registration system. One prominent indigenous activist described his suspension from the UNFCCC in this way:

> We took our delegation over to the U.N. forum and went through the security and swiped my—this card here. And all of a sudden, the whole computer started flashing red. I was suspended… So we found out that because yesterday we were talking yesterday after a press conference… after that, our youth went out, you know, demanding climate justice and to lift up all the issues that we're addressing... So, of course, the media was asking, you know, what is the indigenous position on this? So I spoke, as well… And I didn't

[92] Transcribed from video footage of the Reclaim Power ! demonstration from *Democracy Now!* available at: http://www.democracynow.org/2009/12/16/climate_crackdown_un_bars_friends_of (Accessed April 12, 2011).

> know there was anything that we were doing wrong at all. (Tom Goldtooth, Indigenous Environmental Network)[93]

The targeting of individuals is a new phenomenon in the security arrangements of the UNFCCC, which has typically relied on group-sanctioning policies. The extent to which this policy will be used on a permanent basis is still unknown. However, one can reason that suspending individuals will give the UNFCCC more leverage in removing individual 'troublemakers' from the talks without having to justifying bans on entire organizations. On the other hand, if the group sanctioning policy is weakened, organizations will have fewer incentives to rein in contentious individuals, potentially lowering the costs of individuals engaging in protest actions.

Segregating Civil Society

In Copenhagen, the UNFCCC was much criticized for excluding civil society from the conference. In Cancun, it became clear that civil society would not be excluded, but that important reforms would be put in place to segregate civil society actors from the official negotiations.

First, the official 'civil society' space was physically separated from the venue where negotiations between the parties were being held. The ultimate effect was that travel between 'civil society' events and the main plenary was time-consuming and unpleasant. As Kumi Naidoo put it, the effects were virtually the same as in Copenhagen:

> Civil society is shut out. I have met delegates who have said, 'oh I would have loved to have come to that side meeting… but it takes me 45 minutes to get from here to there and

[93] From interview transcript with Tom Goldtooth from *Democracy Now!*, December 9th, 2010, available at : http://www.democracynow.org/2010/12/9/prominent_indigenous_environmental_activist_blocked_from (Accessed April 12, 2011).

> back. So there is not real enabling environment created for civil society to have access to delegates and to convey our concerns and perspectives.[94]

Second, after Copenhagen there have been a number of discussions opened within the UNFCCC process on the role of civil society. At COP 16, there was a particularly controversial discussion related to 'enhancing the role of civil society observers' within the Subsidiary Body on Implementation. The proposals suggested creating separate venues for civil society participation that would preclude the need for NGOs to participate in the COPs, and seemed aimed at reinforcing divisions between civil society and state delegates. For example, one proposal in this body suggested establishing a pre-COP high-level NGO dialogue that would mandate venues for civil society participation that would be entirely separate from the COPs themselves. This proposal seemed to have the support of some parties, although NGOs delegates strongly objected on the grounds that this would 'tokenize' their participation under the guise of 'enhanced participation.'[95]

Overall, in Cancun a number of state delegations adopted a more vocally skeptical position on the role of civil society. Taken together, this change and the modification of security procedures suggest that after Copenhagen the UNFCCC may be gradually moving towards the more closed model of civil society participation generally associated with international financial institutions (Schnable and Scholte 2002), and away from the open style generally associated with the United Nations. However, since global climate change negotiations are ongoing, future research will be needed to track the evolution of the UNFCCC in response to the emergence of contention.

---

[94] Transcribed from interview with Kumi Naidoo, from *Democracy Now!* available at: http://www.democracynow.org/2010/12/13/groups_protest_un_climate_summit_for (Accessed April 12, 2011).
[95] See, for example, the Climate Action Network's series of ECO articles from COP 16, available at: http://www.climatenetwork.org/event/cop-16-cancun (Accessed July 19, 2011).

Seeking New Venues

After Copenhagen, there was a serious malaise among leaders and commentators about the UNFCCC as an institution for solving the climate crisis (e.g. Friedman 2009). Much of the discontent focused on the fact that the consensus rules of the UNFCCC allow small activist states – like Bolivia and Venezuela – to block agreement between other parties. Given the immense political divides that were evident in Copenhagen, the ability of the institution to produce valuable outcomes was greatly questioned in the months following COP 15.

This weariness about the UNFCCC led many observers and participants to begin eyeing alternative institutions for making climate change policy (see Keohane and Victor 2011). For example, in the months following Copenhagen it seemed as though President Obama was interested in reopening the Bush administration's Major Economies Forum, which in many ways is similar to the Copenhagen Accord in its reliance on voluntary pledges.[96] At the same time, many moderate NGOs became convinced that the only way to force a global agreement was to work more at the national level to change public opinion and domestic state positions.

Climate justice activists also began to focus on alternative venues after the failure of Copenhagen. For example, at the invitation of Evo Morales, approximately 17,000 climate justice activists participated in a 'World People's Summit on Climate Change' in Cochabamba, Bolivia in April, 2010 (Friends of the Earth International 2010). This summit produced a Peoples' Declaration that many within the movement saw as their answer to the Copenhagen Accord.

[96] The MEF and the Copenhagen Accord differ in that the latter in not restricted to only big polluters, and is generally seen to represent a good faith effort to reduce emissions.

Despite this serious pessimism, the UNFCCC seemed to function slightly better in Cancun than in Copenhagen. One indication of this improvement was the ability of the highly divided plenary to arrive at agreement on a set of decisions to advance of the negotiations. However, the main reason for this outcome is that the Chair of the final session in Cancun moved away from a strict definition of what constitutes 'consensus' within the institution – a decision that many in the plenary (and in NGOs) applauded. But the Bolivian delegation complained that the Chair was very aggressive in gaveling over their objections, thus claiming consensus when it did not exist (Freidman 2010). At the Bangkok inter-sessional meeting of the UNFCCC in April 2011, ALBA countries joined with the G77 to demand that this not happen again, and to revisit the decisions of Cancun. So while this procedural change in the UNFCCC might not be lasting, it is clear that the redefining of consensus to exclude 'radical' actors would make policy-making within this institution less unwieldy and make the institutions more attractive to larger states. However, this improved efficiency in policy-making in the UNFCCC may come at the expense of the institution's reputation with smaller states in the process.

Implications for EU Politics

Contentious European groups did not only work to undermine the UNFCCC process – they also targeted their actions at their own leaders and at the institutions of the European Union. In this way, the case I have documented has important implications for politics in the European Union. Much like scholars of global governance, EU scholars tend to hold a high opinion of civil society because of the 'integrative' effects its participation is expected to generate. But recent examples of contentious civil society participation suggest that EU issues are becoming much more 'politicized' (Zürn 2004), and civil society groups are mobilizing much more contentious participation (Imig and Tarrow 2001; Uba and Uggla 2011).

I suggest that the implications of civil society spillover in a politicized EU may be more complex than scholars of European integration originally imagined. By building on recent literature such as Hooghe and Marks' (2010) work on politicization in EU politics, della Porta and Caini's (2007) work on 'Europeanization from below', and Balme and Chabanet's (2008) work on 'autonomized spheres of action' I suggest the contentious activism I document in the issue area of climate change reflects a new form of contentious and highly critical European activism that may also exist in other issues areas. Moreover, this contentious activism remains largely unconnected to institutional politics. As a result, it represents a new kind of contentious 'spillover' that holds the potential to actually slow the pace or even change the direction of the integration process.

European Civil Society and Politicization

From a neofunctionalist perspective, the participation of collective actors in European politics should be one of the motors of integration in the absence of direct 'citizen' participation. As Haas remarked in *The Uniting of Europe*, "perhaps the chief finding is that group pressure will spillover into the federal sphere and thereby add to the integrative pressure" (Haas 1958: xiii). For Haas, this 'spillover' of civil society would result in attitude changes of the actors involved, and would eventually generate loyalty to the new, more efficient polity and increase pressure for further integration (Haas 1958: 287).

When neofunctionalists discussed the spillover of 'pressure' to the European level, they generally meant the use of conventional forms of action. In general, scholars have assumed that European integration has benefited from a 'permissive consensus' and a low level of public contestation on European issues (Lindberg and Scheingold 1970). The few scholars that have

considered the question of contentious participation, have conclude that it will either be irrelevant or supportive of further integration (Haas 1958: 526; Schmitter 1969: 166).

The political processes that Haas and other early EU theorists described are overwhelming elite-driven and conventional. And as a result, this literature often seems out of touch with the latest developments in EU politics. Responding to recent political changes, scholars have documented the 'politicization' and increased contentiousness of the politics of the European Union (Imig and Tarrow 2001; Hooghe and Marks 2010; Uba and Uggla 2010). In this more 'politicized' setting, EU issues are not only the focus of debate by elites, but also by mass publics that sometimes behave contentiously. As Hooghe and Marks summarize:

> A brake on European integration has been imposed not because people have changed their minds, but because, on a range of vital issues, legitimate decision making has shifted from an insulated elite to mass politics (Hooghe and Marks 2008: 13).

Following this approach, I argue that contrary to the 'integrative effects' neofunctionalists expect to result from spillover of conventional participation, the spillover of contentious participation can sometimes slow the pace or even change the direction the integration process. This is because in a politicized setting, civil society groups can and do mobilize citizens transnationally in opposition to the expansion of EU competencies, as the next section will explain.

Two Types of Spillover

My research about climate change activism has documented both contentious and conventional participation in EU-level climate change politics. Despite operating against a common political background, the 'two worlds of European collective action' I have described in previous chapters

represent different types of civil society spillovers to the European level: one from the national politics to European politics, and the other from global politics to European politics. Thus the pathways by which organizations become involved in politics at the European-level do not necessarily represent the same kind of functionally-oriented spillovers that neofunctionalists imagined.

The history of CAN clearly exactly illustrates the kind of spillover Haas and others had in mind: the gradual transnationalization of political advocacy as a result of the shift in political authority to the EU level. Most CAN groups worked on domestic issues and gradually began to realize they need to also work at the European level. And when they do so, their spillover into EU politics is conventional and supportive of further integration.

But my study also documents another kind of Europeanization that follows a different process. The history of CJA illustrates the 'spillover' of activism from global justice politics to European politics. In particular, groups within CJA came to apply their criticisms learned in the global justice movement to the European institutions. As a result, these institutions were deeply distrusted. As a representative of one of the founding organizations put it to me:

> [JH: Do you ever think about targeting your actions at the EU?] R: Why do you keep talking about the EU? The EU is just a bunch of old guys in suits shaking hands inside glass palaces. They aren't going to help us (Interview 8, KlimaX Denmark).

As one summed up his group's position on the EU:

> After there were '3 Nos' the EU moved on with what they're calling the Lisbon Treaty process anyways. This made it very clear how un-democratic it all is. How much it's all about existing power structures, corporate lobbying, trade and commercial interests. In general, it's about the interests of a few and not of the majority… (Interview 77, Climate Justice Caravan).

CJA itself was a self-described “de facto European organization with strongly globalist impulses” (Interview 84, Climate Justice Action). As another explained it, “the coalition is mostly European, but the sense of globality is what encourages the mobilization” (Interview 48, FOE France). Many of these groups were accustomed to working on global-level issues before, and as a result of contact with those in CJA, began to develop stronger anti-EU critiques.

This process closely resembles what della Porta and Caini have called a ‘Europeanization from below’ (della Porta and Caini 2007). This is particular true as concerns the development of the European Social Forum [ESF]. The ESF itself is a regional version of the World Social Forum. And it was also an important organizing venue for CJA outreach in advance of Copenhagen. At the ESF there was about a dozen panels organized on climate change issues (European Social Forum, Document 7). The high level of importance given to this issue was clear from the final declaration made in this venue:

> We, the European social movements gathering in Malmö, have committed on a common agenda in the way to lead the fight for "another Europe" and Europe based on the people’s rights… We call for a global day of action on climate on December 6th during the Poznan summit in Poznan itself and all other the world. We are calling for a massive international mobilisation next year to make the critical Kopenhagen talks in December 2009 [sic] (ESF 2008).

Contentious, Critical European-Level Activism

My research in the issue area of climate change reflects the broader development of a strand of contentious and highly critical European-level activism. To generalize, in the last ten years there has emerged a completely different sphere of European organizing that is often oppositional to the EU project (see, for example, the declaration of the European Social Forum, Document 7). Groups in this sphere oppose the European Union on the grounds that it is based on neoliberal principles. But not all of these groups oppose regional integration in principle; they would like

to see integration reformed so that it involves 'positive integration' in terms of social and environmental justice, not only 'negative integration' in terms of removing barriers to trade.

This leftist opposition to European integration has recently been showing its strength, and has shown that civil society protest can in fact slow regional integration. One key example is the opposition mobilized by many global justice groups before the EU Constitutional referendum in 2005. Another example is the massive mobilization against the Bolkestein services directive, which ultimately led to the serious revision of the directive before its adoption in 2006 (Parks 2009). But this study also documents a further mutation of this anti-EU strand of mobilization in the issue area of climate change. Not only did the climate justice mobilizations in Europe take on an anti-EU character; there was also significant overlap between the organizations supporting these demonstrations and organizations promoting a critical view of European integration. As one described his organization's history:

> We also lead a movement against the Europe of Maastricht. This is a movement to struggle against the neoliberal push inside the European Union. And really we are one of the few environmental organizations in Europe who had a strong stand against the European Union. So not only about some of the expressions or some of the politics, but against the European Union as a political project… Because from a fundamental point of view that will worsen the environmental situation, not only in Europe but worldwide. Because there is no 'just change this paragraph, just change this article.' From a fundamental point of view, this is the wrong way. So we did a lot of campaigning to fight the unsustainable, and un-social European Union. (Interview 81, Ecologistas en Acción)

Through their actions, many of the most active organizations in CJA were explicitly trying to discredit EU climate change policy. For example, 'climate justice' was a key discussion at the Attac European Strategy Meeting in September 2009, when the organization decided to mobilize for Copenhagen and against the EU's carbon market proposals (Interview 44, Attac France). Another example of this strategy was implemented by the 'Seattle to Brussels Network' – a

coalition of organizations that opposes the EU's 'corporate-oriented trade policies.' One activist affiliated with this coalition described its strategy for Copenhagen like this:

> We want to try to have discussions with people in the negotiations – Friends of the Earth, La Via Campesina, Focus on the Global South, and the Third World Network to get a clear picture of what is going on. But we also want to try to hold discussions with governments from the South, mostly Bolivia and Ecuador. It is our goal to put these people in touch with the media, in order to show to show that there are alternatives to the European proposals, which are based on nothing but illusions. (Interview 45, Initiatives Pour un Autre Monde)

These groups brought their broader anti-EU critique to the issue of climate change. And they aimed their actions towards undermining the legitimacy of European climate policy, and the neoliberal integration process more generally, while at the same time mobilizing transnationally within the boundaries of the EU.

Consequences for European Integration

The distinctiveness of these two types of spillover and their political content has two consequences for the development of European politics. First, different pathways demonstrate different types of transnational socialization. Civil society organizations are often supported by EU institutions because they offer channels for individuals to participate in the development of EU policy (Greenwood 2007: 347). Scholars have documented the importance of transnational interaction among individuals in producing a 'European identity' (e.g. Fligstein 2008). But in the world of climate change politics, the mainstream European NGOs tend not to be participatory enough to really socialize their members (Sudbery 2003; Warleigh 2001: 623). As one staff member describes it:

> Obviously we would like to get citizens involved in our work. But this is difficult – we simply don't have the resources to do this kind of thing. And our first priority has to be working for what is good for the environment. And of course, protecting the climate is also good for citizens. So we mostly rely on our member [organizations] to involve

> represent their members, and we concentrate our actions on the policy process. (Interview 30, Climate Action Network Europe)

On the contrary, events like the ESF or the CJA meetings are highly participatory, and may offer much more opportunity to socialize participants. However, the kind of socialization these individuals receive would be more likely to reproduce the highly critical takes on European integration than it would be to support the integration process as it is.

Second, the spread of highly critical views of the integration process and EU policy among these organizations is partially due to their almost total lack of connection to institutional politics in the EU and the world of reform-oriented NGOs. Because of the distinctiveness of these pathways and the lack of contact between organizations on different sides of the network, contentious and conventional groups rarely meet, although they work in the same issue area, sometimes even in the same cities.

