



Navigating climate change with the Holy See

A study into the opinion leadership of an unconventional NGO

MSc Thesis (GEO-2317)

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Summary

Although international climate governance is merely a governments' activities, other actors have played a role as well. Where governmental parties negotiated the Paris Agreement, business and NGO actors tried to influence them. The Holy See however, sat at the negotiating table, and was in the position to influence the negotiators. Since the Holy See has been recognized as a sovereign juridical entity under international law, but is not considered a state (government), it held no vote in the UNFCCC Conference of Parties (COP) meetings. The Holy See is seen as an influential opinion leader. However, it has been unclear what factors account for this. In this thesis, this knowledge gap is addressed.

This led to the main research question:

“What factors enable the Holy See to act as an opinion leader in international climate governance?”

As the Holy See is not a government nor a for-profit driven business actor, the term 'non-governmental organization' (NGO) is most fitting. To study which factors enabled the Holy See as an NGO to act as an opinion leader, first a new analytical framework thus was created: the *Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance*. This framework originated from two desk researches onto opinion leadership and NGO influence.

Contributing factors to both opinion leadership and NGO influence were included into the definition of NGO opinion leadership and formed the basis of the *Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance*. These contributing factors could be categorized into three main aspects: organizational structure, NGO participation, and goal attainment. Each aspect is operationalized in different hypotheses. These hypotheses relate to the twelve factors attributing to the aspects.

The hypotheses were used as a starting point for a case study on the role of the Holy See prior and during the COP21 in Paris. First, they were refined by conducting an additional literature study and media analysis. This new set of hypotheses was tested by conducting interviews with key informants. The results of the interviews, together with the results of the literature study and media analysis, led to the conclusion that the factors contributing to the opinion leadership of the Holy See prior and during COP21 were: the combination of the authority as pope and the personality of Pope Francis, the inclusion of scientific, technological and economic aspects in *Laudato Si'*, the efforts made to initiate an inclusive 'culture of care', the formal and informal structures of the Holy See, the status as permanent observer at the UN, and the activities hosted or participated by the Holy See.

The sort of influence the Holy See exerted was found to be *process influence*: a more temporary, invisible type of influence.

In our opinion the results found are valid to analyze a wider range of NGOs with. Based on the NGO studied, other factors could be more, or less contributing as well. Results from analyzing other NGOs can aid in a better understanding of how NGOs can act as opinion leaders, as well as how individual opinion leaders exerted influence and how NGOs exerted influence in international climate governance.

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	2
1.1 Research objective and relevance.....	3
1.2 Research questions and framework.....	4
1.3 Outline of thesis	5
2. Background information.....	6
2.1 The Holy See	6
2.2 UNFCCC Paris 2015 (COP21).....	7
3. Methodology	9
3.1 Research strategy and data collection	9
3.2 Literature review	9
3.3 Case study.....	10
3.4 Concluding.....	12
4. Opinion Leadership	13
4.1 Defining opinion leadership	14
4.2 Contributing factors	25
4.3 Concluding.....	28
5. NGO Influence	29
5.1 Defining NGO Influence.....	30
5.2 Contributing factors	40
5.3 Concluding.....	44
6. Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership	45
6.1 NGO opinion leadership and contributing factors	45
6.2 Operationalisation.....	47
6.3 Concluding.....	49
7. Holy See as Opinion Leader prior and during COP21.....	50
7.1 Literature review	50
7.2 Media analysis.....	54
7.3 Interviews.....	66
7.4 Conclusion	73
8. Conclusion and discussion.....	76
8.1 Conclusion	76
8.2 Discussion	77
References.....	79
Appendix.....	89
I. Tables word frequency queries	89
II. Transcribed interviews	93

II.1 Prince Jaime de Bourbon de Parme	93
II.2 Soscha de la Fuente	100
II.3 Jan Jorit Hasselaar	105
III. Dutch summary	111

1. Introduction

Climate change, and its consequences, has dominated discussion on the international governance scene as an important and polarized topic. Debates range from the denial of climate change, scientific explanations, political implications, and solutions in the form of adaptation and mitigation. With the conclusion of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the high expectations of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), climate governance has once again become a topic of importance in the international political sphere not just as a scientific matter, but as a social matter. In an attempt to regulate climate change and find solutions, governments have put in new rules and regulations which have in turn required involvement of the market sector and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). At the international level, the United Nations Climate Change Conference (UNFCCC) gives an overview of climate change implications and direction on actions to take through their yearly Conference of Parties (COP). COP21, or the Paris Climate Conference in 2015, was the first time since the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 that the COP aimed to achieve a “legally binding and universal agreement on climate, with the aim of keeping global warming below 2°C.”¹ This aim was achieved, resulting in the adaptation of the first international climate agreement, the Paris Agreement, which was applicable to all 195 countries that concluded to it.²

Apart from governmental actors participating in COP21, several NGOs participated in the prior to and during the conference. Either through lobbying for their causes, participating in side events, or commenting on information or preliminary results from the negotiations. In addition to expressing their opinion on actions to be taken after the conference, several NGOs also addressed the Conference of Parties during conference. One of these addressed parties was the Holy See.³

The Holy See is recognized as a sovereign juridical entity under international law, but as it is not a state (government) it does not have the ability to vote during COP meetings. Despite this, the Holy See has been present at the negotiating table as it is a permanent observer of the UN⁴ and has been able to influence the negotiating parties. The Holy See has been regarded as an influential opinion leader prior to and during COP21 however, it remains unclear what factors account for this. The factors that enable the Holy See to be regarded as an influential opinion leader, and the lack of understanding these factors, will be the knowledge gap addressed in this thesis.

In order to address and explore this knowledge gap an analytical framework was created. As the Holy See is seen as an opinion leader, an obvious first place to look was to factors that contribute to opinion leadership. Opinion leadership has been studied since the 1940s and models that measure opinion leadership are used in fields ranging from marketing, presidential elections, health care and environmental sciences.⁵ However, opinion leaders have traditionally been studied as individuals who exerted an “unequal amount of influence on the decisions of others.”⁶ However, applying this research to a body such as the Holy See still proves insightful and sheds light upon the topic.

Other actors influencing state governments in general, as well as on specific topics, have been NGOs. A NGO is an organisation that is neither part of a government nor a conventional for-profit business, though a NGO may be funded by governments, businesses, foundations or private persons. The influence of NGOs has been a topic for research in many fields, including international environmental

¹ Climate Action, 2015.

² COP21, 2015.

³ UNFCCC, 2015.

⁴ Permanent Observers have free access to most meetings and relevant documentation of the UN, but are withheld from voting. Many regional and international organizations are also observers in the work and annual sessions of the General Assembly. UN, nd.d.

⁵ Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009.

⁶ Ibid.

governance.⁷ These studies, and many others, have indicated that NGOs do influence government decisions in the development of both national and international policies. Factors contributing to this NGO influence are therefore insightful to the role of the Holy See in international climate governance.

Considering the great emphasis of the Holy See on their non-governmental status in international relations, and the clear negative match with a for-profit driven business actor, the term ‘non-governmental organisation’ was most fitting. Though the Holy See would be the most unconventional NGO, for the purpose of studying the knowledge gap, it will be treated as a NGO.

1.1 Research objective and relevance

The research objective of this thesis is to further develop theory on the role of the Holy See in international climate governance by creating an analytical framework that analyses which factors contributed to NGOs as opinion leaders in environmental governance. The research will contribute to the understanding of a NGO as opinion leader in international environmental governance, specifically in climate governance, and to a better understanding of the contribution of one specific actor within international environmental governance.

This thesis developed a new understanding of how NGOs could act as opinion leaders within international environmental governance. The results of this research can help determine how particular actors exert influence on issues in international environmental governance, and more specifically in climate governance. This contributes to the international theoretical debate on how climate governance is influenced by different actors, which has been relevant for new processes such as opinion leadership theories and actor specific influence theories. In turn, this can raise debates concerning policy implementation practices, as these often are the end result of climate governance debates.

The master of Sustainable Development at Utrecht University, and in particular the track Environmental Governance, revolves around governance themes as a way of steering local, national, and international society through complexities and uncertainties like climate change. Moreover, the Copernicus Institute of Sustainable Development’s research group Environmental Governance, to which the master’s track can be linked, tried to “make a relevant and significant contribution to the scholarly and political debate about governance for sustainability by analyzing, explaining and evaluating modes of governance”.⁸ Therefore, research into the methods for influencing the governing processes within the international environmental governance area fits into the content of both the Copernicus Institute and the master’s program.

As policy development and policy implementation have directly influenced our society, it is essential to understand how, with which arguments, and by whom policy is created. As result, this research is relevant to society because it gives a potential answer to how climate change governance is influenced by specific actors.

⁷ Betsill and Corell, 2001; Betzold, 2014; Bulkeley et al., 2014; Greenberg et al., 2011; Hall and Taplin, 2008; Wozniak et al., 2016.

⁸ Copernicus Institute of SD, n.d.

1.2 Research questions and framework

The research question that will drive this research project is:

“What factors enable the Holy See to act as an opinion leader in international climate governance?”

To answer this question, two main concepts were studied: opinion leadership and NGO influence. Opinion leadership as a concept has multiple definitions and conceptualisations, though on one thing all studies easily agree: an opinion leader exerts influence. As most research to opinion leadership considers only individuals as opinion leaders, this thesis focuses on the Holy See as an NGO, NGO influence was also studied.

Both opinion leadership and NGO influence were studied by means of a literature review. Both concepts were defined and contributing factors were identified. The contributing factors for each concept were brought together to create the *Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance*.

This analytical framework offers an explanation for under which conditions, and with which factors NGOs can influence policy making as opinion leaders in the international environmental area of climate governance. Hypotheses were created to operationalize the analytical framework to execute a case study on the influence of the Holy See during the Paris conference. A visualisation of above described research framework is shown below in figure 1, in which international environmental governance is abbreviated to IEG.

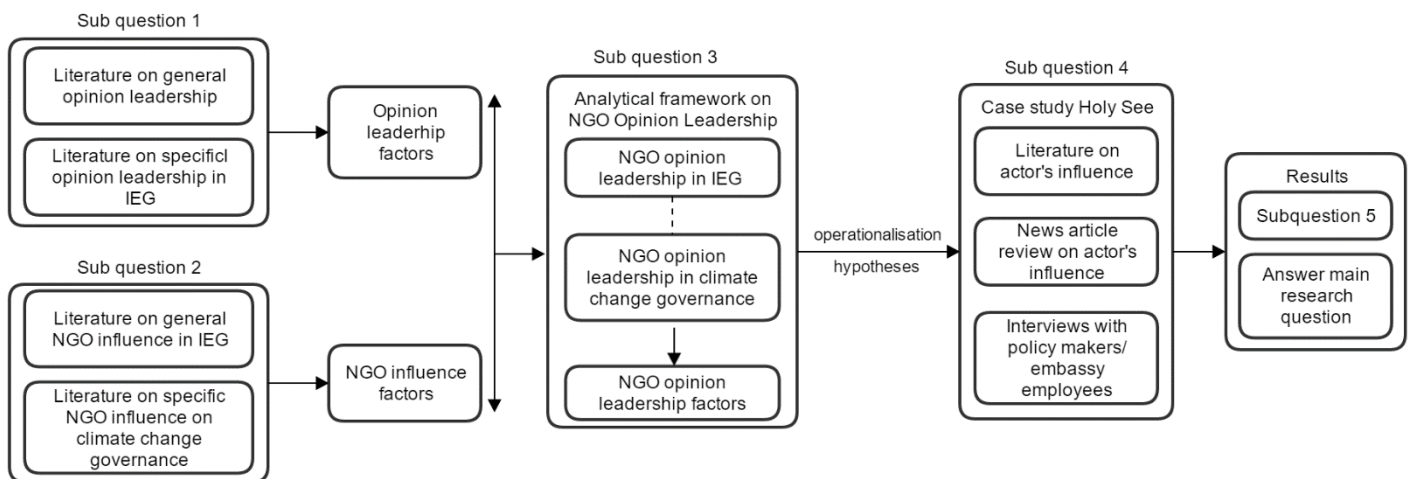


Figure 1: Visualisation of research framework.

