

How do ENGOs Influence National Environmental Policy Making?

A comparative study of Norway and Argentina

Ingvild Margrethe Høydal



Det Samfunnsvitenskaplige Fakultet

UNIVERSITETET I OSLO

Vår 2011

36 225 ord.

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År: 2011

Tittel: How do ENGOs Influence National Environmental Policy Making? A comparative study of Norway and Argentina.

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<http://www.duo.uio.no/>

Trykk: Reprosentralen, Universitetet i Oslo

Summary

This thesis analyses how environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOS) operate to influence national environmental policy making in different structural and cultural contexts. It does so by first identifying what type of strategies ENGOS in Norway and Argentina employ to achieve their goals. It thereby seeks to explain differences and similarities in the use of strategies in, and between the two countries based on three explanation variables: political structure, political culture and organisational characteristics. The thesis is based on the assumption that because there are big differences between the countries in relation to these variables, we can expect to find notable differences also in the strategies that the ENGOS employ to influence national environmental policy making.

The analysis concludes that the differences in ENGOS' choice of strategies between Norway and Argentina are not as prominent as expected, and that organisations in both countries employ a wide range of strategies to influence on the decisions of policy makers.

The main difference that was found is that ENGOS in Argentina to a lesser degree than ENGOS in Norway employ conventional strategies that require initiation by the public authorities. Disparity in the political structures of the countries was identified as the most important reason for this discovery. Also organisational characteristics, operationalised as experience and values, proved to play an important role in determining what type of strategies ENGOS in both countries employ.

Political culture helps us understand nuances in the employment of strategies, but does not in itself explain differences in ENGOS choice of strategies between the countries.

Foreword

Brekke, 27 June 2011

Many people deserve credit for supporting me through this last year and making it possible for me to finally end a prolonged period as a student with the submission of this master thesis.

Immense gratitude goes to my advisor, Arild Underdal. Regardless of having a busy schedule, he has always taken time to give me constructive advice. This thesis would not have been the way it is today were it not for his expertise, patience and guiding.

I would also like to thank my wonderful co-students, particularly those on the 9th floor. Without your company, humour, and support, writing this thesis would have been a very lonely process. Also Bjarte Undertun deserves a thank you for reading through the earlier drafts of the thesis and asking me just the right questions to help me move on when I felt stuck.

But most of all, it is my family and my fiancé who deserve the greatest attention. Writing this thesis has been an academic and emotional rollercoaster and you have been with me for the whole ride. I could not have done it without your support, love, and patience.

Regardless of academic advice from others, I am of course solely responsible for the content of this thesis.

Ingvild Margrethe Høydal

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1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of how environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOS) operate to influence national environmental policy making. The thesis will analyse environmental organisations' choice of strategies to impact on the national policy-making process and examine how different political and cultural settings influence these choices. It will do so by first identifying the strategies that ENGOS in Norway and Argentina employ to influence national environmental policy making. Thereby, it will examine factors that can explain differences and similarities in strategies in, and between, the two countries.

1.1 Placing ENGOS in a political context

Environmental non-governmental organisations have gained more attention over the last decades as climate change and environmental degradation are increasingly recognised as some of the most pressing challenges that the world is facing. The scale of international cooperation required to deal with climate change is in many ways without precedent, and has evoked action-taking from almost all parts of society (Newell 2006).

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 encouraged the initiation of several multilateral environmental agreements and significantly contributed to putting the environment on the political agenda worldwide. In the years following this conference, a complex array of agreements, instruments and institutions has been created to deal with environmental challenges, and this has resulted in an impressive amount of international environmental governance and regulation (Muñoz, Trasher, and Najam 2009).

This development has opened up for ENGOS to take a bigger role when it comes to environmental policy formation and implementation. Due to their size, influence and expertise, civil society organisations are becoming more important participants in international environmental discussions and institutions. Previously, only states had the power to address negotiations in a formal manner but the civil society is increasingly being encouraged to take part. They can do this directly through the creation of high-level advisory boards or indirectly by putting focus on issues such as transparency, reporting and access to the formal negotiations (Raustiala 1997). ENGOS can also “provide policy advice, help

monitor commitments and delegations, minimize ratification risks and facilitate signalling between governments and constituents” (Raustiala 1997, 720)

However, even though access for environmental organisations has increased, it is still varying in degree both across and within institutions. Raustiala (1997) points out that single states can no longer block the access of civil society organisations, but that the formal right of ENGOs to take part in negotiations is still not accepted as a principle of international law. Newell (2006) highlights that the opportunity of civil society to intervene in meetings is normally restricted to opening or closing plenary sessions and that formal legal rules are assigning ENGOs a peripheral role in global environmental governance. He also argues that this is not in accordance with the multiple and diverse ways in which civil society organisations are shaping policy and strengthening the effectiveness of institutions through their day-to-day activities (Newell 2006, 13). Access and participation for civil society organisations in international settings thereby remains a privilege granted and mediated by states as they are the only actors with official voting power within the UN treaty-making system.

Most research related to questions about civil society organisations and environmental policy-making and negotiation is focused on the *international level* and seen in relation to global governance and the increasing role that ENGOs have played in the UN Climate Conferences. This is understandable considering the international nature of climate change and the acceptance that it is a problem that needs to be dealt with internationally. However, this international focus has led to a gap in the academic literature on how ENGOs can influence environmental policy-making within national borders.

Even though global measures are needed to fully deal with the consequences of climate change and to reduce emissions of climate change gasses, there are still many things that can be done at national and/or regional levels. In today’s political setting where the focus on achieving *internationally* binding climate change agreements is becoming continuously more important, it is vital to remember that it is essentially individual countries that have to take measures to reduce emissions of climate gasses, and also take measures to reduce the consequences of climate change and environmental degradation. There is an important potential for civil society to influence national environmental policy-making, but to be able to take full advantage of this potential it is necessary to identify the role of environmental non-governmental organisations within the domestic political sphere.

This thesis will contribute to filling the gap in the academic literature by analysing how ENGOs can influence environmental policy-making within *national borders*. To gain a broader understanding of ENGOs, the thesis will also analyse how differences in political structures and political culture impacts on the way that ENGOs operate.

1.2 Research questions

To fully understand the possibilities and limitations of ENGOs to influence national environmental policy making it is necessary to understand how they operate in a national context. By analysing the strategies that ENGOs employ the thesis will help us understand how ENGOs operate to achieve their goals. By comparing ENGOs in Norway and Argentina, the thesis will also enable us to say something about strategies employed by organisations that are operating under very different domestic circumstances. Based on this, the thesis will answer the following questions:

- 1) *What strategies do environmental non-governmental organisations in Norway and Argentina use to influence national environmental policy making?*
- 2) *How can we explain differences and similarities in choice of strategies in and between Norway and Argentina?*

Norway and Argentina have been chosen as case countries for this study to obtain a better and broader understanding of ENGOs choices of strategies under different domestic conditions. Generally, analyses of environmental organisations have been focused on Western democracies and have found similarities across nations (Bortne et al. 2001). This thesis departs from this trend by analysing two countries that are different on several important aspects that are likely to influence on national environmental policy making and the way ENGOs relate to this process. This means that an underlying assumption for the thesis is that the strategies chosen by ENGOs in Norway and Argentina to a great degree will differ from each other.

Argentina represents a particularly interesting case because very little research is done on the environmental movement in Argentina, and or in the rest of Latin America (Aguilar 2002; Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider 2003).

To answer the research question, the thesis will do a comparative analysis of two organisations in each country; one national branch of an international organisation and one organisation that grew out from a national context. Also these organisations have been chosen based on the differences between them to be better able to assess if and how structural and cultural characteristics impact differently on different types of organisations. The international organisation that has been chosen is Greenpeace and the two national organisations that have been chosen are Norges Naturvernforbund in Norway and Fundación Vida Silvestre in Argentina.

Greenpeace is an “independent, campaigning organisation which uses non-violent, creative confrontation to expose global environmental problems, and to force the solutions which are essential to a green and peaceful future” (Greenpeace.org 2010). The organisation is mainly concerned with problems such as putting a stop to climate change, defend threats to forests, agriculture and oceans, eliminate toxic chemicals, and putting an end to nuclear production (Greenpeace.org 2010). It is known to be a confrontational organisation that frequently uses unconventional strategies such as protests, demonstrations, and actions that receive broad media attention.

Both Norges Naturvernforbund and Fundación Vida Silvestre are concerned with issues such as the protection of nature and biodiversity, and fighting climate change and environmental degradation mainly in a domestic context. They are also characterised by having a democratic institutional structure, and normally use more conventional methods to promote their opinions. Further, they are both among the oldest environmental organisations in their respective countries. Even though both organisations are concerned mainly with domestic environmental problems they have both opened up for collaboration with international organisations. FVS has an official cooperation agreement with the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and Naturvernforbundet is a part of the international organisation Friends of the Earth.

By choosing one international organisation with branches in the two case countries it will be possible to compare the operation of the same organisation in different political and cultural settings. This will enable the thesis to say something about the importance of these factors. At the same time it is possible that these organisations choose their strategies to a large degree based on their affiliation to the international organisation. Therefore, one national organisation is chosen from each country to see if there also are differences in choice of strategies between organisations in the same country.

Even though it cannot be ruled out that some similarities in choice of strategies will be found, the independent variables chosen to explain choices of strategies to influence national environmental policies are based on the most central differences between the countries. It is also taken into consideration that differences and similarities may be a result of organisational characteristics of each organisation.

This thesis does not aim to identify or explore all possible explanations for why organisations choose different strategies. Rather, it will focus on the three aspects that appear to be most relevant for the research questions. These factors are identified based on the general social movement theory, in addition to existing knowledge about the countries and organisations, and are (1) *political structure*, (2) *political culture* and (3) *the organisational characteristics of the ENGOs*. By choosing these explanation variables, the thesis will be able to say something about the importance of outer factors related to structure and attitude, as well as inner factors related to aspects of each organisation. A further presentation of the variables and development of hypotheses will be given in chapter 4.

1.3 Why study the role of ENGOs in national environmental policy making?

Above it was argued that ENGOs can have an important role in relation to environmental politics at a national level, even though many environmental problems are considered to be global, and there are several reasons why the relationship between ENGOs and national environmental policy-making should be given more attention.

First, as mentioned above, the character of civil society participation in international negotiation forums is informal and unreliable, and it is the nation state that has the final decision-making power. It can therefore be argued that attempts by ENGOs to influence national governments before international environmental negotiations would be more effective as ENGOs would exert direct influence on the actor with the real power to make binding decisions in international conferences.

Second, research shows that international environmental action often originates from domestic regulations (DeSombre 2000). Domestic actors, such as ENGOs, play a significant role in putting environmental issues on the political agenda nationally before governments

pursue the issue internationally. DeSombre (2000, 17) concludes that “those who hope to influence international policy would be wise to pay attention to what happens within states as well as between them”.

Third, it is important to remember that even though climate change and environmental degradation are problems that cannot be solved solely by individual states, there are still several important measures that national governments can take independently from the international society, and that would have important overall effects. To demonstrate, cities alone consume approximately three fourths of the world’s energy and produce about 80 per cent of anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions (Seoul.Summit 2010). This means that the potential for improvements and emission reductions in the form of energy efficiency, public transport, use of renewable resources and the greening of cities is big. These are policies that have to be regulated at a national or sub-national level and therefore support the argument that ENGOs should attempt to influence environmental policy-making also at a lower level.

Finally, by working locally, ENGOs can more easily raise the general environmental awareness amongst the public by focusing on issues and concerns that are closer to the people’s hearts and everyday lives. This awareness can again be transformed into public pressure towards the government in improving its environmental policies or encourage it to push for stricter regulations in international conferences. Levy, Kehoane and Haas (1993) argue that the presence of international environmental institutions have made an important difference when it comes to environmental regulation, but that ultimately the reason behind this success is the capabilities that ENGOs have to create popular pressure nationally. ENGOs also do an important job when it comes to environmental education, which can further lead to increased environmental consciousness and put public pressure on the state to develop environmentally friendly policies.

This section of the thesis has raised some points that explain why ENGOs should work to influence national environmental policy making and has stated some of the benefits that this can have on the global climate. It demonstrates that global climate change is not only a subject for international conferences, but rather that there are several actions that ENGOs can take at a national level that will potentially benefit the environmental situation as a whole. This also explains why the relationship between ENGOs and national environmental policy making should be given more attention.

1.4 Clarification of Terms

By *environmental non-governmental organisations* (ENGOs) this thesis refers to environmental organisations that are private, not profit distributing, self-governing and voluntary. *Private* means that they are not a part of the state apparatus, even though they might receive governmental financial support. Not profit distributing means that the organisations do not have a commercial purpose in the sense that they distribute profits to directors, stockholders or managers. Self-governing refers to control of own affairs and independence from other actors when it comes to ceasing operations. Membership should be voluntary in the sense that it is not legally required or compulsory (Salamon, Sokolowski, and List 2003). An organisation is environmental if its main concern is to deal with, or raise awareness about, environmental problems such as climate change, environmental degradation, and reduced biodiversity.

By *national environmental policy* the thesis refers to national laws and regulations related to a country's overall environmental performance. These regulations are a framework for action that determines the efforts by the national authorities to reduce activities contributing to climate change and to promote a more environmentally friendly behaviour. The thesis is mainly concerned with ENGOs influence on national efforts to reduce *climate change emissions*. It recognises that the relationship between climate, environment, and nature preservation is complex and interconnected but will not attempt to distinguish the concepts further. By making this choice, the thesis assumes that the strategies that ENGOs use to influence national environmental politics are the same, regardless if the environmental issue is global, national, or local.

Further definitions of central terms will be presented as they appear in the thesis.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

The following chapter will give an account of the environmental situation in Norway and Argentina in relation to climate change and identify the main sources of climate gas emissions.

Chapter 3 will present the methodological considerations of the thesis. It will outline the advantages and disadvantages of the use of comparative case study method and give an account of how the data has been collected and analysed. It will also examine the reliability and validity of the thesis.

Chapter 4 will give an account of the theoretical framework that has been developed to answer the research questions. It will first give an account of the strategies that are available for ENGOs to influence on national environmental policy making. This part will be used to answer the first research question about what strategies ENGOs use to influence national environmental policy making. Thereafter, the chapter will specify the analytical framework that has been developed to answer the second research question about what can explain differences and similarities in and between Norway and Argentina. This section will justify the choice of the independent variables. It is divided into three parts and also highlights the characteristics of the political structure and political culture in the two countries and the organisational structures of each organisation.

Chapter 5 will first analyse the first research question about what strategies ENGOs use to influence national environmental policy making. This analysis will be based on a thorough examination of each of the organisations, before an overall comparison within and across the countries will be carried out. The findings in this section will form the platform for answering the second research question, which is to explain the differences and similarities in choice of strategies both within and between countries. This part will be based on the hypotheses developed from the analytical framework and includes the variables political structure, political culture and organisational structure.

The conclusion of the thesis will be found in Chapter 6.

2 The environmental situation in Norway and Argentina

This chapter gives a presentation of observed and predicted climate change scenarios in Norway and Argentina and maps out the main sources of climate gas emissions in the two countries. The objective of the chapter is twofold. First, it is meant to serve as a background chapter that will improve our understanding of issues that the environmental organisations in Norway and Argentina are working on.

Second, it should be taken into consideration that the environmental situation in each country also can serve as a factor that influences ENGOs choice of strategy. It is plausible to assume that factors such as the severity, the type of environmental problems, and the main sources of emission in the countries would be likely to impact on the strategy that ENGOs would choose. As stated in the chapter above, this thesis will primarily focus on other variables to explain differences in ENGOs choice of strategy to influence national environmental policy making. However, the effect of these variables should be interpreted in the light of the challenges related to environmental policies that are presented in this chapter.

2.1 Observed and predicted climate changes

Climate change is arguably the biggest environmental threat that the world is facing and increased numbers of natural disasters, flooding, droughts, extreme weather conditions and lack of food are just some of the potential consequences of these changes. Both Norway and Argentina are already experiencing some effects of climate change, such as higher temperatures and increase in precipitation.

Global warming is connected to a sharp increase in the concentration of climate gasses (also called greenhouse gasses) in the atmosphere. Since the industrial revolution, the concentration of CO₂, methane (CH₄) and nitrous oxide (N₂O) in the atmosphere has increased by 39, 150 and 17 per cent. Considering that the concentration of these gasses were quite stable for several thousand years before the industrial revolution, these observed changes are very dramatic. A number of studies predict that the consequences of climate change will become more severe and more frequent in the future if emissions of climate gasses are not reduced (Miljøstatus.no 2011a).

2.1.1 Norway; Short term benefits, long term problems?

In Norway, climate change has been observed in terms of an increase in the yearly mean temperature by 0.8°C over the last hundred years and an increase in the yearly precipitation by almost 20 per cent since the year 1900. The snow season is getting shorter and permafrost in the mountains is warming up at increasingly deeper levels (Hanssen-Bauer 2009).

In the Arctic, the extensiveness of the ocean ice in September when it is at its minimum has been reduced by 30 per cent over the last 30 years, and the yearly average reduction is about 10 to 12 per cent. There has not been observed any rise in the sea level along the Norwegian coast, but this can probably be explained by a land rise in most of this region as the sea level outside the Norwegian coast has increased by 14 centimetres (Hanssen-Bauer 2009).

More precipitation and increased occasions of extreme weather are some of the predicted climate change scenarios for Norway. The temperature is expected to rise between 2,3 and 4,6 degrees mainly in the inland and in the north, and precipitation is expected to increase by between 5 to 20 per cent within 2100, particularly along the south-western coast and in the north (Miljøstatus.no 2010b). Heavy rain is also expected to lead to flooding and landslides. This can result in increased costs of building, maintaining and repairing houses and infrastructure. There will also be an increased risk of accidents and closed roads due to landslides. Moreover, extreme weather situations can damage the sewage system, and lead to leakage and increased drainage into waters, which again could increase water pollution several places in the country (Miljøstatus 2009).

The agricultural sector might experience a prolonged growing season and more crops as a result of higher temperatures, but increased heavy rain could damage the harvest. Also, the sector must expect an increase in plant diseases and destructive insects as a result of higher temperatures and a more humid weather. Climate change will probably also lead to a change in the combination of species in Norway. Warmer temperatures make it possible for thermophiles to live in areas that were previously too cold. As a consequence, however, species that are normally found in colder climates will have their natural habitat reduced and might in the worst case become threatened. This means that the total number of species in Norway can increase, but the diversity can be reduced as the ecosystems become more similar (Miljøstatus.no 2010b).

2.1.2 Argentina; Draught + Flooding = Economic Vulnerability

Climate changes in terms of higher temperatures and more precipitation have also been documented in Argentina. Because of the great size of the country, changes have impacted differently in the different regions. However, a common feature for the country as a whole, and a factor that also represents one of the biggest challenges, is the increased variation in the climate according to the different seasons. Heavy rainfall in the winter and spring, followed by periods of drought in the summer and fall makes it hard to adapt to the climate changes. The consequences can be devastating in terms of flooding, landslide, and consequent damages to infrastructure similar to what is predicted for Norway (Brown et al. 2005).

In the southern regions of Patagonia and Cuyo¹ a rise in temperatures of more than 1 degree is observed both in the foothills and in the mountains, and especially during the winter. One of the consequences of this is the withdrawal of glaciers. Out of the 50 glaciers found in the Patagonian region on both the Argentinean and Chilean side, only one is expanding, one is stable and the remaining 48 are withdrawing. Reduced snowfall is also causing problems in terms of reduced water flows in the rivers and loss of water reserves. All water for irrigation of land, generation of hydro electric power, and human consumption in this region originates from the snow and ice in the Andes Mountains, and therefore also depends on the snowfall each year. Higher temperatures and less snow will therefore severely affect the region (Brown et al. 2005).

Argentina, more than Norway, is also expecting negative consequences in relation to socio-economic factors. The Pampas region is particularly expected to suffer from the combination of flooding in the winter and droughts in the summer. This part of the country is a key economic region and holds the greatest production of livestock in the country. Much of the agricultural land in this region is already suffering from specialisation and single-crop farming, which makes the land even more vulnerable to climate variations.

Also in Patagonia and Cuyo the quality and quantity of products produced is highly influenced by temperature and rainfall. Especially grapevines are vulnerable to changes in the weather conditions and an expected increase in incidents of storms and hail are likely to have damaging results on the production. Grape growing and wine production do not only have increasing economic importance for Argentina, but also have long cultural roots and encourage other economic activities such as tourism (Brown et al. 2005).

¹ See Attachment 1 for map of Argentina.

Most of Argentina's industrial activities, commerce and much of the tourism industry are located along the coastal areas. The rapid expansion of these activities has made the region one of the most dynamic areas in the whole country. Expected changes in ocean currents, higher sea levels, erosion, flooding, storms, and rise in ocean temperature as the result of climate change can therefore have very damaging results also in this region. Further, some of these areas are inhabited by the poorer part of the population who are already vulnerable and in lack of having their basic needs fulfilled. The combined consequences of climate change can therefore be devastating, and represent a risk for the security and health of the people as well as the economic stability of the country.

On the other side, as the Norwegian agriculture sector might gain some advantages in terms of longer growing seasons as a result of climate change, so can Argentina benefit some from increased precipitation. Observed increase in rainfall between 10 and 30 per cent for some regions has led to a boost in the production of hydroelectric energy, and it has made it possible to expand the agricultural areas to regions that were previously too dry to be used for cattle breeding and farming. However, these benefits are expected to be short term especially due to dry springs and summers. Increased farming and agricultural activities are expected to amplify the problem of drought as more need for irrigation of farm land will contribute to empty out water basins (Brown et al. 2005).