Again, my findings about activism on the issue of climate change likely represent broader trends in the development of EU politics. In this way, my study reinforces the conclusions of Balme and Chabanet (2008):

> Two relatively autonomized spheres of action are tending to take shape, one emphasizing lobbying of European Institutions, and the other looking to more reactive, protest-based forms of intervention at the national level (177)… This tendency towards the fragmentation of spheres of action doubtless fuels feelings of Euroskepticism and reinforces the idea that EU Institutions are out of touch with citizen concerns (186)

Thus I argue, contrary to Haas and other EU scholars, that the spillover of civil society into contentious European collective action can actually have negative implications for climate policy and for the integration process when it is not linked to the institutional representation of civil society in the European institutions. I suspect that these 'fragmented spheres of action' may

represent an emerging pattern of contestation on important issues in a politicized EU, and thus should be the subject of future research.

Rethinking Democratic Deficit

The 'democratic deficit' in EU politics is a concept mainly invoked to suggest that the EU institutions are too far removed from direct representation and the participation of ordinary citizens. It has not only been a topic of debate in scholarly circles (Kohler-Koch and Rittenberger 2007) but also an important motivation for institutional reform within the European Union itself.[97]

My network analysis in Chapter Three showed that there are clearly two worlds of European collective action. But what drives the segmentation in European civil society networks? I suggest 'fragmented spheres' are the result of a strong tendency in the European institutions towards emphasizing the 'participation' of (conventional) civil society actors by channeling certain groups into the policy-making process while de-emphasizing or ignoring the voices of other (contentious) actors. Thus I argue that democratic deficit is not only about lack of participation; it is about the disjuncture between these two spheres. And as a result, the remedy is more complex. The findings of this study suggest that the problem of 'democratic deficit' in European policy-making (Kohler-Koch and Rittenberger 2007) may be broader and more difficult to solve than scholars have typically imagined.

Participants in contentious climate change politics in Europe don't tend to hold very high opinions of the EU, as I have previously noted. But it's not simply that these groups are opposed to EU policy – they feel that the European institutions systematically disregard them

[97] One of the motivations of the constitutional project of the EU was to reduce the democratic deficit. The Commission's White Paper of Governance (2001) also responds to this debate.

and marginalize their voices. This is particularly true for organizations that try also to participate in Brussels politics, but hold more radical political views. For example, a representative from La Via Campesina Europe described to me how the problem his organization faces is not simply a lack of representation, but a lack of being heard:

> Well, we have an office in Brussels, and we do participate in some of the consultative groups within the European Commission… But on most of these, we have only one seat, whereas the other farmers' association has fifteen... the space for our organization and for NGOs is very limited. And it's not just that. I think our voice is very marginalized in comparison to the bigger organizations, and it seems like we're not really being listened to (Interview 82, La Via Campesina Europe).

Other organizations that tried to participate in EU politics from a more radical perspective echoed this sentiment:

> We don't really participate in EU 'consultations' [gestures air quotes]. What we want is to participate in *discussions* with people from the Commission and from the Parliament. But this is very difficult – they are not open to our kinds of discussions. I think this demonstrates that there is no real process of participation: the consultations are small, they are limited, and there is no real influence, they are not legally binding. For example, we tried to participate in the European consultations of GMO foods. We gave our input, but this was our experience – very frustrating in general. They don't want to talk to people like us, and they don't want to talk the way we do. And this made us think that you can't reform the EU from the inside – the EU is not reformable. What we need is a total alternative (Inteview 81, Ecologistas en Acción).

From this perspective, the democratic deficit in the EU isn't about a lack of participation: it is more broadly about the institution's inability to integrate more critical perspectives on the European project. As a result, the 'consultative' role of civil society – in which civil society organizations serve to represent the interests of affected parties to policy-makers – is not necessarily being fulfilled in EU policy-making, even in the context of increased participation. Thus the remedy to the democratic deficit cannot be to simply channel resources to more civil society groups through the traditional channels of the European Commission. It which will not help to address the development of highly critical views of EU politics in this alternative sphere.

I suggest that in the context of politicization, the European Institutions will need to work more on integrating conflictual viewpoints in order to overcome the true democratic deficit, which is a much more difficult task.

Implications for Civil Society

As the previous chapters illustrated, contentious and contained activism have very different organizational origins. The network analysis of this study reveals the coordination that underlies civil society activism. This chapter aims to show how the overall structure of relations among civil society groups can influence the success of different groups within the network.

My case particularly illustrates how the success or failure of civil society strategies is interdependent (See Whittier 2004). Contrary to the often invoked positive version of the 'radical flank effect' (Gamson 1975; Haines 1984; Jenkins and Eckert 1986), conventional groups in Copenhagen were actually undermined by the presence of more radical actors (Gupta 2002). Groups that did try to broker the divide between conventional and contentious groups were particularly penalized. These findings suggest that civil society groups have to consider the strategies of other groups when considering the best course of action for themselves.

Finally, I also argue that network structure also has implications for the repression of civil society. Specifically, while the lack of connection between the two sides of network I documented did facilitate the quick diffusion of contentious tactics, it also made repression of contentious actors much easier, posing a dilemma for groups interested in promoting contentious activism.

Conventional Groups

Reformed-oriented, conventional groups were the big losers in Copenhagen, despite their tireless efforts to support the adoption of an ambitious treaty. Not only did the final agreement differ dramatically from their stated preferences, but these groups were also excluded from the negotiations to an unprecedented extent.

Without the ability to enter the negotiations, these groups were side-lined in their lobbying and media work, and felt that they had little ability to influence the negotiations. As one observer (correctly) noted at a CAN meeting,'there were fewer civil society observers at the UNFCCC on the final days in Copenhagen than there were at the WTO ministerial in 1996.' But nevertheless, these groups did not radicalize their actions once restrictions to the venue were implemented, and instead continued their contained forms of activism to the best of their ability from a secondary space. The political outcome of COP 15 was a bitter disappointment to groups who had spent years developing careful plans to push delegates towards a more ambitious conclusion.[98]

In addition, because of the divisions within civil society, civil society groups as a whole in Copenhagen never developed a common issue framing or message to present to the news media and to official delegates. This division within civil society was picked up in newspaper reports, which often focused on the in-fighting between organizations rather than the substantive issues at stake. Many conventional groups reported that the lack of unity in Copenhagen made it more difficult for organizations to get out their messages on climate change.

The results of Copenhagen lead to a serious process of re-examination of the goals and functioning of CAN. In particular, it seemed clear after Copenhagen that CAN would have to

[98] The CAN publication *ECO* traces the reaction of these NGOs throughout this time period. It can be accessed online at: http://www.climatenetwork.org/eco-newsletters [Accessed January 31, 2011].

come up with a better response to critiques from more radical groups and the presence of contentious activism. However, this process will likely be difficult, as tensions within the coalition make radical change difficult to achieve without the support of the large organizations, as Chapter Five elaborated.

Contentious Groups

Contentious groups tended to see Copenhagen as a moderate success. First, many of the more radical, abolitionist groups were not affected by the restriction to the venue (they didn't want to go in anyway) and were pleased to see that the negotiations fell apart. These groups had little faith in the UNFCCC to solve the climate crisis, and they had planned their actions to exacerbate internal divisions in the negotiations. At the very least, many felt that the collapse of the negotiations in Copenhagen reinforced their argument that the UNFCCC is an institution beyond reform. As one stated in a Reclaim Power evaluation meeting:

> Logistically and strategically a lot of things could have been better, but politically and mediatically [sic] we achieved our goals.

These activists focused most of their self-criticism on their interaction with the police. One main reason for this was that many participants in protests were arrested in Copenhagen, and groups felt that this could have been avoided if they had been better prepared. Many of these organizations did, however, express satisfaction that they had reached out to new allies and felt that Copenhagen was useful for building trust for future mobilizations.

Overall, it seems clear that the actions of contentious organizations in Copenhagen were moderately successful by their own standards, and were damaging to conventional organizations. This finding contradicts the idea that the emergence of a 'radical flank' usually benefits moderates (Haines 1984; Jenkins and Eckert). But as Gupta (2010) argues, for the positive

radical flank effect to obtain, authorities must make a differentiated response between radicals and moderates -- something that did not seem to always happen in Copenhagen, especially as regards access to the UN venue. As a result of a security strategy that severely limited access to all groups for the final two days, conventional groups were particularly undermined by the presence of radical activism in Copenhagen.

Perils of Brokerage

The experience of Friends of the Earth International exemplifies how organizations that sought to play 'brokers' between contentious and conventional groups – such as Friends of the Earth -- were particularly disadvantaged in Copenhagen. Most scholarly network theory predicts that network brokers hold privileged positions in networks, which should allow them access to informational resources from both of the network components (Burt 1976). FOE's expectation was that being the broker would bring it new advantages. However, this strategy backfired, causing FOE to lose credibility with moderates, radicals and institutional actors.

First, because of its structure as a major international NGO that receives government funding, FOE-I leaders believe they could not be associated with any protests that might turn violent. Therefore, while FOE-I representatives did attend early meetings of CJA, the organization was not able to join the protest coalition that sponsored Reclaim Power, thus limiting its influence within this coalition. At the same time, because it dropped out of CAN, it did not have access to the lobbying information developed by this coalition. Thus the organization tried to play the role of broker between the two sides, but ultimately lost its credibility with both moderates and radicals and became more isolated.

In addition, in the process of building ties with radicals, FOE-I damaged its credibility with the UNFCCC. This culminated in FOE-I being entirely excluded from the UNFCCC venue

by order of the Secretariat for the final three days. It is reasonable to assume that the FOE-I exclusion was due to its loose affiliation with CJA, and the Secretariat's fear that the organization would disrupt or endanger the proceedings. All FOE-I representatives had their official accreditation withdrawn and were unable to engage in insider activities.[99] FOE-I representatives staged a sit-in in the lobby to protest their exclusion, but to no avail. When Yvo de Boer, Executive Secretary of the UNFCCC came out to explain that he was "between a rock and a hard place" FOE representatives interrupted him with shouts of "open the door de Boer" and "liar!" prompting him to walk out on discussions.[100] In many ways FOE-I had the worst of both worlds: it was neither able to play the insider role, nor did it participate fully in the outsider protest.

The FOE-I example demonstrates the extent to which the two worlds of insider and outsider collective action are likely to remain mutually exclusive. Because individuals are accredited only as members of groups, and group sanctioning rules still apply, organizations have to keep a tight rein on their individual delegates or else the entire group risks exclusion. These rules mean that 'insider' and 'outsider' strategies generally can't be used in combination in the context of global climate change politics. And when groups deviate, the effects can be long-lasting. Its poor relationship with the UNFCC Secretariat is one very plausible reason why FOE-I decided to dedicate more resource in 2010 in Cancun to outsider actions, and did not even sponsor a booth in the NGO exhibit hall.

The FOE-I experience also demonstrates why merger is not a likely outcome in a segmented network like the one in Copenhagen: brokerage does not pay. This is particularly

[99] In contrast, other international NGOs such as Greenpeace, WWF and Oxfam were still permitted to send a few essential delegates to the two final days of COP 15.
[100] Transcribed from video footage available from the WWF channel on You Tube at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Hbg9qSMzfc&feature=player_embedded# (Accessed April 12, 2011).

true where strict institutional rules govern organizational behavior and stark tactical divides exist. Those organizations that chose protest have to stick with it; and those that lobbied in the past risk institutional sanctions if they deviate. Thus my results suggest that divided networks may remain a common feature in future climate change negotiations.

Network Structure and Repression

The structure of relations between civil society organizations in Copenhagen also had implications for the repressive strategies used against them. As the first half of this dissertation showed, the segmentation of the network into two components meant that contentious groups were relatively isolated from conventional groups and that contentious behavior spread quickly among them as a result of their ties.

But the relative isolation of the contentious groups also means that they are especially vulnerable to repression. Theoretically, if contentious groups had been more actively targeted at the beginning of this study, the spread of contention could have been halted without mass arrests. In practice, UN Security in Copenhagen acted with an intuitive network sensibility by cutting off the Friend of the Earth – the bridge from the conventional to the contentious actors. My research suggests that just as this type of network easily spreads contention, it is also easily decapitated by authorities. Since contentious actors are not shielded by 'good guys' it is less problematic to repress them without incurring legitimacy costs. This poses a dilemma to groups that are interested in spreading contentious tactics. On the one hand, segmented networks are good for diffusing new tactics. But on the other hand, segmented networks are more easily repressed, making the use of these tactics more costly.

My research also suggests, contrary to what political process theory might predict, that international institutions have little control over the degree of contention they face. The UNFCCC – being an open institution to civil society participation – still became the object of contentious collective action when a group of organizations decided to use repertoires developed in another movement target the issue of climate change. Since my research shows that these contentious groups do not respond to political opportunities as often as do conventional groups (Chapter Seven), it is unlikely that 'opening up' to civil society will reduce contention, as is commonly assumed.

In this way, this study suggests that civil society *does* possess independent agency from states and international institutions in the first place. But on the other hand, the use of contentious tactics can create repressive environments that make it harder to repeat this strategy, constraining their use in later phases of advocacy (McAdam 1983).

Conclusion

The findings of this Chapter are relevant for three groups of scholars. First, for social movement scholars, my research suggests the utility of further considering how the tactics of groups interact in determining group-level success. In Copenhagen, conventional groups were particularly undermined by the presence of more radical actors, who attracted media attention, generated conflicting political analysis, and whose actions lead to the introduction of security restrictions that particularly affected groups wanting to act as 'insiders.' As a result, I suggest that more research should be done to move beyond static studies of the effectiveness of group-level tactics (e.g. Gamson 1975) and move towards a framework to consider how group success can be the product of tactical interaction.

Second, the Copenhagen case offers a number of lessons for scholars interested in the politics of civil society participation in international institutions. First, I demonstrate in my analysis that civil society is *not* monolithic; analyzing divisions within civil society is an important part of explaining political outcomes. Despite the fact that the analysis is based on only one case, I suspect that the divides I find in my study – reformist vs. abolitionist and conventional vs. contentious – likely exist in other issue areas. I suggest that future studies might apply this perspective to different issue areas and institutions in order to examine how common these types of division are in transnational activism, and whether they generate similar political outcomes in different contexts.

Finally, this chapter suggests that scholars of international environmental politics may benefit from examining the history of contestation around global neoliberalism. While transgressive protest is new in the institutional context of the UNFCCC, it has been a common feature in decision-making around international financial institutions for more than a decade. I argue that the emergence of transgressive activism has prompted the UNFCCC to reexamine the ways in which it deals with civil society. As a result, future work should be done to compare transformations within the UNFCCC after Copenhagen to reforms that have taken place in other international institutions that have faced transgressive protest. This comparative work would extend our understanding of the ways in which civil society participation can influence the development, functioning, and reform of international institutions.

CONCLUSION

The introduction to the first part of this dissertation highlighted three very different forms of action – an open letter, a mini refugee camp installation, and a blockade – that all occurred in Brussels on the same day. The introduction to the second part highlighted two very different kinds of meetings that both took place on the same day within a few hours of one another in Copenhagen. As the astute reader will have guessed, these examples are linked. The kinds of meetings an organization attends are indicative of the kinds of ties it has with other groups. And this dissertation argues that an organization's pattern of ties with other organizations has a large influence on its tactical choices.

I find that organizations tend to harmonize their forms of collective action with those of their peers. This is because organizations share information and resources with one another, and also because they influence one another's decisions. Thus, being connected to one world or the other can generate the very different kinds of collective action. Thus the first goal of this project has been to explain the variation in the forms of action groups used when they sponsored collective action on climate change in the period of 2008-2009.

My work also highlights the emergence of a new form of radical, contentious climate change politics. Prior to the start of this study, the vast majority of participation in EU and international climate change policy-making was conventional in form and reformist in its aims. I document the emergence and diffusion of a new phenomenon in climate change politics. As a result of the entrance of new actors into this sphere, climate change has gone from being an issue framed primarily in terms of scientific problems to an issue framed in terms of justice and equity. I argue that this has important implications for transnational climate change governance and the institutional functioning of the UNFCCC. But the full implications of the politicization of

climate change politics are not yet know, and the evolution of the UNFCCC as an institution is still ongoing. In this respect, the changes I document to date may or may not represent the longer-term trends, and should be the subject of future research.

Without extensively summarizing my findings, this conclusion will accomplish two main tasks. First, I will briefly highlight the implications of this study for scholars of social movements, the European Union and global environmental politics. Second, I will reflect on the strengths and limitations of this study, and conclude by proposing directions for future research.