To aid the research process, the following sub questions were used. Each question represents a step in the research framework that helped answer the main question.

1. *What is opinion leadership and which factors contribute to it?*
2. *What is NGO influence and which factors contribute to it?*
3. *Which factors contributing to opinion leadership and NGO influence are similar and how can they be synthesized into a Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance?*
4. *Which factors of the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance play a role in the influence of the Holy See in Climate Change Governance?*
5. *To what extent can the Framework for Analysing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance be used to study the opinion leadership of other NGOs in international environmental governance*

1.3 Outline of thesis

This thesis starts in the second chapter with a description of the Holy See, the relation to the Catholic Church and the Vatican City State, its role in international relations, and COP21. Following this description is a methodological chapter which reviews the methodologies used to create the analytical framework. The two subsequent chapters concern the desk research pertaining to opinion leadership and NGO influence respectively, answering sub questions 1 and 2. In the fifth chapter, the results of the two desk research topics are synthesized into the Analytical Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance, answering sub question 3.

By operationalizing the framework, the influence of the Holy See in climate governance was researched in the format of a case study. The case study consists of a literature review, media analysis, and interviews. The findings are used to draw conclusions on, and answer, sub question 4.

The thesis ends with answering the main research questions as well as a discussion on whether or not the analytical framework can be used for other NGOs, answering sub question 5.

2. Background information

The purpose of this chapter is to provide background information on the two major concepts discussed in this thesis, the Holy See and COP21. As this is an informative chapter on both concepts the relation to or involvement with each other will not be discussed, as this is part of the case study discussion in chapter 7.

2.1 The Holy See

The Holy See is the universal government of the Catholic Church and operates from the sovereign Vatican City State. As the supreme governing body of the Catholic Church, the Holy See is a sovereign juridical entity under international law, but is not a state.⁹ The term 'Holy See' thus refers to an actor in international diplomacy, though not to the territorially defined Vatican State. The term however also refers to the 'episcopal see of the diocese of Rome' and with that in the narrow sense to the Pope himself, but in the wider sense to his Curia (government administration).¹⁰

In the world of international relations, it has been the Holy See that represents the Vatican City State, of which the Pope is the head of state and government. However, the Vatican City State does not act on this political stage. The Apostolic Nunciatures, the 'ambassadors' of the Holy See, have likewise been representatives of the Holy See and not of the spiritual leadership of the Catholic Church nor the territorial Vatican City State.¹¹ Still, the Holy See has been the universal government of the Catholic Church, which has close to 1.2 billion members.

The British newspaper *The Economist* described in 2007 the Holy See as "the biggest non-governmental organisation in the world" and called for the Holy See to stop claiming to practise "a form of inter-governmental diplomacy" and that it should renounce its special diplomatic status.¹² However, to view the Holy See as just a political actor is not that easy. Not only has the Holy See been an immense civil society actor, but it has also been subject of international law with full diplomatic recognition by 188 states around the world.¹³ Because of this, the Holy See maintains one of the most close-knit networks regarding foreign representations in the world, with further diplomatic relations as a "non-governmental sovereign power" on multilateral level with the European Union and a permanent observer status at different organisations like the United Nations, the World Health Organisation (WHO) and UNESCO.¹⁴

Considering the great emphasis of the Holy See in international relations on their non-governmental status, instead of its geopolitical or economic position, and its large number of members, the Holy See can be seen as a large, internationally involved, non-governmental organisation. The close intertwining with the territorial state of Vatican City and the spiritual leadership of the Catholic Church make the Holy See a most unconventional NGO.

The Pope

A special mention for the pope's role in foreign policy is essential, as he is fulfilling a hybrid role in several organisational, diplomatic, and religious functions. First of all the pope is the head of state of Vatican City, secondly the head of government and the Curia, thirdly he has been a sovereign subject of international law as the embodiment of the Holy See and lastly, as the Papal Supremacy as Bishop of Rome, he has been the head of the Catholic Church.¹⁵ These different roles tend to overlap and are

⁹ Rleck & Niebuhr, 2015, p. 38-40.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 40.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 40-41.

¹² *The Economist*, 2007 in Rleck & Niebuhr, 2015, p. 40.

¹³ Barbato, 2014 in Rleck & Niebuhr, 2015, p. 40.

¹⁴ Rleck & Niebuhr, 2015, p. 40.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 41-42.

therefore not always clearly distinguishable, making “the Pope’s ‘diplomatic service’ a reminder of his unique and ambiguous status as both a religious and secular leader”.¹⁶ These ‘two different hats’ also give the Pope and his counterparties a certain flexibility, especially in countries where the Catholic faith has been a minor religious movement. Governments then can argue they were receiving a pope merely as a head of state as opposed to a religious figure.¹⁷ However, increasingly governments seem glad to deal with the Holy See, especially after Pope John Paul II boosted the Holy See’s global profile. When he was elected, the Holy See had full ties with 85 government states. Due to many state visits, his personal interference in the ending of the Cold War, he had increased this number to 174 full ties by the time he died.¹⁸

Scoping

As the Holy See has been involved in international politics for centuries, it was decided to choose a specific timespan for the focus of this thesis. The timeframe had to be relevant to the general topic of this thesis and the master’s program. During the master’s program, an international environmental governance event took place, which was covered extensively both inside and outside the academic world. This event is the 2015 United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP21), during which the Paris Agreement was negotiated: a global agreement on the reduction of climate change.¹⁹ Many international actors were involved in the establishment of this agreement, both as at the table negotiators and as actors who tried to influence the actual negotiators. For the latter type of actors, many international environmental NGOs were involved. The literature review for the case study (ch. 7.1) will go deeper into the Holy See’s involvement during COP21. The next section provides more information on COP21.

2.2 UNFCCC Paris 2015 (COP21)

COP21 stands short for ‘Conference of the Parties’, which has been an annual conference of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The meeting starting November 2015 in Paris was the 21st meeting, hence the name COP21. The conference brought together leaders from around the world aiming to achieve a universal and legally binding agreement on climate and climate change. The COP21 stood in a line of other conferences on the subject of climate and climate change.

The first convention as an international political response to climate change began in 1992, in Rio de Janeiro, at the Rio Earth Summit. The Summit included adoption of the UNFCCC and set out a framework “for taking action aimed at stabilising atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases (GHGs).”²⁰ The main objective of the annual Conference of the Parties was to review the process of the parties’ implementation. Other COPs of significance included COP3 in Kyoto (1997), where the Kyoto Protocol was adopted which had the parties agreeing to the broad outlines of emissions targets to cope with the effects of climate change, COP11 in Montreal (2005) which produced the Montreal Action Plan and COP15 in Copenhagen (2009) which failed to produce an agreement to succeed the Kyoto Protocol. COP21, or the Paris Climate Conference in 2015, was the first time since the Rio Earth Summit that the COP aimed to achieve a “legally binding and universal agreement on climate, with the aim of keeping global warming below 2°C.”²¹

This aim was achieved, resulting in the adaptation of the first international climate agreement, the Paris Agreement, which is applicable to all 195 countries that concluded to it. The Paris Agreement consists of a twelve-page text: a preamble and 29 articles. It aims to limit the global temperature rise to below 2°C, even tending towards 1.5°C. The agreement has been formulated in such a way that it is

¹⁶ The Economist, 2007.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ McGrath, 2015.

²⁰ Climate Action, 2015.

²¹ Ibid.

flexible, considering the needs and capacities of each country.²² Before and during the conference in Paris, countries submitted extensive *national climate action plans* (INDCs) that aided in getting each individual country to achieve the worldwide goals agreed on.

Apart from governmental actors participating in COP21, several NGOs participated in the debates in some form prior and during the conference. A clear example of their participation are so-called position papers, in which NGOs stated their view on the status-quo of a subject and how to move forward. Or, in case of COP21, what their opinion was on what the outcome of the conference should be and what all involved actors in the international environmental governance arena could or should do with regard to climate change, both before as well as during, but especially after the conference in Paris. Several of these NGOs also addressed the parties during the so-called event, including the Secretary of the Holy See.²³

With the above descriptions of the two main thematic concepts to this thesis, the next chapter discusses the used methodologies.

²² COP21, 2015.

²³ UNFCCC, 2015.

3. Methodology

In this chapter the research strategy and methodologies used for data collection and analysis are discussed.

3.1 Research strategy and data collection

This research included two main steps. Firstly, the gathering of contributing factors to opinion leadership and NGO influence to create the 'Framework for Analysing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance'. Sub questions 1 – 3 aided in this gathering of factors. Sub questions 1 and 2 were answered through the use of literature reviews on opinion leadership and NGO influence. Sub question three was answered by combining the results of the first two sub questions leading to the analytical framework.

The second main step was to operationalize the analytical framework by means of a single case study into which factors of the analytical framework contributed to the opinion leadership of the Holy See, thus answering the fourth research question. This case study is based on triangulation of data sources and methods, including a literature review, media analysis, and interviews.

The results of both steps led to the answer of the main research question, where the fifth sub question took a broader perspective and discussed the possibilities of the analytical framework to be used for other NGOs.

The research framework in 1.2 showed a visualization of this research strategy.

Multiple methods were applied to collect data for the conceptualisation of the framework and the case study. To increase the validity of the research, which is largely qualitative, triangulation of methods and data was used. This triangulation transpired between desk research, including a literature review of (non) academic data, a media analysis, and interviews.

3.2 Literature review

The desk research comprising the central literature review was in the form of a literature survey. This review has been divided in two parts: opinion leadership and NGO influence, resulting in a set of factors contributing to 'NGO opinion leadership'.

For the initial literature survey two search engines were used: Scopus and Google Scholar. Both recent and more dated literature was taken into account based on the following key words: 'opinion leadership', 'opinion leaders', 'opinion leadership in environmental governance', 'NGO influence', 'NGO opinion leadership' and 'NGOs in environmental governance'. Ten articles were selected based on relevance and year of publication, five for opinion leadership and five for NGO influence. Each article was reviewed in detail, marking definitions of concepts, contributing factors to the concepts, and biases within the texts or between the different articles. The results of the reviews were brought together in a definition of both opinion leadership and NGO influence. Factors contributing to it have been explained in more detail afterwards and hypotheses were created, based on statements from the articles.