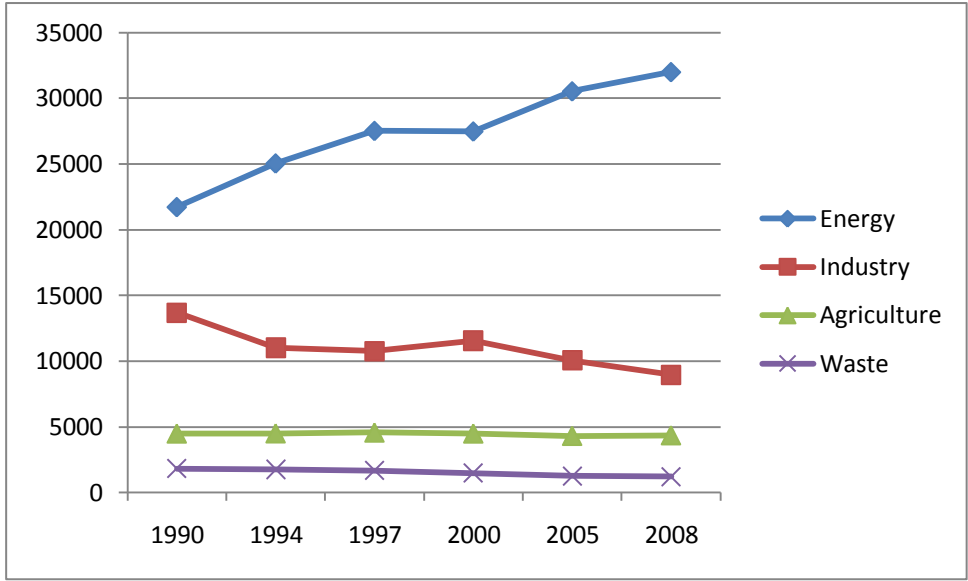
2.2 Main sources of climate gas emissions

2.2.1 Norway- Energy and Industry

The total level of greenhouse gas emission in Norway is about 54 million tonnes CO₂ eq.². As the table below demonstrates, the energy and industry sectors are the biggest contributors to the total emissions of greenhouse gasses in Norway. The energy sector includes manufacturing industries, energy production, transport and the petroleum sector, whilst industry refers to industrial processes such as production of metal and minerals and chemical industries (Fundación Eurostat 2011; Fundación.Bariloche 2005). Emissions from agriculture (mainly enteric fermentation and land use) and waste (solid waste and sewage water from households and industry) are relatively low and slowly declining.

² See Attachment 2: Environmental Indicators for Norway and Argentina.

Table 1: Greenhouse gas emissions by sector-Norway (1000 tonnes CO2 equivalent)



Source:(Eurostat 2011)

The share of CO2 of total emissions has increased from 70 to 82 per cent from 1990 until 2008 and methane and nitrous oxide together represent 15 per cent of total greenhouse gas emissions. Within the energy sector it is mainly the petroleum- and transport sectors that have the highest emissions. 31 per cent of CO2 emissions in Norway come from the oil and gas industry, and it is also emissions from this and the transport sector that have had the biggest increase since 1990 (70 per cent and 30 percent respectively) (Miljøstatus.no 2010c).

27 per cent of the emissions come from mainland industry with high demands for energy, but these emissions have been reduced by almost 25 per cent over the last two decades (St.mld.nr.9 2008-2009). Due to hydroelectric power, emissions from production of electricity is at a minimum and emissions from heating are also relatively low as much of the heating is by electricity (Miljøstatus.no 2010c).

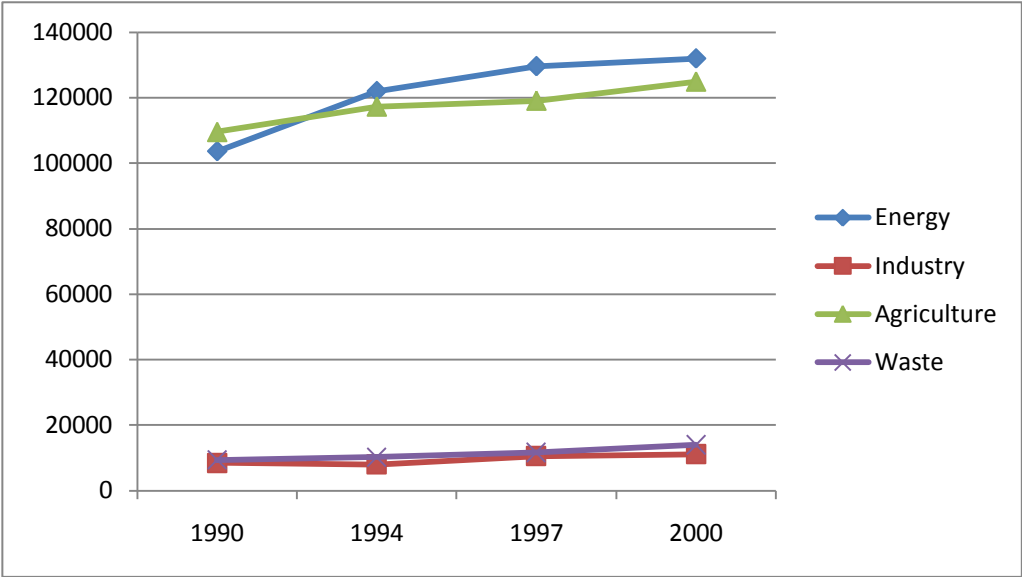
Other types of greenhouse gas emissions, such as methane and nitrous oxide, mainly come from the processing industry, the agricultural sector and rubbish dumps. It is expected that climate gas emissions will continue to increase until the year 2020 and then start to reduce mainly as a result of reduction in the extraction of oil and gas (Miljøstatus.no 2010c).

2.2.2 Argentina- Energy and agriculture

In Argentina, total emissions of greenhouse gasses increased by 23 per cent between 2001 until 2005 and have now reached about 280 million tonnes CO2 eq. As demonstrated below,

the energy and agricultural sectors are the greatest contributors to this development. However, observations have shown a decrease in emissions from the agricultural sector over the last couple of years. Emissions from the processing industry and generation of waste seem to continue to increase, but will still remain relatively low contributors in relation to total emissions (SAyDS 2010).

Table 2: Greenhouse gas emissions by sector-Argentina (1000 tonnes CO2 equivalent)



Source: (Fundación Fundación.Bariloche 2005)

Emissions of CO2 only represent about 40 per cent of total emissions in Argentina, compared to 80 per cent in Norway. Methane and nitrous oxide represent about 30 per cent of total emissions each. Out of the total emissions of CO2, almost 80 percent comes from the energy sector. Emissions of methane mainly come from the agricultural sector where the process of enteric fermentation in cattle leads to emissions of methane. Another source of methane emission is the energy sector, principally related to extraction and use of oil and gas. The main source of nitrous oxide emissions (almost 97 per cent) can be found in relation to agricultural production and cattle breeding. The remaining emissions can be traced back to the energy sector and generation of waste (Fundación.Bariloche 2005).

Even though the level of total emissions of greenhouse gasses are at a much higher level in Argentina than what it is in Norway, emissions *per capita* is higher in Norway (11 versus 8 tonnes CO2 eq.). It is also worth noticing that the level of energy consumption per capita is also at a much higher level in Norway (Unstats.un.org 2011).

2.2.3 How does the environmental situation impact on ENGOs?

This chapter has demonstrated the vulnerability of Norway and Argentina to climate changes. Both countries are expected to suffer negative consequences as a result of increased precipitation and higher temperatures. The immediate interpretation of the information given above, however, suggests that Argentina at this stage is more vulnerable than Norway to climate change. As we saw above, Argentina is expected to suffer greater economic and social damages as a result of climate change, whereas the main problem in Norway relates to reduction in biodiversity and some increased costs in relation to flooding.

It is likely that differences in the environmental situation of the two countries also create different challenges related to environmental policy making, and that these challenges can impact on ENGOs choice of strategy. For example, one can argue that ENGOs in Argentina are more likely to put greater efforts into the passing and implementing of environmental policies because the consequences of not doing so are more dramatic than in Norway. This suggests that more powerful tools, such as the use of civil disobedience and direct action campaigns are likely to be used to gain attention and support for environmental concerns both among the politicians and the public. In Norway, on the other hand, where the consequences of climate change are less pressing, it might be sufficient to employ more conventional strategies.

Another difference that is important to point out is the difference in the character of largest emission sources in the two countries. It is likely that differences in source of emission might create distinct challenges when it comes to the formation of environmental policies. This again can impact on how ENGOs operate to influence these policies.

As we saw above, Norway and Argentina are quite different when it comes to the largest sectors of climate gas emissions. In Argentina, most of the emissions come from the agricultural sector. Emission reductions from this sector will demand the combined effort of several small actors who also are responsible for the employment of almost 1/3 of the country's work force. It is also a sector that contributes to about 1/5 of the country's GDP (Lence 2010). This means that if reduction in emissions also results in reduced productivity and lower employment rates within the sector, there is likely to be significant social and economic impacts. As a consequence, one can expect considerable opposition against cutting emissions in this sector, by both farmers and politicians, which will make the work of the

NGOs more challenging. Organisations might have to employ strong measures to gather support, and use unconventional strategies as the ones mentioned above.

On the other side, agriculture is the most vulnerable sector to climate change, and the sector that is expected to suffer the biggest damages. On the basis of this, it is possible to argue that the sector would encourage stricter environmental policies and support the work of NGOs.

In Norway, the main single source of emissions is the petroleum sector. This means that most of the emissions in Norway come from a sector with few actors and that employ relatively few people. Negative socio-economic effects of reducing emission from the main sources are therefore likely to be higher in Argentina than in Norway. On the other hand, the petroleum sector in Norway is fundamental to maintain the country's welfare system, and the industry has significant political influence. This can complicate significant reductions in emissions from this sector as well if it means that production has to be cut.

To sum up, both Norway and Argentina have aspects by their main sources of emissions that can challenge the development of environmental policies and thereby also impact on the way that NGOs operate to influence these policies. It has also been noted that Argentina seems to be more vulnerable to climate change than Norway partly due to the fact that predicted consequences of these changes are likely to have a bigger socio-economic effect on the Argentinean society as a whole. This can also explain potential differences in choice of strategies between the countries.

However, at the time being the differences in the level of severity in observed and predicted climate change between Norway and Argentina is not at a level where it in its own right would be likely to significantly impact on NGOs choice of strategies to influence national environmental policy making. At the same time, findings from the other variables used in the later parts of this thesis should still be interpreted in light of this reality.

3 Methodological considerations

The choice of methodology should be based on an evaluation of the investigation's research question (Ragin 1993; Yin 1994). The first question in this thesis asks what type of strategies ENGOs in Norway and Argentina use to influence national environmental policy making. Building on the findings of this question, the second question sets out to find out how we explain differences and similarities of choice of strategy in, and between, Norway and Argentina. This indicates that a comparative case study approach should be employed.

Section 3.1 will give a brief general account of the comparative case study method and justify why this approach has been chosen to answer the research questions. It will also discuss some of the limitations of this method, particularly in relation to generalisation.

Section 3.2 will discuss the thesis' research process. A combination of interviews, questionnaires, and document analysis has been used to collect data and an illumination of the advantages and disadvantages attached to this will be given. Finally an evaluation of the reliability and validity of the thesis will be carried out.

3.1 The Comparative Case Study Approach

Due to the nature of the research questions, this thesis employs a comparative case study approach. A comparative case study "sharpens our power of description, and plays a central role in concept-formation by bringing into focus suggestive similarities and contrasts among cases" (Collier 1993, 105). Further, an in-depth study is carried out by thoroughly analysing two organisations in each country in relation to the chosen explanation variables. This will give us a detailed and coherent understanding of the topic being investigated..

Yin defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident"(Yin 1994, 13). The study of ENGOs' choice of strategy to influence national environmental policy making is clearly a contemporary phenomenon that is carried out within a real-life context. The second research question asks how we can explain differences in ENGOs choice of strategy and demonstrates that the boundaries between the phenomenon (strategies) and context (ENGOs in Norway and Argentina) are not evident.

According to Yin (1994), the case study approach is also particularly useful in those cases where the independent variables are not fully identified in the beginning of the investigation. This is because the case study is meant to help us understand the variety of factors that contribute in shaping a phenomenon. The use of case study as a research method in this thesis is therefore reasonable.

One method for carrying out comparative case studies is to choose cases that differ in terms of key variables that are the focus of analysis. This allows a more adequate evaluation of their influence (Lijphart 1975). As mentioned above, Norway and Argentina are chosen as case countries in this analysis to get a broader understanding of how environmental organisations work under different political and cultural circumstances. By choosing countries that are different and developing hypothesis that are based on these main differences between the countries, it makes it possible to say something about the importance of these differences in organisations' choice of strategies. The two organisations that are examined in each country are also chosen based on differences in key variables. This is done to be able to identify differences within the countries. This is in accordance with the principles developed by Ragin (1993) on comparative case design.

The theoretical framework that is employed in this thesis is used to guide the data collection and to interpret the empirical findings. The thesis does not aim to test the validity of a theoretical framework, or to develop a theoretical approach.

The case study method is normally criticised for not being able to generalise the findings beyond the actual cases that are analysed. Statistical analyses have a large N and are carried out on behalf of a sample of a clearly defined population or universe. The results from the analysis can therefore be generalised to the rest of the relevant universe that the sample is taken from. This can rarely be done for case studies, and attempts to do so will be suspicious. One cannot guarantee that findings that are observed in this thesis also will be apparent in other countries or between other organisations.

However, the thesis will be able to say something about the utility value of the variables that are used to explain the differences between the countries and organisations and this is knowledge that can be useful for similar studies in other countries. Conclusions derived from case studies are also useful to develop or clarify terms and theoretical assumptions. Yin

labels this process “analytical generalisation” and explains it as the process that develops the terminology and theories that statistical analysis are based on (Yin 1994).

3.2 Data collection

As mentioned above, this is a case study based on qualitative data. Data is collected through triangulation, which means that several sources, both primary and secondary, have been used to obtain information. This has been done to secure the quality of the data and to strengthen the credibility of the findings. Most of the analysis is based on primary sources. Primary sources refers to data generated with the sole purpose to be used for this particular analysis (such as interviews), and data published by the units that are analysed (annual reports, campaign information).

Elite interviews were carried out with representatives from each of the organisations that are analysed. The main advantage with the use of interviews is that the researcher gets direct answers to the questions that are relevant to the study, and that he/she has the opportunity to ask follow-up questions and clarify doubts or misunderstandings. The people interviewed for this thesis were, with one exception, working directly with developing and carrying out environmental campaigns. This means that they have expert knowledge on the relevant area. The person that was not working directly with campaign development has years of experience within the environmental movement and also as an advisor within the organisation. An interview guide was developed before the interviews were carried out to make sure that all the relevant questions were answered. The interviews were also recorded and later transcribed before they were analysed.

An online questionnaire was sent out to the interviewees before the interviews were carried out, and the responses from this questionnaire partly served as the foundation for the interview. The aim of the questionnaire was to obtain easily comparable information about the contact the organisations have with the different branches of the public authorities and politicians. It asked questions about the frequency and utility value of this contact, who initiates it and how easy/difficult it is to get support from the different actors. This gives us a deeper understanding of how the organisations perceive the decision makers, which again improves our comprehension of the organisations’ choice of strategies. Further, the information also helps us explain differences in strategies between the countries and organisations particularly in relation to political structures.

The questionnaire was based on a survey carried out in Norway by the International Research Institute of Stavanger and NSD in 2005 and included the questions that were most relevant for the research questions of this thesis (nsd.uib.no 2005). A possible risk with using a Norwegian survey as a starting point is that it is based on the Norwegian political structure and might therefore not be directly applicable to the Argentinean political structure and system. To avoid complications, much time was spent on investigating the political system in Argentina and to make sure that the translations were appropriate in relation to Argentinean Spanish terminology.

It was a conscious choice not to include too many questions about the type of activities that the organisations employ in the questionnaire. The choice of strategy is in most cases a part of a complex evaluation of several factors and I wanted to let the interviewees be able to elaborate freely on this issue. In this way, information about the whole process of choosing and combining strategies was accounted for, and was not restricted by either/or responses or ranging alternatives as is normally the case for questionnaires. The interviews also made it possible to clarify responses from the questionnaires and ask follow-up questions in the cases where an unexpected answer was given.

Additional information about the organisations and their campaigns were collected by examining the organisations' annual reports, info magazines and bulletins, press releases, campaign updates, and other information posted on their web pages. For Greenpeace, it was also important to examine video clips and pictures posted on YouTube and their home page, as this is an important part of their strategy. Even though this examination is focused on climate related campaigns, other campaigns were also examined to secure the quality of the information.

Secondary sources such as newspaper articles and academic articles about the organisations were also used to get an "outside" perspective of the organisations where this was possible. There is considerably more academic work written on Greenpeace than the other organisations in this study, and the thesis attempts not to let this unevenness in access of information affect the quality of the analysis.

3.3 Reliability and Validity

A research project has a high level of *reliability* if the collection and treatment of the data has been carefully carried out throughout the whole research process. The aim is that another researcher should reach the same conclusions as this thesis if he/she follows the same procedures and methods that are utilised in this study. Reliability is strengthened by cautiously describing and documenting how the study is carried out (Yin 1994).

The section above thoroughly explains where information has been gathered from and how the data collection has been carried out. The reliability of this thesis is also strengthened by the use of interview guides and by recording the interviews.

Qualitative research projects are often criticised for being characterised by subjective interpretations (Yin 1994). This thesis attempts to deal with this problem by making sure that citations are made where necessary and by avoiding unfounded speculation. The problem is also reduced by arguing for and against conclusions and by carefully justifying the interpretations of the thesis.

Validity describes the relevance of data for the research question and is thereby concerned with the relationship between the theoretic and empiric reality. Yin (1994) presents three aspects of the validity concept; constructed, internal, and external validity.

Problems of constructed validity appear when the researcher is unable to measure what he/she sets out to measure and when information is gathered based on subjective judgement without theoretical foundation. This problem can normally be solved by developing a proper operationalisation for the relevant variables that are to be measured, and by using multiple sources for data collection. The operationalisation of the variables in this thesis was challenging because they are vague terms whose meaning is highly disagreed upon. Because of this, a thorough explanation of how this thesis interprets the variables is given in Chapter 4. The thesis also makes sure that the analytical framework developed in this chapter is used as the basis for data collection.

Internal validity is threatened by spurious correlation, which means that an assumed direct causal connection between the variables is in fact a coincidence or due to the presence of a third variable. In a case study it is particularly challenging to have control over the different possible explanations of a phenomenon, and the relationship between them. The independent variables in this thesis are elected based on a concrete examination of several possible explanations. Spurious correlations are therefore a relevant threat that must be kept in

mind throughout the analysis. According to Yin (1994), internal validity can be strengthened by the analytical approach of pattern-matching. This refers to the development of a causal chain that explains the connection between the research question, data collection, and conclusions. The figure presented in chapter 1.3 demonstrates the expected causal impacts of the independent variables on the dependent variable and therefore forms a part of this causal chain.

External validity concerns the issue of generalisation to a wider population or universe. As mentioned above, the case study method is generally not suitable for generalisation and the findings in this thesis will therefore have a low external validity.

4 Theoretical perspectives and analytical framework

Section 4.1 presents the theoretical perspectives for answering the first research question: *What strategies do ENGOs in Norway and Argentina use to influence national environmental policy making?* As for other organisations, ENGOs have to develop and apply strategies to reach their goals. This chapter will therefore discuss the theory related to strategies available for ENGOs to transform environmental concern into action. Strategy is defined as the different activities that the organisations can carry out to directly or indirectly influence national environmental policy making.

Section 4.2 will present the analytical framework developed to examine the second research question which aims to *explain differences in choice of strategies in, and between, ENGOs in Norway and Argentina.*

4.1 How does environmental concern transform into action?

This thesis is based on the assumption that ENGOs are strategic actors who, to varying degrees, are seeking to influence political decision making related to environmental concerns (Thesen and Rommetvedt 2009). Social movement theory identifies several strategies available for organisations to influence national environmental policy making, and categorises these strategies into different groupings. Two of the most common distinctions between the strategies that civil society organisations can choose from is that of *conventional* and *unconventional* strategies or *direct* and *indirect* strategies (Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider 2003).

Conventional activities are actions taken to directly influence the relevant policy-makers, and are generally initiated by the policy-makers themselves by inviting organisations to take part in boards or asking for hearing proposals. This means that an organisation's ability to participate is dependent on governmental initiative and cannot be regulated by the organisations themselves. As a result, the use of conventional strategies requires a certain level of institutionalisation, and will therefore vary depending on each country's degree of democratisation (Thesen and Rommetvedt 2009). Conventional strategies are based on the notion that governments enact and administer policy making and that it is therefore necessary

for ENGOs to influence these actors directly. They are called conventional because they are strategies that conform to established practices or accepted standards. Political lobbying is also sometimes included in this category, even though this strategy is not dependent on governmental initiatives.

Unconventional strategies refers to activities that seek to mobilize the public and thereby put an indirect pressure on the policy makers. Unconventional activities are directed towards actors such as the media, members of the organisation, or the public in general. Typical activities are protests, campaigns, marches, environmental education, and other more confrontational measures to raise political awareness. Both demonstration and media stunts are effective in the way that they provide obvious and visible evidence for public support and create a lot of attention towards a certain issue (Connelly and Smith 2003).

A detailed presentation of different types of activities is offered by Thesen and Rommetvedt (2009) and covers most channels of policy influence available for civil society organisations. This presentation is presented below in Figure 1. *Strategy* accounts for the general actions available to the organisations, while *activities* are more specific and observable actions within each type of strategy that organisations can take to achieve goals of political influence.

Also within this division it is possible to identify conventional activities (administrational corporatism and participation in hearings) and unconventional activities (media strategy and mobilising strategy).