Networks and Collective Action

The findings of my study have three main implications for scholars of social movements:

Networks both facilitate and constrain protest. My study shows that network ties affect the choice of action forms, but that the character of that influence differs depending on where the organization is located in the network. Thus, groups tend to harmonize with closely connected organizations, but some ties encourage groups to radicalize, while others encourage groups to moderate.

Previous research has found that inter-organizational, inter-associational, and inter-personal networks are important factors in the mobilization of protest (See Diani and McAdam 2004; McAdam and Paulsen 1993). But this study highlights that the effect of networks is more variable. One of the major reasons I arrive at different conclusions than previous research is that I have employed a somewhat unusual research design. Previous research has tended to look backwards from cases of successful protest mobilization and identified the presence of networks as a key mobilizing structure (but see Osa 2004; Gould 1995). If I applied a similar research

design to my study of the Copenhagen summit, for example, I could only agree that the creation of the Climate Justice Action network was essential in propelling protest around COP 15.

But my project takes a broader view than this. One of the explicit goals of this study is to identify the complete field of organizations working on climate change and to analyze their decision-making. Because of this different research design, I am able to make the claim that while some portions of the network, like CJA, facilitate protest, other portions of the networks, like CAN, discourage it. By focusing on the full range of organizations and tactics, I am able to document and explain both the diffusion and non-diffusion of protest through a paired comparison of the contentious and conventional groups (Chapters Five and Six).

Networks are built, not found. Related to this first point, social movement scholars often study inter-organizational (or 'inter-associational') networks as mobilizing structures (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996). In doing so, there is a tendency in this literature to treat networks as objective structural factors. This research shows how networks are intentionally constructed by individuals and organizations with very specific mobilization purposes in mind. It also highlights that it is not the presence of absence of networks that matters, but the structure of network ties between organizations.

This study particularly emphasizes the importance of issue framing in creating coalitions, and in turn, structuring networks. The development and diffusion of the 'climate justice' issue frame was essential in creating the basis for bridging the global justice movement and the existing radical climate change organizations. Once these organizations built CJA, this coalition became an essential venue for inter-organizational learning and influence (Wang and Soule 2011).

Not only was the network purposely constructed, but its structure had important consequences. The radical coalition did not emerge in a void – the creation of CJA complicated the structure of the inter-organizational network and challenged the pre-existing CAN coalition. The consequences of the strict segmentation were that conventional groups were undermined by the contentious newcomers in ways that neither side fully anticipated. This finding suggests that more research should be done on: a) the creation of coalitions and the networks they are imbedded; and b) the effect of different network structures on the overall effectiveness of actors working within them.

Network ties affect tactical choices in civil society organizations. This study particularly emphasizes the importance of a relational approach to collective action. In many ways, the relational approach specifies and integrates elements already present in other theories more than it challenges their findings. For example, the relational approach draws on the original insight in political process theory that political opportunities have to be perceived in order for them to affect choice of tactics (McAdam 1999: x). Similarly, it highlights the resource mobilization insight that it is not individually held but collectively mobilized resources that matter for generating collective action (Edwards and McCarthy 2004: 116).

But where the relational approach does have an advantage is that it is able to systematize these insights in ways that explain existing contradictions in the two traditional approaches. While resource mobilization and political process theorists recognize the importance of information sharing and resource pooling, for example, they have not usually tried to systematically measure and incorporate these elements. A relational network approach does better by paying explicit attention to inter-organizational ties, and how they influence the mobilization of collective action.

One big puzzle that this dissertation is able to explain that traditional approaches cannot explain is why civil society organizations with the same targets, working in the same place, at the same time, would choose to use such different forms of action. Put another way, why do some groups choose to protest when opportunities are open? Why do others lobby when opportunities are closed? My approach emphasizes that these groups aren't just bad at reading opportunities – they get information from one another in ways that systematically distort the appearance of the political system and increases the perceived desirability of certain tactical forms. I also emphasize that a lot of organizational traits aren't all that important once the relational ties of a group are also accounted for.

This is particularly true for contentious groups. In many ways, groups engaging in protest on climate change in the EU would seem to be an obvious example of 'ignoring opportunities' for conventional action. What allows them to overcome structural incentives and sustain their resistance? My study suggests that these organizations – like centuries of radicals before them – construct networks in insular enclaves that shield them from the effects of dominant political structures and help them to overcome their individual limitations. In this way, their relationships with one another allow them to generate contentiousness under unfavorable circumstances. But this strategy has several built-in limitations. First, organizations existing in insular enclaves can easily spread their radicalism, but they are also easy targets of repression. Second, they may be less likely to innovate on their political positions or tactics without contact with those outside their enclave.

The political implications of this finding are clear. Because contentious groups shield themselves from political opportunities and pool resources to overcome their limitations, the spread of contentiousness among them is probably beyond the control of states unless it can be

stopped early. And typical institutional strategies, such as 'opening up' to civil society (as practiced in the EU and UN) are unlikely to be effective in the context of segmented and contentious network structures, where insiders and outsiders rarely meet.

Civil Society Spillover(s) in EU Politics

My findings also have two main implications for scholars of the European Union:

Contentious participation can have negative implications for the integration process. My study documents the mobilization of contentious European level collective action on climate change. This form of contentious participation exists uneasily alongside the tried-and-true conventional advocacy strategies used by civil society groups in Brussels, and is not well-documented in existing scholarly literature. Moreover, the qualitative component of this dissertation puts flesh on the bones of my quantitative analysis by allowing me to make the argument that the political content, not just the form, of these actions is anti-EU.

Contentious participation at the European-level is a relatively new phenomenon, and as Hooghe and Marks (2010) argue, is an indicator that the political project of the European Union has transitioned into a period of intense politicization. And whereas the 'spillover' of civil society participation into EU politics in previous time periods may have been a motor of integration (Haas 1958), 'spillover' in a politicized period can also have negative implications for integration.

My work highlights that there are two distinct kinds of spillover that have different political implications. On the one hand, long-time civil society groups have gradually come to transnationalize their interests as the decision-making competencies of the EU have expanded. On the other hand, the integration process itself has triggered another unexpected kind of

contentious spillover. In response to the growth of competencies at the EU-level, as well as social and educational integration, civil society groups have started to build a separate contentious sphere of action that is highly critical of the EU. This sphere of organizing is evident at events like the European Social Forum, but can also be mobilized around important moments of decision-making, such as opposition to the constitutional referenda or the Bolkestein services directive.

The existence of a critical sphere would not be so troublesome if it were not for the fact that it is almost wholly separate from the conventional advocacy taking place in Brussels. My study is unique in that it is able to document the overwhelming segregation of groups into one kind of spillover or the other. As such, it is clear evidence of the kinds of "fragmented spheres of action" that worry Balme and Chabanet (2008). And because outsider groups are not connected to the European Institutions, their contention represents a truly oppositional strand of European politics that cannot easily be channeled into existing institutions.

Overcoming the democratic deficit will require recognizing the role of public contestation. Scholars of the European Union are greatly concerned about the legitimacy of the European Institutions and their potential 'democratic deficit.' As a result, EU reformers frequently propose increased 'participation' by civil society as a remedy (Héritier 1999; Kohler-Koch and Rittberger 2007; Lord and Beetham 2001; Schmitter 2000; Smismans 2006; Wessels 1999). But I argue that further encouraging the participation of conventional groups will not solve the problem of democratic deficit, as these groups remain fundamentally divided from contentious and highly critical elements.

The European institutions as they currently exist are committed to civil society participation, but unable to respond to fundamentally oppositional and contestatory viewpoints. In other words, the institutions of the EU need to catch up with the politicization of EU politics. Not only do scholars need to pay more explicit attention to the increasingly important phenomenon of contentious EU-level collective action, but more work is needed to elaborate on what mechanisms might allow the institutions to further their democratic evolution.

Civil Society Participation in Climate Change Governance

This study also raises two issues that are important for the study of international environmental politics:

State and non-state actors overlap in ways that are politically meaningful. Scholars commonly conceive of 'state' and 'non-state' actors as conceptually distinct. But in the context of climate change negotiations, state and non-state actors frequently overlap. This is both because states often accredit individual representatives of civil society organizations as members of their delegation, and because state representatives sometimes take part in civil society activities. The blurring of boundaries between state and non-state actors in particularly evident in examining small states that benefit from the resources of large civil society groups, or in looking at the role of states with radical political positioning and their support for civil society groups.

Linkages between states and civil society take two main forms. Sometimes, as in the case of Tuvalu, civil society groups represent states, and take up their cause in ways that elevate the status of the state in the negotiations. Other times, as in the case of ALBA, state actors offer to represent the interests of non-state actors inside the formal negotiations. I argue that because of these linkages, civil society groups can have influence on the outcome of negotiations through

these state channels. However, because of the nature of decision-making in foreign policy, this is extremely difficult to definitively establish. I suggest that my account is a reasonable interpretation, and that at minimum, my results suggest a potentially interesting avenue for future research within the domain of international environmental negotiations.

Contentious civil society participation can politicize policy-making in ways that make consensus more difficult. The emergence of the climate justice movement did not only propagate the use of radical tactics in the context of the UNFCCC. It also diffused the 'climate justice' issue frame to both civil society groups and state actors. The climate justice frame was a departure from the scientific issue framing commonly used by NGOs prior to COP 14 in Bali. As such, it significantly politicized the negotiations in ways that made broad mobilization possible and consensus less likely.

Previous scholars of international environmental negotiations have emphasized that perceptions of equity among parties are essential when consensus rules operate (Young 1994: 109). The climate justice movement targeted its activities at *undermining* perceptions of equity among parties in Copenhagen. Although it was certainly not the only factor, I argue that the participation of contentious actors in Copenhagen actually undermined the development of a binding climate treaty at COP 15. In this way, I offer a critique of an earlier body of scholarly literature that suggest an overly optimistic interpretation of the likely effects of civil society participation (Florini 2000; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Princen and Finger 1994; Wapner, Ruiz and Falk 2000; Willets 1982). I also suggest that scholars of global environmental politics have a lot to learn from the history of contention around international financial institutions, which have faced contention for over a decade.

My analysis suggests that contentious participation can cause institutional failure, and over the long-term, institutional reform. But it is of course important to note that contentious forms of participation can also emerge in the first place as a response to institutional failure. I suspect that institutional shortcomings generate protest, which then generates further institutional failures, and then eventually leads to reform. But not all the consequences of Copenhagen are yet known, and as a result, I hope that this topic will be an important subject of future research.

Reflections on the Research

This section attempts to reflect on the strengths and limitations of this research project. I think this project benefits from an unusual research design and a novel theoretical perspective. I am able to draw on an unusual amount of qualitative and quantitative data. I took particular care to collect longitudinal data on the characteristics of actors, their ties, and their political context, which allows me to make a careful effort at evaluating my hypothesis and a range of alternative hypotheses. My immersion in these two worlds of collective action also provided me with unusually detailed insight into the mechanisms by which network ties affect action forms, and of the inter-group dynamics that produce conventional or contentious forms of action. The careful design of the project means that the two types of data complement one another in ways that should increase confidence in my central findings.

But like all research projects, this study also has a number of limitations. I would point to three in particular. First, despite my best intentions, the study cannot exclude the possibility that organizations are self-selecting into network ties as comprehensively as I would like. While my statistical analysis controls for a number of factors that we expect to influence choice of action forms, and the random intercepts model suggests there is little inter-cluster variation, further analysis should be done on the self-selection problem. In future research I may consider

collecting data on organizations from 2007 in order to model the co-evolution of network ties and forms of actions in a longitudinal setting.

Second, the study is relatively weak in its measurement of group-level success. While I have done my best to evaluate the success of conventional and contentious groups according to their own stated objectives, using the self-evaluations of groups themselves or expert evaluations would provide better insight into this question. Finally, I have measured my variables in ways that simplify the analysis, but may limit its sophistication. Most notably, I have chosen to measure my dependent variable as dichotomous – conventional or contentious – where it could be done as a scale variable measuring degree of contentiousness. I have also measured only international political opportunities, ignoring the interaction between domestic and international opportunity structures. Both of these limitations can be potentially overcome in future analysis.

There are several questions that emerge from my study that are beyond the immediate scope of my research. First, my network analysis uses event co-sponsorship as a measure of ties in the inter-organizational network. But recognizing the multiplexity of network relations, it would be interesting to explore how other kinds of ties – friendship among individual activists, overlapping membership between organizations, or staff turnover between groups, for example – might or might not overlap with the event co-sponsorship network.

Second, I acknowledge that there are three elements of the study that may affect its generalizability: the time period, the European location, and the issue focus on climate change. First, in line with the expectations of previous scholars (Imig and Tarrow 2001; Uba and Uggla 2001), I suspect that my findings about the emergence of contentious European-level collective action reflect political developments since the early 2000s. Second, the findings are 'European'

in a few respects. In particular, the development of the European Union and its program of support for conventional and moderate civil society groups create unique institutional incentives for moderation that do not exist to the same degree in other settings (for example, in Latin America). In addition, the strength and persistence of the global justice movement in the European context (della Porta 2007) created fertile ground for the development of the climate justice movement in this time period. Where the global justice movement was weaker at this time, such as in the United States (Hadden and Tarrow 2007), this process would have been much more difficult.

Finally, I do suspect that my findings are generalizable beyond the issue area of climate change. Segmented networks are likely to emerge in the context of politicized issues where strict institutional rules channel groups into one type of collective action or the other. Because this is increasingly becoming the case in a variety of issue areas within the European Union and in global politics (e.g. trade issues, labor rights, global financial regulation), we may see similar outcomes to those we saw in Copenhagen on a more regular basis. I think that my findings about the influence of network ties on tactical decision-making in civil society organizations are likely to hold in a wide number of settings, and particularly in the context of transnational organizing around international summits, where the construction of coalitions is particularly important. But naturally, at this point these claims are mostly speculative. Future research should be done in different issues areas, around different international institutions, and in different time periods to establish whether the perspective I develop here will be useful in other settings.

APPENDIX A

RESEACH METHODS

Data Collection and Coding Procedures

This Appendix describes in more detail the data collection and coding procedures I employ in this dissertation. In the first section I describe and provide examples of the collection and coding of the event and organizational attribute data. In the second section I describe how this data is transformed into a 2-mode network of organizations and their events, and then subsequently reduced to two 1-mode actor-by-actor and event-by-event networks. In a third section I describe the selection of the interview sample and the techniques I employ for qualitative data collection.

Event Data Collection

In order to gather systematic data on European collective action [ECA] on climate change, I conducted an electronic search on a variety of media outlets to indentify relevant events. Newspaper reports are frequently used in the tradition of protest event analysis in order to gather systematic information about the volume, timing and characteristics of contentious collective action (Koopmans and Rucht 2002; McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1989; Tilly 1995). My study uses a slightly modified protest event analysis approach. First, I want to measure the broadest possible spectrum of collective action, not just political protest. Second, I try to identify collective action that takes place at the European level, which is a challenge because media in Europe are still largely nationally rooted. Given these two obstacles, I decided to rely on a combination of press sources with different target audiences and specialties rather than one single source.

I searched using two separate sets of terms: a) (EU or EC or Europe*) AND (climate change or global warming); and b) (climate change or global warming) AND (protest* or strike* or demonstration*), for the dates January 1, 2008-December 31, 2009. The second search was

added to capture collective action on climate change that may have a European mobilization dimension, without having the EU as a direct target.

From the returned items, I selected those that involved any sort of collective action. In both searches, articles had to be sorted by hand according to two criteria: a) the action had to be a 'European collective action'; and b) it had to involve a civil society organization. An action qualified as a 'European collective action' if it target the European institutions and/or if it involved the use of transnational European coalitions to target national states or other actors. I use the term 'civil society' loosely to denote a 'self-organized citizenry' that includes European social movements, trade unions and non-governmental organizations but excludes state or corporate actors (Emirbayer and Sheller 1999; Edwards, Foley and Diani 2001). For my analysis, this includes organizations that make "public interest claims" and "pursue social change" (Andrews and Edwards 2004:486). Though I require that such organizations must be sufficiently institutionalized to publically sponsor collective actions, I do not make an a priori distinction between 'NGOs' and 'social movements.'