The second part of the desk research was an analysis and interpretation of the results of both literature surveys. This resulted in a definition of 'NGO opinion leadership' together with a set of factors contributing to NGO opinion leadership, leading to a 'Framework for Analysing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance'. To operationalize the framework, each contributing factor was provided with hypotheses drawn from the literature reviews. Only terms as 'addressed' or 'not addressed' were used to assess if factors have been included in reference to other articles reviewed.

3.3 Case study

A case study is a much-used research strategy in which the researcher tries to gain a deep and detailed insight into one or several objects that are placed in a certain time and space. This object could be one or multiple organisations or companies, but could also be the processes involved in, for example, passing legislation.²⁴ According to Verschuren and Doorewaard, a case study is characterised by seven aspects: “1) a small domain, consisting of a small number of research units, 2) intensive data generation, 3) more depth than breadth focus, 4) a selective sample, 5) an assertion concerning the object as a whole, 6) an open observation on site, and 7) qualitative data and research methods.”²⁵ They especially highlighted point five, when mentioning that a case study should try to obtain a general idea of the object as a whole, through the use of qualitative, unstructured and an open way of data gathering. Triangulation of different data sources would therefore be an effective instrument, they argued, to gain an overall and holistic picture of the research object.²⁶ This corresponded with the argumentation given by Betsill and Corell of how to operationalise an analytical framework.²⁷

Several variants of case studies can be distinguished, for example a single case study and a comparative case study. For this thesis, a single case study concept was chosen, as the object of the case study was too complex and too unconventional to be compared to other similar actors in the time reserved for this thesis.

When examining only one case subject the chance for biased results and a low external validity is high, as the case subject is not compared to other cases. In general, the fewer cases studied, the more difficult it is to apply the results to similar cases, thus lowering the external validity.²⁸ However, due to the detail in results and the use of different methods (triangulation), the internal validity of a case study is higher than the internal validity of a survey.²⁹

To assure a high internal validity, the methods used for this case study were based on triangulation. Firstly, a literature review using (academic) literature on the actor’s influence in international environmental governance related issues was conducted. Second, a media analysis was carried out. Out of these two methods, a (new) set of hypotheses was drafted which formed the basis for the third method: interviews with people who have been involved in the (inter)national climate governance arena.

Literature review

The literature review consisted of academic, theological, and political articles, as well as combinations of these fields. The purpose was to form a context in which the Holy See has been acting and intervening in climate governance, as well as identifying which factors contributing to opinion leadership have played a role in the opinion leadership of the Holy See in climate governance.

These articles were found while searching with Scopus or Google Scholar using keywords such as ‘influence Holy See climate change’, ‘influence pope climate’, ‘influence encyclical’, ‘influence Laudato Si’ and ‘influence Holy See COP21’.

All articles were reviewed based on the factors and hypotheses from the ‘Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance’.

²⁴ Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010, p. 178.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010, p. 179.

²⁷ Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 78-81. See also 4.1.

²⁸ Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010, p. 185.

²⁹ Ibid.

Media analysis

Media analyses are a sub-category of content analyses and a well-established research methodology that has been in use since the rise of mass media in the early 20th century.³⁰ Content analyses have been used to study a broad diversity of text, ranging from transcripts of interviews and discussions, to the narrative and form of film, and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines.³¹ Media content analyses proliferated as a research strategy in the 1950s as a sub-category of content analysis to study portrayals of racism, violence, and women in television programming and films.³² A well-known statement that encapsulates what media content analyses are about, comes from this 1950s period: “who says what, through which channel, to whom, with what effect.”³³

Media analyses are split up in two types: quantitative and qualitative. The first type of studies involves methodically selecting sources and subsequently counting words, phrases, and names. The latter type of studies has the researcher reading a high number of sources and gradually shaping it down until a thorough analysis can be made of a representative handful of sources.³⁴

While the qualitative method enables researchers to ‘immerse’ themselves into the documents, and thus giving the researcher a better overview of the most important themes, the method is also extremely time consuming. With the quantitative method, a set of hypotheses are created beforehand which guide the selection of sources used in the analysis, making a media analysis more comprehensible. In the end, many studies use aspects of both types of media analysis, as reading through sources beforehand (qualitative) could give context while creating hypotheses (quantitative).³⁵

For this thesis, combinations of both types of media analysis were used. The ‘Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance’ was leading, with the created hypotheses forming the basis for the media analysis. However, to create some context to this media analysis, sources were read thoroughly to ensure the selection of relevant articles. After this, the different sources could be coded based on the analytical framework and analyzed based on the hypotheses. For this processes the software NVivo has been used, which is a qualitative data analysis software that has been developed to aid in analyzing very rich text-based and/ or multimedia information.³⁶

Using the search engines LexisNexis *Academic*, a first selection of 125 news articles was made. These articles were selected based on the keywords: ‘Laudato Si’, ‘COP21’, ‘Paris Conference’, ‘Holy See’, ‘Paris Agreement’, ‘influence’, ‘deal breakers’, ‘world leaders’, ‘Pope Francis’ and combinations of these keywords. All 125 articles were uploaded to NVivo and coded based on the factors contributing to NGO Opinion Leadership. While going over the articles in detail and coding them, several articles were found to be unusable, due to their length, content, or when it was found identical to another article except for the headline. Articles coded with less than two references were also excluded from the selection of articles used for the media analysis. This second selection of articles resulted in 69 coded articles. The coded sections have been cross referenced with (keywords from) the hypotheses substantiating the contributing factors. Validating or falsifying the hypotheses resulted in a new set of hypotheses attuned to the case of the Holy See.

³⁰ Macnamara, 2005, p. 1.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Lasswell, 1952, p. 12 in Macnamara, 2005, p. 2.

³⁴ Tanksalvala, 2015.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ QRS International, 2015.

Interviews

Especially in social sciences, but certainly not limited to, interviews have been the method most used to collect data in case studies, as it is a useful method in uncovering the story behind a participant's experiences.³⁷ Questions asked in an interview could be both quantitative as well as qualitative. Quantitative questions are closed questions, answered with a 'yes' or 'no', whereas qualitative questions are open-ended, leaving room for respondents to answer in their own words. Interviews have generally been used to generate a lot of context around participants' experiences and their (own) interpretation of these experiences.³⁸ The interaction between the researcher and participant during the interview may be beneficial in this as well. The type of format of the interview depends on this, as there have been a range of formats to construct an interview: structured, unstructured, and semi-structured interviews.

For this thesis, semi-structured interviews were used. A set of hypotheses based on the results of the general desk research and the media analysis was showed to the respondents, with questions regarding their view and opinions about these hypotheses: to either agree or refute them. Respondents were sought out based on their position in the international climate governance arena and their potential knowledge on opinion leadership or NGO influence and their knowledge of the Holy See. People qualifying these two criteria were, for example, ambassadors for the Holy See, ambassadors from the Holy See (Apostolic Nunciatures), people working for the UNFCCC, other UN bodies concerned with climate governance, or EU bodies concerned with climate governance. In the end, three interviews took place. The first respondent was the Dutch ambassador of the Holy See, the second respondent was the youth ambassador of the Netherlands for the United Nations. From this last respondent came the contact details for the third respondent: the host and organizer of an 'inspiration table' around the encyclical³⁹ with representatives of different churches, corporations, government bodies and scientists. A short resume of each respondent has been added to appendix II, prior to the transcriptions of their interviews.

The choice for semi-structured interviews was made as this type of interview consists of a combination of structured and unstructured interviews. This structure used a predetermined set of questions, while still gave freedom to seek clarification on the answers.⁴⁰ Questions could therefore be more open-ended, and could come or lead from answers on previous questions. In this way, "new paths could be explored that emerged during the interview, which may not have been considered initially".⁴¹ The disadvantage however, was that some relevant data was not gathered while some irrelevant data was. Nonetheless, because of the open nature of the questions, depth and vitality within the interviews has been encouraged, increasing the validity of the study.⁴²

3.4 Concluding

This thesis consisted of two main steps. First, a literature review leading to the 'Framework for Analysing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance'. Secondly, a case study based on triangulation of three methods using the created analytical framework to analyse the influence as an opinion leader of the Holy See. The defining of opinion leadership in the form of NGO influence, leading to the definition of NGO opinion leadership, are discussed in the following three chapters, starting with the definition of opinion leadership, and identifying the contributing factors.

³⁷ Doody & Nooman, 2013, p. 28.

³⁸ Scultze & Avital, 2011 in Doody & Nooman, 2013, p. 28.

³⁹ An encyclical is a letter written by a pope concerning Catholic doctrine. See also chapter 7.1.

⁴⁰ Holloway & Wheeler, 2010 in Doody & Noonan, 2013, p. 30.

⁴¹ Gray, 2004 in Doody & Noonan, 2013, p. 30.

⁴² Hand, 2003; Deamley, 2005 in Doody & Noonan, 2013, p. 30.

4. Opinion Leadership

This chapter will answer the first sub question, which entails defining opinion leadership as well as identifying the factors that contribute to it. The contributing factors found after a literature review have been used to form the basis of the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance. This chapter ends with a set of hypotheses based on the contributing factors.

As there has been much research into opinion leadership, multiple definitions were found as well as explanations of NGO influence. After an extensive literature search, five articles were chosen and reviewed. These articles came from Keys, Thomson and Smith, Dalrymple, Shaw and Brossard, Nisbet and Kotchet, Muhammad and Ridwan; Valente and Pumpuang and have respectively discussed. All articles were selected on basis of relevance and year of publication. A definition of opinion leadership was constructed and contributing factors were identified with help of these articles.

As mentioned in the project context, opinion leadership has been a subject of study since the 1940s. Studies into opinion leadership ranged from marketing, presidential elections, to health care. The most commonly used term within opinion leadership came from the 'diffusion of innovations model', as proposed by Rogers.⁴³ This model suggested that "individuals fall into one of five categories when faced with changing their behaviour: 1) innovators, 2) early adopters, 3) early majority adopters, 4) late majority adopters and 5) laggards."⁴⁴ Opinion leaders in this model were often recognized as the early adapters, those who actively have chosen to learn more about a certain development and how their behavioural change may and could have been influencing others. However, this model has mostly been used and was better fitted for opinion leadership in marketing and campaigning fields and less for changes in and by society following from environmental policies.

Across categories of opinion leaders in the studies in marketing strategies and presidential elections, there have been three shared traits. These can be divided into the following dimensions:⁴⁵

- *Who one is*, which includes personality characteristics or values held by the individual,
- *What one knows*, which includes the degree of knowledge and expertise that the individual has about a particular issue,
- *Whom one knows*, which includes the number of contacts the individual has access to when spreading the opinion.

As mentioned previously, these three dimensions come primarily from studies of opinion leadership in marketing fields. To derive the factors that contribute to opinion leadership in (environmental) policy making, several articles discussing opinion leadership in other research areas besides marketing and presidential elections have been reviewed in the first section, 4.1. After reviewing each article, a definition of opinion leadership for the purpose of this thesis was created. Next, in section 4.2, the identified factors contributing to opinion leadership have been put together with their substantiating hypotheses.

⁴³ Rogers, 2003 in Dalrymple, 2013, p. 1441.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009.

4.1 Defining opinion leadership

4.1.1 Keys, Thomson and Smith (2010)

In their paper, Keys, Thomson and Smith described an innovative approach into an understanding of the role of informal leadership and how this could be utilized in influencing societal attitudes and practices.⁴⁶ Throughout their paper, they used informal leadership as a synonym for opinion leadership.