Lobbying is a type of strategy that to a certain degree falls in between the conventional and unconventional categorisations. Lobbying is similar to the conventional strategies in the way that it is aimed towards the policy makers directly. However, on the other characteristics it is more similar to the unconventional strategies; lobbying has a low level of institutionalisation and access to decision makers and it is not dependent on public institutions (Thesen and Rommetvedt 2009). Most of the relationships between members of the parliament, ministers, civil servants and interest organisations have developed *outside* the formal regulations in many countries. Informal lobbying is discrete lobbying behind closed doors and is often in form of personal meetings, telephone conversations, or other types of personal correspondence. It is therefore not institutionalised and does not depend on public institutions. Today environmental organisations can come a long way by using lobbying to defining environmental concerns and getting them accepted as political problems (Jansen 1996).

Figure 1: Types of strategies

Strategies	Activities	Directed towards	Relation to decision-makers	Level of institutionalisation	Level of access to decision-makers	Dependent on public institutions
Administrational corporatism	Participation in public boards, committees, etc.	Departments, Directorates	Direct	High	High	Yes
Participation in public hearings	Statements in written hearings Participation in committee hearings	Departments Parliament	Direct	High	Medium/low	Yes
Lobbying of administration Lobbying of parliament	Personal contacts, informal meetings, telephone conversations, correspondence etc.	Ministers, departments, directorates Parliament members	Direct	Low	Low/none	No
Media strategy	Personal contacts, meetings, telephone conversations, press releases, conferences etc.	Media	Indirect	Low/none	Low/none	No
Mobilizing strategy	Activation through demonstrations, campaigns etc.	Members, sympathisers	Indirect	Low/none	Low/none	No

Source: Thesen and Rommetvedt 2009, 34.

As we have seen, a common division in choice of strategies is that of conventional and unconventional strategies that to a large degree is based on whether the activities carried out are directed towards the policy makers or towards the public. In other words, whether the strategies are direct or indirect.

Another categorisation distinguishes the strategies after who they are initiated by. According to this method of division, administrational corporatism and participation in public hearings would be in the same group as both of these strategies are dependent on initiative of the decision makers. Simultaneously, lobbying would fall in the unconventional category with

media strategy and mobilizing strategy because these activities are initiated by the organisations.

This study has decided to put lobbying in the category of unconventional activities. This is done mainly because lobbying has more in common with the unconventional strategies than the conventional ones, except that it is direct. As pointed out above, lobbying is similar to unconventional strategies in that the level of institutionalisation and access to decision makers are low, and it is not dependent on public institutions. Further, because this study is interested in examining the strategies of ENGOs under different political and cultural circumstances it makes sense to put lobbying in the category with activities that are to a large degree initiated by the organisations themselves.

In social movement theory, it is often argued that ENGOs are faced with a dichotomous choice between conventional and unconventional strategies. It has long been argued that ENGOs form a part of the “new social movement” which serve as an opposition force to the social and political system. This view assumes that new social movements are advocates of a new set of values that were not previously politicised. These values include for example the environment, gender issues, and human rights.

The new social movements are considered to represent a challenge to the political establishment and business interests and as a result they should aim at mobilizing for public support against the system instead of working within it (Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider 2003). This is a question both about value and about credibility. Dalton et al. (2003) argue that the values of ENGOs should distance them from conventional strategies of influence, and that their identity as challengers to the political system limits their possibilities to simultaneously use this system to exert influence. “The participatory style of new social movements leans toward decentralized, non-hierarchical, and expressive forms of behaviour” (Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider 2003, 746).

Contrasting this view is another group of social movement theorists who argue that pragmatic considerations take precedence over ideological ones (e.g. Mc Adam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996). They argue that the main focus of ENGOs is to produce results and recruit new members. In this case the political system is perceived as a source of allies, influence, and resources but to get a hold of these, conventional strategies need to be employed. This assumed dichotomy between conventional and unconventional strategies will be used as a foundation for developing hypotheses in the following section. However, rather than arguing

that the use of conventional or unconventional strategies is a question about how one perceives NGOs, this thesis argues that it is also a question about how NGOs themselves relate to the context they are working in.

As demonstrated, NGOs have several possible strategies available when it comes to how they wish to influence national environmental policies. This thesis will identify the strategies used by NGOs in Norway and Argentina to influence national environmental policy making based on the categories and activities examined above.

However, one cannot expect that all organisations in all countries are able to employ all of the above mentioned strategies. The following section will argue that the most relevant factors to explain differences and similarities in the choice of strategies made by NGOs are the political structures in the country that the organisations operate in, the political cultures of the country, and the organisational structure of the organisation itself.

4.2 Theoretical framework for explaining choice of strategies

This section will present the analytical framework for answering the second research question: *How can we explain similarities and differences in choice of strategies in, and between, Norway and Argentina?*

Social movement theory sets out to explain under what circumstances social mobilization takes place, how they are manifested, and what type of political, social, and cultural consequences social movements can have (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996). It is an interdisciplinary theoretical framework that uses approaches such as collective behaviour, rational choice, resource mobilization, political opportunity structures and cultural perspectives to explain the foundation, development and behaviour of social movements (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1213).

In Chapter 1.2, three explanation variables for choice of strategy were presented; political structure, political culture and organisational characteristics. These variables have been chosen based on the current debate in social movement theory about how best to understand social movements, seen in relation to the research question presented in this thesis. As mentioned above, the thesis is based on the assumption that NGOs in Norway and Argentina will differ from each other, and the variables are therefore also chosen with the aim

to not only explain the choice of strategies within each country, but also to explain the *differences* between the countries.

This section will therefore develop a theoretical framework for the thesis by giving a more detailed account of these factors in both Norway and Argentina. It will justify the choice of the variables based on existing theories and present hypotheses related to each explanation variable. This analytical framework will make it possible to examine similarities and differences in choice of strategy in the two countries and between the organisations.

4.3 Political Structures in Norway and Argentina

The strategies available for ENGOs to influence national environmental politics will to a large degree depend on the political institutional structures of the country they are operating in (Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider 2003; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996; McCarthy and Zald 1977). This approach is related to what Dalton et al. call *positive opportunity structures* and belongs under the category of social movement theory. It refers to patterns of interaction between different groups within the political system, and to the political regulations, laws and norms present in this system (Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider 2003).

Three features of the political structure are particularly relevant for explaining ENGOs choice of strategies (Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider 2003, 760-762). First, it is plausible to assume that when an institutionalised access for organisations into the political system is present, ENGOs will take advantage of this opportunity to influence national politics. Likewise, if the access to decision makers is limited or not institutionalised, alternative strategies must be chosen (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996). Bull (2007) argues that most civil society organisations seek to improve their position in relation to the state to gain more rights and responsibilities. She also argues that the conditions for successful inclusion of social movements into the state system largely depend on political will and the institutional capacity of the state. (Bull 2007, 67).

Second, ENGOs that have allies within the political system are more likely to use conventional strategies than those that do not. ENGOs that do not have any connections to the government are more likely to employ unconventional mobilising strategies. Allies in this context refers to for example the existence of a Green Party, or the importance of environmental policies on the political agenda.

Finally, the level of social and economic development can also help us to explain ENGOs' choice of strategies. In countries with higher levels of economic development, there is more room for post-materialist values such as the environment (Inglehart 1990). This means that the environment is likely to get more attention both among politicians and the general public in developed countries, and this makes the use of conventional strategies easier. In developing countries where other more pressing concerns are placed higher on the political agenda, the political elite is more likely to be less accommodating to environmental concerns and the use of unconventional strategies might become necessary (Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider 2003).

The following section will give an account of the aspects of the political structures in Norway and Argentina that can help us explain ENGOs' choice of strategies to influence national environmental policy making. Based on the theory of positive opportunity structures, the thesis will identify ENGOs level of access to the policy makers and their status within the political system, structural challenges related to the development of environmental policy making, and the development and importance of environmental regulation in the two countries. This will help us to explain similarities and differences in choice of strategies in and between Norway and Argentina, and to understand the role of ENGOs within the political system.

4.3.1 Institutional structures of the Norwegian state- From corporatism to pluralism?

Norway has a long history of democratic stability and economic prosperity, particularly after the Second World War when rich deposits of oil and natural gas were discovered in the North Sea. This discovery has enabled the country to develop and maintain a stable welfare system. The aftermath of the war gave rise to an expanded social democratic state and the development of the state administration. State regulation of the private sector increased and the state also started to intervene more directly in the sphere of interest of the general public. This development led to increased contact and a closer cooperation between the state and the civil society.

Increased activity of the state in the 1970s created a demand for assistance, and the state started to take advantage of the expertise of the civil society organisations, including that of the environmental movement. It was also in this period that an alliance between nature

preservation and outdoor life organisations started to develop and formed a more coherent environmental movement. This development meant that the environmental movement gained a larger social base and started to be considered as a real political opposition group.

As the expansion of the state continued, some of the most influential interest groups gained institutionalised participation rights in regards to policy formation in certain areas and did thereby not only work as pressure groups (Sandberg 2005). From the Second World War and through the 1970s, a high number of boards, committees and councils were created either on a temporary basis to come up with solutions for a specific problem, or on a more permanent basis where interest organisations operated as a part of the administration through advisory or administrative roles. Relevant organisations were also consulted in formal hearings before rule making on fields of their interests. A less formalised integration of organisation interest was pursued through creating and maintaining close contact with civil servants and ministers of the government (Christiansen and Rommetvedt 1999).

Developments were also apparent in relation to environmental policies. In 1972, the Ministry of the Environment was created to “coordinate public policies for pollution control, physical-economic planning, nature conservation and open air recreation, and international environmental cooperation” (Jansen 1996, 182). This meant that ENGOs now had a ministry within the government to address their concerns towards. In the following years, several regulating bodies have been established to make sure that environmental regulations are followed and the parliament has established a committee that is responsible for environmental concerns (the Standing Committee on Energy and the Environment established in 1993³). The Ministry of Environment has also taken measures to create administrative structures for environmental issues at the local level, which makes it easier for local organisations to impact on local environmental regulations.

Strømsnes and Selle (1996) argue that the bonds between organisations and the public administration are stronger in Norway than in other countries, and that the possibility for interest groups to influence on public policy-making is unusually great. At the same time, the interest groups are quite autonomous when it comes to organisation and this combination of autonomy and integration puts the interest groups in a special position when it comes to influencing on politics.

³ Energi- og Miljøkomiteen

Also the relationship between the political and administrative leadership has been characterised by mutual trust in Norway. Traditionally, “central political and administrative actors have agreed on balancing political considerations with the value of a rule-oriented civil service, citizen’s rights, transparency, equity, interest mediation and codes of professional behaviour” (Lægreid et al. 2003, 14). This has made it relatively easy for civil society organisations to get access to the policy formation from an early point. Even though certain components of the administrative policies have changed over the years, the basic values and considerations that administrative policies are based on have to a large degree remained the same throughout the post-Second World War period.

One of the main changes that *have* occurred is the development and expansion of the public sector. Increased public involvement has led to a larger staff, bigger budgets, and new organisational units (Sandberg 2005, 39). Both corporate pluralism as well as the establishment of inclusive welfare policies have been important factors for the inclusion of civil society actors in public policy formation (Lægreid et al. 2003).

Environmental policies in Norway are based on a concept of “growth with conservation” which highlights the need for economic growth within an environmentally friendly framework. The importance of environmental regulations can be seen in the several laws have been passed since the 1970s to regulate land use, and other activities that can significantly impact on the environment and natural resources⁴.

The principle that the people have the right to be informed of activities that will have important environmental impacts has been deeply incorporated into Norwegian environmental policy, and so has the requirement for assessment of these impacts (Jansen 1996, 188-189). Most political parties have also developed environmental principles that are incorporated into their party programmes, but the importance of these principles in relation to other political issues varies greatly between the parties. The importance of environmental concerns in national politics, in addition to the amount of environmental regulations and the above mentioned incorporated environmental principles suggest that it is relatively easy for ENGOS in Norway to make demands towards the authorities to comply with environmental regulations. Further, the institutionalised access to boards and committees suggests that

⁴ E.g. the Building Act of 1965, the Water Pollution Control Act of 1970, the Oil Pollution Control Act of 1970, the Cultural Heritage Act of 1978, and the Wildlife Act of 1981 (Jansen 1996, 186)

NGOs in Norway have a relatively big possibility to impact on national environmental policy formation through these conventional channels.

However, over the last decades there has been a tendency for civil society organisations to move their focus away from the parliament and towards other branches of the public authority. Christiansen and Rommetvedt found in their analysis that “representation in commission and boards has, to some extent, been replaced by contacts with bureaucracies on a lower level of institutionalization” (1999, 201). They observe that *direct contact* with decision makers is more frequent today than 20 years ago, and that this contact is considered as significantly more important by the interest organisations. They still find clear evidence of strong corporatist structures, but claim that lobbying activities towards members of the parliament has increased on the basis of the decline in scope and intensity of traditional corporatism (Christiansen and Rommetvedt 1999, 209). They explain this by pointing to interest organisations as rational actors seeking to maximize their level of influence. As the corporatist structures and access to policy makers change, so will interest organisations change their strategies to better exploit other channels of influence.

This development away from dependency on institutionalised access to policy makers should also be seen in relation to recent changes in the Norwegian government structure. It has been argued that the parliament has gained relative power in relation to ministers and the administration, and as a result the outcome of parliamentary activities have become less predictable (Christiansen and Rommetvedt 1999). With more parliamentary bargaining power, there is now a greater risk that proposals from the government will be changed notably through its treatment in the parliament and that suggestions made in public hearings would not be taken into consideration to the same degree as before. Interest organisations have therefore found it wiser to address *parliamentary actors* in their search for influence instead, or in addition to, attempting to influence members of the government. Even though this lobbying approach is more difficult to control and predict the result of, it is also a more flexible approach and does not depend on the initiative of political authorities to establish corporatist structures.

A similar tendency can be identified within the environmental movement. From the beginning of the 1980s there has been a change in organisation of NGOs in Norway. They have become more specialised and professionalised in their work, and some have adopted market logics and have entered into a closer cooperation with market actors (Strømsnes, Selle, and Grendstad 2009). This has also meant that some organisations have changed the way they

look at their members, and are giving organisational democracy less priority than what they did earlier.

It should also be mentioned that the relationship with the state varies greatly between the different environmental organisations. Some have close connections to, depend on, and is used by the state, whereas others have taken a more independent and reactive response. Another development that is observed in relation to ENGOs in Norway is that they are increasingly taking part in all phases of the policy-formation, not only in the initial phases where the policies are formulated but also when it comes to direct and indirect implementation of it (Strømsnes and Selle 1996, 26).

To summarise, two main developments have contributed to changing the traditional relationship between the state and the ENGOs over the last decades. First, changes in power relations within the state structure suggests that it today might be more effective for the organisations to work outside the institutionalised structures of the state and rather exert pressure on parliamentarian members in the form of informal lobbying.

Second, the ENGOs themselves are changing by becoming more professional, and better able to react to changes in both political structures and in the society. ENGOs are today working at several levels at the same time, using different activities to reach different target groups. The increasing pace of modern politics has showed it necessary to be flexible and able to adapt, both for politicians and for interest organisations. Politicians today are more interested in working across and within different interest groups and draw expertise from different actors (Christiansen and Rommetvedt 1999). This is a development that ENGOs have to relate to if they want to influence environmental decision making.

Regardless of these developments, however, the relationship between the Norwegian political structure and the environmental movement is still characterised by the traditionally close ties that exist between the organisations and the government. Norway shows strong signs of a corporate state structure where interest organisations, including the environmental movement, are institutionally incorporated into the decision making process through participation in boards, committees, and public hearings.

4.3.2 Argentina –Political instability and institutional weakness

The political development in Argentina has in many ways been different from the stability and prosperity experienced in Norway. In 1930 a military coup ended a period of seventy

years with political stability and economic prosperity in Argentina. The decades after the coup were characterised by a great degree of political instability and economic stagnation. Corruption and electoral fraud were widespread and the political election periods were frequently ended by military coups d'état. As a result, there was a growing public discontent with the social, political and economic situation. This dissatisfaction was amplified in the early 1970s when conflict between the government and opposition groups led to increased acts of terrorism. Guerrilla groups were formed both in the country side and in the cities, and the number of kidnappings and killings of prominent political figures and other people increased (Snow and Manzetti 1993).

Another coup by the military junta in 1976 forced the Congress to dissolve and political and trade union activity was suspended. In an attempt to purify Argentina, the military junta imprisoned, tortured and executed leftists, Peronists, trade unionists and members of opposing parties, and the inflation rate remained in triple digits for most of the period. In this period, almost all types of civil society organisations were forbidden, especially those who opposed the dictatorship. Since 1983 the political stability has improved and the transfer of power has happened between democratically elected leaders. However, poverty and unemployment rates are still high, and so are corruption levels and the general political dissatisfaction and distrust. Argentina also experienced financial crisis in 1989 and 2001 which led to violent protests from the public (Snow and Manzetti 1993; Spiller and Tommasi 2003). All these experiences have put marks on the political structure in Argentina that still impacts on the situation for civil society and environmental organisations today.

The first organisation of civil society that Argentina saw was the labour unions that started to develop in the 1940s. After the Peronist revolution in 1943, Argentina experienced expansion of social security and the establishment of worker's rights, and for the first time corporatist networks between the government and unions were developed. However, this corporatist relationship should not be directly compared with the Norwegian experience of corporatism. The Argentinean experience was to a much larger degree characterised by a high level of statism and regulation. The government had full power to decide which unions could be officially recognised and thereby get the opportunity to legally represent the interests of the workers. Perón also personally picked out union leaders that he knew supported him politically and even though organised labour unions gained increased benefits and influence during the 1940s, this came at the expense of independence and autonomy (Chen 2004). As

we saw above, Norwegian organisations have to a certain degree been able to keep their autonomy regardless of their close connection to the state.

As in Norway, the environmental movement in Argentina also started with nature preservation and in 1916 the Asociación Ornitológica del Plata was created as the first environmental NGO. In 1934 the Argentine National Parks Authority was created to manage the protected areas and in the following decade several ENGOS were established to support the conservation work of national resources and to protect the wildlife.

A few signs of environmentalism can be observed in Argentina before the return to authoritarian regime in 1976, mainly as a result of the Stockholm Conference in 1972. The creation of a Natural Resource Agency by Perón in 1974 was an example of this, but minimal attention was given to environmental issues during the following authoritarian period. When a new military coup was carried out in 1976, the new authoritarian regime annulled all laws that had previously protected labour rights and banned all union activity. But it was not only the labour unions that suffered; the following period of state terrorism led to the dissolution of almost all civil society organisations in the whole country. It was not until democracy was restored in 1983 that organisations could re-emerge and new ones were created. This means that it is only for the last 30 years that civil society organisations have been able to operate freely and, as we will see, this has clearly impacted on today's relationship between the state and the organisations (Aguilar 2002).

With return to democracy in 1983 the human rights movement, with its loud and public criticism of the government, led way for and inspired a new wave of movements who also promoted their demands to the government. The formation of new civil society organisations within a broad variety of interest fields meant that the conventional political practices were challenged and increased pressure was put on the accountability of the representatives towards the public (Torre 2005). However, the economic turmoil and the political instability that characterised this period meant that these organisations were never really politically independent until the 1990s. .

The return to democracy also symbolised a sentiment of optimism for the environmental movement, and hundreds of new organisations and associations were created. Until the Rio Conference in 1992, almost all ENGOS in Argentina were focused on nature preservation. The size, proximity, and broad media coverage of the Rio Conference, however, led to increased interest for broader environmental issues also in Argentina, and for the first time environmental concerns managed to reach the front news (Aguilar 2002). It was also as a

response to this conference that the Secretary of Natural Resources and Sustainable Development was created under the Ministry of Social Development and the Environment in 1991. Today the secretary is called the Secretary of the Environment and Sustainable Development, and its aim is to increase the focus on environmental regulation in Argentina (Nonna 1996).

Also other important developments regarding environmental politics happened in this period. In 1994, amendments to the national constitution added that all people have the right to live in a healthy, balanced environment⁵, and it also laid the basic principles to guarantee this right (Nonna 1996). These amendments were added mainly as a result of public pressure and the work of ENGOs and represent an important breakthrough for the environmental movement mainly for two reasons. First, it recognises that environmental rights are collective rights. This means that these rights may be claimed by any citizen without the necessity to prove a direct relationship or property right to the environment. Second, it means that ENGOs can bring legal proceedings to court without having to show direct relationship between themselves and the environment at stake (Aguilar 2002, 229). The above mentioned measures are an important step towards developing environmental policies in Argentina. However, the reality of environmental politics is not as bright as the constitutional amendments might suggest. After these amendments were made, it soon became clear that the new government was too busy to deal with problems such as hyperinflation and military and social unrest to be concerned with environmental concerns (Aguilar 2002). Further, when the economic crisis hit in 2001 most ENGOs found themselves without funding and in a political setting where environmental concerns were overshadowed by other problems.

As demonstrated above, the environmental movement in Argentina has increased and has also achieved some important victories. But regardless of this, environmental concerns have for several reasons not been able to gain a real foothold in Argentinean politics so far. Other more urgent issues have appeared on the political agenda at times where the environmental movement seems to have been about to gain more attention, and this has pushed environmental concerns backwards on the political priority list. This does not mean that ENGOs have given up. They are still working hard at several levels to promote

⁵ Article 41 of the National Constitution: "All inhabitants are entitled to the right to a healthy and balanced environment fit for human development in order that productive activities shall meet present needs without endangering those of future generations and shall have the duty to preserve it. As a first priority, environmental damage shall bring about the obligation to repair it according to law". (<http://www.senado.gov.ar/web/constitucion/english.html>).

environmental politics. But it does mean that it is likely that ENGOs in Argentina find it harder to influence on environmental politics directly through conventional strategies as they are lacking allies within the system. Apart from low political interest in environmental concerns, there are also other obstacles for ENGOs to impact directly on the decision makers.