These search terms returned 11,588 hits for the years 2008-2009, from which 371 (3.2%) involved a relevant collective action, resulting in the selection 371 reports of 262 unique events. These searches were conducted on the Reuters newswire (general and EU), the Financial Times, and the wire services stories of the Associate Press Worldstream, the Deutsche Presse-Agentur, and Agence France Presse. In addition, I searched the online archive of Euractiv.com for stories about ("climate change" or "global warming") and read the entirety of the Indymedia Climate and the Rising Tide news for the same time period.

Once I selected the relevant event sample, these events were coded as being either contentious or conventional and taking place at the European Insititutions or in the member states. Table A.1 details this procedure. I follow the approach outlined in "Codebook for the Analysis of Political Mobilisation and Communication in European Public Spheres," developed by Ruud Koopmans (2002), as well as the approach used for the DEMOS project (2007).

Table A.1: Code Book for Event Data

Variable Name	Description
"Contentious"	Includes: public assembly, march, demonstration (legal and non-violent), vigil/picket, illegal demonstration (if non-violent), boycott, strike, self-mutilation (e.g., hunger strike, suicide), blockade, occupation, disturbance of meetings, symbolic confrontation (e.g., farmers dumping animal dung in front of a government building), threats (e.g., bomb threat), symbolic violence (e.g., burning puppets or flags, throwing eggs or paint), limited destruction of property (e.g., breaking windows), sabotage, violent demonstration (violence initiated by protestors), arson and bomb attacks, and other severe destruction of property, arson and bomb attacks against people (incl. inhabited buildings), physical violence against people (fights, brawls, etc.). Each day of protest is counted as a separate event.
"Conventional"	Includes: press conference/release, public speech, (public) letter, newspaper article, book, research report, leaflet, etc., presentation of survey/poll result, publicity campaign (incl. advertising), conferences/meetings/assemblies, other 'petitioning,' petition/signature collection, letter campaigning. Individual interviews with civil society leaders were not counted as collective actions.
"EU Institutions"	Actions taken at the European Commission, Parliament, Council or Court of Justice (Brussels, Strasbourg, Luxembourg).
"Member States"	Actions taken in one or more of the member states of the EU.
"European Level"	'European level' as those that target the European institutions and/or those that involve the use of transnational European coalitions to target national states or other actors.
"Civil Society Organizations"	I use the term 'civil society' loosely to denote a 'self-organized citizenry' that includes European social movements, trade unions and non-governmental organizations but excludes state or corporate actors (Emirbayer and Sheller 1999; Edwards, Foley and Diani 2001). For my analysis, this includes organizations that make "public interest claims"

	and "pursue social change" (Andrews and Edwards 2004:486). Though I require that such organizations must be sufficiently institutionalized to publically sponsor collective actions, I do not make an a priori distinction between 'NGOs' and 'social movements.'

Scholars working with newspaper data point to two potential sources of bias: selection bias and description bias (Earl et al 2004; McCarthy et al 1999). Because I code only 'hard facts' about the action (e.g. place, time and form) I expect description bias to be less of an issue for my study (Koopmans and Rucht 2002: 237). I rely on additional research procedures to identify sponsors (see below), also limiting potential description biases associated with press sources reporting only the most established actors.

Selection bias is a more serious issue for this study. In my data collection procedures I try to be as comprehensive as possible by: a) combining on a number of different sources; b) not using indexes or 'headline only' searches; and c) not sampling from press sources. All of these methods are frequently used in studies using newspaper data, and while sometimes necessary given time or resource constraints, can introduce biases in terms of the types of events likely to be selected.

Regardless of the search criteria used, selection bias can occur because newspapers do not report all of the events that actually occur. My use of a broad selection of press sources in a reaction to this concern. However, I am still concerned about two possible sources of bias in the data.

First, because the search was conducted in English, it may increase the number of events in my sample that take place in the United Kingdom. I tried to correct for this geographical bias by including a broad selection of sources, including the Associate Press Worldstream, Agence

France Press and Deutsche Presse-Agentur databases (in translation), and the Reuters newswire (general and EU). The UK was in fact the third most common location for events in my sample (after Belgium and Denmark). But the extent to which this reflects a bias in the data collection is difficult to ascertain because the UK is also an important country for innovative climate change organizing.

Second, some may be concerned that my use of alternative media may introduce a bias in favor of contentious events. However, my evaluation of these press sources shows that the extent of this bias is probably not extensive. For example, a comparison between my database and the Reuters newswire used in the Imig and Tarrow (2001) and Uba and Uggla (2010) studies shows very little difference in the percentage of contentious events reported or in the location of these events. Table A.2 reports the number and percentage of contentious actions and those taking place at the European Institutions (labeled 'EU') by press source for the period of 2008-2009.

Table A.2: European Collective Actions on Climate Change by Press Source, 2008-2009

Press Source	Reports	Contentious	%	EU	%
Agence France Presse	55	32	58	19	35
Associated Press Worldstream	47	14	30	24	51
Deutsche Presse-Agentur	32	14	44	13	41
Euractiv.com	84	3	4	75	89
Financial Times	36	13	36	18	50
Indymedia Climate	18	13	72	1	6
Reuters Newswire	88	28	32	48	55
Rising Tide News	11	9	82	1	10
TOTAL	371	126	34	199	54

In general, I expect my press source data to capture an exceptionally large portion of the collective action being organized on the issue of climate change. While I cannot completely

eliminate the problem of selection bias, there is no reason to believe that the nature of this bias changes over the time period of the study. Thus, even from a conservative standpoint, we should be confident in the over-time trends reported in the data.

Organizational Data Collection

From the returned news items I was able to create a database of reported ECA. I then conducted document research on each event, seeking out copies of joint press releases, lists of organizational event sponsors, and other primary source material. These documents were obtained via two routes. If specific organizations were identified, I sought out copies of the relevant documents on their websites. When news reports were not specific enough, I conducted a search of different email list serves to which I was subscribed during the period of 2007-2009.

From this document analysis, I was able to gather more complete information on which organizations sponsored which collective actions. This stage of data collection was essential to gathering accurate network data, as I found that newspaper articles were often inaccurate or incomplete in their reporting of organizations.

Two Simple Examples

Though the procedures may sound complex, it was fairly easy to implement systematically, as two examples will illustrate. To take a simple case, my broad search returned the following news items from the Deutsche Presse-Agentur:

Figure A.1: Deutsche Presse-Agentur Excerpt

Deutsche Presse-Agentur December 12, 2008 Friday 3:55 PM EST 2ND ROUNDUP: EU leaders approve climate change laws

SECTION: POLITICS

LENGTH: 346 words

[Excerpted] … "This is a dark day for European climate policy. European heads of state and government have reneged on their promises and turned their backs on global efforts to fight climate change," said major environmental pressure groups, including Greenpeace and WWF.

I selected this article for further analysis because it named two prominent civil society groups, and mentioned an action targeted towards the European institutions. However, press sources often do a poor job reporting the organizations involved in collective actions. To correct for this, I obtained and filed the following press release from the WWF EPO website:

Figure A.2: Joint NGO Press Release on EU Climate Policy

Press Release

12 December 2008
For immediate release

Visit the Time to Lead website

Back

Shame on EU 'leaders'

Call on the European Parliament to reject today's deal on effort sharing

Brussels, Belgium/Poznan, Poland - Today's agreement by EU leaders on the most contentious aspects of the EU's planned response to climate change, known as the climate and energy package, has been condemned as a failure by Climate Action Network Europe, Friends of the Earth Europe, Greenpeace, Oxfam and WWF.

Climate Action Network Europe, Friends of the Earth Europe, Greenpeace, Oxfam and

WWF said: *"This is a dark day for European climate policy. European heads of state and government have reneged on their promises and turned their backs on global efforts to fight climate change.*

***

For more information:

In Poznan:

Joris den Blanken, Greenpeace EU climate and energy policy director, Tel: +48 500 878 481

Magda Stoczkiewicz, director, Friends of the Earth Europe

Phil Bloomer, senior executive, Oxfam International, +48 728 637857

Tomas Wyns, climate policy officer CAN Europe, Tel: +32 (0) 4 95 1222 42

Matthias Duwe, director, Climate Action Network Europe, +32 494 525 762

In Brussels:

Esther Bollendorff, Campaigner, Friends of the Earth Europe

Douwe Buzeman, Oxfam's EU Climate Change & EU Development Policy Adviser, +32 (0)2 502 9803

Delia Villagrasa, Senior Advisor, WWF European Policy Office, Tel: +32 486 440 223

Analysis of the actual press release referred to in the newspaper article shows that this action actually involved coordination between five organizations: Friends of the Earth Europe, WWF EPO, CAN Europe, Greenpeace EU Unit and Oxfam International.

Another news report for Euractiv.com reported that a new report highlighted the massive health savings of strict climate change policy. Since the article mentioned a coalition of civil society actors and the European Institutions, I also selected this article for further research:

Figure A.3: Eurativ Press Excerpt

Study highlights 'massive health savings' of stricter climate policies [fr] [de]

Published: 02 October 2008

Source: Euractiv

The EU could save up to €25 billion every year by introducing more ambitious climate policies, according to a new study by health and environment NGOs.

Raising the EU's 2020 target for greenhouse gas emission cuts from 20 to 30% would increase health savings by as much as 48%, or €6.5 to 25 billion each year, according to the report, which was commissioned by the Health and Environment Alliance (HEAL), Climate Action Network Europe (CAN-E) and WWF. Moreover, the benefits would accrue year on year.

…

Excerpted from: http://www.euractiv.com/en/health/study-highlights-massive-health-savings-stricter-climate-policies/article-175970

Because the news report was fairly specific, I was able to obtain a copy of the report fairly easily, and to verify that it was sponsored by the organizations named in the article.

Figure A.4: Joint NGO Report on Health Benefits of Climate Policy

THE CO-BENEFITS OF DIFFERENT AMBITION LEVELS FOR GREENHOUSE GAS ABATEMENT IN THE EU BY 2020

The Health and Environment Alliance (HEAL), Climate Action Network (CAN) and WWF Europe commissioned this report to demonstrate the huge health benefits of meeting internationally recommended targets on climate change.

The aim is to show to Members of the European Parliament the value of supporting the target of a minimum reduction of 30% in domestic EU greenhouse gas emissions by 2020 (from 1990 levels). This would replace the current target of 20%.

…

Excerpted From: http://assets.panda.org/downloads/co_benefits_to_health_report__september_2008.pdf

In some cases, news reports were less specific about the sponsors of collective actions. In these cases, I wasn't able to search organizational websites. Instead, I conducted a search of different email list serves to which I was subscribed during the period of 2007-2009. Organizations often use these lists to publicize their actions, and since I knew the dates on which they occurred, I could usually obtain primary source documents via this route. Finally, when all else failed, I was able to call on my contacts from within the world of climate change organizing in Europe to help me identify the relevant organizations and in a few cases provide me with non-public documents. Their insight, combined with my extensive knowledge of the field, meant that I was able to obtain the necessary primary source documents for every event in my sample.

Attribute Data Collection

In addition to knowing the organizational sponsors of particular events, my statistical analysis requires knowing key attributes of these organizations. In order to gather this information, I systematically coded the websites of organizations that appeared in my sample. In most instances, this information was available publicly or through the internet archive (www.archive.org). In a few instances, I needed to collect this information over the phone or by requesting annual reports. In addition, I gathered data about whether an organization received EU funding from institutional records of the European Commission and Parliament.

For my analysis I collected data on five important organizations attributes: whether the organizational had a radical ideology, whether it received EU funding, whether it had an organizational structure that accommodates individual members, the number of full-time staff it employed in 2009, and its age in 2009. Table A.3 details this coding procedure.

Table A.3: Organizational Attribute Code Book

Variable	Description
Radical Ideology	Yes = 1. Coded for the presence of anti-capitalist or anti-systemic ideology on the organization's website.
Receives EU Funding	Yes=1. Based on coding of whether the organization appears in the register of the European Commission and the European Parliament as receiving funding for the year 2009.
Has Individual Members	Yes=1. Based on the coding of websites and organizational charters to see if the organization permits individuals to join as members.
Number of Full-Time Staff	Number of full-time staff employed by the organization in 2009. Based on website coding.
Age	Age of the organization in 2009 (i.e. 2009 - founding date). Based on website coding.

Network Data and Analysis

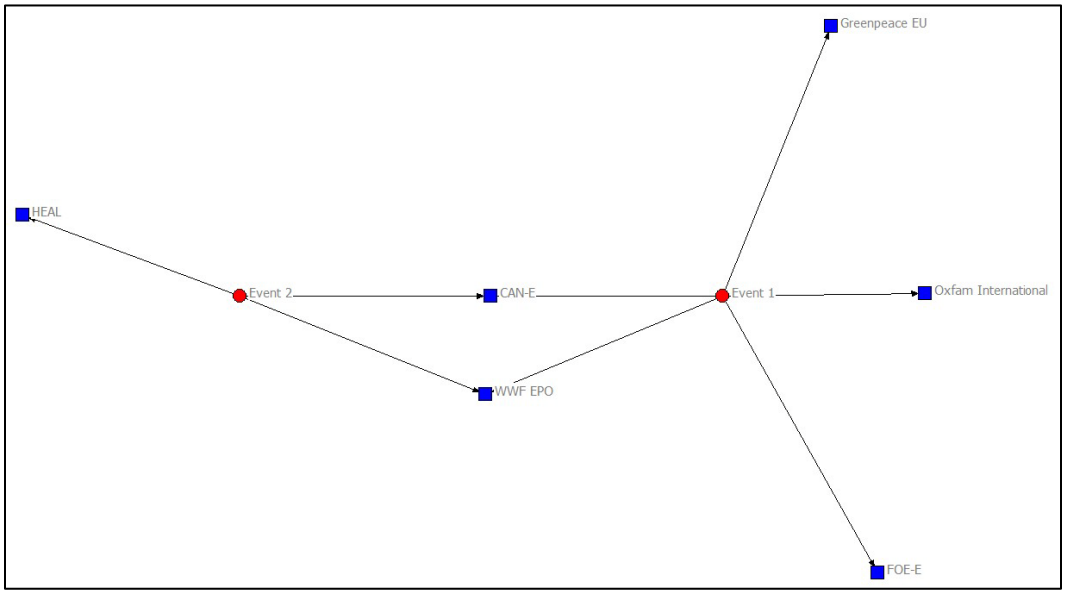
Once I had the records of events, sponsors, and their attributes, I was able to use this data to construct a 2-mode network. This consists of a matrix in which actors are arrayed on the X axis and events on the Y axis. So for the two events from the previous example, the matrix would look like this:

Table A.4: Sample Two-Mode Data Structure

	FOE-E	Greenpeace EU	CAN-E	WWF EPO	Oxfam International	HEAL
Event 1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Event 2	0	0	1	1	0	1

When displayed graphically, the network looks like the one below. In this network, the organizations are the blue squares and the events are the red circles. If an organization (square) is joined to a circle, it means that that organization sponsored that event.