They started their paper by stating that a large body of research related to social responses to climate change has been focussing on either the need for reform at the public policy and institutional levels⁴⁷ or on individual responses to climate change in terms of knowledge and understanding of the issue, levels of concern, and perceptions of risk and responsibility for taking action.⁴⁸ However, as Keys et al. have pointed out, both levels of response have been needed and associated. To support this, they referred to Tompkins and Adger by stating “the capacity of an individual, group, or institution (at any scale) to learn and modify its response to climate change is important in generating sustainable outcomes.”⁴⁹ It has been the role of opinion leaders in the social process of moving from mere discussion to collective action on climate change adaptation and mitigation, which was of interest to Keys et al.

Keys et al. recognized that opinion leaders have been, in diffusion research, identified as focal points for the communication of innovative ideas and practices in social networks.⁵⁰ Similarly, the support or opposition of influential individuals to new ways of thinking and acting provided opportunities to achieve a collective response to climate change. With their focus on the local level, Keys et al. wondered how processes of individual influence impact upon social-ecological systems in the context of emerging problems due to complex sustainability issues. This latter concept Keys et al. described as “problems which emerged from the interaction of global processes with the ecological and social characteristics of particular places and sectors”.⁵¹ As complex sustainability issues have been reflecting the ‘systemic faults embedded in the society’, they have not been responsive to ‘simple market interventions’. Rather they needed to be addressed through fundamental changes in our society.⁵²

In order to understand the role of informal leadership, Keys et al. created a theoretical framework which consists of multiple concepts taken from literature on climate change adaptation, adaptive and collaborative resources management, and the diffusion of innovations model.

The first concept they have focussed upon is *response capacity*, a concept that represents a synthesis of adaptation and mitigation capacity.⁵³ Responsive capacity included the recognition that social-ecological systems have a capacity to respond to stress inducing factors in many ways. Access to resources and political power are two other determinants in the choice of response type.⁵⁴ In other words, “response capacity involved the ability to change collective behaviour in a social system”.⁵⁵ The second concept that was highlighted is *social capital*, which Keys et al. confusingly refer to as another determinant of response capacity. Confusingly, as social capital has been a concept that was explained and used by many social disciplines, as it deals with fundamental components of civil

⁴⁶ Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 187.

⁴⁷ McCarthy, 2001; Smit & Wandel, 2006; Klein et al., 2007 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 187.

⁴⁸ Bulkeley, 2000; Etkin & Ho, 2007; Leiserowitz, 2007 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 187.

⁴⁹ Tompkins & Adger, 2005, p. 563 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 188.

⁵⁰ Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 188.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Martens, 2006 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 188.

⁵³ Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 189.

⁵⁴ Burch & Robinson, 2007 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 189.

⁵⁵ Tompkins & Adger, 2005; Burch & Robinson, 2007 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 189.

society.⁵⁶ As a concept, social capital was first introduced by Pierre Bourdieu, who defined the concept as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition.”⁵⁷ This definition of Bourdieu could be split up into two main points: 1) the social relationship itself allows individuals to gain access to resources in possession by their associates, and 2) the amount and quality of those resources. Social capital was one of the different forms of capital as proposed by Bourdieu, next to economic capital, cultural capital and human capital. Keys et al. however did not completely follow Bourdieu’s take on social capital. On the contrary, they split social capital up into two other dimensions: bonding and bridging capital.⁵⁸ With bonding social capital they referred to exchanges between actors who know each other within homogeneous groups, while bridging social capital referred to communications between actors of heterogeneous or dissimilar groups.⁵⁹ Another dimension within the concept of social capital was the notion of interpersonal networks, which represented mechanisms for the transfer of information and other exchanges.⁶⁰ Social capital has, next to networks and institutional changes, shown to be critical for sustainable transitions in response to climate change. Keys et al. unfortunately did not further specify the contribution of social capital to opinion leadership, though one could conclude that more social capital would attribute in greater informal leadership.

A third concept discussed by Keys et al. is *learning*, which in itself is a rather broad concept. Keys et al. defined it more specifically as *social learning*, which according to them referred to the processes of how capacity was translated into response. Social learning has been considered essential in achieving sustainability, as the management of social-ecological systems represents complex problems.⁶¹ This said, Keys et al. pointed out that most studies focussing on social learning also focussed on achieving changes in resource management objectives, shifts in attitude, and relations between stakeholders. However, most findings of these studies have shown that changes in behaviour may have been caused by power differences rather than social learning processes.⁶²

This remark made, the fourth concept discussed was *leaders*, as many discussions on achieving change in management processes emphasise the importance of social networks and leadership.⁶³ Keys et al. stated that leadership has been important within organizations, as well as in external policy support, and in linking the two. In addition, leadership aids in developing knowledge and motivation for change.⁶⁴ Effective leaders, Keys et al. argued, engage with key individuals in different levels of an organization and in different sectors, facilitate links between different social networks, and between different interests; they generate and integrate diverse and sometimes contrasting ideas, viewpoints, and solutions and help promote novelty.⁶⁵ An additional function of leaders includes changing the opinions and values of the “critical mass of people” in order to move towards transforming the system and recognising opportunities to connect “political interest to problem perception”.⁶⁶ These traits of leaders have been aiding in establishing horizontal and vertical links with outside experts and authorities.

⁵⁶ Onyx & Bullen, 2000 in Burch & Robinson, 2007 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 189.

⁵⁷ Bourdieu, 1985, p. 248 in Portes, 2000, p. 45.

⁵⁸ Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 190.

⁵⁹ Putnam, 1995 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 190.

⁶⁰ Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 190.

⁶¹ Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 190-191.

⁶² McCullum et al., 2004 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 191.

⁶³ Adger et al., 2005; Folke et al., 2005 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 191.

⁶⁴ Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 191.

⁶⁵ Olsson et al., 2006 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 191.

⁶⁶ Folke et al., 2005 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 191.

A fifth concept in understanding the role of informal leadership consisted of two concepts that were interlinked: *individual attitudes and behaviour change*. Keys et al. pointed out that the difficulty of predicting environmental behaviour based on attitudes, either specific or general attitudes, has been well documented. They have also stated that many studies concerned with this topic have a methodological weakness, as they restrict their focus to direct behaviour change and environmental responsibility of the individual and households, thereby excluding educational or political actions.⁶⁷ This is a weakness, as individual behaviour change is also influenced by relationships with social groups and networks.

The final concept is *social diffusion* which links macro level views of social change in institutions to behaviour change in the social-ecological context. For this Keys et al. utilized the social diffusion model, where attention is focussed on interactions between individuals and the process of change in social networks.⁶⁸ The model described that, “as new practices are adopted at different times by different individuals in a social system, the adoption rate forms an s-shaped curve”.⁶⁹ This shape resulted from the low number of early adaptors who influenced others, and caused an exponential increase in the adoption rate, until most of the population had adopted the new practice, to which the adoption rate slowed down again.⁷⁰ The idealised representation is shown in figure 2.

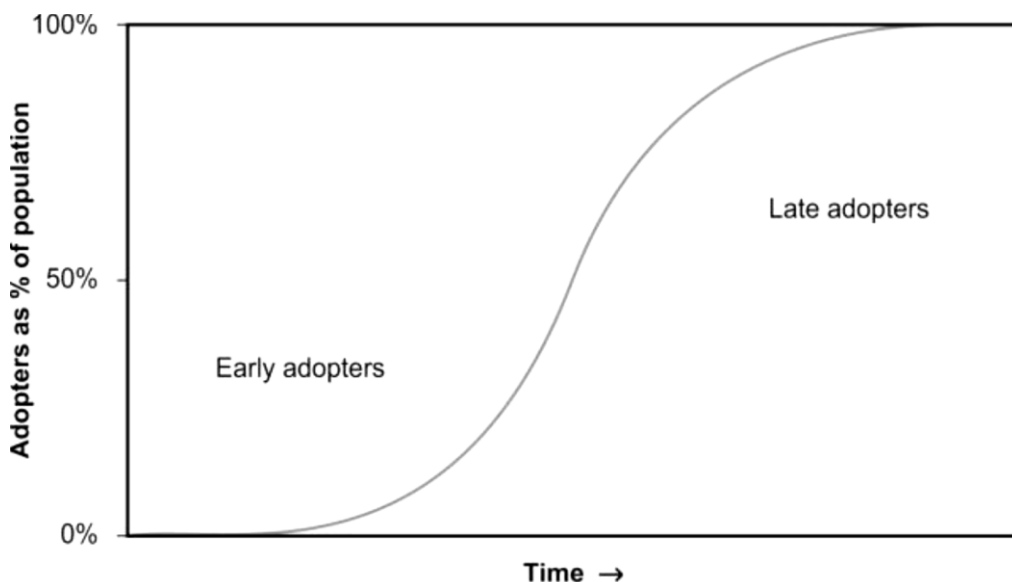


Figure 2: visualisation of idealised diffusion of innovations model.

Within the diffusion of innovation model the early adopter group consists of influential individuals, also known as ‘opinion leaders’. They have acted as role models for others in social systems. As they had greater than average interpersonal contacts, Keys et al. pointed out that activities of these opinion leaders have been an important factor in “rapid and sustained behaviour change”.⁷¹

A climate change has been, and remains, a complex issue with many different responses and projected impacts that have affected a broad range of social, environmental, economic, and personal issues, Keys et al. argue that everyone could be seen as a stakeholder. Opinion leaders therefore had a vital role as they have potential influence regarding responses to climate change throughout their social networks. However, climate change responses often require a prospective approach instead of a retrospective

⁶⁷ Kollmuss and Agyeman, 2002 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 191.

⁶⁸ Davis, 1999; Rogers, 2003 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 192.

⁶⁹ Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 192.

⁷⁰ Rogers, 2003, p. 300 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 192.

⁷¹ Valente & Davis, 1999, p. 1999 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 193; Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 193.

one (documenting the process of adoption after it has occurred). Figure 3 illustrates such a prospective approach.

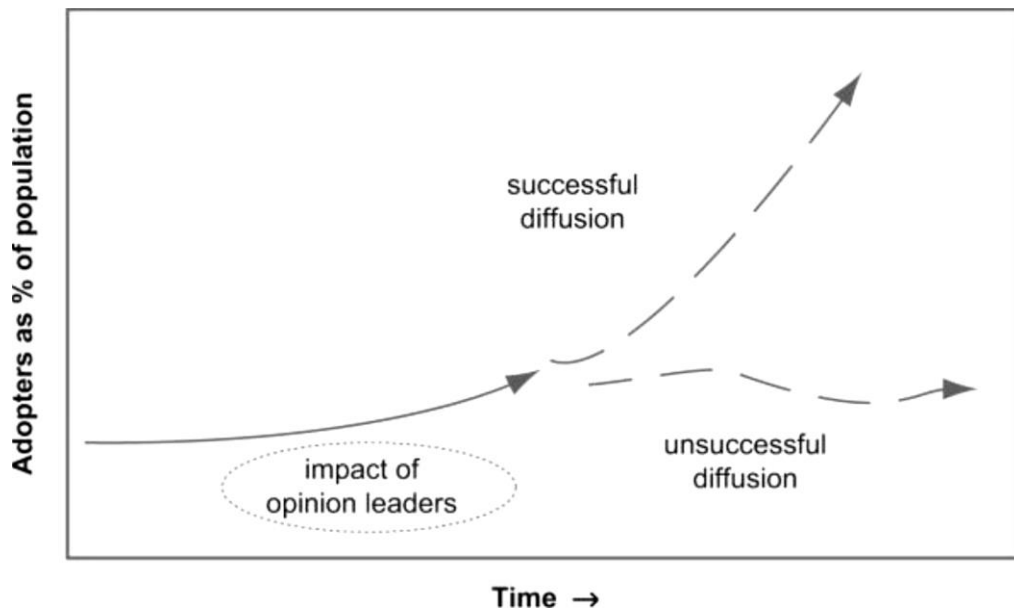


Figure 3: Prospective social diffusion model.