Spiller and Tommasi (2003) argue that one of the main problems for non-governmental organisations in Argentina today, is to gain access to the policy makers. They further highlight that the institutional foundations of public policy making in Argentina are weak in several ways. This does not only represent a problem for NGOs to influence on national policy making, but also poses a big threat to the quality and effectiveness of policy making in general.

One important problem is the role of the provincial party bosses and their followers in the Congress. “Political careers are generally based at the provincial level (with even positions in the national government often a consequence of provincial factors), and the base of political support for politicians and parties is concentrated at the provincial level” (Jones and Hwang 2005, 121). Provincial party leaders have access to many positions in the government and it therefore becomes of central significance for the president to stay on good terms with the party bosses.

This is further highlighted by the fact that especially governors play an important role in the execution of public policy. Direct control over budgets means that governors can obtain and maintain loyalty by giving certain financial privileges to people or organisations that are considered to be important political supporters of the governors (Jones and Hwang 2005, 124-125). This makes it challenging for ENGOs to influence on national environmental politics because it means that rules and regulations can vary greatly between provinces and even municipalities. Provinces are responsible for developing their own environmental laws beyond the minimal requirements set by the national government, and they are also responsible for the application and coordination of environmental policies. Depending on the province, this authority is a provincial ministry, a secretariat, an under-secretariat, or an office. This makes it confusing for the ENGOs to know who to address. Further, it means that political power is not necessarily based on support for political values, but many times also on personal connections, which can make influencing on environmental politics less predictable and effective.

Moreover, political institutionalisation in Argentina is still at a low level. Spiller and Tommasi (2003) highlight some of the problems of public policy making in the country. First,

they argue that there are different policies that regulate same or similar situations and that it therefore is a lack of regulation consistency in the system. The same problem is apparent when it comes to ensuring that the regulations are followed. Examples demonstrate that in some cases there can be up to four different provincial agents carrying out the same work independently from the other actors. Nonna (1996) argues that “in the existing federal framework, common problems are handled differently according to the particular jurisdiction in which they arise and ignorance of ecological problems and overlapping jurisdictions exacerbates environmental problems and frustrate their resolution” (Nonna 1996, 61). This makes it challenging for the ENGOs in several ways. First, it makes it difficult to direct environmental enquiries to the right actor. Second, it also makes it easier for the actors to disclaim liability. The fact that regulatory policies are often made in an ad hoc and decentralised way further complicates this matter and leads to problems of coordination of policy making and financing.

Second, ministers and secretaries of the government rotate frequently with an average duration of less than a year at some departments (Spiller and Tommasi 2003, 284). This means that members of the government have reduced possibilities to specialise in their working areas, which again affects the quality of decision making and makes public policies more myopic. The institutional instability from the period between 1930 and 1983 can partly explain the short-term horizon of the government members, but it is also a result of electoral mechanisms and executive proactive powers that are working to prevent long-term members of Congress. For ENGOs, this means that it is difficult for them to create close relationships with members of the government. This is likely to influence on the impact and usefulness of strategies such as political lobbying.

Another challenge to public policy making in Argentina is that of party representation. The two dominant parties in Argentine politics are the Partido Justicialista (PJ, Peronist party) and the Unión Cívica Radical (UCR, Radical party). The current electoral rules and institutional arrangements make it almost impossible for smaller non-Peronist parties to compete in the electoral process. This can potentially hinder the possibilities for environmental organisations to influence on policies by limiting the number of actors in the policy making process (Torre 2005).

As we have seen, ENGOs in Argentina are facing several problems when it comes to influencing national environmental policy making, and many of them are a result of the

political instability that the country has experienced. The level and quality of institutionalisation is low, policy making is often made by provincial leaders, and there is a lack of environmental policy coordination between the different levels of government. All these factors make it difficult for ENGOs to exert influence on public policy making through conventional strategies, as the channels for direct contact with policy makers are unstable and not institutionalised. Another factor that challenges the corporative method of influence is that much of the policy making happens in informal ways by interactions between national executive and provincial political elites, and not by the Congress and the bureaucracy.

Even though recent governments have re-established several Peronist state-society linkages to deal with social protests and to rebuild state capacity that was lost during the years of economic crisis, the results of this is not clear. Spaces for exchange across sectors have been initiated and advisory boards for civil society organisations have been created in several governmental bodies to improve and strengthen the institutionalisation of dialogue between the state and the non-state actors. However, the organisations have expressed that the access must become more inclusive and be on a more regular basis if it is to become part of a formal and more transparent institutionalisation (Civicus-Gadis 2006, 43-45).

4.3.3 Theoretical implications and development of hypothesis

As demonstrated, the political structures in Norway and Argentina are quite different, and so are the developments of environmental organisations and their importance in national politics. Above it was pointed out that positive opportunity structure theory emphasises the openness of a political system as an important aspect that can help explain ENGOs choice of strategies.

As we have seen, Norway has an open political structure and a long tradition of including civil society organisation in the policy making process through the formation of institutionalised channels. Argentina, on the other hand, has a much more closed political structure and a restricted institutionalised access for organisations to exert direct influence. The changes that have occurred in Norway in relation to ENGOs and how they operate have happened gradually and have followed a pattern that has developed over time. In Argentina there have been abrupt shifts between civil and military governments that have made it impossible for the country to develop a close connection between state and non-state actors. In this respect, it is plausible to assume that ENGOs in Norway are likely to choose conventional strategies to influence national environmental policy making, whereas ENGOs in Argentina lack this opportunity and must make use of unconventional strategies.

This line of reasoning is also supported by the two other explanation factors. Environmental policies have a higher priority on the political agenda in Norway than in Argentina, and Norwegian NGOs are therefore likely to have more allies to cooperate with within the political system. This encourages the use of conventional strategies.

Finally, differences in the economic development between the countries suggest that Argentina has not yet reached a level where post-materialist values have become prominent. The country is still suffering under the consequences of the financial crises that hit in 2001 and there are still problems of poverty, crime, unemployment, and economic vulnerability that push environmental concerns down on the political priority list. As a result, NGOs in Argentina are more likely to use unconventional strategies to influence and promote environmental policies.

According to the proposed explanations for choice of strategy presented by the positive opportunity structure theory, we can expect that NGOs in Norway are likely to employ conventional strategies to influence national environmental policy making, whereas NGOs in Argentina will choose unconventional strategies. Based on this the first hypothesis will be:

H1: Because Norway has an open political structure with institutionalised access to policy makers, Norwegian NGOs will use conventional strategies to influence policy making whereas Argentina has a closed political structure with limited access and Argentinean NGOs will therefore use unconventional strategies.

Even though the institutional differences between Norway and Argentina are great, and to a large degree can help us understand the diverse environments within which the organisations have to work, it is not the only factor that can explain similarities and differences between the organisations in the two countries. Also political culture –how the organisations perceive the political world they operate in –will help us understand why they choose the strategies that they do.

4.4 Political Culture

As discussed above, the political structures and the level of institutionalisation in a country are important factors for determining the possibility for civil society organisations to influence public policy making. However, it is not the only factor. Almond and Verba (1989, 32) argue that any community can be described and compared to other communities mainly in terms of two points of reference; its structural-functional characteristics and its cultural, subcultural and role-cultural characteristics. In other words by its political structure and by its political culture.

Also Inglehart highlights the importance of including political culture when trying to understand how politics works. He argues that “different societies are characterized to very different degrees by a specific syndrome of political attitudes; that these cultural differences are relatively enduring, but not immutable; and that they have major political consequences, being closely linked to the viability of democratic institutions” (Inglehart 1998, 1203).

This section will therefore examine the main characteristics of the political culture in Norway and Argentina. The aim is to identify factors within the political culture that can help us understand why ENGOs in the two countries choose different strategies to influence national environmental policy making. It will do so by first giving an account of political culture as a concept before examining the traits of the political culture in each country.

4.4.1 Introducing the concept

The political culture of a nation can be defined as the “*particular distribution of patterns of orientation toward political objects among the members of the nation*” (Almond and Verba 1989, 13). It refers to the way that people perceive and evaluate the political system and is something that people are inducted into in the same way as they are socialised into other non-political roles and social systems (Almond and Verba 1989, 13). The term is highly debated, and both its definition and its relevance are disagreed upon. However, this thesis argues that characteristics of the political culture in a country can help us understand the strategies that civil society organisations choose to influence national policy making because it says something about how they perceive the political system.

Even though there is a close connection between political structure and political culture, the exact relationship between the two is debated. Whereas the classic thinkers would

argue that the development of political structures must be based on the already existing political culture, other scholars would claim that political structures take part in shaping the political culture (Catterberg 1991; Dittmer 1977). “The distinction between political culture and political structure is perhaps inherently ambiguous, given the definition of the former as “cognitions, feelings, and evaluations” about the latter”(Dittmer 1977, 555-556).

Jackman and Miller (1998) argue that political culture can be equated with social capital, and highlights Inglehart’s definition of social capital as “a culture of trust and tolerance” (Jackman and Miller 1998, 51). It has been argued that political trust is essential for the quality and stability of democracy, and that trust is a measure of how the citizens perceive the performance of the political system as a whole (Newton 2001). A low level of trust thereby indicates that parts of the political system (politicians, institutions or both) are operating inadequately. Political trust is also important because “democracies are based on institutional mechanisms that are supposed to ensure that politicians behave in a trustworthy manner, or pay the political price (Newton 2001, 206).

From this, we can develop the argument that in a country with a low level of political trust, environmental organisations are less likely to choose conventional strategies aimed at influencing politicians directly through institutionalised channels because they have faith neither in these channels nor in the politicians. It is therefore more likely that the organisations would choose unconventional strategies focusing on mobilising public support. Likewise, if there is a high level of political trust, organisations are more likely to use conventional strategies to influence on policy making because they have faith in the public authorities and trust that they would make the right decisions.

Also Almond and Verba (1989) identify trust, in addition to political activism, as important aspects of political culture. The development and stability of a democracy, the political culture literature argues, depend on the support and attitude of the public. Interpersonal trust is an essential attitude in this respect, and trust is also a prerequisite to the development of what Almond and Verba calls secondary associations. These associations refer to membership in for example volunteer organisations, labour unions, and church groups and play an important role when it comes to securing effective political participation in democratic countries (Inglehart 1998).

Several variables have been used to measure political culture and to understand its different aspects⁶. This thesis will have a main focus on the level of trust in the Norwegian and Argentinean societies. This is an aspect of political culture whose relevance is highly agreed upon⁷, and it is also a factor that is relevant for the research question of this thesis. However, it will also attempt to identify other aspects of the political culture that can be relevant for understanding how ENGOs choose different strategies to influence national environmental policy making.

4.4.2 Norway - tradition of trust

Studies of political culture and social capital in Norway and Argentina show highly distinct situations. Norway generally scores very high on both interpersonal trust and activity in associations, and there have been several attempts to explain this trend which is found within all the Scandinavian countries. Historical explanations highlight that social and public services have been performed “without the type of political corruption, patronage or nepotism” that has often been the case in other countries (Rothstein and Stolle 2003, 10). Norwegian politics have generally been characterised by compromise, consensus and cooperation between different classes and interests, and the democratic history of Scandinavia has been considered special because of the important role that broad-based national organisations played both for the democratisation process as well as for organisational training (Rothstein and Stolle 2003).

Another aspect that seems to generate trust is equality. Scandinavia has a high level of income equality, and also equality between genders is highly developed. These trends go hand in hand with high levels of trust, and are opposite to countries that have high levels of inequality and consequently low levels of trust (Rothstein and Stolle 2003).

As a result, it is natural to assume that the political culture in Norway encourages a high level of direct connection between ENGOs and the different governmental institutions. Because of the stable and open relationship between organisations and the state, which is also characterised by a mutual sense of trust and interdependence, one can expect that the threshold for exerting direct influence in environmental policy making is low. It is also natural to assume that the gains will be high.

⁶ For example level of economic development (Inglehart 1998) and regime preference (Anderson 2010).

⁷ Inglehart (1998), Almond and Verba (1989), Rothstein and Stolle (2003).

Rothstein and Stolle (2003, 19-20) argue that “income equality, gender equality and the guarantee of relatively high material and personal security as well as high levels of socioeconomic resources are specific aspects of institutionalized welfare states. Research has shown that at the individual and national levels the existence of these resources is positively related to social capital, particularly social participation and trust”. If this is the case, and if political trust is rooted in people’s experience of the social and political world they live in, then one can expect to find great differences in the political culture of Norway and Argentina.

4.4.3 Argentina- Que se vayan todos!

Argentina has had one of the longest transitions to democracy that history has seen. Anderson (2002) argues that the historical political tendencies of Argentina where one dictatorship follows the next and where the public has failed to react strongly against state violence demonstrates a political culture that is characterised by divergence rather than cooperation. He goes as far as calling the Argentinean political culture a “culture of conflict” where the (mis)use of power and oppressive measures through time have become legitimised methods for solving crises. Anderson (2002) also argues that this political culture has been exacerbated by the public’s disability to more strongly resist and react against authoritarianism. This political culture is very likely to impact on the trust that exist between the different members of the Argentinean society and thereby also on the relationship between ENGOs and the state.

This characteristic stands in sharp contrast to the Norwegian case and is still causing some implications for democracy in Argentina. Argentineans believe in democracy as the best form of government, but lack trust in politicians and the political institutions. This is a result of the long periods of political instability in the country, the high levels of corruption and a general disbelief in the ability of the politicians to improve the situation (Torre 2005).

The popular rebellion that followed the economic crisis in 2001 and led to the resignation of President De la Rúa continued for months and demonstrated a significant disbelief and distrust in the state apparatus and the politicians. It has been estimated that 4 million people took to the streets to demonstrate against the hopeless economic situation in the country and for a while neither the judiciary, the police, and armed forces nor political parties, politicians and the Congress carried any legitimacy in the eyes of the Argentine people (Torre, 2005). The main slogan of the people was “Que se vayan todos!”, basically calling for all politicians to leave their positions immediately. After the financial crisis of

2001-2002 the public trust towards the political elite was at a minimum. A survey carried out by Latinobarómetro shows that confidence in political parties fell from 29 per cent in 1997 to only 4 per cent in 2002 (Levitsky and Murillo 2008, 21).

This demonstrates the general scepticism that the Argentine people have towards all aspects of the political institutions of the country and that there is still a tradition for turning to protests and civil obedience when there is dissatisfaction with the state even though formal participation has increased. It is important to note, however, that this was a reaction towards the political performance of the politicians and not towards democracy as a political system (Torre 2005, 165).

One of the main reasons for this distrust was the public perception that the government had become completely unresponsive to the demands of the voters. Public policy promises were not being carried through as promised and in 2000 the government suffered a large bribery scandal. Further, several austerity measures imposed by the government in this period led the people to feel that the government felt more responsible towards international creditors and bond markets than to its own voters (Levitsky and Murillo 2008).

Regardless of this, it should be taken into consideration that the country *has* entered into a new era of democratisation. Even though Argentina has a history of resolving political and societal problems with military coups, the country is now experiencing the longest continuous democratic period in its history and further more; democracy has survived two financial crises and popular upheavals. The Argentine example hereby demonstrates that democratic culture can be installed in a society even though parts of the society do not have faith in it.

Levitsky and Murillo (2008) argue that the development of democratic strength in Argentina is not a result of presidential leadership, but rather the power of civil society organisations and the media and their ability to develop a strong infrastructure and hold the government accountable for protecting civil liberties. This does not in itself generate trust in political institutions, but might be an important step forward.

Also, several measures have been taken over the last years to improve the level of trust among the population. The nomination of qualified and independent justices has improved the quality of the Supreme Court, the establishment of public hearings is ensuring greater transparency and accountability, and important measures have been made to improve the human right situation in the country (Levitsky and Murillo 2008). These policies are

considered a respond to public demands, and both optimism about the future and support for democracy have increased. What remains to be seen is if these developments will be carried through to such an extent that it improves the general trust of the public.

4.4.4 Theoretical implications and development of hypothesis

This section has argued that by identifying the political culture in a country we are better able to understand the choice of strategies that ENGOs and other civil society actors make to influence national policy making. The reason for this is that the political culture tells us something about attitudes, norms, values, feelings, and perceptions of the political reality in a country. It will therefore also tell us something about which types of strategies that are accepted and which are not.

The Norwegian political culture is based on a high level of trust and cooperation between the public and the state, and the threshold for direct contact with governmental institutions is low. Both gender- and income equality are high, and these are factors that further generates trust. Also, compared to Argentina, there is little cultural tradition for using direct protests and civil disobedience as a method for demonstrating discontent. The combination of these factors implies that Norwegian ENGOs are more likely to use conventional strategies to influence national environmental policy making.

The Argentinean political culture is characterised by a low level of trust, both towards political institutions, politicians, and other people in the society. This means that ENGOs in Argentina will consider direct influence on policy makers as less fruitful, because they do not trust in politicians or institutions to do their jobs. Additionally, it should also be highlighted that turning to the streets in political protests is a common method of showing political discontent in Argentina. This suggests that indirect, unconventional strategies are more likely to be used by ENGOs in Argentina. As a result, the second hypotheses will be:

H2: Because Norway has a political culture characterised by trust and equality, ENGOs will use conventional strategies to influence policy making, whereas Argentina has a political culture characterised by distrust and inequality which legitimises the use of unconventional strategies.

4.5 Organisational characteristics

So far, the thesis has argued that both political structure and political culture are likely to influence on the type of strategies that ENGOs will use to influence national environmental politics. Differences in political structures and political cultures can therefore help us to explain differences and similarities in choice of strategy between environmental organisations in Norway and Argentina. However, one must also expect to find that organisational characteristics to a large degree will impact on ENGOs' choice of strategy beyond the structural and cultural factors. Because organisational characteristic is a variable that has a closer causal proximity to the dependent variable than the other two independent variables, the thesis will not compare all three independent variables directly at the same level. Organisational characteristics is used both to explain differences in choice of strategies particularly between organisations within the same country, but also to nuance the impact of the other independent variables

By organisational characteristics this thesis refers to factors within the organisation that impacts on how it chooses its strategies. Carmin and Balser (2002, 365) argue that the main organisational features that explain ENGOs choice of strategies are *experience, core values and beliefs, environmental philosophy, and political ideology*. This thesis will focus on the first two characteristics, *experience* and *core values and beliefs* to explain ENGOs' choice of strategies to influence on national environmental policy making.

This choice is mainly made because these are the two factors that appear to be most relevant to answer the research question. Due to the interlinked relationship between the four factors and their impact on each other, the thesis considers the most important aspects to be covered by restricting the analysis to these two factors. Further, an adequate identification of environmental philosophy and political ideology for the organisations would require a thorough examination that is not possible considering the length restrictions of the thesis.

According to Carmin and Balser, "organizations select tactics and repertoires that they believe will be effective based on personal experience and knowledge" (Carmin and Balser 2002, 368). Included in this factor are the societal and political conditions that existed when the organisations were founded and their reasons for being created. North (1990, 7) highlights that history matters, not only because organisations can learn from the past but also because an organisation's development is a result of continuity. Organisations are generally considered to be rational actors that consciously and actively adapt to its surroundings. However, not all organisational developments are rationally planned and change can also happen through development and evolution.

Institutional cultural theory emphasises this point and argue that organisations develop through “path dependency”. Path dependency means that the cultural norms and values that characterised the organisation in its early years also will influence its development. Also a particular cultural or political context that was apparent in the *society* when the organisation was created can impact on its development. The goals and values that were established in the organisation’s early years are likely to significantly contribute to later changes and are not easily modified even if the political and cultural context is changing (Christensen et al. 2004, 56).

Values and beliefs are visions of what should be rather than what is and is thereby the motivational factor that drives the organisation (Carmin and Balsler 2002). These visions can also provide moral guidance and are a central aspect of an organisation’s basic foundations and its reason for existence. Values and beliefs therefore significantly contribute to interpreting the appropriateness of employing different types of strategies for ENGOs.

These two organisational features, experience and values and beliefs means that organisations can have different perceptions of what type of strategies that are more appropriate and effective even though they operate within the same political and cultural context. The following section will examine the basis of foundation for the organisations used in this study and identify their experiences and core values and beliefs. This will help us understand why different organisations choose to employ different types of strategies when influencing national environmental policies.

4.5.1 Greenpeace

In 1970, the “Don’t Make A Wave Committee” was established with a sole objective to stop a nuclear weapons test at the Amchitka Island in the Aleutians. 12 Canadians set out in a fishing boat to physically get inside the testing zone hoping that this would prevent the US military from carrying out the testing. This act was the first step to what would become Greenpeace. When the Americans a few months later announced that they would give up the area for nuclear testing, the activists turned their attention to French atmospheric nuclear testing in Moruroa outside New Zealand. As the years went by and the activists experienced the success of direct action to stop environmentally damaging activity, the organisation started to include a broader set of environmental concerns in their repertoire. Today, Greenpeace is a global environmental organisation with over 2.9 million supporters in 41 countries (Greenpeace.org 2011a).

One of Greenpeace's main values is to bear witness to environmental destruction in a peaceful, non-violent manner. The organisation uses non-violent confrontation to raise the level and quality of the public debate and exposes threats to the environment. They also seek solutions to environmental problems through open, informed debates and through respect for democratic principles. The organisation has a global approach and works with issues such as protecting oceans and forests, preventing toxic pollution and nuclear energy production, and fighting climate change (Greenpeace.org 2011b).

The Norwegian branch of Greenpeace was founded in 1988. However, the organisation never really managed to gain a real foothold in Norway and in 1998 it merged with the Finnish and Swedish branches. In 1999 the Danish branch also joined and a new Greenpeace Nordic headquarter was established in Stockholm (Strømsnes, Selle, and Grendstad 2009). The organisation still has an office in Norway and the number of supporters has increased from none in 2000 to 1,377 in 2009 (Greenpeace.Nordic 2010; Strømsnes, Selle, and Grendstad 2009). However, this number is still very small in relation to the supporters in the other Nordic countries⁸. There are currently seven people working at the Greenpeace office in Oslo.