Figure A.5: Visualization of the Sample Two-Mode Network



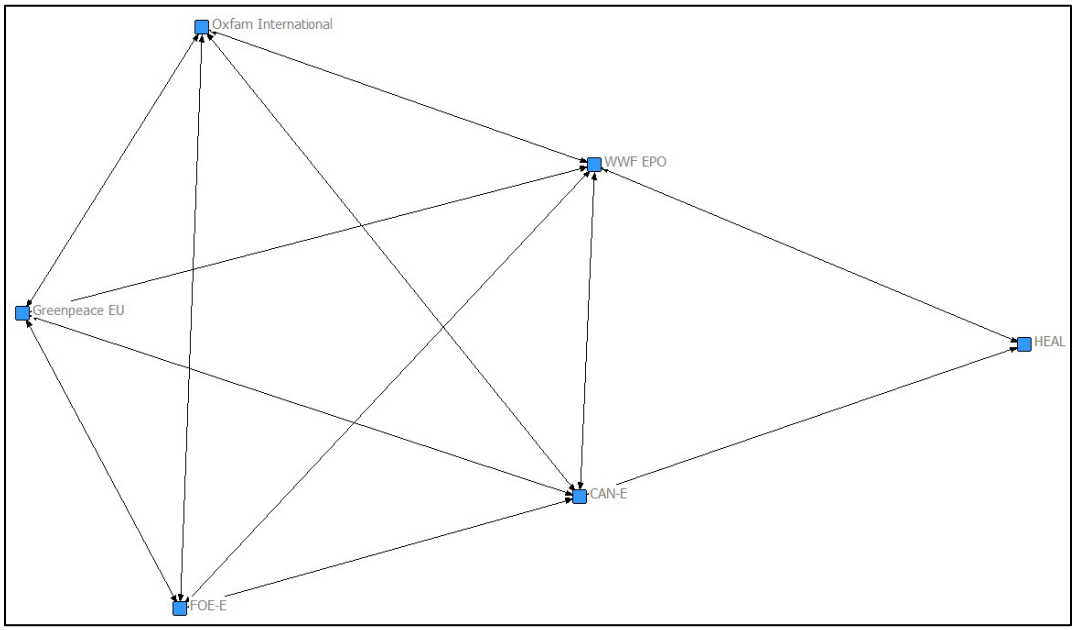
2-mode network analysis can yield important insights about collective action and its sponsors. But a number of the questions relevant to this dissertation concern the structure of relationships between actors. In order to address these questions, the 2-mode network has to be transformed into a 1-mode network. This was done through the cross-product method, in which each entry of the row for actor A is multiplied times the same entry for actor B, and then the results are summed. The result is a '1' if both actors were sponsors of the event, and the sum across events gives the total number of events the actors have in common. This is procedure is simple to implement using computer software: in this project I mainly use the UCINET package, although I also employ Pajek and PNET for certain tasks. When the 2-mode actor-by-event matrix is transformed in a 1-mode actor-by-actor matrix, it looks like this:

Table A.5: Sample One-Mode Data Structure

	FOE-E	Greenpeace EU	CAN-E	WWF EPO	Oxfam International	HEAL
FOE-E	1	1	1	1	1	0
Greenpeace EU	1	1	1	1	1	0
CAN-E	1	1	2	2	1	1
WWF EPO	1	1	2	2	1	1
Oxfam International	1	1	1	1	1	0
HEAL	0	0	1	1	0	1

The resulting matrix is weighted because organizations can sponsor more than one event together (CAN-E and WWF EPO sponsor two events in our example). Values on the diagonal are discarded because it does not mean anything for an organization to sponsor something with itself. This resulting matrix can be represented graphically in the following figure:

Figure A.6: Visualization of the Sample One-Mode Network



Interpreting this figure requires knowing that the ties (lines) between the organizations (squares) represent event co-sponsorship. Thus in some ways interpreting the 1-mode figure is more complex than the 2-mode. The overall structure suggests a clique of the 5 major Brussels-

based NGOs, which less frequently collaborate with HEAL. But the significance of this structure is based on our understanding of the relationship represented here: what does it mean to 'co-sponsor' an event? Does this suggest that organizations share information, strategies and potentially influence one another? Or does it mean that mean simply that organizations sign on to public statements on which one another's names appear?

In order to know the significance of these relationships, this dissertation also draws on a large number of interviews and extensive participant observation in these organizations and their coalitions. These qualitative data suggest that 'co-sponsorship' can reasonably be assumed to indicate a working relationship between two organizations.

Qualitative Data Collection

For this project I also collected extensive qualitative data. This section describes in detail the procedures I used to conduct organizational interviews. I also briefly describe the procedures by which I obtained other types of qualitative data, including field notes, emails, and documents.

Interview Sample

The main goal of the interview data collection was to gather additional qualitative data at the organizational level to confirm the operation of relational processes in organizational decision-making. I used a stratified sampling procedure in order to select organizations from the population for interviews. Specifically, I computed the 2-mode degree centrality score for each organization based on its position in the 2008 network.[101] From this, I divided organizations into groups based on their centrality score. I created three different groups: a 'core' group for

[101] The degree centrality of a node is the number of edges incident upon it. So in this case, it is the number of events an organization sponsored, normalized against the maximum possible score in an equivalently sized fully connected two-mode network. Degree centrality measures the overall activity level of the organization, which is desirable given the goals of this study. This measure is highly correlated with other measures of centrality, including betweeness centrality (.88) and Eigen centrality (.93) (See Borgatti and Everett 1997).

organizations scoring .029 and above (20 organizations); and 'semi-periphery' for organizations scoring .019-.029 (13 organizations); and a periphery consisting of those organizations scoring less than .019 (95 organizations).[102] I selected all of the organizations from the core and semi-periphery for the interview sample. I then selected a random sample of organizations from the periphery, resulting in 20 additional organizations.

In total, I conducted interviews with 50 organizations. Given the long time frame of the study and my extensive follow-up, my response rate to interview requests was 94%, with organizations in the periphery being slightly less likely to respond to interview requests. In total, I interviewed 39% of organizations in the population. However, I interviewed 100% of the most active organizations, 85% of those in the semi-periphery and 20% of those in the periphery. Put another way, because I selected organizations that sponsored the highest number of events, I interviewed at least one organizational sponsor for 87% of the events in my dataset. Thus I am confident that while I have not covered the entire organizational population, I have a fairly good sense of the organizational processes that are generating the events in my quantitative data.

Questionnaire and Coding

Once I had identified my sample, I conducted semi-structured interviews with representatives of the organizations. Typically this was either the head of the organization, the person in charge of the climate campaign, or a long-time activist familiar with the climate work of the organization. Where organizations were decentralized in their decision-making or there had been recent turn over in staff, I sometimes conducted more than one interview with the same organization. This resulted in over eighty total interviews.

[102] Note that this distribution of activity among organizations roughly follows a power law.

I utilized a standardized questionnaire for my organizational interviews, as shown in Table A.4. The interviews involved both structured questions ("how many staff members does your organization have") and more open-ended questions ("describe the actions your organization is involved in"). Interviews ranged between 30 minutes and 3 hours, but typically lasted for about one hour. Most of the time was spent on the "Action Forms" and "Networks" sections. Interviews were generally recorded and transcribed, except where participants requested that they not be, as was more typical in contentious groups (especially those involved in illegal actions). In those cases, I took notes by hand and wrote up a transcript to the best of my recollection immediately afterwards. Participants in the interviews were guaranteed that their identity would be kept confidential, but were informed that I intended to associate their responses with the name of their organization.

Table A.6: Interview Guide

Contesting Climate Change in the European Union
Interview Guide

PARTICIPANT BACKGROUND
1. What is your experience working on climate change issues? What positions have you held in the past?
2. What position do you hold now? For how long?

ORGANIZATION INFO, RESOURCES, FRAMING
1. Approximately when was the organization founded?
2. What issues do you focus on? Do you have any particular mission or ideology? Has this changed over time?
3. Does your organization have an office? Staff members? How many?
4. What is the structure of decision-making? Is there a president or director? Is there a charter or constitution?
5. What is the organizational structure? Does the organization have members (individual or organizations)? How do members join? Who can participate?
6. How is the organization funded?
7. Describe how your organization views the causes of and solutions to the climate crisis.
8. Does your organization consider itself 'European'? Why or why not?

VENUES AND POLITICAL OPPORTUNITIES

1. Does your organization target the UN? The EU? National governments? Local governments? Corporations? How do you decide? How much time do you spend on each?
2. Does your organization try to directly influence governing bodies? Participate in formal consultations or government events?
3. Does your organization have direct contact with decision makers? How frequently? Is this effective?

ACTION FORMS
1. What kinds of actions is your organization typically involved in? Describe a few. How were they planned? Who was involved? What resources were needed to make it happen? How were partners selected? How were strategies formed? Who made the final decision? What were the goals? What was the outcome? Were you satisfied with the process? [Is this event typical?]
2. Does your organization engage in lobbying? Why or why not? What percentage of the time?
3. Does your organization engage in protest? Why or why not? What percentage of the time?
4. Have your organization's tactics changed over time?
5. Does your organization change tactics when it tries to influence different actors?
6. Does your organization change tactics when it works with different partners?
7. Does any other organization provide a good example for you in terms of successful actions and strategies?

NETWORKS
1. Can you name the top 5 civil society organizations that your organization regularly works with? What about the top 5 with whom you share information on a regular basis? Are there any organizations with whom you purposely do not work?
2. Does your organization belong to any coalitions? How did you decide to join? What has been the effect of joining?
3. How do you pick your partners?
4. Who do you think are the most important civil society actors working on climate change in Europe?
5. Does your organization work with any of these organizations?

Greenpeace EU Unit; World Wildlife Federation EU Office; Friends of the Earth Europe;
Transport and Environment; Climate Action Network Europe; Camp for Climate Action;
Oxfam Europe; Earth First!; Rising Tide; Campaign Against Climate Change; CJA;
Greenpeace International

6. Has your organization participated in any of the following events?
UNFCCC Climate COPs; European Social Forum; Global Day of Climate Action; G8 or Global Summit Protests; Climate Camps; European Summit Protests

CONCLUSION
1. What are your future plans for the organization?
2. Is there anything you'd like to add?

I coded the interview transcripts using the software program Atlas.ti. In my coding, I looked for patterns in the ways that organizations described their decision-making about tactics. I had previously identified mechanisms in scholarly literature that I expected might operate within these organizations (see Chapter 7), but I also coded inductively, keeping an eye open for unexpected processes that might emerge from the data. This coding allows me to discuss the relatively frequency of different process in organizational decision-making, as well as to draw on illustrative examples of each mechanism.

Observations, Emails and Documents

In addition to the interviews, I also collected three other types of qualitative data. First, I was invited to attend a number of intra-organizational and coalitional meetings during the time period of this study (see the Data Appendix for a list). I wrote up my observations of these meetings as field notes. These observations have especially informed Chapters 5 and 6 of this dissertation.

In particular, I attended many of the meetings of Climate Justice Action and the Climate Action Network from September 2008-December 2009. In the case of CAN, I was given complete access to the coalition and its staff, but was asked to respect the confidentiality agreement in place within the coalition. My observations with CAN particularly inform my understanding of how CAN operates, and of the UNFCCC and EU political processes. Attending these meetings also introduced me to the important individuals and organizations working in this sphere of advocacy. But I do not report directly on these meetings unless they have been discussed with my in on-the-record interviews. In the case of Climate Justice Action, I was allowed to observe and write about the coalition provided that I did something useful (usually washing dishes) and did not identify people at meetings by their name or by

organization. Thus due to my agreement with participants, I am able to discuss the internal functioning of CJA in much more detail than CAN.

Because of my relationship with each of these coalitions, I was also subscribed to a number of internal email list-serves during this time period. In particular, I was subscribed to the private internal list-serves of CAN Europe and CAN International, as well as to those public lists of CJA and CJN. During the time period of this study, I collected over 10,000 emails through these channels, which kept me exceptionally well-informed about the political process and the workings of these coalitions.

Finally, I gathered hundreds of coalitional and organizational documents during my field work. I particularly I sought out organizational documents that described internal work procedures or decision-making processes. I employ these documents to better inform my case studies and as a check on the validity of my interview data. The Data Appendix gives a selected description of the documents I consulted when writing this dissertation.

Data Integration

This study employs a nested mixed methods strategy. Nested designs collect qualitative and quantitative data in sequence, and assign them equal priority. Common applications of this design include using case study methods to explain patterns of correlation observed in large-N studies (Lieberman 2003: 33). Since in my nested design the methods are used equally but sequentially, I have to take extreme care to in order to deal with the potential for 'travelling errors' in sequential research designs (Rohlfing 2008). One way I try to reduce the likelihood of traveling errors and selection bias, is that I select organizations selected for interviews on the basis of random stratified sampling, not along the logic of qualitative, purposive sampling

(Fearon and Laitin 2008). The addition of the qualitative data sources allowed me to identify mechanisms of resource pooling, information sharing and peer influence as important pathways by which organizational choice of action forms is related to the choice of their peers. However, if I had not found qualitative evidence of the operation of relational mechanisms, I would have had to be much more skeptical of the results of the quantitative portion.

APPENDIX B

QUALITATIVE DATA SOURCES

B.1 Organizational and Inter-Organizational Observations Conducted by the Author

ID	Organization Name	Activity Type	Date	Location
1	Climate Justice Action	Strategy Meeting	Sep-08	Copenhagen, Denmark
2	European Social Forum Radical Assembly	Information and Outreach meeting	Sep-08	Malmö, Sweden
3	CAN-E, Greenpeace EU, FOE-E, WWF EPO	European Parliament Lobbying	Sep-08	Brussels, Belgium
3	CAN-E	General Assembly	Oct-08	Brussels, Belgium
5	CAN-E, Greenpeace EU, FOE-E, WWF EPO	EU Commission Stakeholder Conference	Oct-08	Brussels, Belgium
6	CAN International	Daily Strategy and Coordination Sessions	Dec-09	Poznan, Poland
7	CAN-E, Greenpeace EU, FOE-E, WWF EPO	Daily Strategy Sessions, EU Delegate Lobbying	Dec-08	Poznan, Poland
8	Climate Justice Action	Outreach and Strategy meeting	Dec-08	Poznan, Poland
9	Campaign Against Climate Change	Demonstration and March	Dec-08	Poznan, Poland
10	Climate Camp UK	National Gathering	Jan-09	Oxford, UK
11	CAN-E	General Assembly	Apr-09	Brussels, Belgium
12	Climate Camp UK	London Climate Camp, Copenhagen Strategy Meeting	Aug-09	London, UK
14	CAN-E	General Assembly	Oct-09	Brussels, Belgium
15	FOE-Flanders	International Day of Climate Action [Flashmob]	Oct-09	Brussels, Belgium
15	WWF EPO	International Day of Climate Action [Dance Party]	Oct-09	Brussels, Belgium

17	Climate Camp France	National Gathering/Assembly	Nov-09	Paris, France
18	Attac France	Climate Information Meeting and Debate	Nov-09	Paris, France
19	CAN-E	European Parliament Copenhagen Briefing	Nov-09	Brussels, Belgium
20	Dutch CJA	Information Meeting	Nov-09	Amsterdam, Netherlands
21	Climate Justice Caravan	Outreach Tour	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
22	CAN-E, Greenpeace EU, FOE-E, WWF EPO	Daily Strategy Sessions, EU Delegate Lobbying	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
23	CAN International	Daily Strategy and Coordination Sessions	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
24	Climate Justice Now!	Daily Strategy and Coordination Sessions	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
25	Climate Justice Action	Strategy, Action, Evaluation and Spokes Council Meetings	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
26	Friends of the Earth International	Human Flood Demonstration	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
27	Global Campaign for Climate Action	Demonstration and March	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
28	KlimaForum	Alternative Summit and Workshops	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
29	Climate Justice Action-Climate Justice Now!	Reclaim Power! And Peoples Assembly	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
0	Climate Justice Action	Prisoners Solidarity Demonstration	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark

B.2 Organizational Interviews Conducted by the Author

ID	Organization Name	Date	Location
1	Greenpeace European Unit	Jul-07	Brussels, Belgium
2	Climate Action Network Europe	Jul-07	Brussels, Belgium
3	European Environmental Bureau	Jul-07	Brussels, Belgium
4	European Commission - DG Environment	Jul-07	Brussels, Belgium
5	European Trade Union Confederation	Apr-08	Brussels, Belgium
6	European Parliament - Environment Committee	Apr-08	Brussels, Belgium
7	Climate Action Network Europe	Sep-08	Brussels, Belgium
8	KlimaX Denmark	Sep-08	Copenhagen, Denmark
9	Young Friends of the Earth Europe	Sep-08	Copenhagen, Denmark
10	Friends of the Earth International	Sep-08	Copenhagen, Denmark
11	KlimaX Denmark	Sep-08	Malmö, Sweden
12	Klimataktion Sweden	Sep-08	Malmö, Sweden
13	Friends of the Earth Europe	Oct-08	Brussels, Belgium
14	Greenpeace European Unit	Oct-08	Brussels, Belgium
15	World Wildlife Federation European Policy Office	Oct-08	Brussels, Belgium
16	Transport and Environment Europe	Oct-08	Brussels, Belgium
17	Oxfam International	Nov-08	Brussels, Belgium
18	Climate Action Network Europe	Dec-08	Poznan, Poland
19	Earth First! UK	Dec-08	Poznan, Poland
20	Global Campaign Against Climate Change	Dec-08	Poznan, Poland
21	Greenpeace International	Dec-08	Poznan, Poland
22	Camp for Climate Action UK	Jan-09	London, England
23	Rising Tide	Jan-09	London, England
24	Global Campaign Against Climate Change	Jan-09	London, England
25	European Commission - DG Environment	Apr-09	Brussels, Belgium
26	European Parliament - Environment Committee	Apr-09	Brussels, Belgium
27	European Council - Environment Committee	Apr-09	Brussels, Belgium
28	Friends of the Earth Europe	May-09	Brussels, Belgium
29	World Wildlife Federation European Policy Office	May-09	Brussels, Belgium
30	Climate Action Network Europe	May-09	Brussels, Belgium
31	Oxfam International	May-09	Brussels, Belgium
32	WWF UK	Aug-09	London, England
33	Climate Camp UK	Aug-09	London, England
34	Climate Camp UK	Aug-09	London, England
35	Plane Stupid	Aug-09	London, England
36	People and Planet	Aug-09	London, England
37	Greenpeace UK	Aug-09	London, England
38	Oxfam GB	Aug-09	Oxford, England