Though Keys et al. discussed the different concepts that make up the theoretical model in order to understand opinion leadership, they fell short in configuring all the different concepts into an actual model. One would have expected to find such a framework after the elaboration on each concept. Instead Keys et al. directly went to their conclusions, where they stated that research into the contribution of opinion leadership in sustainability issues has not yet been well understood and has many opportunities for future research.⁷² Still, the concepts Keys et al. used to understand opinion leadership, or informal leadership, have shed light onto different aspects of opinion leadership and are very useful for this thesis.

4.1.2 Dalrymple, Shaw and Brossard (2013)

In their study, Dalrymple et al. explored potential factors that “led to environmental leadership behaviours”,⁷³ building on the theoretical framework of the diffusion of innovations model to explore the effects mass media and governmental media may have had on the perceptions of self-efficacy among opinion leaders.⁷⁴

Dalrymple et al. stated that, although nowadays the public has been gaining greater access to scientific and environmental information, they preferred gathering this information through communication in their social networks.⁷⁵ Opinion leaders are people in such social networks that often do not hold formal positions of power, but tend to fill the important role of passing on information to peers and are key in upholding social norms. Because of this, such individuals tend to be more persuasive in convincing others in their social networks whether or not to adopt certain opinions and behaviours concerning environmental issues.⁷⁶ However, though scholars have been highlighting the importance of opinion leaders in shaping public preferences, informing citizens, and altering behaviours, research has failed to assess how opinion leaders act as potential sources of information and influence.⁷⁷ To fill this gap, Dalrymple et al. aimed to “explore the potential role that opinion leaders may play in encouraging more positive environmental behaviours regarding an issue of growing concern

⁷² Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 194.

⁷³ Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1438.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Jones, 2010 in Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1439.

⁷⁶ Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Keller & Berry, 2003 in Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1439.

⁷⁷ Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1439.

throughout the world”.⁷⁸ More specifically, they examined a set of predictors of leadership in a group of opinion leaders involved in the prevention of the spread of aquatic invasive species.⁷⁹

Dalrymple et al. stated that, when people are unsure about which actions to take in a behavioural domain, they tend to look towards trusted sources that held a position of authority in their social network. Combining this with the framework of diffusion of innovations model, these aforementioned ‘trusted sources’ are opinion leaders. According to Dalrymple et al., opinion leaders have the social power to influence and ‘create’ potential early adopters.⁸⁰ Therefore, opinion leaders can serve as “strategic vectors in communicating with the public about environmental issues and may be successful at persuading difficult-to-convince audiences, such as late adopters or laggards”.⁸¹ Influencing the masses also has to do with conformity, according to Dalrymple et al., which is “behavioural change designed to match or imitate the opinions or behaviours of others”.⁸² This conforming to another person’s behaviour or belief has also been called *normative influence*, and can be powerful as the common perception that individuals who deviate from the norm are more likely to be rejected by other members of their group.⁸³ Opinion leaders are key in encouraging positive behaviour change or compliance, or in other words, have been key in the conformity of the masses to the desired behaviour. Dalrymple et al. are especially considering the question of what factors “influence the sense of leadership that aided opinion leaders in communicating with others and persuading others to accept their beliefs”.⁸⁴ To do so, they looked at the perceived self-efficacy of opinion leaders. More specifically, they focus on the internal social and psychological factors that encourage individuals to behave as opinion leaders. To arrive at these factors, Dalrymple et al. investigated the perceived self-efficacy of opinion leaders using three types of media in predicting efficacy. The types of media were: newspaper, television and website usage,⁸⁵ as Dalrymple et al. made use of a survey which they analysed with statistical software. They used two dependent variables: perceived self-efficacy and willingness to communicate. For control variables, they used age, education, and gender. The media use variables and perceived knowledge of risks variables were used to assess the understanding and potential impact of the opinion leaders of VHS-related issues.⁸⁶

In their discussion of the results Dalrymple et al. pointed to several important factors that led to environmental opinion leadership, which have been the different variables used in their analysis. Next to this, they have stated that their results supported their hypotheses which led to the indication that mass media and governmental media both could have negative and positive effects on the self-efficacy. Another indication has been that opinion leaders with higher levels of self-efficacy were more likely to engage in behaviours that have the potential to influence their social networks.⁸⁷ Dalrymple et al. claimed that their findings not only highlight factors contributing to opinion leadership, but also have offered insight into how groups could utilize their findings in promoting prevention messages and activities.⁸⁸

To summarize, Dalrymple et al. recognized opinion leaders to be people in social networks that are often holding an informal power position, have tended to fill the role of passing on information to peers and have been key in forming and upholding social norms. Factors contributing to this informal

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1440-1441.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 1441.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 1441-1442.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 1442-1443.

⁸⁶ Viral hemorrhagic septicemia, a fish disease related to aquatic invasive species. Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1339.

⁸⁷ Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1449.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

leadership have been the levels of self-efficacy and willingness to communicate, whereas media use variables and perceived knowledge of risks contribute to this self-efficacy and willingness to communicate.

4.1.3 Nisbet and Kotcher (2009)

Nisbet and Kotcher pointed out in the beginning of their article that opinion leaders remain an overlooked yet necessary resource when it comes to catalysing collective action in climate change related issues.⁸⁹ They stated this, even though the general importance of opinion leaders in shaping public preferences and altering behaviours has been known and studied by scholars as early as the 1940s.⁹⁰ In an early study from 1948, Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz identified certain individuals who do not necessarily hold formal positions of power in communities, but rather served as the “connective communication tissue that alerted their peers to what mattered among political events, social issues and consumer choices”.⁹¹

Nisbet and Kotcher stated that in order to solve a public opinion challenge like climate change, defining or framing complexities regarding the issues has to be done in a way that is connected to “the specific core values of various publics”, as well as stating that these publics had to be reached out to with a carefully crafted message.⁹² The paradox of the present day media world did not make this easier, as the public has greater access to quality information on climate change issues but citizens have been selecting media content not just based on their ideology but also based on their preference, or lack of it, for public affairs.⁹³ Next to this, people are becoming increasingly distrustful of both news and advertising and have tended to develop a preference for recommendations from people in their social networks.⁹⁴ Opinion leaders could likely be of importance to break this communication gridlock when serving as the people’s recommendation and framing issues and opinions regarding climate change. Nisbet and Kotcher focussed mostly on self-designated opinion leaders, and identify six different categories of opinion leaders and discuss methods of identification.

However, before they went into these six categories, Nisbet and Kotcher identified two major routes through which citizens could act directly and to which opinion-leader campaigns could be applied. The first path involved opinion leaders to promote “strong citizens and stakeholder demands for policies that will encourage government action, corporate responsibility, and private investments.”⁹⁵ When one would take this direction, opinion leaders could be used in different manners: 1) to boost the public’s cognitive engagement with an issue or 2) to sponsor political participation.⁹⁶ The second path employed opinion leaders in efforts to change personal behaviours of the public and generate consumer demand for services, products, and energy sources.

Next, Nisbet and Kotcher moved on to identifying the six different categories of opinion leadership. To do so, they first explained some general themes regarding opinion leadership. First of all, they stated that there have been shared traits and behaviours, across all categories of opinion leaders, which could be divided into three dimensions: 1) who one is, which included certain personality characteristics or values held by the individual, 2) what one knows, which included the degree of knowledge and expertise the individual has on a particular issue, and 3) whom one knows, which included the number of contacts the individual has in its social network.⁹⁷ With a combination of these traits and behaviours, opinion leaders did not only help draw attention of others to a particular issue, but also gave

⁸⁹ Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 1.

⁹⁰ Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 2.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Prior, 2005 in Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 2.

⁹⁴ Keller & Berry, 2003 in Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 2.

⁹⁵ Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 3-4.

⁹⁶ Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 4.

⁹⁷ Katz, 1957 in Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 5.

indications of how others responded or acted to these issues. This form of influence could occur by giving advice or recommendations, but also by serving as a role model.⁹⁸

Moving on to the six different categories of opinion leaders, Nisbet and Kotcher split the six up into two groups of three. The first set of categories was concerned with political mobilization in climate change related issues.

- *Issue-specific opinion leaders*, in which opinion leaders “have an intense involvement with a specific issue or topic, characterized by greater levels of media attention and issue-specific knowledge.”⁹⁹ *Influence as a personality strength*, defined opinion leaders as “distinguished by their level of personality strength, a construct reflecting confidence in leadership roles, their aptitude at shaping others’ opinions, and their self-perceived impact on social and political outcomes”.¹⁰⁰
- The third category has been more of method to identify opinion leaders, than a specific category: *Ropers ASW’s Influentials*. The ‘influentials’ were individuals who were more politically and socially active and appear to have been the thought leaders on public affairs.¹⁰¹ ‘Influentials’ were found to generally be more interested in topics concerning environment, science and technology than the rest of the public. They also tended to place shared responsibility for solutions on government, the market sector and communities.¹⁰²
- The second set of three categories was concerned with promoting environmentally sustainable behaviours and consumer choices.
- *Product- or behaviour-specific opinion leaders*, were identified opinion leaders that paid more attention to behaviours and products that promote sustainable behaviour.¹⁰³
- *Communicative early adopters*, is based on the ‘diffusion of innovations’ theory of Rogers, though a distinction between early adopters and opinion leaders was made. Opinion leaders were said to pass on their evaluations and recommendations through interpersonal communication with others in their social network, where early adopters exerted their influence mainly through nonverbal means, like using a product and thus making it more visible to others.¹⁰⁴ Communicative early adopters were individuals at the intersection of an opinion leader and early adopter, thereby creating the optimal combination of both physical visibility and positive word-of-mouth.¹⁰⁵
- *Market-mavens*, those holding “expertise and influence in broader marketplace-related information rather than just a type of class of consumer goods”.¹⁰⁶ Market mavens could be identified as enthusiastic advice givers, whereas their expertise derives from paying close attention to magazines and consumer-focused websites.¹⁰⁷

After the identification of the six categories of opinion leaders, Nisbet and Kotcher pointed to several issues and questions that they felt needed to be addressed by scholars and practitioners. These issues and questions concerned among others, the recruitment and training of opinion leaders in which message coordination has been an important topic.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁸ Weimann, 1994 in Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 5.

⁹⁹ Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 6.

¹⁰⁰ Weimann, 2007, p. 170 in Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 6.

¹⁰¹ Keller & Berry, 2003, p. 18-19 in Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 7.

¹⁰² Keller & Berry, 2003 in Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 7.