In Argentina, the national Greenpeace office opened in 1987, and this was the first branch in a developing country. Greenpeace is currently the largest environmental organization in the country with about 80 000 members. Its main office is located in Buenos Aires and the organisation has local branches in Rosario, Mar del Plata and Neuquén. The Buenos Aires office has a staff of over 40 people and is divided into several working areas; the Executive Director, the Campaign Unit, the Policy Unit, Public Mobilization, Communications, Fundraising, Logistics and Administration (Greenpeace.org/Argentina 2011a).

Greenpeace in both Norway and Argentina are highly characterised by being a part of the Greenpeace International organisation, also when it comes to how past experience of the organisation has contributed in forming its values.

⁸ 104,068 in Sweden, 22,606 in Denmark, and 26,522 in Finland .

4.5.2 Norges Naturvernforbund

Norges Naturvernforbund was founded in 1914 under the name National Association for Nature Preservation in Norway, and is the oldest Norwegian environmental organisation. In the period before and during the World Wars, the organisation was struggling with few members and a low budget. It was not until 1954 and the passing of the “Nature Conservation Act” that the organisation started to grow. The passing of this law led to the establishment of national parks and a governmental body responsible for the conservation of nature (Statens naturvernråd). In 1962 the organisation changed its name to Norges Naturvernforbund and started the development towards the democratic member structure that it has today (Sørensen 1996). Initially, Naturvernforbundet was concerned with traditional nature conservation, but in the 60’s and 70’s the organisation started to expand its issues of concern. Topics such as pollution from the petroleum sector, acid rain and the especially development of watercourses for the production of energy were put on the agenda. The organisation also started to become more critical towards the government.

Naturvernforbundet is the only national member-based environmental organisation that has branches in all the 19 counties of Norway. In addition it also has a total of about 100 local organisations. The membership number has fluctuated over the years, with its highest number of members being about 40 000 in 1991. Today the organisation has 18 700 members. The local branches mainly work with local environmental challenges or nature preservation, and the county branches focus on their own county. Naturvernforbundet is a democratic organisation where the national meeting is the highest organ of the organisation and is held every second year (Sørensen 1996).

One of the aims of Naturvernforbundet is to encourage public engagement in their work to protect the nature and environment. Members of the organisation take part in deciding what topics the organisation should focus on through their representatives in the local and regional organisations. Naturvernforbundet also state to be independent of any political parties, financial interests, the state and other organisations (Naturvernforbundet 2009).

As an organisation, Naturvernforbundet has a much wider spectre than what Greenpeace does. They aim to work to improve all types of environmental issues, from nature preservation to climate change.

4.5.3 Fundación Vida Silvestre

Fundación Vida Silvestre (FVS) was the first environmental organisation in Argentina with a far reaching and multi-issue approach to environmental problems. The organisation was created in 1977 as a response to the 1972 Stockholm Conference, which was the first major international environmental conference held by the United Nations. At the time of Fundación Vida Silvestre's creation, Argentina was still under an authoritarian regime where most of the civil society organisations were forbidden. Aguilar (2002) states that during the dictatorship the organisation managed to survive because it kept away from political issues. Because of its perceivably innocent focus, Vida Silvestre was mainly tolerated or ignored by the military government. Also, some member's strong connections to the economic elite in the country made it easier for the organisation to continue, and also helped them gain some access to decision-making processes. Most NGOs in this period, however, had no relation with the government.

For the first years of its existence, Vida Silvestre remained a wildlife protection organisation, but with the return of democracy in 1983 it began to expand its functions. Today, the organisation is focused on conservation of nature, promotion of a sustainable use of natural resources, and the fight against climate change (VidaSilvestre 2011a).

Fundación Vida Silvestre has about 40 employees working in their offices in Buenos Aires, Mar del Plata and Puerto Iguazú. These people have expertise in multiple fields, such as biology, agronomic-, forest-, and electric engineering, geography, communication, law, politics and environmental science. In addition to these, the organisation has about 150 volunteers that mainly help out with educational programmes (VidaSilvestre 2011b).

4.5.4 Theoretical implications and development of hypothesis

From the presentation of the organisations above, it is possible to identify some differences between Greenpeace in both Norway and Argentina on the one hand, and Naturvernforbundet and Fundación Vida Silvestre on the other. First, Greenpeace seems to be characterised by being founded at a time where the political environment was demonstrative and that saw the creation of several types of non-governmental organisations. There was a relatively high level of scepticism directed towards governments and corporations and the demand from several of the newfound organisations was that these take responsibility for their actions. This is reflected in the direct action approach of the organisation.

Although Fundación Vida Silvestre was founded only a few years after Greenpeace, this was under an authoritarian regime that was not affected by the insurgent political wave that was sweeping over North America and Europe at the time. The national branches of Greenpeace in Norway and Argentina reflect both the experience and values and beliefs of the national organisation and even though they stand free to choose national issues that they want to focus on they still bare marks of being connected to Greenpeace International. This is notable both in the approach that they have to what strategies that are acceptable and in the way that they perceive the authorities.

Both Naturvernforbundet and Fundación Vidal Silvestre are much more traditional in their focus and values. Both started up as nature conservation organisations and slowly incorporated other environmental issues into their agenda as these became more apparent. The most striking difference between these organisations is that for Naturvernforbundet, much of their work consist in having active local organisations that contribute to reaching a common goal, whereas Fundación Vida Silvestre only have a limited amount of volunteers that are mainly focused on helping out with educational programmes that are already established by the main office. Still, it is possible to develop a hypothesis on the basis of the differences that we have seen between the organisations.

H3: Greenpeace in both Norway and Argentina are more likely to use unconventional strategies because its experience and values characterises it as an action-taking organisation, whereas Naturvernforbundet and Fundación Vida Silvestre is characterised by more traditional experience and values and are therefore more likely to use conventional strategies.

5 Analysis

This chapter is divided into two parts, one for each of the research questions. The first part will examine the first research question; *what strategies do ENGOs in Norway and Argentina use to influence national environmental policy-making?* To answer this question, the thesis will thoroughly examine central campaigns that have been chosen from each organisation and identify the activities that have been carried out.

Greenpeace is a campaign-based organisation and much information was gathered by examining one Greenpeace campaign from each country. To secure the quality of this information, however, an examination and comparison with other campaigns have also been carried out, but at a more general level.

For Naturvernforbundet and Fundación Vida Silvestre it was necessary to look at a wider range of campaigns and activities related to climate work to identify their use of strategies. Both of these organisations have a broader spectre in the way that they work and are focused on several issues simultaneously.

First, each organisation's choice of strategy is identified. Subsequently an in-depth comparison is made of the organisations within each country where information from interviews and questionnaires are used to further highlight and compare the organisations' choice of strategy. Finally a cross-country examination is carried out. This will enable the thesis to say something about the choice of strategy both between organisations in the same country, and also between the countries.

The findings from the first part of the analysis will then be used to answer the second research question; *how can we explain similarities and differences in the choice of strategies in, and between, Norway and Argentina?* The discussion of this question will be based on the analytical framework and the hypotheses presented in chapters 4.3-4.5.

5.1 What strategies do ENGOs use to influence national environmental policy-making?

5.1.1 Greenpeace Norway

Statoil's tar sand project in Canada

In 2007, Statoil bought a tar sand area in Alberta, Canada, with the aim to withdraw oil from the sand. There are two methods to this; the Steam-Assisted Gravity Drainage (SAGD) method and open-pit mining. According to Greenpeace, the SAGD method requires large amounts of natural gas, and great areas of Boreal forests will be carved up and fragmented because of the need for new infrastructure like roads and pipelines. It will also affect the livelihood of the indigenous people living in the area, and cause increased pollution.

The use of open-pit mining means that forests and soils are stripped away. This will damage the Boreal forests, which is said to be the most important carbon sink in North America. It will also lead to toxic waste water from the processing being stored in artificial ponds, which involves the risk of leakages into the Athabasca River, one of North America's main waterways. The average CO₂ emission for producing one barrel of oil is about 80 kilos for the open-pit mining method and 100 kilos for the SAGD method. In comparison, the average emission from the Norwegian oil industry is 7.8 kilos of CO₂ per barrel (Greenpeace.org 2011c). The aim of this campaign was twofold; the specific goal was to stop Statoil from extracting oil from tar sand in Canada, but there was also an underlying goal to get Norwegian politicians to take more responsibility for the environmental damages that are carried out by state-owned companies.

Employed strategies

The most formal action taken in this campaign was when the leader of Greenpeace Norway, Truls Gulowsen, handed over an official proposal for Statoil to withdraw from the tar sand project. This proposal was voted over at Statoil's general assembly held in May 2011 and turned down.

In relation to this proposal, Greenpeace arranged an information tour to the biggest cities of Norway to persuade shareholders in Statoil to take part at the general assembly and vote for the proposal to withdraw. As a part of this campaign, information about the damaging

effects of the project was sent out to the biggest owners of Statoil and several of the Nordic investment funds. Information was also handed out to Statoil workers as they entered their offices, and to people working at the Ministry of Oil and Energy. To draw extra attention, Greenpeace activists were always dressed in colourful overalls and big banners with slogans were put up where the information campaigns were carried out.

To gain support from the public, an internet campaign was carried out where people could sign an online petition against Statoil. This campaign specifically highlighted the double standards of Statoil being the main sponsor of the Nordic World Ski Championship, a championship that depends on cold winters and that will suffer from climate change and global warming. Greenpeace members dressed up as snowmen were found walking the streets of Oslo, handing out information and encouraging people to sign the petition. In addition to these activities, Greenpeace's web pages have been continuously updated with information, news and updates about the situation, and the organisation has submitted press releases about the topic (Greenpeace.org/norway 2011).

There have also been several direct action protests to get Statoil to change their mind. For example, floating banners with the text "Dying for Climate Leadership" were sent down the Athabasca River, and Greenpeace activists managed to block the loading belt at a processing plant in Canada. In 2009, Greenpeace activists managed to occupy one of the tar sand construction sites in Alberta several times to stop the production of oil (Greenpeace.org/norway 2011).

Also a chimney at Shell's production site was occupied by 25 Greenpeace activists to protest against the industry in general and to call out for world leaders to stop all tar sand activity at the Copenhagen Climate Conference. The activists chained themselves to several of the machineries used for extraction of oil and thereby put a temporary stop to the production. Greenpeace Nordic further developed a common campaign for the Nordic countries, where they among other things posted banners by Statoil's oil refinery in Denmark and handed out information to the about 420 people who work there. Before the Copenhagen Climate Conference Greenpeace activists also dumped eight tons of what looked like tar sand outside Statoil's main office in Copenhagen and put up big banners outside the main entrance of the building calling for Statoil to withdraw from the tar sands (Greenpeace.org/norway 2011).

As demonstrated, Greenpeace has used a combination of several of the strategies listed in chapter 4.1 to influence on national environmental policy making in this example, but all of them belong to the unconventional category. This should be seen in relation to the fact that the government has decided not to intervene directly in this issue but rather let the decision be up to Statoil's general assembly. Due to this, there are no public hearing proposals to comment on or any boards, committees, etc. to take part in. If conventional strategies would have been used in this campaign if available, is a matter of speculation. However, Greenpeace Norway's general use of conventional strategies will be discussed below.

A main focus of this campaign was to engage the public through mobilizing strategies such as information campaigns. Politicians were especially pressured to get the parliament to stop the project as a part of a "responsible ownership" reaction, and the shareholders were encouraged to vote for the proposal presented by Greenpeace to stop the project.

Greenpeace's main strategy is to identify an environmental problem that can serve as an example for a wider set of problems. This is because they consider it easier to raise attention and support among the public if the campaign is directed at something that is concrete and identifiable. As already mentioned, the campaign against Statoil's tar sand project is both a campaign about reducing Norwegian climate gas emissions, but also about pushing for state-owned companies to take more environmental responsibility.

Gulowsen (2011 [interview]) states that they manage to see the best results from their campaigns when a combination of three factors are apparent; politics, media, and timing. When an environmental issue has reached the attention of the media, and there is a corresponding political process related to this issue, Greenpeace attempt to raise the public debate and put pressure on the politicians. They do this by seeking more media focus on the issue, presenting concrete demands to the politicians and pointing out deficiency in existing regulations and practises. The challenge is to identify an example that is sufficiently tangible and at the same time understandable for the public.

What is important to point out in relation to Greenpeace's activities is not only *what type* of activities that are carried out, but also *how*. To gain more attention from the media and public, the organisation always uses tools such as colourful clothing and big banners. This is done both to effectively present the issue of the campaign to people walking by, and also to get their point across via pictures taken for news papers. The goal is that nobody should be able to walk by a Greenpeace campaign without noticing it and realise what it is for (Gulowsen 2011 [interview]).

5.1.2 Naturvernforbundet

Naturvernforbundet's climate work

Naturvernforbundet generally has a more local focus on their work than Greenpeace. Even though Greenpeace Norway is a national branch that also relates to domestic environmental concerns within the Norwegian borders, it is to a much larger degree characterised by being a part of an international organisation.

Naturvernforbundet's climate work mainly focus on three issues; reducing emissions from the transport sector, improving energy efficiency, and fighting against new oil fields along the coast in the north of Norway (Naturvernforbundet 2011a). The organisation believes that it is everybody's responsibility to make sure that climate gas emissions are reduced, but place the main responsibility of facilitating and initiating this work with the government. Naturvernforbundet therefore spends a lot of time pressuring the government to increase energy efficiency to reduce this type of emissions.

Employed strategies

For example, in 2009 the government, on the initiative of Naturvernforbundet, established the "Low-energy panel" (Lavenergiutvalget). The panel consisted of members from the civil society, labour union, corporations, and research institutions and its mission was to present a report with goals and methods to improve energy efficiency in Norway. A corresponding Low-energy Conference was held in Trondheim the same year to draw attention to climate issues before the national election and the Copenhagen Climate Conference. The focus of the conference was to teach the participants concrete methods for improving energy efficiency and marketing of energy friendly buildings and technology (Naturvernforbundet 2011b). Naturvernforbundet also carried out an information tour to several high schools where they used lectures and multimedia presentations to inform the students about the importance of energy efficiency.

In relation to national plans for building transmission towers in Hardanger Naturvernforbundet carried out research which concluded that by improving energy efficiency, the building of the transmission towers would not be necessary. Improving energy efficiency would be beneficial both because it would reduce emissions and also because it would prevent intervention in vulnerable nature areas. Formal letters presenting the findings were sent to the government.

Similar research has also been carried out in relation to the building of power plants in other parts of the country, and based on this Naturvernforbundet is requesting that the money spent on building the power plants should rather be spent on improving energy efficiency in the relevant areas. Several letters have been sent to the government asking for a consequence analysis regarding this request and Naturvernforbundet has also submitted public hearing proposals to the authorities. Also, contributions to several newspapers about the issue have been printed, and the organisation has participated in interviews and debates in both television and the radio (Naturvernforbundet 2011c).

Naturvernforbundet has also submitted several proposals and complaints to the government relating to the use of climate quotas in emission reduction policies. Further, several proposals were handed over to the authorities in regards to how the parliament can fulfil its climate goals. Naturvernforbundet, in cooperation with one of the energy companies (BKK), has also launched a web based project which aims to help people to stop using oil for heating their homes. Efforts were also made to strengthen the work of local branches when it comes to climate and energy work (Naturvernforbundet 2008).

Leading up to the Copenhagen Summit, Naturvernforbundet arranged several open information meetings for the media and the public. They also took part in arranging a procession in Oslo during the Summit to draw attention to the negotiations, and they had stands at the Oslo Central Station with information about climate change (Naturvernforbundet 2008).

As demonstrated, the strategies carried out by Naturvernforbundet in relation to climate issues should to a large degree be categorised as conventional. The main focus of Naturvernforbundet is to exert influence on the decision makers directly through submission of letters and proposals, participating in hearings, and taking part in panels initiated by the government.

Further, environmental education is an important tool for indirectly influencing on environmental policy making. This is in accordance with strategies chosen by the organisation to impact on other types of environmental policy making as well. However, there are a few aspects that can contribute to neutralising this view of a Naturvernforbundet as a highly incorporated organisation. First, it is important to remember that Naturvernforbundet also has a youth organisation, which appears to be more activist than its mother organisation. The

youth organisation has a stronger focus on carrying out activist campaigns, offers campaign material to its local branches, and organises activist camps (Nu.no 2011).

Second, both when it comes to the issue of transmission towers in Hardanger and development of new oilfields in the north, separate project organisations⁹ have been developed to focus only on these issues. Naturvernforbundet is active in both these organisations and one should therefore consider the possibility that the organisation uses unconventional strategies to influence national environmental policies through their work in these organisations.

5.1.3 The relationship between the organisations and the policy makers in Norway.

The main aim of the questionnaire was to get an overview of how the organisations relate to the policy makers; who they have contact with, with what frequency, and the significance of this contact. The first question asked the organisations to evaluate the importance of different strategies to achieve their goals.

1. Strategy: How do you evaluate the significance of the following strategies to achieve your organisation's goals?	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvernforbundet
1.1 Seek to influence the decisions of the politicians?	1	1
1.2 Seek to gain a high number of members and make sure that these members are active?	4	2
1.3 Seek to influence the decisions of the public administration	2	4
1.4 Seek to influence the decisions of corporations	3	5
1.5 Seek support in the population	5	3

Both Greenpeace and Naturvernforbundet ranged ‘seeking to influence the decisions of the politicians’ as their first priority. Greenpeace’s following priorities are seeking to influence the public administration and seeking to influence corporations. This suggests that political lobbying is an important strategy for the organisation, even though it is not emphasised on the organisation’s web sites or in the annual reports.

For Naturvernforbundet, seeking a high level of active members and support among the population are placed as number two and three top priority. This should be seen in relation to the organisation’s focus on preserving active local branches all over the country. As mentioned above, Natuvernforbundet has branches in all the 19 counties and almost 100 local

⁹ “Bevar Hardanger” and “Folkeaksjonen-Oljeritt Lofoten, Vesterålen og Senja”.

branches that each work with local environmental and nature preservation issues. This means that a lot of the actual work that the organisation does is carried out at a local level, and it therefore becomes important to maintain a large and active member base. Seeking to influence the public administration and companies are ranged four and five.

In the next question, the organisations were asked to state if they had regular contact with the following political actors:

2. Contact with the authorities					Greenpeace	Naturvern-
Does your organisation have regular contact with...					Norway	forbundet
2.1	The parliament/parliamentarian committees?				No	Yes
2.2	Representatives from the parliament/political parties?				Yes	Yes
2.3	The Government?				No	Yes
2.4	The ministries?				Yes	Yes
2.5	Directorates/Government Services?				Yes	Yes

As the table demonstrates, Naturvernforbundet has regular contact with all of these political actors, whereas Greenpeace has regular contact with all of them except the parliament/parliamentarian committees and the government. When it comes to the frequency of the contact, Naturvernforbundet reports to have regular contact with all these actors at a monthly basis, except for the parliament/parliamentarian committees which they have contact with only at a yearly basis¹⁰. Greenpeace have contact with representatives from the parliament/political parties and the ministries at a monthly basis, whereas with the other actors the contact is more seldom and/or not regular¹¹.

For Naturvernforbundet the contact with all actors is considered to be important, except for with the parliament/members of parliamentarian committees which they consider to be somewhat important. This marks a small difference to Greenpeace which states that their contact with all actors is important, except with the government and the ministries, which they consider to be somewhat important. This response, seen in relation to the fact that Greenpeace has no regular contact with the government, suggests that the organisation does not manage to reach the highest level within the public administration. Both organisations report to have monthly contact with five out of seven political parties.

¹⁰ See Attachment 3 for an overview of the responds given in the questionnaires.

¹¹ It should be mentioned that Greenpeace commented that the gap between monthly and yearly contact as alternatives in the questionnaire is too big, and that there might have been a tendency to exaggerate contact because the real number is somewhere in between monthly and yearly.

Out of the two organisations, only Naturvernforbundet is represented in a committee, board, commission, etc. initiated by the government. This is the Energy Panel (Energiutvalget) and the High North Panel (Nordområdeutvalget). Naturvernforbundet reports that this representation is quite important for the organisation, which suggests that it is a useful tool for the organisation to exert influence.

A relatively close connection with the state is also suggested by the degree to which Naturvernforbundet takes part in public hearings. The organisation estimates that it has received about 100 cases from the government to comment on over the last three years. This is the same number that Greenpeace reports. However, whereas Naturvernforbundet has taken part in about 50 public hearings held by the parliament over the same time period, Greenpeace has only taken part in 5. It is also interesting to note that even though Naturvernforbundet seems to have close and institutionalised access to the decision-making bodies, they still consider informal contacts with state representatives to be of greater importance. Maybe less surprisingly, so do Greenpeace.

None of the organisations report to have a specific department or person dedicated to maintaining contact with the public authorities, and none of them have ever used external advisers, consultants, or professional lobbyists in their work to influence the authorities.

Contact with the media is highly valued by both Naturvernforbundet and Greenpeace. They both report to have weekly contact with the media, and rate the contact to be of great significance. Both organisations also estimate that the importance of contact with the media is more important today than what it was 5-10 years ago.

5.1.4 Greenpeace Argentina

Ley de Bosques

One of the main environmental achievements in Argentina is the passing of the Ley de Bosques (the Forest Act) in 2009. It was passed by the National Congress in 2007 but was not regulated by the government until 2009. This law came about as the result of the hard and protracted work of several environmental organisations, including both Greenpeace Argentina and Fundación Vida Silvestre. The law aims to ensure the sustainability and protection of native forests by establishing minimum standards for the use of natural resources. The law states that all provinces must develop sustainable land use plans where forest areas should be divided into a classification system of three levels (red, yellow and green) depending on the

conservation value of the area. The law also includes a “Fund for the Enrichment and Conservation of Native Forests” which is set up to provide monetary support for the provinces to carry out sustainable practices (Greenpeace.org/Argentina 2011a).