39	Global Campaign for Climate Action	Aug-09	Oxford, England
40	Royal Society for the Protection of Birds	Aug-09	London, England
41	Climate Action Network Europe	Sep-09	Brussels, Belgium
42	European Environmental Bureau	Sep-09	Brussels, Belgium
43	EU Delegation to the UNFCCC	Sep-09	Brussels, Belgium
44	Attac France	Oct-09	Paris, France
45	Initiatives Pour un Autre Monde	Oct-09	Paris, France
46	Espaces Karl Marx	Oct-09	Paris, France
47	Avenir Climat	Oct-09	Paris, France
48	Les Amis de la Terre [FOE France]	Oct-09	Paris, France
49	Reseau d'Action Climat France	Oct-09	Paris, France
50	Climate Camp France	Oct-09	Paris, France
51	Climate Camp France	Oct-09	Paris, France
52	WWF France	Oct-09	Video Skype
53	Climate Camp Belgium/Netherlands	Nov-09	Antwerp, Belgium
54	European Youth for Action	Nov-09	Amsterdam, Netherlands
55	Climate Camp Belgium/Netherlands	Nov-09	Amsterdam, Netherlands
56	The Transnational Institute	Nov-09	Amsterdam, Netherlands
57	Earth First! Belgium/Netherlands	Nov-09	Amsterdam, Netherlands
58	Friends of the Earth Netherlands	Nov-09	Amsterdam, Netherlands
59	Friends of the Earth Denmark	Nov-09	Phone
60	Transport and Environment Europe	Nov-09	Brussels, Belgium
61	Via Campesina Europe	Nov-09	Brussels, Belgium
62	World Wildlife Federation European Policy Office	Nov-09	Brussels, Belgium
63	Climate Camp Germany	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
64	Climate Camp Germany	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
65	Climate Justice Fast	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
66	Friends of the Earth UK	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
67	Klima Allianz	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
68	Grupo de Reflexion Rural	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
69	Friends of the Earth Sweden	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
70	Klimaforum	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
71	Polish Ecological Club	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
72	Polish Green Network	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
73	Wetlands International	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
74	Danish 92 Group	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
75	Greenpeace Italy	Dec-09	Phone
76	Global Campaign for Climate Action	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
77	Climate Justice Caravan	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
78	Peoples' Global Action	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
79	Climate Justice Action	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark

80	Climate Justice Now!	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
81	Ecologistas en Accion	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
82	La Via Campesina	Dec-09	Copenhagen, Denmark
83	Greenpeace Nordic	Dec-09	Phone
84	Climate Justice Action	Jan-10	Video Skype
85	Klimaforum	Jan-10	Phone
86	Rising Tide UK	Jan-10	Phone
87	Friends of the Earth Germany	Jan-10	Phone

B.3 Selected Internal and Public Organizational Documents Consulted by the Author

ID	Organization Name	Document Description	Date
1	Durban Group	"Durban Declaration on Carbon Trading"	Oct-04
2	Unsigned (UK Eco-anarchist)	“Direct Action: A Handbook”	Sep-05
3	Climate Justice Now!	“CJN! Founding Press Release”	Dec-07
4	Earth First! UK	Newsletter: "Action Update"	Feb-08
5	Turbulence Magazine	Turbulence: Ideas for the Future - Summer 2008	Jul-08
6	Climate Justice Action	Minutes from: "International Climate Meeting: Building the Movement for COP 15"	Sep-08
7	European Social Forum	Program of ESF 2008	Sep-08
8	ESF 2008 Action Network	Newspaper: "From Thoughts to Action"	Sep-08
9	European Social Forum	"Abstract of Outcomes from the ESF Climate Assembly"	Sep-08
10	Campaign Against Climate Change	Minutes from: "Annual General Meeting 2008"	Oct-08
11	Climate Justice Action	Email Discussion: “Insider-Outsider Strategy”	Oct-08
12	Friends of the Earth International	Email: "Message from FoEI please forward to CAN-talk"	Nov-08
13	CAN International	Daily ECO Newsletters for COP 14	Dec-08
14	Climate Justice Action	Minutes from: "Outreach Meetings, Poznan Poland"	Dec-08
15	Campaign Against Climate Change	Flyer: Global Day of Action on Climate Change"	Dec-08
16	Avaaz.org	Flyer: "Warsaw Manifestation: Merkel & Tusk: Don't Let Coal Kill the Climate"	Dec-08
17	CAN Europe	"CAN-Europe Strategic Work Priorities from 2009-2012"	Jan-09
18	CAN Europe	Email Discussion: "Climate NGOs 'bureaucratised', says de Boer"	Jan-09
19	Camp for Climate Action UK	Minutes: "National Gathering"	Jan-09
20	German Network for COP 15	"A Critical Letter on Action Concepts"	Feb-09
21	CAN Europe	"2009 Strategy and Timeline"	Feb-09
22	CAN Europe	Minutes from: "General Assembly"	Feb-09
23	CAN Europe and GCCA	"Draft NGO Strategy"	Mar-09
24	Global Climate Campaign	Annual Newsletter	Mar-09

25	Climate Justice Action	"Handbook for March Meeting"	Mar-09
26	Climate Justice Action	Minutes from: "Second International Mobilization Meeting"	Mar-09
27	Rising Tide	Newsletter: "Why Take Direct Action?"	Mar-09
28	Climate Camp UK	Newspaper: "The Copenhagen UN Climate Talks: Deal or No Deal?"	Mar-09
29	Climate Justice Action	Minutes from: "June International Mobilization Meeting"	Jun-09
30	FOE Sweden, KlimaX, Klimaforum	Email Exchange: "What can the history of environmental and climate negotiations tell us?"	Jul-09
31	Camp for Climate Action UK	"Handbook: Camp for Climate Action 2009"	Aug-09
32	Camp for Climate Action BE-NL	"Climate Camp BE-NL Booklet"	Aug-09
33	Friends of the Earth International	Email: "Managing Concerns About 'Violent Protest'"	Sep-09
34	GCCA and CAN Europe	Minutes: "EU Strategy Meeting"	Sep-09
35	Climate Justice Action	"Handbook for 6th International CJA Meeting"	Oct-09
36	Climate Justice Action	Minutes from: "6th International CJA Meeting"	Oct-09
37	Climate Justice Action, FOE Sweden, Klimaforum	Email Exchange: "Clarification on the Reclaim Power Action"	Oct-09
38	Climate Collective	Minutes: "Logistics, Budget and Strategy"	Nov-09
39	Friends of the Earth International	Member Handbook: "Activist Guide to Copenhagen"	Nov-09
40	Greenpeace International	Member Handbook: "Greenpeace Guide to COP 15"	Dec-09
41	CAN International	Member Handbook: "Guide to Copenhagen December 2009"	Dec-09
42	CAN International	"Fair, Ambitious and Binding: Essentials for a Successful Climate Deal"	Dec-09
43	Climate Justice Now!	Call and Signatories: "Climate Change Urgency, Social Justice"	Dec-09
44	Climate Justice Action	Minutes from: "7th CJA Meeting"	Dec-09
45	Climate Justice Action	Minutes from: "Reclaim Power! Working Group Meeting"	Dec-09
46	CAN International	Minutes from: "CAN International Strategy Weekend"	Dec-09
47	Climate Collective	"Action Guide to COP 15"	Dec-09
48	X-Y Solidarity Fund	"Why Climate Change is Not an Environmental Issue"	Dec-09
49	CAN International	Daily ECO Newsletters for COP 15	Dec-09
50	CAN International	Drafts and Final Version of ECO Article on Carbon Markets	Dec-09
51	Klimaforum	Program for Peoples' Climate Summit	Dec-09
52	La Via Campesina	Flyer: "Join the Mobilisations With La Via Campesina!"	Dec-09
53	Campaign Against Climate Change	Flyer: "Invitation to Day of Mass Climate Action in Copenhagen, December 12th 2009"	Dec-09
54	GCCA	Flyer: "People First, Planet First, A Family-Friendly Climate Walk"	Dec-09
55	Climate Justice Action	Statement: "A Call to Action - Reclaim Power!"	Dec-09
56	Climate Justice Action	Flyer: "Are you going to walk out on the 16th?"	Dec-09

57	Climate Justice Action	Minutes: "Short summary of results of blue block meeting "	Dec-09
58	CAN International	Email Discussion: "NGO - Non Access!"	Dec-09
59	Klimaforum	Drafts and Final Version of Klimaforum09 Declaration	Dec-09
60	FOE Sweden, Klimaforum	Email: "Nordic Notes on Climate Justice and ESF"	Jan-10
61	RAC France	Report: "Copenhague: face à l'immobilisme politique, l'élan citoyen ?"	Jan-10
62	YUNGO	Report: "Youth @ COP 15"	Jan-10
63	Climate Justice Action	Discussion Paper: "What Does Climate Justice Mean in Europe?"	Feb-10
64	CAN International	Minutes from: "Strategic Planning Retreat"	Apr-10

REFERENCES

Action Aid. 2009. "Press Release: EU Climate Aid – is It New Money?" December 11, 2009. Available at: http://www.actionaid.org/eu/index.aspx?PageID=5141 (Accessed July 20, 2011).

ALBA. 2009. "Joint Statement on the Outcome of COP 15." December 18, 2009. Available at : http://venezuelanalysis.com/analysis/5038 (Accessed April 12, 2011).

Andrews, K.T. and Edwards, B. 2004. "Advocacy Organizations in the U.S. Political Process." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30(4): 479-506.

Ansell, C. 2003. "Community Embeddedness and Collaborative Governance in the San Francisco Bay Area Environmental Movement." In M. Diani and D. McAdam (eds) *Social Movements and Networks*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aral, S., Muchnik, L. and Sundararajan, A. 2009. "Distinguishing Influence-Based Contagion From Homophily-Driven Diffusion in Dynamic Networks." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 106(51): 21544-21549.

Ausubel, J.H. and Victor, D.G. 1992. "Verification of International Environmental Agreements." *Annual Review of Energy and the Environment* 17(1): 1-43.

Balme, R. and Chabanet, D. 2008. *European Governance and Democracy: Power and Protest in the EU*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Bandy, J. and Smith, J. (eds). 2005. *Coalitions Across Borders: Transnational Protest and the Neoliberal Order*. Boulder, Colo.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Baumgartner, F. and Leech, B. 1998. *Basic Interests*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bédoyan, I., Aelst, P.V. and Walgrave. S. 2004. "Limitations and Possibilities of Transnational Mobilization: The Case of EU Summit Protesters in Brussels, 2001." *Mobilization* 9(1): 39-54.

Benford**,** R.D., and Snow, D.A**.**. *2000.* "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 611-639.

Bennett, L. 2004. "Global Media and Politics: Transnational Communication Regimes and Civic Cultures." *Annual Review of Political Science* 7:125-148.

Beyers, J. 2004. "Voice and Access: Political Practices of European Interest Associations." *European Union Politics* 5: 211-240.

Beyers, J., Eising, R.and Maloney, W. 2008. "Researching Interest Group Politics in Europe and Elsewhere: Much We Study, Little We Know?" *West European Politics* 31(6):1103 – 1128.

Blee, K.M. 2002. *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement*. Berkely: University of California Press.

Block, B. 2009. Interview with Ian Fry. January 13, 2010. World Watch Institute. Available online at: http://www.worldwatch.org/node/6360 [accessed January 31, 2010].

Bob, C. 2005. *The Marketing of Rebellion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Borgatti, S.P., Everett, M.G. and L.C. Freeman. 1999. *UCINET 6.0 Reference Manual*. Natick: Analytic Technologies.

Broadbent, J. 1998. *Environmental Politics in Japan: Networks of Power and Protest.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brulle, R.J. 2000. *Agency, Democracy and Nature*: *The US Environmental Movement from a Critical Theory Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Burt, R.S. 1982. *Toward a Structural Theory of Action.* New York: Academic Press.

Byrd, S.C. 2010. "Framing Cascades in the Climate Justice Movement." Unpublished manuscript, University of California Irvine.

Cable, S. and Shriver, T. 1995. "Production and Extrapolation of Meaning in the Environmental Justice Movement." *Social Spectrum* 15:419-42.

Capek, S.M. 1993. "The 'Environmental Justice' Frame: A Conceptual Discussion and Application." *Social Problems* 40(1): 5-24.

Carmin, J. and Basler, D.B. 2002. "Selecting Repertoires of Action in Environmental Movement Organizations : An Interpretive Approach." *Organization Environment* 15(3).

Carroll, G.R. and Hannan, M.T. 2002. *The Demography of Corporations and Industries*. Princeton: Princeton Univeristy Press.

Chasek, P.S., Downie, D.L. and Brown, J.W. 2005. *Global Environmental Politics, 5th edition*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Cini, M. 1996. *The European Commission: Leadership, Administration and Culture in the EU Administration.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Clemens, E. S., and Minkoff, D.C. 2004. "Beyond the Iron Law: Rethinking the Place of Organizations in Social Movement Research." In Snow, D. S.A. Soule and H. Kriesi (eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Climate Justice Now! 2009. *About Us.* Available online from http://www.climate-justice-now.org/ (accessed February, 2010).

Coen, D. 2007. "Empirical and Theoretical Studies in EU lobbying." *Journal of European Public Policy* 14: 333-45.

Cooley, A. and Ron, J.. 2001. "The NGO Scramble." *International Security* 27(1): 5-39.

Costain, A.N. 1992. *Inviting Women's Rebellion: A Political Process Interpretation of the Women's Movement*. Baltimore, MD: Hones Hopkins University Press.

Cress, D.M. and Snow, D.A. 1996. "Mobilization at the Margins: Resources, Benefactors, and the Viability of Homeless Social Movement Organizations." *American Sociological Review* 61: 1098-1109.

Dahl, R. 1956. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dahl, R. 1961. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dahl, R. 1971. *Polyarchy*. New Have: Yale University Press.

Dalton, R.. 1994. *The Green Rainbow: Environmental Groups in Western Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dalton, R.J. Recchia, S. and Rohrschneider, R. 2003. "The Environmental Movement and the Modes of Political Action." *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (7): 743-771.

Davis, G.F. and Greve, H.R. 1997. "Corporate Elite Networks and Governance Changes in the 1980s." *The American Journal of Sociology.* 103(1): 1-37.

Davenport, C. 2010. *Media Bias, Perspective and State Repression: The Black Panther Party.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Della Porta, D. 2005. "Multiple Belongings, Tolerant Identities, and the Construction of "Another Politics": Between the European Social Forum and the Local Social Fora." In *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, edited by D. Della Porta and S. Tarrow. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Della Porta, D. 2007. "The Europeanization of Protest: A Typology and Empirical Evidence." In B. Kohler-Koch and B. Rittberger *Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union.* Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Della Porta, D. (ed). 2007. *The Global Justice Movement: Cross-National and Transnational Perspectives.* Boulder, Paradigm Publishers.

Della Porta, D. and Caiani, M. 2007. "Europeanization from Below? Social Movements and Europe." *Mobilization* 12:1-20.

Della Porta, D. and Tarrow, S. (eds). 2005. *Transnational Protest and Global Activism.* Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Diani, M. 1995. *Green Networks*: *A Structural Analysis of the Italian Environmental Movement.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Diani, M. 2003. "Networks and Social Movements: A Research Program." In M. Diani and D. McAdam (eds) *Social Movements and Networks*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Diani, M. 2004. “Networks and Participation.” In Snow, D. S.A. Soule and H. Kriesi (eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Diani, M., Lindsay, I. and Purdue, D. 2010. “Sustained Interactions? Social Movements and Coalitions in Local Settings.” In Van Dyke, Nella and Holly McCammon (eds) *Social Movement Coalitions*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

DiMaggio, P.J. and Powell, W.W.. 1983. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48:147-160.