¹⁰³ Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Baumgarten, 1975 in Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Vankatraman, 1989 in Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ Clark & Goldsmith, 2005 in Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 9-10.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Overall, Nisbet and Kotcher's article made clear that there are several general traits among opinion leaders. Next to this, opinion leaders have been studied in two main areas: 1) those studies more relevant to political mobilization and 2) those studies more relevant to personal behaviours and consumer choices. The six different categories of opinion leadership that followed from the general traits and the two main areas opinion leaders function in, made it clear that there are several specific factors that contributed to each different category. However, many were also overlapping, as the categories presented by Nisbet and Kotcher have sometimes been more models or scales than a well-defined category.

4.1.4 Muhammad and Ridwan (2015)

Though Muhammad and Ridwan discussed opinion leadership outside an environmental science perspective, their article made clear distinctions in different categories of opinion leaders and factors that might have contributed to these. In their article, they first discussed opinion leaders in general, where after they introduced their concept of 'third opinion leaders', a leadership style that Muhammad and Ridwan adopted from the idea of Joni, which relied on the idea of "outsider's opinion in influencing the decision-making progress".¹⁰⁹ In this idea the leader of a group introduced the 'outsider opinion leader' in order to help the decision-making progress.¹¹⁰ Examples of third opinions were consultants that have been asked for advice on specific matters. These third opinion leaders could according to Rogers and Agarwala-Rogers be seen as informal leaders who have had a high technical ability and "can be trusted and will lead the norms of the group".¹¹¹

Joni proposed three characteristics of third opinions, used by Muhammad and Ridwan as well: 1) third opinion's mind, which are people with knowledge and high thinking level, 2) third opinion's relationship, which are people with personal trust and networking, and 3) third opinion's focus, which are people who have ideas, creativity and innovativeness.¹¹² The first characteristic was further described based on three levels of thinking skills: "i) skills to identify the characteristics of a problem and know how to find a solution, ii) a deep understanding and iii) expertise in specific fields of knowledge and expertise in one or more fields of knowledge".¹¹³ According to Muhammad and Ridwan, many studies have found that third opinion intervention plays a central role between leaders behaviour and decision making quality.

Summarized, third opinion leadership is a form of leadership that could be defined as informal leadership by sharing information, advice, or suggestions to leaders or decision makers. The type of third opinion wanted or needed depended on the type of leader behaviour.

4.1.5 Valente and Pumpuang (2007)

In their article, Valente and Pumpuang have reviewed ten techniques "used to identify opinion leaders to promote behaviour change."¹¹⁴ Right in their opening sentence, they defined opinion leaders as "people who influence the opinions, attitudes, beliefs, motivations and behaviours of others".¹¹⁵ Their definition however, Valente and Pumpuang argued, masks a substantial broad literature research on defining leaders and leadership. Opinion leaders have, according to Valente and Pumpuang, long been used in several areas to gain support, implement ideas, and practices in areas ranging from public health to political, social, and economic programs.¹¹⁶ In their article, Valente and Pumpuang focussed mainly on public health issues. They distinguished several functions and responsibilities opinion

¹⁰⁹ Joni, 2004 in Muhammad & Ridwan, 2015, p. 293.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Rogers & Agarwala-Rogers, 1976; Leonard-Barton & Kraus, 1985 in Muhammad & Ridwan, 2015, p. 294.

¹¹² Joni, 2004 in Muhammad & Ridwan, 2015, p. 293.

¹¹³ Joni, 2004 in Muhammad & Ridwan, 2015, p. 295.

¹¹⁴ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 1.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

leaders possess that have been critical for implementing successful health promotion efforts. Firstly, opinion leaders acted as gatekeepers, providing access and legitimation to external change agents. Secondly, opinion leaders aided in communication between their communities and agencies that implement certain programs. Thirdly, opinion leaders acted in their communities as role models for behavioural change. Fourthly, opinion leaders could be de transmitters of certain messages and finally, opinion leaders “may act as the ‘capital’ left after the agency has withdrawn from the community, thus institutionalizing program goals”.¹¹⁷

Valente and Pumpuang stated that opinion leadership to promote behavioural change has often been identified with the diffusion of innovations model of Rogers. However, they argued that opinion leaders have not necessarily been the early adopters of innovations, although opinion leaders often have been embracing ideas or practices before the majority did¹¹⁸ This remark by Valente and Pumpuang was something putting them apart from the other reviewed authors, as they argued that opinion leaders tended to “monitor the climate of opinion and exercise their influence when the advantages of the new ideas are apparent or when it is clear that norms will change.”¹¹⁹ They argued this outcome as opposed to jeopardizing the opinion leadership role by having to be the earliest proponents of new ideas.

Although there have been many theoretical frameworks that supported the use of opinion leaders, Valente and Pumpuang argued that only a handful of studies gave suggestions in how opinion leaders should be identified and how selection of them influenced the different function they could perform.¹²⁰ These few studies showed considerable variation in how opinion leaders have been defined, selected, and trained. For their article, Valente and Pumpuang selected ten techniques to identify opinion leaders. They reviewed those techniques and showed the advantages and disadvantages of each method. The ten selected methods, with a short explanation of the used technique, advantages, and disadvantages were:

1. *Celebrities*. This method used celebrities mostly to advertise and market products and health messages. An important element for the successfulness of this method has been how good people could identify with the celebrity. Advantages for this were that celebrities were highly visible and already acted as opinion leaders. Disadvantages were that celebrities also could come under intense public scrutiny which decreased the effectiveness of the messages.¹²¹
2. *Self-selection*. This technique relied on individuals volunteering to be an opinion leader. These individuals however have not necessarily been leaders in their own community, but are motivated to volunteer by personal reasons. Valente and Pumpuang identified five advantages using this method: 1) it was cost-effective as people volunteer, 2) the leaders were usually similar to the target audience and thus had credibility, 3) volunteers were already interested in the topic that they would promote and thus would be more effective, 4) self-selected opinion leaders often experienced positive behavioural changes themselves as result of their volunteering, and 5) being usually similar to the target group, they delivered messages in appropriate languages and expressions, making the message more effective. The main disadvantage was that volunteers might not be recognized as opinion leaders by the people in their social network - the people whose behaviour was to be changed. A second disadvantage was that self-selected opinion leaders may not be motivated by altruism, depending on the form of compensation that came with the volunteering.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 2.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 1-2.

¹²¹ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 5.

¹²² Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 5-6.

3. *Self-identification*. This method required individuals to fill out a survey that measured their perceptions of their own opinion leadership within their network.¹²³ The individuals that scored highest on the scale were selected as opinion leaders. Valente and Pumpuang identified three advantages: 1) using self-identification over self-selection identified individuals with “more pre-existing opinion leadership within a community,”¹²⁴ 2) self-identification provided the opportunity to scale the degree of opinion leadership, and 3) self-identification scales could be compared to and across other studies by using the same survey to different populations.¹²⁵ The main disadvantage to this method was that respondents may bias their own responses, intentionally or not.¹²⁶
4. *Staff selection*. With this method opinion leaders were selected based on information resulting from observations in a community. The main advantage of this method was that it was rather simple to implement. A disadvantage was that staff could misperceive their observations and thus select a wrong leader. A second disadvantage was that leaders may lack motivation to participate in the project.¹²⁷
5. *Positional approach*. When using this method, the staff selected opinion leaders based on their occupational or organizational roles in the social network. This method was more reliable than the staff selection approach, as leadership was often related to specific roles in a community.¹²⁸ The disadvantages were similar to the previous method: staff may misperceive which individuals were seen as formal and informal leaders as well as lack of motivation.
6. *Judges’ ratings* and 7. *Expert identification*. These two methods both relied on knowledgeable individuals within a social network instead of the project staff identifying opinion leaders. Where the judges’ rating used key informants to identify potential opinion leaders, the expert identification used trained scientists acting as participant observers.¹²⁹ Both methods were easily implemented in communities varying in size and demographic composition. The judges’ ratings were also used in organizational settings when managers selected someone to be an opinion leader, whereas the expert identification used trained scientists to study a community and afterwards identified opinion leaders. The disadvantage to this method was its high dependence on the expert’s skills.
8. *Snowball method*, 9. *Sample sociometric*, and 10. *Sociometric*. These last three methods used social network analysis to identify opinion leaders in communities.¹³⁰ The *snowball method* started with randomly selected samples, who were asked to nominate others who were considered (potential) opinion leaders. Opinion leaders were identified as those individuals receiving an “agreed-on threshold of nominations.”¹³¹ The two advantages were 1) the collected data was often highly representative and thus generalizable and 2) the data collection method could be altered during the study.¹³² This method had three disadvantages: 1) results depended on the representativeness of the randomly selected samples, 2) it was time consuming to locate the nominated individuals, and 3) the whole process of interviewing, entering the data, and repeating the interview was in general time-consuming.¹³³

The *sample sociometric* was similar to the snowball method, except that it started with a representative sample and solicits names of opinion leaders. The sample for this method was much larger than the randomly selected samples of the snowball method, as well as that sample sociometric

¹²³ Childers, 1986; Rogers & Cartano, 1962; Weimann, 1991 in Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 6.

¹²⁴ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 6.

¹²⁵ Childers, 1986 in Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 6.

¹²⁶ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 6.

¹²⁷ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 5-6.

¹²⁸ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 6.

¹²⁹ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 7.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 7-8.

¹³³ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 7.

assumed that the boundary of a community was rather well defined.¹³⁴ The advantage of this method was that the researcher collects data only one time. A limitation, or disadvantage, was that the results are highly dependent on the representativeness of that sample. A second disadvantage was that this method is only useful in situations where boundaries of the community are clearly defined.¹³⁵ Lastly, *sociometric* provided the most valid and reliable way for identifying opinion leaders, though it was also the most costly and restrictive manner.¹³⁶ With this method, all members of a community were interviewed and a social network matrix was constructed from the nominations. Those persons who received an agreed-on threshold of nominations were identified as opinion leaders.¹³⁷ The two advantages of this method were that the entire structure of the community could be mapped and “optimal matching strategies pairing leaders with followers closest to them could be implemented”.¹³⁸ The major disadvantage of this method it that was very time consuming and thus in large communities it may not be most practical.¹³⁹

After identifying these ten methods, Valente and Pumpuang concluded that opinion leadership a function was of three main qualities: 1) the leader’s values and traits, 2) the leader’s competence of expertise, and 3) the leader’s social position.¹⁴⁰ The ten methods for identifying opinion leaders differed in their focus on these qualities. Next to this, Valente and Pumpuang argued that opinion leaders influenced community behaviour through a minimum of four means: 1) raising awareness, 2) persuading others, 3) establishing or reinforcing norms, and 4) using leverage resources.¹⁴¹ Recruitment and training were two other factors that contribute to the effectiveness of opinion leaders.¹⁴²

4.1.6 Definition opinion leadership

Having reviewed the five articles, several similarities and differences could be seen. A first similarity was the reference to the diffusion of innovation model developed by Rogers. Keys et al. which referred to opinion leaders as those people in this process that have been the early adopters of a new idea or product. Dalrymple et al. however argued that opinion leaders were not necessarily the early adopters themselves, but had the social power to influence and ‘create’ potential early adopters. Nisbet and Kotcher would likely have agreed to this, as they identified opinion leaders to be people that have made recommendations and frame issues and opinions regarding topics, issues or ideas. Muhammad and Ridwan too considered opinion leaders as individuals who influenced the attitude and behaviour of others, providing information and advice to others. Considering these different references to the diffusion of innovation model, allocating opinion leaders to the group of early adopters seemed not completely fitting. Valente and Pumpuang also stated that opinion leaders were not necessarily the early adopters, but rather have been monitors of opinions and subsequently exercised their influence when the time was right and the advantages of the new ideas were greater than the risks that came with focussing on the new ideas or issues.