The need to protect native forests in Argentina is important in the fight against climate change in several ways, both directly and indirectly. First, deforestation is mainly carried out to advance the agricultural frontier, which contributes to almost 20 per cent of Argentina’s greenhouse gas emissions. Deforestation affects about 300 000 hectares of forests annually and this is one of the highest deforestation rates in the world.

Deforestation also contributes to increased damages during periods of heavy rainfall related to climate changes, negatively impact on the livelihoods of native people living in the areas of valuable forests, and also negatively impact carbon sequestration in trees. Further, the conservation of forests is important for preserving the biodiversity (VidaSilvestre 2011). This demonstrates the variety of reasons why forest conservation is so important in Argentina, and it has therefore been an important issue for many environmental organisations to front.

Employed strategies

For Greenpeace Argentina the campaign to pass the Ley de Bosque was unique in relation to the amount of people they managed to reach and how they managed to time their events. This resulted in the biggest support ever achieved for an environmental cause in Argentina. The main strategy that Greenpeace Argentina focused on was to draw public attention to the importance of the passing of the law, and also to convince people that they needed to act.

The above mentioned factors demonstrating the different aspects of why forest conservation is so important was not in themselves enough to mobilize the whole country. In a developing country where other problems seems more urgent than climate change and where the livelihoods of indigenous people in the north has little relevancy to the people living 4000 km south in Patagonia, it was fundamental for the campaign that they managed to reach the public.

One of the methods Greenpeace Argentina used to do this was to show visual images of the destruction that deforestation has on the impacted areas. They broadcasted info-commercials on television showing huge areas of smoky, burned down and cleared out forest areas with only a few trees with upturned roots left behind. Some of the clips also contained information by experts or Greenpeace activists about the importance to save the forests. They

also posted similar types of video clips on YouTube, Google Video and on their own home page on the internet. Another type of videos contained interviews with indigenous people melancholically telling stories about how their lives have changed as a result of the deforestation (Greenpeace.org/Argentina 2011b).

The internet was also used for other activities than posting videos. A particular website was created for posting important documents related to the law, such as law text and contact information for agencies working with natural resources in the different provinces. The site also contained a blog that offered people updates on activities related to the campaign and a text messaging service where subscribers received information on their mobile phones about campaign activities and events (Gulezian 2009).

Also social networking websites such as Facebook, Twitter and Sonico were frequently used to spread knowledge and encourage participation in campaign activities. All these networks were released in the beginning or during the campaign period, and Greenpeace Argentina quickly recognised their potential as a method for reaching large amounts of people without costs. Both on the organisation's website and on their Facebook page it is possible to obtain information about the campaigns, look at pictures from previous activities, and take part in petitions. As a member of the Facebook group it is also possible to respond to events and take part in discussions on the group wall (Gulezian 2009).

When the law was held up in the Congress by the failure of the Senate to approve it, a heavy petition campaign was initiated to put more pressure on the representatives. The aim of the campaign was to gather one million signatures in support of the Ley de Bosques and thereby convince the representatives to vote for it. By making it possible to sign the petition online, 1 million signatures were collected within two months, and in total 1,5 million signatures were gathered. The petition was also followed up by other activities, such as demonstrations and protests, particularly in the northern parts of Argentina where most of the native forests are located (greenpeace.org.ar 2011).

The demonstrations were carried out by using big banners with slogans to vote for the Ley de Bosques. At some occasions Greenpeace activists dressed up as governors or government members and put up a skit where they refused to sign the law. Other demonstrations included activists pretending to be sleeping members of the Congress, and activists dressed in jaguar patterned clothes sitting in a "jungle" of trees outside the congress building in Buenos Aires.

Other types of media stunts were also carried out to draw attention to the campaign. Motocross riders dressed up in jaguar patterned clothes (reflecting the negative consequences that deforestation has for the jaguar habitat) carried out direct protest activities by riding their motorcycles into the rough terrain of the mountains of Salta where much of the deforestation is carried out. This was done to directly approach the bulldozers that were carrying out the deforestation work, and the activists also chained themselves to the machines to prevent them from continuing their activities (Greenpeace.org/Argentina 2011c). The direct protests and blocking of the bulldozers were carried out for a month before nine activists, including the Greenpeace Argentina president, were arrested by the police (Greenpeace.org/Argentina 2011d).

Another group of activists set up a camp in the trees in the middle of the jungle in Salta where they announced that they would stay until the Ley de Bosque was approved. From the camp they showed images from the forest and made video clips encouraging people to vote for the law by signing the petition (Greenpeace.org/Argentina 2011e). Shortly after the petition was handed over to the Congress, the Ley de Bosque was passed.

However, it took over a year for President Kirchner to regulate it and thereby putting it into effect. To put extra pressure on the president, a campaign named “Call Cristina” was initiated, encouraging people to call President Kirchner and let her know that they were unhappy with her boycott of the law. Her number was published on the Greenpeace Argentina website and on the sites of all the social networks that were taken in use. Further, several phone booths where people could call from were set up along the beach front in Mar del Plata, one of the most popular vacation spots in the country, and at other locations. Accompanying the phone booths were big, red inflatable rotary phones to attract attention, and the campaign was also filmed and posted on the website and on YouTube to increase the pressure on the president (Greenpeace.org/Argentina 2011f).

During the campaign period, formal letters were written to members of the national government, and to provincial leaders and politicians, often in cooperation with other environmental organisations such as Vida Silvestre. In addition, direct lobbying towards relevant decision makers in the national and provincial governments were carried out. Greenpeace also developed suggestions to the different provinces about how they should categorise their native forests to adequately preserve them according to the law.

The Ley de Bosque was signed by President Cristina Kirchner in February 2009 after over two years of intense campaigning by over 30 environmental organisations. However, the

government is still reluctant to set aside a sufficient amount of funding to make sure that the regulations in the law are possible to fulfil, and environmental organisations are still working for a complete implementation and a satisfactory level of funding.

As we have seen, the majority of strategies that Greenpeace Argentina employed in this campaign can clearly be categorised as unconventional according to the table set up in chapter 4.1. The main strategy was to draw attention to the importance of the law and several creative measures were employed to do this. Particularly the internet was an important tool through the use of social networks, YouTube and the organisations home page. In addition, direct campaigning and civil disobedience were used. Also lobbying and formal letter writing to decision makers in the national and provincial governments were used, but to a much smaller extent than the creative strategies.

5.1.5 Fundación Vida Silvestre

Employed strategies

Compared to Greenpeace Argentina, Fundación Vida Silvestre played a very different role in the process of influencing the national government to pass the Ley de Bosque. To illustrate, much of the scientific information about the rate of deforestation and its effects on biodiversity, climate change, and surrounding, particularly indigenous, communities was provided by research and publications sponsored or carried out by Fundación Vida Silvestre. As mentioned above, the organisation issued a joint statement together with Greenpeace and other ENGOs both in 2007 to pressure deputies in the Congress to pass the law, and in 2009 to pressure president Kirchner to regulate the law and thereby turning it into action.

Another strategy that is very important for Vida Silvestre, both in relation to this campaign but also when it comes to other issues, is educating the public to make them more aware of environmental issues and thereby putting an indirect pressure on the politicians. In relation to the importance of preserving forest areas, the organisation has developed an educational programme called “The Forest School”, which is a manual containing diverse materials and audiovisual aid to be incorporated in primary and secondary schools.

Fundación Vida Silvestre has also visited over 350 schools and trained around 500 teachers in environmental education and thereby reached more than 5000 children with their programmes. In addition, three additional online training courses for teachers were set up

where 350 teachers participated and are now carrying out environmental education in their respective communities. Fundación Vida Silvestre estimates that over a period of 15 years of carrying out environmental education, they have managed to reach more than 3000 teachers and over 50 000 students. Their aim is that this will develop a general environmental concern among the people that will result in environmental issues becoming more central in people's everyday lives and thereby also on the political agenda (VidaSilvestre 2011c). For the same reason, Vida Silvestre has also been focused on increasing citizen participation in the provincial work of conserving the forest. They have done this by organizing workshops and making materials aimed at raising awareness to be spread among local communities.

Fundación Vida Silvestre has also worked directly towards the politicians to pressure them not only to pass the law, but also for the provinces to apply it and for the government to secure the funding of it. This work is largely done by letter writing to relevant officials and direct contact with the decision makers. Fundación Vida Silvestre has also been working with Greenpeace to develop suggestions for land management in the Northern provinces and has focused on generating technical and political conditions for the application of the law.

These strategies are similar to the ones that Fundación Vida Silvestre has used in relation to other climate campaigns. The organisation has for example organised an open and free environmental conferences in cooperation with the Universidad de San Andrés, and has worked together with the World Bank and the Secretary of Environment and Sustainable Development to organise an environmental film festival in Buenos Aires.

Besides the environmental educational programmes mentioned above in relation to the Ley de Bosque, Vida Silvestre has also arranged climate competitions for 4th to 6th graders and other school projects sponsored by the Secretary of Environment and Sustainable Development.

Another important climate campaign that the organisation has been working on is "Earth Hour". This is an international campaign initiated by WWF International and coordinated by Fundación Vida Silvestre in Argentina. "Earth Hour" aims to get people to turn off the lights for one hour to demonstrate the importance of fighting climate change, and Fundación Vida Silvestre carried out several campaigns to get as many people as possible to take part. They managed to get 19 cities all over the country to participate and more than 100 companies cooperated in taking part in, and spreading information about the campaign to their employees, partners, and providers.

In the days leading up to the “Earth Hour”, several volunteers from Fundación Vida Silvestre travelled the underground wearing snorkels and t-shirts with the “Earth Hour” logo to raise awareness about one of the consequences of climate change; increasing sea levels. Another campaign called “ARMA TU 60” (“Plan your 60”) encouraged people to upload pictures of their ideas relating to “Earth Hour” and people could vote for the best picture.

Further, Fundación Vida Silvestre made it possible for people to ‘turn off the light’ on their Facebook profile to show their support and almost 90 000 Facebook users supported the campaign in this way. They also posted information about the campaign on Twitter and their web page, and an informational video clip was posted on YouTube and was viewed by about 40 000 people. Before, during, and after the campaign, the organisation was mentioned in over 270 news papers, and 40 radio channels and 17 television channels published their campaign commercial. The “Earth Hour” event was celebrated with concerts and shows in the centre of Buenos Aires (VidaSilvestre 2011d).

This section has demonstrated that also Fundación Vida Silvestre mainly uses strategies that are considered to be unconventional according to the categorisation presented in chapter 4.1. However, there is a notable difference between the strategies employed by Fundación Vida Silvestre and Greenpeace Argentina. The activities of FVS are much more traditional and less aggressive than those used by Greenpeace. Environmental education and scientific research are important methods for the organisation to increase the environmental knowledge of the population with the aim that the public will support the work in putting pressure on the politicians to develop environmental standards. Fundación Vida Silvestre also has some of their campaigns supported by the state or the provinces. However, this cannot be directly compared with administrative corporatism because these activities are directed at the general public and is not an opportunity to directly take part in the policy making process.

5.1.6 The relationship between the organisations and the decision makers in Argentina

As demonstrated above, Greenpeace Argentina is to a much larger degree than Fundación Vida Silvestre using creative campaigns and protests to influence national environmental policy making. Whereas Greenpeace Argentina is mainly focused on raising public attention through the use of social media, direct campaigns and civil disobedience, Fundación Vida Silvestre has its main focus on environmental education and publishing

scientific reports. Fundación Vida Silvestre also tend to cooperate more with the public authorities, and several of their projects, especially when it comes to environmental education, are sponsored by the national or provincial governments. To analyse the relationship between the organisations and the policy makers more thoroughly, the responds given in the questionnaire are examined.

1. Strategy: How do you evaluate the significance of the following strategies to achieve your organisation's goals?	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
1.1 Seek to influence the decisions of the politicians?	1	1
1.2 Seek to gain a high number of members and make sure that these members are active?	4	5
1.3 Seek to influence the decisions of the public administration	5	2
1.4 Seek to influence the decisions of corporations	2	3
1.5 Seek support in the population	3	4

For both Greenpeace Argentina and Fundación Vida Silvestre, ‘seeking to influence the decisions of the politicians’ is the most important strategy. Both of them also find it important to influence the decisions of corporations, but maintaining a high number of active members is considered to be of relatively low importance by both organisations. This is a bit unexpected considering Greenpeace Argentina’s focus on demonstrations and direct action campaigns that are dependent on the support of active members. The biggest difference between the organisations when ranging their strategies mentioned here is that seeking to influence the decisions of the public administration is considered to be the least important strategy by Greenpeace and the second most important one for Fundación Vida Silvestre.

2. Contact with the authorities Does your organisation have regular contact with...	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
2.1 The parliament/parliamentarian committees?	Yes	Yes
2.2 Representatives from the parliament/political parties?	Yes	Yes
2.3 The Government?	Yes	Yes
2.4 The ministries?	Yes	Yes
2.5 Directorates/Government Services?	Yes	Yes

Both organisations report to have regular contact with all the mentioned branches of the government, and at a more frequent level than what the Norwegian organisations reported. Of the different branches listed above, both organisations have weekly contact with all of them except the Ministries where they have monthly contact. Greenpeace Argentina also has

monthly contact with the Government. Both organisations state that this contact is either very important or important.

A significant difference between the organisations becomes apparent when looking at the frequency of contact with the political parties. Greenpeace Argentina has weekly or monthly contact with all of the political parties, whereas Fundación Vida Silvestre only has yearly contact.

None of the organisations are represented in a committee, panel or commission appointed by the government or by a ministry. However, whereas Greenpeace Argentina considers the importance of this type of representation to be “not important” and evaluate informal contacts to be of greater importance, Fundación Vida Silvestre consider representation in committees etc. to be “very important” and equally important as informal contacts. Out of the two organisations only Greenpeace has a person responsible for maintaining contact with the public authorities.

Contact with the media occurs at a daily or weekly basis and is considered very important by both organisations.

5.1.7 Summary

There are several important observations that have been made in this section. First, none of the organisations rely on just one type of strategy. It is possible to recognize activities from several of the strategies highlighted in Chapter 4.1. for all four organisations that are examined. On the other hand, all organisations seem to have a clear *preference* for a certain type of activity.

Even though both the Argentinean organisations were categorised as using unconventional strategies, the activities employed by each organisation within this grouping vary greatly. Greenpeace Argentina uses more reactive strategies, whereas Fundación Vida Silvestre to a large degree focuses on environmental education and research. It should also be noted that the differences in choice of strategy between the countries were smaller than expected.

However, it is possible to identify differences in the use of strategies between the countries. The main difference in choice of strategy to influence national environmental policy between Norway and Argentina is that the strategy labelled “administrational corporatism” and refers to participation in public boards, committees, etc. is basically non-

existent in Argentina. Also participation in public hearings is a strategy that is less frequently used in Argentina.

On the other hand, this does not mean that direct contact with the different branches of the political system is less important in Argentina. A comparison of the answers given in the questionnaires reveals that both Greenpeace Argentina and Vida Silvestre range contact with the authorities as more important than what Greenpeace Norway and Naturvernforbundet do, and that this contact is more frequent in Argentina than in Norway. This suggests that the use of political lobbying is more important in Argentina than in Norway.

Another observation is that of the organisations examined in this thesis, the Norwegian organisations are more similar to each other than what the Argentinean organisations are. As highlighted above, there are notable differences between the organisations in both countries, but Greenpeace Norway and Naturvernforbundet are generally speaking more similar than what Greenpeace Argentina and Fundación Vida Silvestre are. This point is particularly emphasised by examining not only what type of activities and strategies that are carried out, but also *how* they are carried out.

Further, it is important to point out that the differences in choice of strategies do not only vary between Norway and Argentina, but also between the organisations within each country. The most notable difference in the choice of strategies between Greenpeace Norway and Naturvernforbundet is that Naturvernforbundet to a larger degree relies on conventional strategies such as participation in public hearings and government initiated committees. They have more direct institutionalised contact with the decision makers and more frequently carry out activities such as letter writing and submission of proposals both to the government and the parliament than what Greenpeace Norway does. Naturvernforbundet also has a greater focus on environmental education and they cooperate with the government on certain issues and get government funding to carry out some of their projects.

Greenpeace Norway focuses more on unconventional mobilizing and media strategies and lobbying to influence environmental policy making and their way of drawing attention to an environmental issue is more confronting than that of Naturvernforbundet. Also, Greenpeace's campaign strategies are more confronting in the way that activists block production sites, chain themselves to production equipment, and put themselves in the middle of situations that can sometimes be dangerous. However, it has to be pointed out that the last mentioned types of activities are not frequently used by Greenpeace Norway.

Whereas Naturvernforbundet might engage in protest marches, Greenpeace to a larger degree use measures to draw public attention to their activities. This is demonstrated for example by the use of big and colourful banners, activists dressed in costumes, and other creative measures.

Also differences between Greenpeace Argentina and Fundación Vida Silvestre are apparent. Even if identifiable, Greenpeace Argentina's use of conventional strategies to influence national environmental policy making is at a minimum, and often a result of cooperation and submission of joint statements together with other ENGOs. The use of creative mobilizing and media strategies is essential for the organisation, and they have been in the forefront, not only in Argentina but also globally, when it comes to take advantage of the mobilizing opportunities presented by social media. Greenpeace in both countries highlight the importance of visibility and claim that this gives them more credibility and legitimacy in the public debate. The fact that Greenpeace manages to get seen and heard plays an important role for the influence they have. Greenpeace Argentina also employs civil disobedience as a tool to pressure politicians to take action.

Fundación Vida Silvestre is a much more traditional organisation that has a main focus on environmental education. Their strategies for influencing environmental policy making is also to a large degree indirect, but more focused on increasing the general public's knowledge about environmental degradation and climate change and thereby attempting to increase the political value of these issues.

As highlighted above, Greenpeace in both Norway and Argentina mainly use strategies that are considered to be unconventional. However, Greenpeace Argentina goes to more extremes when it comes to how they are carrying out these activities; they are more active in arranging demonstrations, they more frequently use creative tools to draw attention to their campaigns, and they also use civil disobedience as an instrument more often. This places them further away from Fundación Vida Silvestre which is very traditional in its work. Greenpeace Norway is to a much larger degree restrictive in their use of this "aggressive" type of activities, and in their day-to-day work the differences between Greenpeace Norway and Naturvernforbundet is less apparent.

5.2 How can we explain similarities and differences in choice of strategies in, and between, Norway and Argentina?

As we saw above, some notable differences both within and between Norway and Argentina were identified. This section will explain similarities and differences in choice of strategies both between organisations in the same country and also between the countries based on the three hypotheses presented above in Chapter 4.

5.2.1 Political structure

The first hypothesis presented above aims to explain differences in choice of strategy to influence national environmental policy making on the basis of differences in political structures in the two countries.

H1: Because Norway has an open political structure with institutionalised access to policy makers, Norwegian ENGOs will use conventional strategies to influence policy making whereas Argentina has a closed political structure with limited access and Argentinean ENGOs will therefore use unconventional strategies.

In the previous section it was confirmed that the use of conventional strategies is more common in Norway than in Argentina, even though there is a notable difference in the use of these strategies between Greenpeace Norway and Naturvernforbundet. As we remember, out of the about 100 cases that each organisation has been offered to comment on over the last three years, Greenpeace Norway commented on 5 and Naturvernforbundet on 50.

What is important to notice in this case is that each organisation is offered the possibility to take part in this formal hearing process. The fact that Greenpeace more frequently chooses not to do so is not an issue of more or less institutional access, but rather an organisational choice. Gulowsen (2011 [interview]) confirms that Greenpeace is probably one of the environmental organisations in Norway that spends the least time on responding to hearing proposals and taking part in public political processes. This is a conscious choice made by the organisation and will be discussed further in relation to H3 about organisational characteristics.

Naturvernforbundet, on the other hand, admits that they might spend too many resources on responding to hearing proposals in relation to other activities. The organisation still emphasises the importance of being represented in several committees and boards appointed by the government, and generally work to build alliances with politicians (Haug Larsen 2011 [interview]). Because climate and environmental issues are relatively important on the political agenda in Norway, there are several governmental committees working on these issues, and the channels for influence thereby increases.

In Argentina, the situation is quite different. Through interviews with representatives from each organisation it was confirmed that the closed political structure in Argentina makes it very challenging to employ direct, conventional strategies to influence national environmental policies (Testa 2011, von Wuthenau 2011). One important reason for this is the lack of channels for using conventional strategies. The government rarely creates boards, panels or committees where they invite environmental organisations to join, and if they do they only invite organisations that they know are on the government's side (von Wuthenau 2011[interview]).

The same problem involves public hearings. Both organisations state that the number of public hearings is limited and very politically controlled by the authorities. It is not a space for open and free debate or for an objective evaluation, rather it is a tool for the government to present their view and a political performance proclaiming that they are including interest groups in the decision making (von Wuthenau 2011 [interview]). None of the organisations generally take part in public hearings; Fundación Vida Silvestre because they do not consider it an effective method to influence on politics and Greenpeace because they do not want to give their legitimacy to these processes (Testa 2011 [interview], von Wuthenau 2011 [interview]).

Both organisations also highlight the government's lack of interest in developing environmental policies as one of their main challenges. In Argentina there is no common political understanding of how to solve environmental problems, and none of the political parties have included environmental concerns in their party programmes. This makes it challenging for the organisations to find allies within the political system that can help them promote environmental issues. This is also why much of the work that ENGOs do is not to impact on environmental policies that are proposed by the politicians, but rather to make sure that environmental policies are at the political agenda at all. This is an important reason for

why most of the strategies chosen by the Argentinean ENGOs are indirect; it is first necessary to raise the public awareness and create a public demand for environmental policies before they can take part in forming the policies that are being made.