Dörr, N. 2009. *Listen Carefully: Democracy Brokers at the European Social Forums*. Doctoral Dissertation at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy.

Doyle, A., and Wynn, G. 2010. “Copenhagen Accord Pledges Too Weak: U.N.” *Reuters.* Available at: http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/03/31/us-climate-accord-idUSTRE62U13M20100331 (Accessed July 20, 2011).

Earl, J., Martin, A., McCarthy, J.D., and Soule, S.A. 2004. “The Use of Newspaper Data in the Study of Collective Action.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 30(1): 65-80.

Edwards, B. and McCarthy, J.D. 2004. “Resources and Social Movement Mobilization.” In Snow, D. S.A. Soule and H. Kriesi (eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Eisinger, P. 1973. “The Conditions of Protest Behavior in American Cities.” *American Political Science Review* 81(1): 11-28.

Epstein, C. 2006. “The Making of Global Environmental Norms: Endangered Species Protection.” *Global Environmental Politics* 6(2): 32-54.

Euractiv. 2009a. “EU anxious to keep global climate leadership.” December 12, 2009. Available at: http://www.euractiv.com/en/climate-change/eu-anxious-keep-global-climate-leadership/article-178026 (Accessed July 20, 2011).

Euractiv. 2009b. “EU Summit Struggles to Raise Climate Aid Cash.” December 11, 2009. Available at: http://www.euractiv.com/en/climate-change/eu-summit-struggles-raise-climate-aid-cash/article-188241(Accessed July 20, 2011).

Eurobarometer. 2008. “Public Opinion in the European Union: First Results.” European Commission: 69.2: Spring 2008. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb69/eb_69_first_en.pdf (Accessed April 1, 2011).

European Commission. 1992. “An Open and Structured Dialogue Between The Commission and Special Interest Groups.” Available at:

http://ec.europa.eu/civil_society/interest_groups/docs/v_en.pdf (Accessed April 24, 2011).

European Commission and Council of the European Communities. 1997. "Communication from the Commission on Promoting the Role of Voluntary Organizations and Foundations in Europe." Luxembourg: COM (97) 241 final.

European Commission. 2000. The European Climate Change Programme. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/environment/climat/eccp.htm (Accessed July 20, 2011).

European Commission. 2001. "European Governance: A White Paper." Luxembourg: COM (2001) 428 final.

European Commission. 2002. "Towards a Reinforced Culture of Consultation – General Principles and Minimum Standards and Dialogue for Consultation of Interested Parties by the Commission." Luxembourg: COM (2002) 704 final.

European Commission. 2007. "Limiting Global Climate Change to 2 degrees Celsius." Luxembourg: COM 2007(2) Final.

European Commission. 2008. "Climate Action." Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/environment/climat/climate_action.htm (Accessed July 20, 2011).

European Commission. 2009. "Blueprint for Copenhagen." Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/environment/climat/pdf/future_action/communication.pdf (Accessed July 20, 2011).

European Commission. 2011. "Contract and Grants: Beneficiaries." Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/contracts_grants/beneficiaries_en.htm (Accessed March 22, 2011).

European Council. 2007. "Presidency Conclusions 7224/1/07." Available at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/93135.pdf (accessed July 20, 2011).

European Council. 2008. "Presidency Conclusions 17271/1/08." Available at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/104692.pdf (accessed July 20, 2011).

European Council. 2009. "EUCO 6/09 Conclusions." Available at: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/111877.pdf (accessed July 20, 2011).

European Environmental Agency. 2009. "Non-Industrial Emissions Key for Meeting Kyoto Targets." Available at: http://www.eea.europa.eu/pressroom/newsreleases/non-industrial-emissions-key-for-meeting-kyoto-targets (Accessed July 20, 2011).

European Greens/European Free Alliance in the European Parliament. 2009. "EU Summit: Summit deals serious blow to EU's climate leadership." Available at: http://www.greens-efa.org/cms/pressreleases/dok/262/262220.eu_summit@en.htm (Accessed July 20, 2011).

European Parliament. 2009. "MEPs and Council Presidency reach deal on final details of climate package." Available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/expert/infopress_page/064-44461-343-12-50-911-20081213IPR44460-08-12-2008-2008-false/default_en.htm (Accessed July 20, 2011).

European Parliament and the Council. 2002. "Decision No 466/2002/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 1 March 2002 Laying Down a Community Action Programme Promoting Non-Governmental Organisations Primarily Active in the Field of Environmental Protection." *Official Journal L 075, 16/03/2002.*

EU Observer. 2009. "Climate Activists Shut Down European Business Conference." *EU Observer* October 28, 2009. Available at: http://euobserver.com/9/28903.

ESF. 2008. "The Final declaration of the Assembly of Social Movements, Adopted on September 21st at the 2008 European Social Forum in Malmö." Available at: http://esf2008.org/news/final-declaration-of-the-assembly-of-social-movements-2009-to-change-europe (accessed April 6, 2011).

Evangelista, M. *Unarmed Forces: the Transnational Movement to End the Cold War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Fearon, J.D. and Laitin, D. 2008. "Integrating Qualitative and Quantitative Methods." In Box-Steffensmeier, J., H.E. Brady and D. Collier (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fisher, D.R. 2004. Civil Society Protest and Participation: Civic Engagement Within the Multilateral Governance Regime. In *Emerging Forces in Environmental Governance,* edited by Norichika Kanie and Peter M. Haas. New York: United Nations University Press, p. 176-203.

Fisher, D.R. 2010. "COP 15 in Copenhagen: How the Merging of Movements Left Civil Society Out in the Cold." *Global Environmental Politics* 10(2): 11-18.

Fligstein, N. 2008. *Euroclash: the EU, European identity, and the Future of Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Florini, A. (ed). 2000. *The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society*. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Friedman, L. 2009. "Some Climate Experts Seek Alternatives to the UN Process." *New York Times*. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/cwire/2009/12/21/21climatewire-some-climate-experts-seek-alternative-to-un-p-5632.html (Accessed April 12, 2011).

Friedman, L. 2010. "A Near-Consensus Keeps UN Climate Process Alive and Moving Ahead."*New York Times.* Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/cwire/2010/12/13/13climatewire-a-near-consensus-decision-keeps-un-climate-p-77618.html?scp=12&sq=bolivia%20climate&st=cse (Accessed April 12, 2011).

Friends of the Earth International. 2010. "The World Peoples Summit on Climate Change Opens in Cochabamba." Available at: http://www.foei.org/en/blog/world-peoples-summit-on-climate-change-opens-in-cochabamba (Accessed April 12, 2011).

Gamson, W.A. 1975. *The Strategy of Social Protest.* New York: Dorsey Press.

Gamson, W.A. 1992. *Talking Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gamson, W.A. and Meyer, D.S. 1996. "Framing Political Opportunity." In McAdam, D., McCarthy J.D., and Zald MN (eds.). *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gentile, A. 2010. Dissertation at Johns Hopkins University.

Givan, R. K. Roberts and Soule, S.A. 2010. *The Diffusion of Social Movements: Actors, Mechanisms, and Political Effects.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goldstone, J. A. and Tilly, C. 2001. "Threat (And Opportunity): Popular Action and State Response in the Dynamics of Collective Action." In R.R. Aminzade et al (eds.) *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, J. and Jasper, J.M. 2003. *Rethinking Social Movements*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Granovetter, M.S. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78(6): 1360-1380.

Granovetter, M.S. 1978. 'Threshold Models of Collective Behavior. *American Journal of Sociology* 8(6): 420-443.

Grant, W. D. Matthews and Newell, P. 2000. *The Effectiveness of European Union Environmental Policy.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Greenpeace International. 2005. "EU Vote on F Gas." Available at: http://www.greenpeace.org/international/news/EU-vote-on-F-gas-111 (Accessed February 22, 2011).

Greenwood, J. 2007. *Interest Representation in the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gupta, D. 2003. "Radical Flank Effects: The Effect of Radical-Moderate Splits in Regional Nationalist Movements." Working Paper, #2003-02, Program for the Study of Contentious Politics, Cornell University.

Haas, E.B. 1958. *The Uniting of Europe*: *Political, Economic and Social Forces*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Haas, E.B. 1961. "International Integration: the European and the Universal Process." *International Organization* 15 (3):366–92.

Hadden, J. and Tarrow, S. 2007. "The Global Justice Movement in the United States Since Seattle." In Donatella della Porta (ed.) *The Global Justice Movement: A Cross-National and Transnational Perspectives*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Haines, H.H. 1984. "Black Radicalization and the Funding of Civil Rights: 1957-1970." *Social Problems* 32 (1): 31-43.

Hannan, M.T., Baron, J.N., Hsu, G. and Koçak, O. 2006. 'Organizational Identities and the Hazard of Change." *Industrial and Corporate Change* 15(5): 755-784.

Hannan, M.T. and Freeman, J. 1984. "Structural Inertia and Organizational Change." *American Sociological Review* 49(2): 149-164.

Haveman, H. and Rao, H. 1997. "Structuring a Theory of Moral Sentiments: Institutional and Organizational Coevolution in the Early Thrift Industry." *American Journal of Sociology* 102:1606-51.

Hedström, P. 1994. 'Contagious Collectivities: On the Spatial Diffusion of Swedish Trade Unions, 1890-1940.' *American Journal of Sociology* 99: 1157-1179.

Hedström, P. and Swedberg, R. (eds). 1998. *Social Mechanisms*: *An Analytical Approach to Social Theory*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Héritier, A. 1999. "Elements of Democratic Legitimation in Europe: An Alternative Perspective." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6(2): 269-282.

Hoffmann, S. 1966. "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation State and the Case of Western Europe." *Daedalous* 95.

Hoffman, M. 2008. "Where the States Are: Environmental NGOs and the UN Climate Negotiations." In Joachim, J.M. and Locher, B. (eds.). *Transnational Activism in the UN and EU: A Comparative Study.* New York: Taylor and Francis.

Homser, D.W. and Lemeshow, S. 2000. *Applied Logistic Regression*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons.

Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. 2008. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus." *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (1): 1-29.

Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. 2010. "Politicization" Prepared for *The Oxford EU Handbook.* In press.

Hunter, R. 1979. *Warriors of the Rainbow*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Imig, D. and Tarrow, S. 2001. *Contentious Europeans*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Ingram, P. 2002. "Interorganizational Learning." In J.C. Baum (ed.) *The Blackwell Companion to Organizations.* Oxford: Blackwell.

IPCC. 1990. *First Assessment Report*. Geneva: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

IPCC. 2007. *Climate Change 2007: Synthesis Report (Forth Assessment Report)*. Geneva: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

Jakobsen, S. 2000. "Transnational Environmental Groups, Media, Science and Public Sentiment(s) in Domestic Policy-Making on Climate Change." In Higgot, Richard Geoffrey R.D. Underhill, and Andreas Bieler (eds) *Non-State Actors and Authority in the Global System.* New York: Routledge.

Jenkins, C.J., Eckhert, C.M. 1986. "Channeling Black Insurgency." *American Sociological Review* 51(6):812–829.

Joachim, J.M. and Locher, B. 2008. *Transnational Activism in the UN and EU: A Comparative Study*. New York: Taylor and Francis.

Kahler, M., ed. 2009. *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Keck, M. and Sikkink, K. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Keleman, R.D. and Vogel, D. 2010. "Trading Places: The Role of the United States and the European Union in International Environmental Politics." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(4): 427-456.

Keohane, R.O. and Nye, J.S. 1977. *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Co.

Keohane, R.O and D.G. Victor. 2011. "The Regime Complex for Climate Change." *Perspectives on Politics* 9(1): 7-23.

Kitschelt, H. 1986. "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 16: 57-85.

Klandermans, B. 1990. "Linking the 'New' and the 'Old': Movement Networks in the Netherlands." In R. Dalton and M. Kuechler (eds.) *Challenging the Political Order.* New York: Oxford.

Klein, N. 2009. "The Seattle Activists' Coming of Age in Copenhagen will be very Disobedient." *The Guardian*, November 12, 2009. Available Online at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/cifamerica/2009/nov/12/seattle-coming-age-disobedient-copenhagen [Last accessed January 31, 2010].

Kohler-Koch, B. 1996. "Catching up with Change: The Transformation of Governance in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 3: 359-380.

Kohler-Koch, B. and Rittenberger, B. 2007. *Debating the Democratic Legitimacy of the European Union.* Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.

Kollman, K. 1998. *Outside Lobbying: Public Opinion and Interest Group Strategies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Koopmans, R. 1993. "The Dynamics of Protest Waves: West Germany, 1965 to 1989." *American Sociological Review* 58: 637-658.

Koopmans, R. 1995. *Democracy from Below: New Social Movements and the Political System in West Germany*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Kriesi, H., Tresch, A. and Jochum, M. 2007. "Going Public in the European Union: Action Repertoires of Western European Collective Political Actors." *Comparative Political Studies* 40(1): 48-73.

Lahusen, C. 2004. Joining the Cocktail Circuit: Social Movement Organizations at the European Union. *Mobilization* 9 (1): 55-71.

Laumann, E.O. and Pappi, F. 1976. *Networks of Collective Action*. New York: Academic Press.

Lefébure, P. 2002. "Euro-manifs, contre-sommets et marches européennes." *L'opinion européenne:* 109-30. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Levi, M. and Murphy, G.H. 2006. "Coalitions of Contention: The Case of the WTO Protests in Seattle." *Political Studies* 54:651-670.

Lichbach, M. 2008. "Modeling Mechanisms of Contention: MMT's Positive Constructivism." *Qualitative Sociology* 31(3): 345-354.

Liberman, E.S. 2005. "Nested Analysis as a Mixed-Method Strategy for Comparative Research." *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 435-452.

Lin, N. 2001. *Social Capital: A Theory of Structure and Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lindberg, L.N. 1963. *The Political Dynamics of European Integration*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Lindberg, L.N. and Scheingold, S.A. 1970. *Europe's Would-Be Polity: Patterns of Change in the European Community.* New York: Prentice Hall.

Lipset, S.M., Trow, M. and Coleman, J. 1977. *Union Democracy*. New York: Free Press.

Lipsky, M. 1968. "Protest as a Political Resource." *American Political Science Review* 62: 1144-58.

Long, S. and Freese, J. 2006. *Regression Models for Categorical Dependent Variables Using STATA.* College Station, TX: STATA Press.

Lord, C. and Beetham, D. 2001. "Legitimising the EU: Is There are 'Post-Parliamentary Basis' for its Legitimation?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39(3): 443-462.

Mahoney, J. 2001. "Review: Beyond Correlational Analysis: Recent Innovations in Theory and Method." *Sociological Forum* 16(3): 575-593.

Mahoney, C. 2004. "The Power of Institutions: State and Interest Group Activity in the European Union." *European Union Politics* 5:441-66.

Mahoney, C. 2008. *Brussels versus the Beltway. Advocacy in the United States and the European Union.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Mahoney, C. and Baumgartner, F. (2008). "Converging Perspectives on Interest Group Research in Europe and America." *West European Politics* 31(6): 1253 -1273.

Mair, P. 2005. "Democracy Beyond Parties." Working paper at the European University Institute.

Majone, G. 1996. "A European Regulatory State?" In J. Richardson (ed.) *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*. London: Routledge.

Marks, G. and McAdam, D. 1996. "Social Movements and the Changing Structure of Political Opportunities in the European Union." *West European Politics* 19 (2):249-278.

Marks, G. and McAdam, D. 1999. "On the Relationship of Political Opportunities to the Form of Collective Action: The Case of the European Union." In della Porta, D., Kriesi, H., and Rucht, D. (eds.) *Social Movements in a Globalizing World.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Marks, G., Scharpf, F., Schmitter, P.C., and Streeck, W. 1996. *Governance in the European Union*. London: Sage.

Marsden, P. 1990. "Network Data and Measurement." *Annual Review of Sociology* 16: 435-63.

Marwell, G. and Oliver, P. 1993. *The Critical Mass in Collective Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mayhew, B.H. and Levinger, R. 1976. "Size and Density of Interaction in Human Aggregates," *American Journal of Sociolog*y 82: 86-110.

Mazey, S. and Richardson, J. 2006. 'Interest Groups and EU Policy-Making: Organizational Logic and Venue Shopping.' In J. Richardson (ed.), *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*. New York: Routledge, p. 247–65.

McAdam, D. 1982/1999. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McAdam, D. 1983. "Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency." *American Sociological Review* 48(6): 735-754.