An apparent similarity all authors show was the defining of opinion leaders as individuals in a community or social network that have not essentially been holding formal positions of power, but did tend to fill an important role of providing information and advice to the members in their networks and upholding social norms. Because these individuals holding these roles they could be more persuasive in their social networks regarding whether or not to adopt opinions or behaviours regarding

¹³⁴ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 8.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Valente & Davis, 1999 in Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 8.

¹³⁹ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 8.

¹⁴⁰ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 11.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 12.

any sort of issue. Valente and Pumpuang specified these roles when they argued that opinion leaders could act 1) as gatekeepers, 2) could help change social norms or 3) accelerated behavioural change.

These different roles could also be found in the two main categories that Nisbet and Kotcher identified, where opinion leaders have been active in political mobilization or in personal behaviours and consumer choices. Their six categories of different types of opinion leaders helped in understanding the different roles opinion leaders could have. However, a level above these specified categories, Nisbet and Kotcher also referred to several shared traits and behaviours that could be found in each opinion leader regardless of in which category they fell: 1) who one is, 2) what one knows, and 3) whom one knows. These three simplified traits could also be found with Muhammad and Ridwan when they discussed their ‘third opinion’ opinion leaders. Their third opinion’s mind, third opinion’s relationship and third opinion’s focus were very similar to the three shared traits as discussed by Nisbet and Kotcher.

For this thesis opinion leaders will be defined as those *“individuals that hold informal positions of power in a social network or community and therefore can give information, advice, and frame issues and opinions regarding issues, ideas, attitudes or behaviours.”*

4.2 Contributing factors

Based on the definition of opinion leadership and the used articles to come to this definition several contributing factors could be identified. The factors affecting the influence opinion leaders could exert were shown in figure 4. Following Nisbet and Kotcher, the basis for influence of opinion leaders was based on the three shared traits. As these three traits were rather broad, they have been defined by several hypotheses (see table 2). Next to these three factors, perceived self-efficacy, willingness to communicate, perceived knowledge of risks, recruitment and training, and response capacity were selected as contributing factors.

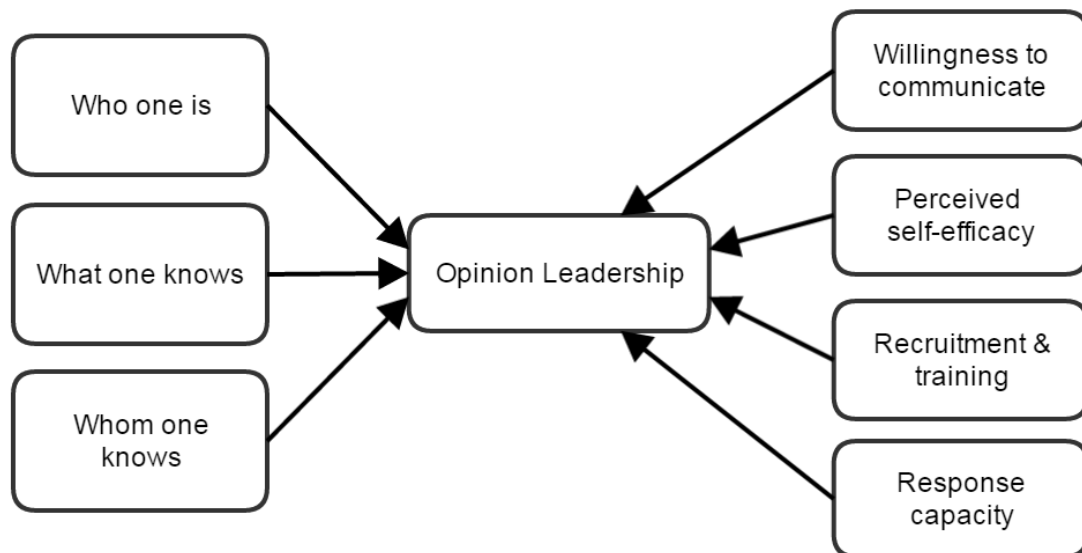


Figure 4: Visual representation of factors influencing opinion leadership.

From this visual representation, several hypotheses were created for each factor, based on the different authors. These hypotheses have been leading while operationalizing the analytical framework. Table 1 is showing the factors with one or multiple hypotheses, as well as literature references.

Contributing factor	Hypothesis	Literature reference
Who one is	1.1 The more the values of an opinion leader correspond with the dominating values of a community, the more influence the opinion leader can exert. 1.2 The more personal characteristics of an opinion leader correspond with the characteristics associated with 'good leaders', the more influence the opinion leader can exert.	Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 191. Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 5-6. Muhammad & Ridwan, 2015, p. 293 & 295. Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 11.
What one knows	2.1 If the opinion leader is considered an expert within their community on the issue or topic at hand, the more influence the opinion leader can exert. 2.2 If the opinion leader is considered an expert outside their community on the issue or topic at hand, the more influence the opinion leader can exert.	Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 5-6. Muhammad & Ridwan, 2015, p. 293-295. Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 11.
Whom one knows	3.1 The more the opinion leader is accessible to others inside their social network, the more influence the opinion leader can exert. 3.2 The more opinion leader acts like a gatekeeper between different social networks, the more influence the opinion leader can exert. 3.3 The greater the number of people with whom an opinion leader is in contact with within a community, the greater the influence the opinion leader can exert. 3.4 The more the mass media seeks the opinion leader's advice or opinion, the more influence the opinion leader can exert.	Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1439. Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 5 & 7. Muhammad & Ridwan, 2015, p. 293 & 295. Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 1 & 11.
Perceived self-efficacy	4.1 The more an opinion leader sees themselves as an opinion leader, the more he is perceived by the group as an opinion leader and the influence the opinion leader can exert can increase.	Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1441-1445.
Willingness to communicate	5.1 The more an opinion leader is willing to communicate about a certain issue or opinion, the more influence the opinion leader can exert.	Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1442-1443. Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 5-6 & 11.
Recruitment and training	7.1 The more the activities of an opinion leader are reviewed, supported and sustained over time, the more influence the opinion leader can exert over time. 7.2 The more opinion leaders are trained as communication strategists, the more meaningful and persuasive they become to their recipients.	Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 18. Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 12.
Response capacity	8.1 The better the opinion leader can respond to stressors, the more influence the opinion leader can exert. 8.2 The more social capital an opinion leader has, the greater the response capacity.	Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 189.

Who one is, the first factor contributing to opinion leadership related to the personal characteristics of an opinion leader. Nisbet and Kotcher, and Valente and Pumpuang specifically referred to this point, though they did not specify the personality characteristics or traits most opinion leaders share. Muhammad and Ridwan could shed some insights into this, when they referred to the 'third opinion's mind' characteristics: "i) skills to identify the characteristics of a problem and know how to find a solution, ii) a deep understanding and iii) expertise in specific fields of knowledge and expertise in one

or more fields of knowledge".¹⁴³ These skills however were not exclusively related to the personal characteristics both Nisbet and Kotcher, and Valente and Pumpuang discussed, as they could also help understand the factor 'what one knows'. Keys et al. mentioned that 'leaders' as a factor contributing to informal leadership might therefore have been a better fit in detailing the 'who one is' factor. They referred to personal traits of leaders, to become effective leaders, like generating and integrating diverse and contrasting ideas, viewpoints, and solutions.¹⁴⁴ How their values related to the 'critical mass of people' had to be considered for this aspect.¹⁴⁵

What one knows, the second factor contributing to opinion leadership related to the specific skills or knowledge held by opinion leaders. Where Valente and Pumpuang again referred to a leader's general competence and expertise,¹⁴⁶ Nisbet and Kotcher discussed a specific kind of opinion leadership based on the factor 'issue-specific opinion leaders', which was characterized by the intense involvement with a specific issue or topic, by great levels of media attention and issue-specific knowledge.¹⁴⁷ Muhammad and Ridwan also discussed, with their 'third opinion', a type of opinion leader that has been characterized by his expertise in specific fields.¹⁴⁸ In practice, they argued, this type of opinion leadership is seen to be increasingly relied upon in the form of consultants. Hypotheses leading from this factor therefore focussed on the expertise an opinion leader holds or is believed to hold.

Whom one knows, was the third of the shared traits in opinion leaders and thus the third factor contributing to opinion leadership. Looking at the definition of opinion leaders, it was clear that the position of an opinion leader in their social networks or communities was of importance. This position in a network has been related to whom one knows, both the number of people and the social positions they have been holding, and how these people perceived the potential opinion leader. Muhammad and Ridwan's third opinion relationship aspect made this clear, stating that persons with this aspect possessed trustworthiness and networking skills.¹⁴⁹ This way, opinion leaders could act as gatekeepers, aided in communication in and between communities and have been more persuasive in whether or not to adopt certain opinions and behaviours.¹⁵⁰

Perceived self-efficacy. Next to the three more general shared traits of opinion leaders, Dalrymple et al. pointed out that perceived self-efficacy has been an important factor contributing to opinion leadership. As self-efficacy was the "sense of leadership that aided opinion leaders in communicating with others and persuading others to accept their beliefs", Dalrymple et al. argued that a higher sense of self-efficacy was likely to have led to higher levels of influence of the opinion leaders.¹⁵¹

Willingness to communicate was another factor put forward by Dalrymple et al.¹⁵² that contributed to opinion leadership, which was supported by Valente and Pumpuang. Especially when identifying opinion leaders this factor has been of importance. Because, though other actors in a network could see or identify someone as an opinion leader, if said opinion leader was not intentionally willing to communicate his or her opinion or was not willing to participate in a project, the influence of this opinion leader would suffer.¹⁵³

¹⁴³ Joni, 2004 in Muhammad & Ridwan, 2015, p. 295.

¹⁴⁴ Olsson et al., 2006 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 191.

¹⁴⁵ Folke et al., 2005 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 191.

¹⁴⁶ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 11.

¹⁴⁷ Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 6,.

¹⁴⁸ Joni, 2004 in Muhammad & Ridwan, 2015, p. 295.

¹⁴⁹ Joni, 2004 in Muhammad & Ridwan, 2015, p. 293.

¹⁵⁰ Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Keller & Berry, 2003 in Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1439; Keller & Berry, 2003, p. 18-19 in Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 7. and Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 1.

¹⁵¹ Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1441-1445.

¹⁵² Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1442-1443.

¹⁵³ Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 5-6 & 11.

Recruitment and training was the sixth factor contributing to opinion leadership. Valente and Pumpuang argued that if a person was trained specifically as a communication strategist, it was more likely that this person would be perceived as an opinion leader than someone who had no training as a communication expert.¹⁵⁴ As training and education also formed a person's behaviour and characteristics, it was linked with the 'who one is' and 'what one knows' factors. However, as it was not a shared trait, recruitment and training has been stated as a separate factor.

Response capacity, the final factor contributing to opinion leadership, was a combination of the ability to respond to stressors in such a way that collective behaviour in a social system could be changed and the social capital needed to do so.¹⁵⁵ However, social capital in its form as explained by Bourdieu (see 4.1.1) has also been linked to the 'whom one knows' factor. The difference was the way an opinion leader uses the social network or community he or she has been part of.