It is also in this aspect that Greenpeace Argentina and Fundación Vida Silvestre show great differences in choice of strategies. Whereas Greenpeace Argentina use demonstrations and creative media activities to inform and mobilize the public one campaign at the time, Fundación Vida Silvestre focus on improving the general environmental knowledge of the people. They both use indirect strategies to mobilize people to demand environmental policies, but the activities that are carried out to do this are very different.

Another challenge in Argentina is that of presidentialism. Particularly Fundación Vida Silvestre emphasises that the executive branch has too much power in relation to the other branches. This means that contact with, and lobbying of, members of congress, who are more easily accessible, is less fruitful because it is at the executive level that the decisions are being made. Further, when the congress is being issued a law proposal, they lack the organisational infrastructure, technical skills, information and financial resources to deal with this in a satisfactory manner (von Wuthenau 2011 [interview]).

This can be related to the frequent rotations of members of the government highlighted in Chapter 4, and discourages ENGOs from putting much time and effort into influencing this branch of the public authorities (Testa 2011 [interview]). Presidentialism also means that the President has the ability to stop or delay laws from the Congress. As mentioned above, the Ley de Bosque took two years from it was passed in the Congress until the President regulated it and thereby put it into force. It would probably have taken longer had it not been for the enormous public pressure that was put on the President through several campaigns (Testa 2011 [interview]).

All four organisations highlight the importance of political lobbying in their work to influence national environmental policy making. Even in Norway where we have seen that the institutionalised access to policy makers is relatively high, lobbying is considered to be an important instrument for exerting influence. Naturvernforbundet emphasises that the importance of lobbying depends on whether there is a majority- or a minority government in power, but state that they particularly take advantage of the opposition parties when aiming to pressure the government to pass environmental regulations.

For example, before the Norwegian national climate agreement “Klimaforliket” was passed in 2008, Naturvernforbundet used political lobbying of the opposition to achieve stricter environmental standards and goals (Haug Larsen 2011 [interview]). Haug Larsen also states that the use of lobbying as a direct strategy of influence has become more important over the last years. This is because the formation of politics to an increasing degree is taking place by politicians outside the ministries and bureaucracy (2011 [interview]). This is in accordance with the developments that were highlighted in relation to the analytical framework in Chapter 4.2.

For Greenpeace Norway political lobbying is mainly used towards members in the parliament to inform politicians with the aim that they will either support or oppose a proposal that is up for discussion. Or in other words, lobbying is used to tell parliamentarian members why they should be for or against a proposal. Lobbying is also used to “give” a member of parliament (often the opposition) a concrete environmental issue that he/she can take further in the parliamentarian discussions, but this strategy is used more seldom.

Further, Greenpeace Norway does not generally use lobbying as a strategy if none of the campaigns that they are working on are up for discussion in the government. Due to lack of resources, general political lobbying on all the environmental issues the organisation is concerned with is not possible, so they choose to use lobbying as a strategy when they have a concrete request in relation to a topic that is being debated (Gulowsen 2011 [interview]).

As discussed above, the Argentinean organisations state that for real changes to be made, it is necessary to lobby the executive branch of the government. Even if lobbying of members of the congress can be a good place to start, there is always a risk that the law proposal will be stopped when it reaches a higher level. Testa (2011 [interview]) emphasise that the ENGOs generally do not have much contact with the Secretary of Environment and Sustainable Development because they do not have the power to make any real decisions.

Also, the relationship between the secretary and ENGOs has until recently been characterised more by conflict than by cooperation, which has further discouraged the contact between the actors (Testa 2011 [interview], von Wuthenau 2011 [interview]).

Another factor that complicates lobbying in Argentina is that the opposition is fractured and do not have the capacity to unite as an opposing political block. If the opposition had been more united it would have been easier for ENGOs in Argentina to play them up against the government, but as the situation is today, this is still very challenging.

To better understand the choice of strategies that ENGOs make, it is useful to also examine how the organisations perceive the effectiveness of contact with the authorities. The last section of the questionnaire focuses on who takes the initiative for contact between the organisation and the authorities, how easy or difficult it is for the organisations to get approval for their opinions, and what their suggestions result in.

In Norway, both organisations are normally the initiators for contact between themselves and the public authorities, almost regardless of which branch. Only Naturvernforbundet reports that it is normally the parliament/parliamentarian committees who are the initiators when there is contact between them and the organisation. This should be seen in relation to Naturvernforbundet's high level of participation in public hearings and suggests that the organisation is considered to be an important actor for the Parliament when it comes to environmental policy formation.

On the other hand, Naturvernforbundet, as well as Greenpeace, still state that they consider it quite difficult to get support for their opinion in this political body. Naturvernforbundet generally finds it easier than Greenpeace to get support for their opinions and they also report to see more changes being made as a result of their policy suggestions than what Greenpeace does. However, it must be pointed out that the differences between the organisations at this point are small.

In Argentina, the initiative to contact between the organisations and different branches of the government is more evenly divided between the actors. We already established that there is little formal contact through institutionalised channels so this observation suggests that informal contact between the authorities/politicians and the organisations go both ways. Regardless of this contact, however, both organisations find it difficult to get support for their opinions in most branches of the government. Greenpeace Argentina reports to see more changes being made as a result of their contact with the authorities than what Fundación Vida Silvestre does. This can at least partly be explained by the fact that Greenpeace Argentina's campaigns generally have a more specific focus on concrete changes (often the passing of a law or regulation) whereas the work of Fundación Vida Silvestre is more general (i.e. environmental education).

Summary

Both Greenpeace Norway and Naturvernforbundet do to a larger degree than Greenpeace Argentina and Fundación Vida Silvestre employ conventional strategies to influence national environmental policy making. There is strong evidence to argue that differences in the political structures in the countries are an important reason for this. Even though Greenpeace Norway to a lesser degree than Naturvernforbundet chooses conventional strategies, they more frequently do so than both Greenpeace Argentina and Fundación Vida Silvestre. From the information attained by the interviews it became clear that Greenpeace Norway's relatively limited use of institutionalised channels to exert influence is more a question about organisational choice than by access to these channels.

For Greenpeace Argentina and Fundación Vida Silvestre, on the other hand, the institutionalised access related to the use of conventional strategies is to a large degree nonexistent. The fact that a significant degree of Fundación Vida Silvestre's activities are directed towards the government must not be confused with them being conventional strategies. In chapter 4.1 it was highlighted that conventional strategies are restricted to those activities that are initiated by the authorities. Albeit the fact that Fundación Vida Silvestre seems to cooperate more closely with the government than what Greenpeace Argentina, and maybe also Greenpeace Norway do, this cooperation is generally in terms of financial support or cooperation on the employment of different educational projects. It does not involve activities such as participation in public boards or committees or public hearings and is therefore not included in the conventional strategy category as defined in this thesis.

It is also plausible to argue that the findings showing that political lobbying is considered to be more important in Argentina than in Norway can be related to the Argentinean organisations' lack of institutionalised access to decision makers. Regardless of importance, however, political lobbying in Argentina is challenged by political structural factors such as presidentialism and the lack of a coherent political opposition. Presidentialism means that lobbying for policy proposals at the legislative branch of the government often has little or no effect because there are big chances that the proposal will be stopped or altered when it comes to the executive branch. A fractured opposition means that they are not able to unite as an opposing political block and this makes lobbying less effective.

In Norway, the increasing importance of political lobbying confirmed by the organisations is in accordance with the later observations made by for example Christiansen and Rommetvedt. They state that even though a strong corporatist structure remains, lobbying

is becoming more widespread partly due to a relative power shift from the government towards the parliament (Christiansen and Rommetvedt 1999).

The first hypothesis stated that ENGOs in Norway have a greater institutionalised access to the policy makers and that they therefore are more likely to employ conventional strategies than what Argentinean ENGOs are, with a more restricted access. The results from the analysis *partly* support this hypothesis. The examination demonstrates that political structures *do* impact on the strategies that ENGOs use to influence national environmental policy making. However, political structures do not explain differences in choice of strategies found between the organisations within in each country. The hypothesis also fails to explain why there seems to be greater acceptance for civil disobedience and direct action activities in Greenpeace Argentina than what it is in Greenpeace Norway.

5.2.2 Political Culture

The second hypothesis was based on differences in the political culture of the two countries and was formulated as follows;

H2: Because Norway has a political culture characterised by trust and equality, ENGOs will use conventional strategies to influence policy making, whereas Argentina has a political culture characterised by distrust and inequality and will therefore use of unconventional strategies.

The examination in the previous section concluded that Greenpeace Norway to a limited degree chooses conventional strategies to influence national environmental policies even though the channels for doing so are institutionalised and accessible. On the other hand, in comparison to many other Greenpeace organisations, Greenpeace Norway also relatively seldom uses civil disobedience and demonstrations as strategies. It therefore appears as though in Norwegian standards, the organisation is more on the unconventional side of the scale, but in international standards it is still quite moderate.

Gulowsen states that the choice to employ the more aggressive types of unconventional strategies is to a large degree a question about resources and type of campaign. He recognises that these strategies are not equally useful for all campaign issues

and that their use should be restricted to campaigns that are of particular importance (Gulowsen 2011 [interview]). However, he rejects that the limited use of civil disobedience and demonstrations is related to a political culture that is critical to these types of strategies.

This statement stands in sharp contrast to the analysis carried out by Strømsnes et al. (2009) where they argue that the reason for Greenpeace's limited success in Norway can be explained by the Norwegian political culture. More specifically, they argue that particularly two aspects of the Norwegian political culture - (1) trust based on a state-friendly society and (2) a strong local community perspective- significantly reduce Greenpeace's ability to impact on national environmental policies. "Greenpeace's ideology and political strategy are simply anathema to the general Norwegian public and the national political culture" (Strømsnes, Selle, and Grendstad 2009, 404). It does not take much research to conclude that the use of direct action campaigns and civil disobedience are strategies used more frequently by almost all other Greenpeace organisations, including the other Scandinavian ones.

Also Carmin and Balser argue in their analysis of Greenpeace that organisations weigh their strategies based on interpretations of the "institutional environment, views about the efficacy of particular forms of action, and beliefs about what is and is not acceptable" (Carmin and Balser 2002, 384). As stated above, in Norway the use of civil disobedience and direct campaigning are not used very often, and are by some frowned upon. This suggests that, even if indirectly, the political culture in Norway does in fact impact on the choice of strategies that Greenpeace Norway makes, and at least partly explains the limited use of direct action campaigns and civil disobedience.

Naturvernforbundet does to a much larger extent than Greenpeace Norway fit into the political culture hypothesis. The organisation has maintained close contact both with the national and regional authorities and has all through its history taken advantage of the institutionalised channels for exerting influence. However, as for Greenpeace Norway, it is challenging to identify clearly the role of political culture when it comes to these choices of strategies. Aspects such as ideology, value and history of the organisations also seem to play an important role and these features will be discussed more in detail in the following section.

Greenpeace Argentina seems to be placed at the other end of the conventional-nonconventional scale from Greenpeace Norway. Whereas it was argued above that Greenpeace Norway chooses strategies that are quite conventional in relation to other

Greenpeace organisations, Greenpeace Argentina are considered to be one of the most creative and reactive branches of the organisation.

One important reason for this is the need to stand out and to be heard. Testa confirms that there is a general scepticism towards both politics and politicians in Argentina, and that corruption is a major cause of this (2011 [interview]).

Another problem is the lack of responsibility for the society as a whole. When Greenpeace Argentina is carrying out a demonstration or campaign that is pushing for the government to make changes or improvements it is easy to get public support. However, if the organisation is asking the people to make changes themselves, they are much less supportive. Even a request for people to change from incandescent light bulbs to more energy efficient ones created public protests and so did requests for people to start recycling.

Testa argues that there is a displacement of responsibility towards the government and an unreasonable tendency to blame the government and politicians for everything that is wrong. This makes it easier for Greenpeace Argentina to receive support for their direct campaigns and demonstrations, but makes it difficult to create a society (Testa 2011 [interview]).

Further, there is also a misuse of demonstrations and civil disobedience in Argentina. Almost on a daily basis there is some kind of protest going on outside the Congress, and there are also permanent banners put up outside both the Congress and the Casa Rosada demanding the government to take responsibility for different things. Often the size of the protests are not in relation to the demands that protesters are making. For example, there has been several occasions where someone has been murdered and before the case has even gone to trial there are people out blocking the streets and banging on pots and pans whilst demanding justice. This clearly demonstrates the lack of trust in the political institutions.

This is also an important reason why Greenpeace Argentina has to use creative measures to gain attention. With so many protests and demonstrations being carried out all the time it is essential for the organisation to stand out and be noticed. It is also important for the organisation to avoid violence and not to get in people's way. Many of the other manifestations that are carried out involves blocking roads and traffic, and do thereby directly intervene in peoples lives. Greenpeace Argentina attempt to avoid this and aim not to affect any other than the ones that are directly involved in environmentally damaging activities that they are protesting against (Testa 2011 [interview]). This being said, Greenpeace activists

have at several occasions been arrested for civil disobedience, generally for breaking an entry or physically blocking environmentally damaging behaviour.

Fundación Vida Silvestre also state that there is not sufficient trust in the government, and particularly in the executive power. However, it is not in the organisation's nature to protest and carry out direct action campaigns. It is in the culture of the organisation to study environmental problems, discuss them and develop concrete proposals based on these processes. Fundación Vida Silvestre chooses to work within the system even though they admit that this is a long and complicated process that means that years can go by without concrete results or changes are being made (von Wuthenau 2011 [interview]). They also go around the system by creating own national parks and environmental education programmes instead of waiting for the government to do it.

This suggests that even though the political culture in Argentina lacks trust in the political institutions and in politicians it does not necessarily mean that the ENGOs choose demonstrational nonconventional strategies. As stated above, the institutionalised channels for exerting influence in Argentina are limited, but Fundación Vida Silvestre still chooses to employ strategies like environmental education and research to influence on environmental politics, and use lobbying to get their point across. For Greenpeace Argentina it was concluded that the political culture in Argentina makes it easier for the organisation to gain support for their direct action strategies and creative events, and that the general acceptance for these types of activities are broad in the Argentinean society. As the example of Fundación Vida Silvestre has demonstrated, however, this does not mean that all ENGOs in Argentina employ unconventional reactive activities.

As we remember, the second hypothesis anticipated that because the political culture in Norway is characterised by a close relationship between the civil society and the state, ENGOs would be more likely to employ conventional strategies to influence national environmental policy making. In Argentina, on the other hand, the civil society has little trust in politicians and institutions and it was therefore expected that this would be a reason for ENGOs to choose unconventional strategies.

As the examination above demonstrates, the assumptions that this hypothesis is based on can only be partly supported. It might be that characteristics of the political culture in Norway have contributed to modifying the choice of strategy of Greenpeace Norway, as argued by Strømsnes et al. (2009). On the other hand, with a staff of 6 people and a member

base of just over 1000, it might as well be that the limited use of the most expressive unconventional strategies that Greenpeace as an organisation is characterised by is a result of restricted resources and priority as Gulowsen stated.

Even though Naturvernforbundet seems to fit into the expectations of this hypothesis, there is not sufficient evidence derived from the examination in this thesis to confirm that this is due to characteristics of the political culture, or to other reasons.

In Argentina, the differences in choice of strategy are so great between the organisations that it is difficult to explain them based on the political culture in the country. As argued above, it is likely that the political culture, characterised by its scepticism and distrust towards politicians and the political system, makes it easier for Greenpeace Argentina to gain support for their direct campaign strategies.

In regards to Fundación Vida Silvestre, it might be argued that the organisation chooses to carry out environmental education and take the initiative to create national parks because they do not trust the government to do so. However, this is a matter of speculation and the thesis does not provide any real evidence to back up this argument.

This means that the thesis does not find much support for the second hypothesis. It does not mean that examining the political culture of the countries is irrelevant to understand their choice of strategies, but in this case it does not give sufficient information regarding the questions that the thesis is asking.

5.2.3 Organisational characteristics

The last hypothesis argues that even though organisations operate within the same political structures and political cultures, they might choose different strategies based on organisational characteristics such as experience and values and beliefs.

H3: Greenpeace in both Norway and Argentina are more likely to use nonconventional strategies because its experience and values characterises it as an action-taking organisation, whereas Naturvernforbundet and Fundación Vida Silvestre is characterised by more traditional experience and values and are therefore more likely to use conventional strategies.

Greenpeace

Several of the founding members of Greenpeace belonged to the Quaker movement and the organisation is still characterised by having Quaker values and beliefs. The principle of non-violence, for example, stands strong in the Quaker belief, and so do equality, integrity and simplicity. The Quaker strategy of “bearing witness” or testifying is a way of acting out spirituality and has motivated Greenpeace to actually go out there and take action (Carmin and Balsler 2002). As stated by Stephen D’Esposito, a former Greenpeace US executive director;

“Greenpeace is about standing in the way, it’s about taking direct action, it’s about getting in people’s faces, it’s about exposing what is really going on. Civil disobedience has kept the organisation in the public eye while it demonstrated dissatisfaction with existing policies, political processes, and corporate practices” (Quoted in Carmin and Balsler 2002, 380).

It can be argued that Greenpeace is characterised by being founded in the reactive and radical political environment of the 1970s. This was a period where fresh political awareness swept around the world and gave rise to new movements concerned with issues such as women, civil rights, indigenous, and not to mention the environment. Greenpeace’s interpretation of the world was that “governments and corporations were powerful and highly organised actors that imposed their interests and preferences on others” (Carmin and Balsler 2002, 379). In the view of Greenpeace, environmental problems are the result of power imbalances in the social and political systems and due to this, it is their responsibility to “expose and stop both governmental and corporate injustice and exploitation” (Carmin and Balsler 2002, 379). The organisation is still characterised by their previous experiences in employing direct action strategies.

Greenpeace believes that the best way to protect the environment is to change the way that people understand the world. The way that people live their lives reflects a certain conception or interpretation of the world, and for people to turn experience into action it is therefore necessary to alter the way they think about the environment and the importance of protecting it (Susanto 2007). As the name reveals, Greenpeace is also a peace organisation that takes a strong stand against use of violence.

According to their web page, two of Greenpeace's main values are transparency and accountability. They have therefore endorsed the global Accountability Charter developed by the non-profit sector to demonstrate the importance of public trust (Greenpeace.org 2011d).

Greenpeace Norway highlights that Greenpeace is, and always has been, a campaign organisation that organises their activities around one or a few projects at the time. They do not attempt to work on *all* environmental issues simply because they do not consider this to be a part of their role. Gulowsen (2011 [interview]) explains Greenpeace Norway's restricted use of corporatist and institutionalised channels for exerting influence on two main factors. First, seen in relation to what actually comes out of these activities in terms of policy changes, Greenpeace Norway considers the organisation's work to be more fruitful when using other types of strategies. There are already many other environmental organisations that are following these political processes and responding to hearing proposals so the need for more of this type of activity is limited. Second, it is also a question of resources. The Greenpeace Norway office is small and responding to hearing proposals is a time consuming job. This means that the choice of employing unconventional strategies is a question of organisational choice based on values and cost effectiveness, not a question of institutionalised access.

Another characteristic of Greenpeace is that they only in particularly important cases follow an issue from the start until the end. They consider their role to be focused on drawing attention to environmental issues and to lift the public and political debate. The process of detailed formulation of new policies or regulation is often handed over to other environmental organisations (Gulowsen 2011 [interview]). This can also partly explain the more limited use of conventional strategies by the organisation.

Greenpeace Argentina also highlights the importance of cooperation with other organisations. They admit that due to their more revolutionary strategies, they only reach a certain type of people. How organisations choose their strategies is highly dependent on the ideology of each organisation and how it perceives the political institutions. Testa (2011 [interview]) states that Greenpeace generally has a sceptical attitude towards the government and that to stick to the institutionalised path for influencing politics is not in the organisation's nature.

Naturvernforbundet

When it comes to values and beliefs, Naturvernforbundet emphasises sustainability. They state that it is their responsibility to think ahead and make sure that consideration towards the

nature and the environment is prioritised over short-term benefits. Future generations should have the same opportunities to enjoy the nature in the same way that we do, and Naturvernforbundet is working actively to encourage people to enjoy and respect the nature and its intrinsic value. The organisation is not working only to influence environmental politics through political channels, but do also attempt to be a place where people can come and contribute themselves.

The possession of expertise and credibility are also important values that Naturvernforbundet highlight. To be taken seriously in the environmental debate they seek to gain knowledge and constantly improve their proficiency by carrying out research and being updated on research carried out by others.

Haug Larsen (2011 [interview]) states that the Naturvernforbundet's history plays an important role when it comes to formation of strategies. It has always been important for Naturvernforbundet to rely on professional expertise, and protesting and other direct action activities have therefore not seemed relevant as strategies. As mentioned, Naturvernforbundet was the first environmental organisation in Norway, and aimed at being a counterweight to, and source of information for the politicians. For a long period, Naturvernforbundet was the only environmental organisation that played this role. Today, however, the number of ENGOS has increased, and the need for professional expertise working towards policy influence in Oslo is to a larger degree filled by other organisations as well.

Further, Naturvernforbundet also has in mind the local and regional organisations when they develop strategies and campaigns. As an organisation they stand stronger when they work together, and claim that local strength is an advantage also up against influencing national policy making.

Fundación Vida Silvestre

“A world in which human beings develop in harmony with nature” is the vision of Fundación Vida Silvestre (VidaSilvestre 2011a). They aim to complete this vision by proposing and implementing solutions to conserve the nature, promote a sustainable use of natural resources, and promote a responsible behaviour of people in the context of climate change. Fundación Vida Silvestre is an independent organisation with a national focus. They aim to offer concrete solutions to environmental problems with their proposals based on the best scientific information available and respect for cultural diversity.