McAdam, D. 1995. ''Initiator' and 'Spin-off' Movements: Diffusion Processes in Protest Cycles,' in *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*, edited by M. Traugott. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

McAdam, D., Tarrow, S. and Tilly, C. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, D., Tarrow, S. and Tilly, C. 2008a. "Methods for Measuring Mechanisms of Contention." *Qualitative Sociology* 31(3): 307-331.

McAdam, D., Tarrow, S. and Tilly, C. 2008b. "Progressive Polemics: Reflections of Four Stimulating Commentaries." *Qualitative Sociology* 31(3): 361-367.

McCammon, H., Campell K., Granberg, E., and Mowery, C. 2001. "How Movements Win: Gendered Opportunity Structures and U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements, 1886 to 1919." *American Sociological Review* 66 (1): 49-70.

McCarthy, J.D. and Zald, M.N. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82(6): 121-1241.

McCarthy, J.D., and Zald, M.N. 1987. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." In McCarthy, J. D. and Zald, M. N. (eds.) *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*. New Brunswick: Transaction Press.

McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., and Cook, J. M. 2001. "Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27: 415-44.

McPherson, M., Popielarz, P. and Drobnic, S. 1992. 'Social Networks and Organizational Dynamics.' *American Sociological Review* 57: 153-70.

Meyer, D.S. 1993. "Peace Protest and Policy: Explaining the Rise and Decline of Antinuclear Movements in Postwar America. *Policy Studies Journal* 21(1): 35-51.

Meyer, D.S. 2004. "Protest and Political Opportunities." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30: 125-145.

Meyer, D.S. and Minkoff, D. 2004. "Conceptualizing Political Opportunity." *Social Forces* 82(4): 1457-1492.

Michels, R. 1958. *Political Parties*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Mische, A. 2003. "Cross-Talk in Movements: Rethinking the Culture-Network Link." In Diani, Mario and Doug McAdam (eds) *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mische, A. 2008. *Partisan Publics: Communication and Contention across Brazilian Youth Activist Networks*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Minkoff, D. 1994. "From Service Provision to Institutional Advocacy: The Shifting Legitimacy of Organizational Forms." *Social Forces* 72(4): 943-969.

Minkoff, D. 1997. "The Sequencing of Social Movements." *American Sociological Review* 62(5): 779-799.

Minkoff, D. 1999. "Bending with the Wind: Strategic Change and Adaptation by Women's and Racial Minority Organizations." *American Journal of Sociology* 104(6): 1666–703.

Mitchell, T. 1991. **"**The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics." *American Political Science Review* 85(1): 77-96.

Mitchell, R.B. 2002. "International Environment." In Carlsnaes, Walter, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons (eds.) *Handbook of International Relations.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Press.

Monnet, J. 1978. *Memoirs.* London: Collins.

Mori, S. 2004. "Institutionalization of NGO Involvement in Policy Functions for Global Environmental Governance." In Kanie, Norichika and Peter M. Haas (eds.) *Emerging Forces in Global Environmental Governance.* New York: United Nations Press.

Müller, T. 2008. "The Movement is Dead , Long Live the Movement!" Turbulence Magazine Vol. 2. Available online at: http://turbulence.org.uk/turbulence-4/the-movement-is-dead-long-live-the-movement/ [Last accessed January 31, 2010].

Oberthür, S. and Gehring, T. (eds.). 2006. *Institutional Interaction in Global Environmental Governance: Synergy and Conflict among International and EU Policies.* Cambridge : MIT Press.

Offe, C. 1990. "Reflections on the Institutional Self-transformation of Movement Politics: A Tentative Stage Model," in Russell J. Dalton and Manfred Kuechler (eds.), *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Ostrander, Madeleine. 2009. "Kumi Naidoo on How We'll Win at Copenhagen." *Yes Magazine*, available at:
http://www.yesmagazine.org/people-power/kumi-naidoo-on-how-well-win-at-copenhagen (Accessed April 12, 2010).

Ostrom, E. J., Burger, C.B., Field, R.B., Norgaard, C. and Policansky, D. 1999. "Revisiting the Commons Local Lessons, Global Challenges." *Science* 284: 278-282.

O'Brien, R., Goetz, A.M., Scholte, J.A. and Williams, M. 2000. *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Parks, L. 2009. *In the Corridors and in the Streets: a Comparative Study of the Impacts of Social Movement Campaigns in the EU.* Doctoral dissertation at the European University Institute.

Pearce, F. 1991. *Green Warriors*. London: The Bodley Head.

Pedler, R. 2002. *European Union Lobbying: Changes in the Arena.* New York: Palgrave.

Pfeffer, J. and Salancik, G.R.. 1978. *The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Perspective*. New York: Harper and Row.

Pianta, M., Silva, F., and Zola, D. 2004. "Parallel Summits, Social Fora, Global Days of Action (Update)." in H. Anheier, M. Glasius and M. Kaldor (eds.) *Global Civil Society 2004/5*. London: Sage.

Piven, F.F. and Cloward, R.A. 1977. *Poor People's Movements*. New York: Vintage.

Princen, T. and Finger, M. 1994. *Environmental NGOs in World Politics.* New York: Routledge.

Rapp, T., Schwägerl, C. and Traufetter, G. 2010. "How China and India Sabotaged the UN Climate Summit." *Der Spiegel Online.* May 5, 2010. Available at: http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,692861,00.html (Accessed June 2, 2010).

Reinicke, W.H. 2000. "The Other World Wide Web: Global Public Policy Networks." *Foreign Policy* 117: 44-57.

Reising, U.K.H. 1998. " Domestic and Supranational Political Opportunities: European Protest in Selected Countries 1980-1995." *European Integration Online Papers* 2 (5); http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/1998-005.htm.

Reitan, R. 2007. Global Activism. London: Routledge.

Revkin, A. C. 2000. "Protests are Stepped Up at Hague Talks on Greenhouse Gases." *The New York Times.* Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2000/11/23/world/protests-are-stepped-up-at-hague-talks-on-greenhouse-gases.html?ref=unitednationsframeworkconventiononclimatechange (Accessed February 23, 2011).

Risse, T. 2002. "Transnational Actors in World Politics." In Carlsnaes, Walter, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons (eds.) *Handbook of International Relations.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Press.

Risse-Kappen, T. 1995. "Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: An Introduction." In *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors,Domestic Structures and International Institutions*, ed. T. Risse-Kappen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ritter, Karl. 2009. "Nearly 1,000 Climate Protesters Released." *Associated Press Worldstream*. December 13, 2009.

Rohlfing, I. 2008. “What You See and What You Get: Pitfalls and Principles of Nest Analysis in Comparative Research.” *Comparative Political Studies* 41(11).

Rootes. C. 2004. *Environmental Protest in Western Europe.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rucht, D. 1989. “Environmental Movement Organizations in West Germany and France,” in *Organizing for Change*, edited by B.Klandermans. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press.

Rucht, D. 1990. “The Strategies and Action Repertoires of New Movements.” In Russell Dalton and Manfred Kuechler (eds.) *Challenging the Political Order.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Rucht, D. 2001. Lobbying or Protest? Strategies to Influence EU Environmental Policies. In Imig, D. and Tarrow, S. (eds.) *Contentious Europeans.* Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Ruggie, J.G. 2001. “Global-governance.net: The Global Compact as Learning Networks.” *Global Governance* 7: 371-378.

Ruggie, J.G. 2004. "Reconstituting the Global Public Domain: Issues, Actors, and Practices." *European Journal of International Relations* 10 (4):499-531.

Sabragia, A.M. 2000. “Environmental Policy: From Excitement to Problem-Solving” in Helen and William Wallace (eds.), *Policy-making in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schlozman, K.L. and Tierney, J.T. 1986. *Organized Interests and American Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row.

Schmitter, P.C. 1971. “A Revised Theory of European Integration.” In L.N. Lindberg and S.A. Scheingold (eds.) *Regional Integration: Theory and Research.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Schmitter, P.C. 2000. *How to Democratize the EU (And Why Bother).* Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Schnable, A. and Scholte, J.A. (eds.). 2002. *Civil Society and Global Finance*. New York: Routledge.

Scholte, J.A. 2000. “In the Foothills: Relations Between the IMF and Civil Society.” In Higgot, Richard Geoffrey R.D. Underhill, and Andreas Bieler (eds) *Non-State Actors and Authority in the Global System.* New York: Routledge.

Schumpeter, J. 1947. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy.* New York: Harper and Brothers.

Scott, W.R., Ruef, M., Medel, P.J. and Caronna, C.A. 1999. *Institutional Change and Organizations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Scott, J.C. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak*: *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Scott, J. 1991. *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook*. London: Sage Publications.

Sharpf, F. 1999. *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sikkink, K. 2005. "Patterns of Dynamic Multilevel Governance and the Insider—Outside Coalition." Pp. 151-73 in *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, edited by Donatella Della Porta and Sidney Tarrow. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

Smismans, S (ed.). 2006. *Civil Society and Legitimate European Governance*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Smith, J. 2001. Globalizing resistance: The Battle of *Seattle* and the Future of Social Movements. *Mobilization* 6(1): 1 - 21.

Smith, J. 2008. *Social Movements for Global Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Snow, D. 2004. "Framing Processes, Ideology and Discursive Fields." In Snow, David, Sarah Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Snow, D. and Benford, R.. 1988. "Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization." In B. Klandermans et al (eds.) *From Structure to Action*. Greenwich, CN: JAI Press.

Snow, D., Soule, S.A., and Cress, D.M. 2005. "Indentifying the Precipitants of Homeless Protest Across 17 US Cities, 1980-1990." *Social Forces* 83(3): 1183-1210.

Soule, S.A. 1997. 'The Student Divestment Movement in the United States and Tactical Diffusion: The Shantytown Protest.' *Social Forces* 75: 855-82.

Soule, S.A. 2004. "Diffusion Processes Within and Across Movements." In Snow, D. S.A. Soule and H. Kriesi (eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Soule, S.A. 2009. *Contention and Corporate Social Responsibility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Staggenborg, S. 1988. 'The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement.' *American Sociological Review* 53 (4): 585-606.

Staggenborg, S. 1991. *The Pro-Choice Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Staggenborg, S. 2008. "Seeing Mechanisms in Action." *Qualitative Sociology* 31(3): 341-344.

Stevenson, H. 2011. " Representing "The Peoples"?: Post-Neoliberal States in the International Climate Negotiations." Working Paper of the Centre for Deliberative Democracy and Global Governance, The Australian National University, February 2011.

Stone, D. 2000. "Private Authority, Scholarly Legitimacy and Political Credibility: Think Tanks and Informal Diplomacy." In Higgot, Richard Geoffrey R.D. Underhill, and Andreas Bieler (eds) *Non-State Actors and Authority in the Global System.* New York: Routledge.

Stone Sweet, A. and Sandholtz, W.. 1997. "European Integration and Supranational Governance." *Journal of European Public Policy* 4(3).

Strang, D and Meyer, J.W.. 1993. "Institutional Conditions for Diffusion" *Theory and Society* 22: 487-511.

Sudbery, I. 2003. "Bridging the Legitimacy Gap in the EU: Can Civil Society Help to Bring the Union Closer to Its Citizens?" *Collegium* 26: 75-95.

Susskind, L.E. 1994. *Environmental Diplomacy: Negotiating More Effective Global Agreements.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Transport & Environment Europe. 2009. **"**Commission CO2 Standards Too Weak." Available at: http://www.transportenvironment.org/Tag/press_releases/page:4/ (accessed April 24, 2011).

Tarrow, S. 1989. *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965-1975*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tarrow, S. 2005. *The New Transnational Activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tarrow, S. 2011. *Power in Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, V. and Whittier, N. 1992. 'Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization,' in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by A. Morris and C. Mueller. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tilly, C. 1995. *Popular Contention in Great Britain: 1758-1834*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Uba, K. and Uggla, F. 2011. "Protest Actions against the European Union, 1992-2007." *West European Politics* 34(2): 384-393.

UCLA Academic Technology Services, Statistical Consulting Group. Analyzing Correlated (Clustered) Data. From http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stat/stata/library/cpsu.htm (accessed January 20, 2011).

United Nations. 1992. "Agenda 21: The United Nations Program of Action from Rio." Available online: http://www.un.org/esa/dsd/agenda21/ *[Accessed March 15, 2010]*.

UNFCCC. 1992. Text of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Available at: http://unfccc.int/essential_background/convention/background/items/2853.php (Accessed July 20, 2011).

UNFCCC. 1997. Text of the Kyoto Protocol. Available at: http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php (Accessed July 20, 2011).

UNFCCC. 2010. "Participation Report." Available at: http://unfccc.int/parties_and_observers/ngo/items/3667.php (Accessed January 22, 2010).

Van der Zee, Bibi. 2009. "Danish Police Raid Copenhagen Climate Campaigners' Rooms." *The Guardian* December 9, 2009. Available at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2009/dec/09/danish-police-raid-climate-campaigner-rooms (Accessed May 5, 2011).

Van Dyke, N. 2003. "Crossing Movement Boundaries: Factors that Facilitate Coalition Protest by American College Students 1930-1990." *Social Problems* 50, 226-50.

Van Dyke, N. and McCammon, H. (eds). 2010. *Social Movement Coalitions*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Walker, J. 1991. *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Wallace, W., Pollack, M. and Young, A. 2010. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wang, D.J. and Soule, S.A.. 2011. **"**Social Movement Organizational Collaboration: Networks of Learning and the Diffusion of Protest Tactics, 1960-1995." Working Paper, Stanford Graduate School of Business.

Waper, P. 1995. "Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics." *World Politics* 47(3): 311-340.

Wapner, P., Ruiz, L.E.J., and Falk, R.A. (Eds.). 2000. *Principled World Politics: The Challenge of Normative International Relations.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littleman.

Warleigh, A. 2001. "Europeanizing Civil Society: NGOs as Agents of Political Socialization." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 49(4): 319-339.

Wessels, B. 1997. "Discontent and European Identity: Three Types of Euroscepticism." *Acta Politica* 42(2): 287–306.

Wessels, B. 1999. "European Parliament and Interest Groups." In Richard Katz and Bernhard Wessels (eds.) *The European Parliament, National Parliaments and European Intergration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weston, J. 1989. "The F.O.E. Experience: The Development of An Environmental Pressure Group." Oxford: *Oxford Polytechnic School of Planning* Working Paper No. 116.

Wiest, D.R, and Smith, J. 2010. *Social Movements and Global Change: Transnational Organizations from Decolonization through the Neoliberal Era. [Working Title]*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Willets, P. (ed.). 1996. *'The Conscience of the World': The Influence of Non-Governmental Organizations in the UN System*. Washington: Brookings Institution.

Winship, C. and Mare, R.D. 1992. "Models for Sample Selection Bias." *Annual Review of Sociology* 18(3): 327-350.

Wood, L.J. 2007. "Breaking the Wave: Repression, Identity and Seattle Tactics." *Mobilization* 12(4): 377-388.

WWF. 2005. "The Environmental Effectiveness of the EU ETS." Available at: http://assets.panda.org/downloads/171envteffectivenessaexecsummaryv60.pdf (Accessed July 20, 2011).

WWF. 2009. "Shame on the EU for Poor Climate Deal." Available at: http://wwf.panda.org/what_we_do/how_we_work/policy/wwf_europe_environment/news/?152824/Shame-on-EU-for-poor-climate-deal (Accessed July 20, 2011).

Yeo, A. 2009. "Not in Anyone's Backyard: The Emergence and Identity of a Global Anti-Base Network." *International Studies Quarterly* 53(4): 571-594.

Young, O.R. 1994. *International Governance: Protecting the Environment in a Stateless Society.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Zald, M.N. 2000. "Ideologically Structured Action." *Mobilization* 5(1)*:* 1 - 16.

Zeller, T. 2009. "Bella Center Bulges as Climate Talks Open." *New York Times.* December 7th, 2009.Available at: http://green.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/12/07/bella-center-bulges-as-climate-talks-open/?ref=unitednationsframeworkconventiononclimatechange.

Zeller, T. and Kroldrup, L. 2009. "Protesters Converge on Copenhagen." *New York Times.* December 11th, 2009. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/12/world/europe/12protest.html?ta=y (accessed August 30, 2010).

Zürn, M. 2004. "Global Governance and Legitimacy Problems." *Government and Opposition* 39(2): 260-287.