The most central values of the organisation are anticipation, dialogue, efficiency and transparency, and respect (VidaSilvestre 2011a). By anticipation they refer to having an inclusive vision and to look ahead to environmental issues. They seek to focus on dialogue and consensus building with all sectors to avoid unnecessary conflict, and aim to manage their business efficiently whilst ensuring transparency about the origin and use of resources that they use. The organisation also highlights the importance of respect and to consider knowledge and different points of view of those they interact with (VidaSilvestre 2011a).

Fundación Vida Silvestre confirms in the interview that the organisation would never employ strategies such as direct action protests or boycotting. This is because it is simply not in the organisation's nature to do so. The strategies of Fundación Vida Silvestre are more based on giving technical assistance and are based on a combination of research and proposals. When working to influence national environmental policy making, they choose to follow the conventional channels, but also highlight the importance of lobbying.

This examination gives support for the hypothesis stating that organisational characteristics, such as experience and values and beliefs, influence ENGOs choice of strategies. From the interviews it was confirmed that each organisation evaluate what type of strategies they employ based on their values and their perception of what is appropriate strategies, in addition to their experience of what strategic approaches that are successful. In the first two hypotheses we saw that there were considerable differences in the choice of strategies between the organisations in the same country. This suggests that it is the organisational characteristic of each organisation that is a central factor for determining the choice of strategy to influence national environmental policy making.

6 Conclusion and final remarks

6.1 Conclusion

The first research question asked: *What strategies do ENGOs in Norway and Argentina use to influence national environmental policy making?* The most notable finding from the analysis is that ENGOs employ a wide range of strategies to achieve their goals in relation to environmental policy making. Activities such as demonstrations, letter writing, the use of internet and social networks, environmental research and education, direct action, and information campaigns are some examples. The thesis observes that a combination of direct and indirect strategies is identified for all the organisations examined, and some also combine conventional and unconventional strategies. ENGOs generally have multiple goals and this requires them to employ several types of strategies depending on who they are addressing, what the issue is, how far along in the policy process the issue has come, and if they have general support for the importance of the issue. This makes it challenging, and maybe futile, to pinpoint a certain type of strategy that ENGOs employ.

Another finding was that the differences in choice of strategies between Norway and Argentina are not as clear as expected. It turns out that on a general basis there are bigger differences between the organisations within each country than what there are between the countries. Regardless of this, *some* differences between the countries are observed.

For example, administrative corporatism is hardly ever used in Argentina, and neither is participation in public hearings. Further, Greenpeace Argentina is much more reactive in the way that they carry out their campaigns than what Greenpeace Norway is. Also, the Norwegian organisations are more similar to each other than what the Argentineans are.

When it comes to the organisations, Greenpeace is the most reactive and creative organisation and the organisation that has the least contact with the authorities in both countries. Naturvernforbundet and Fundación Vida Silvestre are much more traditional in their work and have a closer contact with the decision makers even though the political system in Argentina prevents Fundación Vida Silvestre from employing conventional strategies as defined in this thesis.

The fact that the strategies employed by the ENGOS in Argentina fall under the category of unconventional strategies even though they are very different in nature, suggests that the dichotomy between conventional and unconventional strategies might not be a very useful analytical division. As the categories have been defined in this thesis, civil disobedience comes in the same category as environmental education. Even though the division used here is relatively common, it runs the risk of depriving important information and could with advantage be divided into more categories.

The second research question asked: *How can we explain differences and similarities in choice of strategies in and between Norway and Argentina?* Based on the theoretical framework, three hypotheses were developed.

The first hypothesis aimed to explain differences in choice of strategies between the countries based on differences in their political structures. It was concluded that the openness of the political system, the existence of political allies within this system, and also economic and social development and stability do impact on the way that ENGOS relate to the policy makers and thereby also on the strategies that they employ.

The Norwegian organisations reported that they do have access to the policy makers through institutionalised channels of influence. Naturvernforbundet states to take advantage of these channels to a larger degree than what Greenpeace Norway does, but the opportunity is there for both organisations. Both organisations can be said to benefit from the traditions of incorporating civil society organisations in the policy making process, and take advantage of the fact that environmental protection is relatively high on the political agenda. These factors combined makes it easier and more fruitful for Norwegian ENGOS to employ conventional strategies to influence national environmental policy making.

In Argentina, civil society organisations are rarely included in the policy making process and both organisations reported that very few institutionalised channels to exert influence exists. Further, they emphasised that environmental issues are not a political priority and it is therefore more challenging for the organisations to find allies within the authorities to cooperate with. This can partly be explained by the fact that the country is still experiencing problems of economic and social instability, and this is in itself also a factor that promotes the use of unconventional strategies to reach the policy makers.

As demonstrated, differences in political structures can explain some of the differences in choice of strategies between the country and the hypothesis is therefore partly supported.

However, because the choice of strategy between the organisations within the same country is so significant, it is not likely to be the only explanation factor.

The second hypothesis assumed that differences in the political culture between the two countries would explain why the organisations in Norway and Argentina to a certain degree choose different strategies. It argued that because Norway is characterised by having a high level of trust towards the political system, ENGOs are more likely to employ conventional strategies than what organisations in Argentina are where the level of trust is low. The analysis found little support for this hypothesis. It is confirmed by the Argentinean organisations that there is a low level of trust in the political institutions, but the differences in choice of activities are so big between the two ENGOs that it makes it challenging to assess the impact of political culture. Considering the traditional activities that Fundación Vida Silvestre carries out, and their cooperation with the government on some issues, it is likely that the organisation would have participated more in institutionalised channels if these had existed. This means that not doing so is not a part of the political culture of Argentina, but of the political structure as discussed above.

In Norway, there is some evidence for the argument that the Norwegian political culture contributes to modifying the activities of Greenpeace, and in Argentina the Argentinean political culture was confirmed as a factor that makes it easier for Greenpeace to get public support for their creative stunts. In this sense, the inclusion of political culture as an explanation variable is not redundant. However, by itself it does not explain why ENGOs in Norway and Argentina to a certain degree choose different strategies.

The final hypothesis states that organisational characteristics in terms of experience and values and beliefs can explain ENGOs choice of strategies. It claims that Greenpeace in both Norway and Argentina are more likely to choose unconventional strategies due to these factors, and that Naturvernforbundet and Fundación Vida Silvestre are more likely to choose conventional strategies. When this variable was introduced, it was pointed out that there is a closer causal relationship between this and the other explanation variables; one would expect that the characteristics of an organisation to a large degree explain its choice of strategies. In accordance with this, the analysis did find evidence which supports this hypothesis. The organisations state that their own values and beliefs are central factors when choosing which

strategy to employ. Experience and values contribute to appointing a repertoire of activities that are considered to be acceptable and efficient.

Differences in the environmental situation in the country, as discussed in chapter 2, does not seem to have a great impact on the organisation's choice of strategies, nor can it explain the observed differences in strategies between the countries. The organisations examined stated that the severity of environmental problems is something that is focused on in campaigns to gain public and political support, but does not in itself determine the type of strategies that are employed.

Even though it was noted that the consequences of climate change are likely to be more dramatic in Argentina than in Norway, environmental policy making is not a priority in Argentina. Rather, the existing environmental policies are to a large degree a result of the work of environmental organisations. This fact should be seen in relation to the lack of economic and social development and stability as discussed in chapter 4.3 about differences in political structures. The fact that Argentina in several ways is still being considered a developing country means that there are other political issues that are more pressing and urgent to solve for the people than what environmental problems are. This is in accordance with Inglehart's post-material theory.

6.2 Final remarks

This thesis started off by arguing that there is an important potential for ENGOs to impact on global climate change by influencing and promoting national environmental policy making. However, to be better able to understand this potential and thereby take advantage of it, it was claimed necessary to improve our knowledge about how ENGOs operate within different national contexts and not only in relation to international environmental regime formation.

By examining ENGOs within a *national* sphere this thesis has contributed to filling a gap in the academic literature. It has also contributed to the environmental movement literature by examining factors that can explain ENGOs choice of strategies in different political and cultural settings. This is particularly important in relation to Argentina where very little research has been carried out in relation to environmental movements.

This thesis has demonstrated the importance of having an open political structure where environmental organisations are included in the policy formation process. In Argentina, where these structures are poorly developed, ENGOs have still managed to put environmental issues on the political agenda by employing a wide range of indirect strategies and working together. Increasingly, the public authorities are pressured to respond to the demands of these organisations. This can have important implications, not only for the environmental movement and the fight against climate change, but also for other civil society movements and the development of the democratic quality as a whole. The relative success of Argentinean ENGOs can also serve as a motivational factor for ENGOs in other countries with similar structural challenges.

At the same time, ENGOs in Norway can learn something from the Argentinean organisations by to a larger degree take advantage of tools such as social networks, info-commercials and video clips. The “danger” of having an open political system with institutionalised access to the policy makers is that the organisations lose their creativity when it comes to experimenting with different types of activities.

By working together within and between countries and learning from each other’s successes and failures, ENGOs have a considerable potential to promote the importance of environmental protection both indirectly through the public and directly through the policy makers. As a consequence, this can put pressure on the policy makers to improve national environmental regulations and thereby significantly contribute to reducing global climate change.

Figures and tables

Table 1: Greenhouse gas emissions by sector-Norway (1000 tonnes CO2 equivalent)	13
Table 2: Greenhouse gas emissions by sector-Argentina (1000 tonnes CO2 equivalent)	14
Figure 1: Types of strategies	25

Interviews

Gulowsen, Truls (2011): Personal interview 20 May 2011, Oslo, Norway. Programme Manager, Greenpeace Norway.

Haug Larsen, Eivind (2011): Personal interview 18 May 2011, Oslo, Norway. Climate Advisor, Norges Naturvernforbund.

Testa, Eugenia (2011): Personal interview 22 March 2011, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Political Director of Greenpeace Argentina.

Wuthenau, Francisco von (2011): Personal interview 23 March 2011, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Mechanical Engineer. Principal investigator at the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research, Argentina. Member of the Administrative Board, Fundación Vida Silvestre.

Attachments

Attachment 1: Map of Argentina divided into regions.



Attachment 2: Environmental Indicators for Norway and Argentina.

	Norway	Argentina
Emissions of:		
-GHG (million tonnes CO2 eq.)	54.0	282.0
-GHG per capita (tonnes CO2 eq.)	11.0	8.0
Biodiversity:		
Proportion of terrestrial and marine areas protected (%)	15.0	6.0
Number of threatened species	34	203
Fish catch (tonnes)	2,255,513	1,182,185
Change in fish catch from previous year (%)	-6	27
Energy:		
Energy consumption (1000 t oil eq.)	29,407	65,706
Energy consumption per capita (kg oil eq.)	6,310	1,686
Renewable electricity production (%)	99,0	33,0
Economy:		
GDP growth rate from previous year (%)	3	8
GDP per capita (\$US)	82,465	6,636
% Value added agriculture, hunting, forestry, fishing	1	10
% Value added mining, manufacturing, utilities	38	31
Land and agriculture:		
Total area (sq km)	323,802	2,780,400
Agricultural land (sq km)	10,330	1,333,500
Arable land (% of agricultural land)	83.0	24.0
Permanent crops (% of agricultural land)	0.0	1.0
Permanent pasture and meadows (% of agric.land)	17.0	75.0
Change in agricultural land area since 1990 (%)	6.0	5.0
Forest area (sq km)	94,214	327,214
Change in forest area since 1990 (%)	3.0	-7.0
Population:		
Population (1000)	4,767	39,883
Population growth rate from previous year (%)	1.0	1.0

(Source: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/environment/Questionnaires/country_snapshots.htm).

Attachment 3: Responds from questionnaires

Norway:

1. Strategy: How do you evaluate the significance of the following strategies to achieve your organisation's goals?	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern- forbundet
1.1 Seek to influence the decisions of the politicians?	1	1
1.2 Seek to gain a high number of members and make sure that these members are active?	4	2
1.3 Seek to influence the decisions of the public administration	2	4
1.4 Seek to influence the decisions of corporations	3	5
1.5 Seek support in the population	5	3

2. Contact with the authorities Does your organisation have regular contact with...	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern- forbundet
2.1 The parliament/parliamentarian committees?	No	Yes
2.2 Representatives from the parliament/political parties?	Yes	Yes
2.3 The Government?	No	Yes
2.4 The ministries?	Yes	Yes
2.5 Directorates/Government Services?	Yes	Yes

3. Contact with the authorities How often does your organisation have contact with?	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern- forbundet
3.1 The parliament/parliamentarian committees?	Monthly	Yearly
3.2 Representatives from the parliament/political parties?	Monthly	Monthly
3.3 The Government?	Yearly	Monthly
3.4 The ministries?	Monthly	Monthly
3.5 Directorates/Government Services?	Yearly	Monthly

4. Contact with the authorities How would you rate the importance of the contact with...	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern- forbundet
4.1 The parliament/parliamentarian committees?	Important	Somewhat important
4.2 Representatives from the parliament/political parties?	Important	Important
4.3 The Government?	Somewhat important	Important
4.4 The ministries?	Somewhat important	Important
4.5 Directorates/Government Services?	Important	Important

5. Ministries Please mark the three ministries that it is most important to have contact with	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern- forbundet
	Fiskeri- og kystdep.	Miljøverndep.
	Miljøverndep.	Olje- og energidep.
	Olje- og energidep.	Utenriksdep.

6. Political Parties How often is your organisation in contact with representatives from the following parties?	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern- forbundet
6.1 The Labour Party (Arbeiderpartiet)	Monthly	Monthly
6.2 The Progressive Party (Framstegspartiet)	Monthly	Yearly
6.3 The Conservatives (Høyre)	Yearly	Yearly
6.4 The Christian People's Party (Kristleg Folkeparti)	Monthly	Monthly
6.5 The Centre Party (Senterpartiet)	Yearly	Monthly
6.6 The Socialist Left Party (Sosialistisk Venstreparti)	Monthly	Monthly
6.7 The Liberal Party (Venstre)	Monthly	Monthly

7. Public Committees	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern- forbundet
7.1 Is your organisation represented in a committee, panel, commission, etc. appointed by the government or a ministry?	No	Yes
7.2 If yes, how many?		Two
7.3 Please list the names of these committees, panels, commissions, etc.		The Energy Panel
		The High North Panel (Nordområdeutvalget)

8. Utility value	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern-forbundet
8.1 How important is the representation in public committees, etc.?	Somewhat important	Important
8.2 How important is the representation in public committees, etc. in relation to 5-10 years ago?	The same	The same
8.3 How important is the representation in public committees, etc. compared to informal contacts with the authorities?	Informal contacts are more important	Informal contacts are more important
9. Public hearings	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern-forbundet
9.1 How many times over the last three years has your organisation been asked to comment on proposals from the ministries?	Ca. 100	Ca. 100
9.2 How many times over the last three years has your organisation participated in public hearings?	5	C. 50
10 Contact with public authorities	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern-forbundet
10.1 Does your organisation have a department/person that is responsible for maintaining contact with public authorities?	No	No
10.3 Has your organisation ever used external consultants/advisors/professional lobbyists in its work to influence public authorities?	No	No
11 Contact with the media	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern-forbundet
11.1 How often does your organisation have contact with the media?	Weekly	Weekly
11.2 How important is the contact with the media?	Very important	Very important
11.3 How important is the contact with the media today compared to 5-10 years ago?	More important	More important
12 Initiative and support	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern-forbundet
Who normally takes the initiative if your organisation is in contact with...		
12.1 The parliament/parliamentarian committees?	The organisation	The other actor
12.2 Representatives from the parliament/political parties?	The organisation	The organisation
12.3 The Government?	The organisation	The organisation
12.4 The ministries?	The organisation	The organisation
12.5 Directorates/Government Services?	The organisation	The organisation
12.6 The media	Both	The organisation
13 Initiative and support	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern-forbundet
How easy/difficult is it to get support for your organisation's opinions in...		
13.1 The parliament/parliamentarian committees?	Somewhat difficult	Somewhat difficult
13.2 Representatives from the parliament/political parties?	Somewhat difficult	Somewhat difficult
13.3 The Government?	Difficult	Somewhat difficult
13.4 The ministries?	Somewhat difficult	Somewhat difficult
13.5 Directorates/Government Services?	Somewhat easy	Somewhat easy
13.6 The media	Somewhat difficult	Somewhat easy
14 Initiative and support	Greenpeace Norway	Naturvern-forbundet
How often has suggestions from your organisation led to...		
14.1 That the Government has made small changes in their proposals/guidelines?	Sometimes	Sometimes
14.2 That the Government has made big changes in their proposals/guidelines?	Sometimes	Sometimes
14.3 That the Government has submitted proposals to the parliament?	Never	Sometimes
14.4 That members of the parliament have asked questions in the Parliament?	Often	Often
14.5 That members of the parliament have presented private proposals in the Parliament?	Never	Sometimes
14.6 Remarks or comments in propositions from the parliamentarian committees?	Sometimes	Often
14.7 That the parliament has made small changes to Government proposals/guidelines?	Sometimes	Sometimes
14.8 That the parliament has made big changes to Government proposals/guidelines?	Sometimes	Sometimes

Argentina:

1. Strategy: How do you evaluate the significance of the following strategies to achieve your organisation's goals?	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
1.1 Seek to influence the decisions of the politicians?	1	1
1.2 Seek to gain a high number of members and make sure that these members are active?	4	5
1.3 Seek to influence the decisions of the public administration	5	2
1.4 Seek to influence the decisions of corporations	2	3
1.5 Seek support in the population	3	4
2. Contact with the authorities Does your organisation have regular contact with...	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
2.1 The parliament/parliamentarian committees?	Yes	Yes
2.2 Representatives from the parliament/political parties?	Yes	Yes
2.3 The Government?	Yes	Yes
2.4 The ministries?	Yes	Yes
2.5 Directorates/Government Services?	Yes	Yes
3. Contact with the authorities How often does your organisation have contact with?	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
3.1 The parliament/parliamentarian committees?	Weekly	Weekly
3.2 Representatives from the parliament/political parties?	Weekly	Weekly
3.3 The Government?	Monthly	Weekly
3.4 The ministries?	Monthly	Monthly
3.5 Directorates/Government Services?	Weekly	Weekly
4. Contact with the authorities How would you rate the importance of the contact with...	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
4.1 The parliament/parliamentarian committees?	Very important	Very important
4.2 Representatives from the parliament/political parties?	Very important	Important
4.3 The Government?	Very important	Very important
4.4 The ministries?	Very important	Important
4.5 Directorates/Government Services?	Important	Important
5. Ministries Please mark the three ministries that it is most important to have contact with	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
	Presidente de la Nacion	Jefatura de G.
	Jefatura de G.	M. De Planificacion
	M. De Planificacion	M. De Turismo
6. Political Parties How often is your organisation in contact with representatives from the following parties?	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
6.1 Partido Justicialista (PJ)	Monthly	Yearly
6.2 Frente para la Victoria	Weekly	Yearly
6.3 Acuerdo Cívico y Social (Unión Radical y Partido Socialista)	Weekly	Yearly
6.4 Propuesta Republicana	Monthly	Yearly
6.5 Coalición Cívica	Weekly	Yearly
6.6 Other parties	Yearly	Yearly
7. Public Committees	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
7.1 Is your organisation represented in a committee, panel, commission, etc. appointed by the government or a ministry?	No	No
7.2 If yes, how many?		
7.3 Please list the names of these committees, panels, commissions, etc.		
8. Utility value	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
8.1 How important is the representation in public committees, etc.?	Not important	Very important
8.2 How important is the representation in public committees, etc. in relation to 5-10 years ago?	The same	More important
8.3 How important is the representation in public committees, etc. compared to informal contacts with the authorities?	Informal contacts are more important	Both are equally important

9. Public hearings	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
9.1 How many times over the last three years has your organisation been asked to comment on proposals from the ministries?	10	N/A
9.2 How many times over the last three years has your organisation participated in public hearings?	4	N/A
10 Contact with public authorities	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
10.1 Does your organisation have a department/person that is responsible for maintaining contact with public authorities?	Yes	No
10.3 Has your organisation ever used external consultants/advisors/professional lobbyists in its work to influence public authorities?	No	No
11 Contact with the media	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
11.1 How often does your organisation have contact with the media?	Daily	Weekly
11.2 How important is the contact with the media?	Very important	Very important
11.3 How important is the contact with the media today compared to 5-10 years ago?	Same	More important
12 Initiative and support Who normally takes the initiative if your organisation is in contact with...	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
12.1 The parliament/parliamentarian committees?	The organisation	Both
12.2 Representatives from the parliament/political parties?	Both	Both
12.3 The Government?	The organisation	Both
12.4 The ministries?	The organisation	Both
12.5 Directorates/Government Services?	Both	Both
12.6 The media	Both	Both
13 Initiative and support How easy/difficult is it to get support for your organisation's opinions in...	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
13.1 The parliament/parliamentarian committees?	Difficult	Very difficult
13.2 Representatives from the parliament/political parties?	Easy	Very difficult
13.3 The Government?	Difficult	Very difficult
13.4 The ministries?	Difficult	Very difficult
13.5 Directorates/Government Services?	Easy	Difficult
13.6 The media	Easy	Easy
14 Initiative and support How often has suggestions from your organisation led to...	Greenpeace Argentina	Vida Silvestre
14.1 That the Government has made small changes in their proposals/guidelines?	Often	Sometimes
14.2 That the Government has made big changes in their proposals/guidelines?	Sometimes	Almost never
14.3 That the Government has submitted proposals to the parliament?	Sometimes	Almost never
14.4 That members of the parliament have asked questions in the Parliament?	Often	Sometimes
14.5 That members of the parliament have presented private proposals in the Parliament?	Often	Sometimes
14.6 Remarks or comments in propositions from the parliamentarian committees?	Sometimes	Sometimes
14.7 That the parliament has made small changes to Government proposals/guidelines?	Often	Sometimes
14.8 That the parliament has made big changes to Government proposals/guidelines?	Sometimes	Almost never

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