4.3 Concluding

Through an extensive literature study of the five articles a definition of opinion leadership was found and factors contributing to it, thus answering the first sub-question:

'What is opinion leadership and which factors contribute to it?'

Opinion leadership, for this thesis, has been defined as:

'Those individuals that hold informal positions of power in a social network or community and therefore can give information, advice and frame issues and opinions regarding issues, ideas, attitudes, or behaviours.'

Seven factors contributing to opinion leadership were found:

- Who one is,
- What one knows,
- Whom one knows,
- Perceived self-efficacy,
- Willingness to communicate,
- Recruitment and training;
- Response capacity.

Though, as mentioned earlier, opinion leaders traditionally have been researched as individuals. This thesis however, wanted to see if actors other than individuals could be potential opinion leaders and thus looked into the factors contributing to NGO influence. The results of the literature research into NGO influence have been presented in the next chapter, chapter 5.

¹⁵⁴ Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 18; Valente & Pumpuang, 2007

¹⁵⁵ Tompkins & Adger, 2005; Burch & Robinson, 2007 in Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 189.

5. NGO Influence

The purpose of this chapter was to come to an answer for the second sub question, which entailed defining NGO influence as well as identifying factors contributing to it. The contributing factors found after a literature research have been used to form the basis of the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance. This chapter ends with a set of hypotheses based on the contributing factors.

As there has been much research done into both NGOs as well as influence in general, there have been multiple definitions and explanations of NGO influence. After an extensive literature search, five articles were chosen and reviewed. These articles were from Betsill and Corell, Arts, Betzold, Marquez and Dany. All articles have been selected on basis of relevance and year of publication. From these articles, a definition of NGO influence was constructed. These articles also aided in extracting the contributing factors.

Though the term ‘non-governmental organizations’ entered common usage via the United Nations at the end of World War II, organisations in (inter)national humanitarian activities outside governmental or business domains have existed for many centuries.¹⁵⁶ Religious orders, missionary groups and scientific societies being examples of such organisations. Parallel to the industrial revolution, there was a massive expansion in the number and variety of NGOs. Examples of NGOs being the Universal Scientific Alliance, the World League for Protection of Animals, and the International Council of Women.¹⁵⁷ The term ‘non-governmental organization’ came into use with the establishment of the United Nations Organization (UN) in 1945. In Article 71 of Chapter 10 of the United Nations Charter, a consultative role for organizations which were neither governments nor member states was conceptualized.¹⁵⁸ This also gave a definition of NGOs: “organizations which are neither governments nor member states, but is neither a conventional for-profit business” (Davies, 2014). Globalization during the 20th century gave rise to the importance of NGOs, as many problems were found to be unsolvable within a nation or by governments alone. Especially in western countries a rapid rise of NGOs could be traced back to the processes of (re)structuring the welfare state.¹⁵⁹ With the focus of many (inter)national treaties on the interests of capitalist enterprises, NGOs developed a counterbalance emphasize on humanitarian issues, developmental aid, and sustainable development.¹⁶⁰ Therefore others conceptualized NGOs as *pressure groups* that had the capacity or desire to influence the course of international relations.”¹⁶¹

NGOs existed in different legal forms, which depended on a nation’s laws and practices. However, four main groups of NGOs were seen globally:¹⁶²

- Unincorporated and voluntary associations,
- Trusts, charities, and foundations,
- Companies not just for profit, and
- Entities formed or registered under special NGO or non-profit laws.

For the conceptualization of NGO influence, there was no distinction made between the different main groups of NGOs. To come to factors that contribute to NOG influence in (environmental) policy making, several articles discussing NGO influence have been reviewed in the first section, 5.1. After reviewing

¹⁵⁶ Davies, 2014.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ U.N. Charter X art. 71.

¹⁵⁹ Salamon, 1994.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Thompson-Feraru, 1974, p. 32-33 in Arts, 1998, p. 49.

¹⁶² Stillman, 2007, p. 13-14.

each article, a definition of NGO influence for the purpose of this thesis was created. Next, in section 5.2, the identified factors contributing to opinion leadership have been put together with hypotheses substantiating them.

5.1 Defining NGO Influence

The increase in numbers of NGOs has been well-documented by many scholars, as well as the fact that these organizations have been participating increasingly in international environmental governance.¹⁶³ NGOs have been seen as important actors, and a growing body of academic evidence suggested that government decisions have been influenced by NGOs. However, despite the growing evidence that NGOs made a difference in international environmental governance, questions of ‘under what conditions’ and ‘how’ remained fairly unanswered.¹⁶⁴ Betsill and Corell have blamed this on three weaknesses in current literature on NGOs in international environmental governance.¹⁶⁵ Firstly, they have seen a tendency “to treat all studies related to NGOs in the environmental issue area as a single body of research”, instead of acknowledging the differences in NGOs and different arenas involved. Secondly, there has been a lack of specification about the concept of ‘influence’, and how to identify NGO influence. Thirdly, which was linked to the second problem, has been the shortcoming of elaborating causal mechanisms that linked NGOs to international outcomes in the environmental issue area.¹⁶⁶

These shortcomings have not been absent in the articles that will be reviewed. They however still were useful in forming a definition of NGO influence, as they could be used to see contradictions and similarities in the different definitions.

To come to a conceptualization of NGO influence that could be operationalized into a model, the second and third shortcomings as presented by Betsill and Corell needed to be overcome. This started with looking at what types of evidence there were and how these could be used to conceptualize influence. Secondly, influence itself needed to be conceptualized, to see which types could be distinguished and how NGO influence could be specified from this.

4.1.1 Betsill and Corell (2001)

Defining influence is a complicated matter, though it has been of great importance as it forced scholars to contemplate carefully about types of evidence needed to indicate influence. Types of evidence used to indicate influence have shown a lack of consistency, making it difficult to compare the role of NGOs across cases.¹⁶⁷ Betsill and Corell showed two pitfalls that came forth out of the inconsistent use of evidence to define influence: a difficulty to determine whether NGOs were more or less influential in different cases, resulting in the risk of over-determination as scholars searched for any possible sign of NGO influence rather than being able to distinguish between the amount of influence.¹⁶⁸ A second pitfall has been associated with the type of evidence that was collected to define influence. Most scholars, when defining NGO influence relied on evidence regarding 1) NGO activities, 2) NGO access, and 3) NGO resources. NGO activities have been activities such as lobbying, and submitting information to negotiators on particular positions. NGO access could be seen as “the number of NGOs attending negotiations”¹⁶⁹ or number of negotiators NGOs were able to interact with. NGO resources have been, first and primarily, knowledge, financial, and other assets and “the number of supporters and their particular role in negotiations”.¹⁷⁰ These types of evidence primarily told *how* NGOs participated in

¹⁶³ Betsill & Corell, 2001, p 65.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 65.

¹⁶⁷ Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 69.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

international environmental governance negotiations, but did not give clear information on the *effects* following from it. Of course, NGOs had to engage in activities to influence international environmental negotiations in order to ensure that their views were heard. However, NGO activity did not automatically led to NGO influence. It was very possible that NGOs have been highly active during negotiation processes, but the actors targeted by the NGOs did not alter their behaviour.¹⁷¹ Likewise, solely relying on access to negotiations or access to negotiators as evidence of NGO influence could be deceptive for the same reason as relying on accounts of NGO activity.¹⁷² Betsill and Corell even noted that NGOs were often denied access to negotiations or were denied to voice their positions during meetings.¹⁷³ Using NGO resources as a base for influence could be tricky as well, especially when it came to knowledge as a resource. Princen referred to NGO resources as knowledge and interests the NGOs represented and how influence has been gained by “filling a niche that other international actors are ill-equipped to fill”.¹⁷⁴ However, these resources *may* be translated into influence, but they did not directly indicate whether negotiators have altered their actions. As briefly mentioned, though looking at NGO activity, access and resources have all been in their way part of how NGOs tried to influence international environmental governance negotiations, getting a more accurate indication of NGO influence required researchers to consider the *goal attainment* of NGOs.¹⁷⁵ A related question was whether political outcomes reflected the objectives set by NGOs. Comparing NGO goals with political outcomes, such as environmental policies or treaties, provided a more concrete basis of evidence for NGO influence than a limited focus on NGO activities, access and/or resources.¹⁷⁶

After discussing the types of evidence used to analyse NGO influence, Betsill and Corell started defining NGO influence. They reckoned that influence has been a basic concept in many research fields. But even though influence has been a much-used concept, it remained difficult to define. One reason for this was the direct and intimate link to another crucial yet difficult to define concept: power. Within the field of international relations, many examinations of influence have started with a concept of power to define and explain influence. Power in these cases was mostly discussed in terms of *state power*: “state A has power if it can make state B do something that B would not choose to do”.¹⁷⁷ Typical indicators of state power often included population, military capacity and gross national product.

Taking the previous definition of power, the question remained how influence stands in relation with this concept and how it could be defined. Betsill and Corell referred to Holsti, who saw influence as an aspect of power, or “as a means to an end”.¹⁷⁸ This distinction between however has not been the one Betsill and Corell went with, as influence in this way was too similar to the concept of power. They thus referred to Cox and Jacobson, who have attempted to avoid this problem by making the distinction between power and influence more clear. They stated:

*“Influence means the modification of one actor’s behaviour by that of another”.*¹⁷⁹

They specified this by stating that influence could be seen as a relationship between actors and emerges in political process. Power on the other hand could be seen as capability, which has been the aggregate of political resources an actor had access to. Cox and Jacobson highlighted that power may be converted into influence, but it is not a precondition for exerting influence.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷¹ Wright, 2000, p. 83.

¹⁷² Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 69-70.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Princen, 1994, p. 41-42 in Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 70.

¹⁷⁵ Keck & Sikkink, 1998, 25; Arts, 1998.

¹⁷⁶ Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 71.

¹⁷⁷ Dahl, 1957 in Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 72.

¹⁷⁸ Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 73

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

This especially counts for NGOs, Betsill and Corell stated, as NGOs did not fit within the traditional conceptualizations of power and influence, because these traditionally focussed on states.¹⁸¹ NGOs specifically have been using their specialized knowledge to modify actions taken by state actors. It was this knowledge that has been a valuable resource providing NGOs with legitimacy and access to negotiations. Information therefore became the key resource NGOs used in exerting influence- either product or process influence.¹⁸² Based on this line of reasoning, Betsill and Corell suggested a definition of influence for NGO specific influence, based on the examinations of political networks by Knoke: "Influence can be said to have occurred when one actor intentionally transmits information to another that alters the latter's actions from what would have occurred without that information".¹⁸³

This definition gave two aspects of influence: 1) the intentional transmission of information and 2) the alterations in the behaviour in response to given information.¹⁸⁴ Combined with the pitfalls in identifying influence and the data used to do so, Betsill and Corell suggested that researchers must look for evidence related to the two aspects of their definition. The problem with most existing literature has been that most researchers only focussed on the first aspect, neglecting to go over evidence on the other actors' behaviour and possible behavioural change.¹⁸⁵ Especially when, as Betsill and Corell have put it, "the most direct indication of NGO influence was whether the final agreement reflected NGO goals".¹⁸⁶

Betsill and Corell used the definition and its two aspects to work out a framework for NGO influence analyses. Operationalizing this framework relied heavily on triangulation: the use of multiple data types, sources, and methodologies to support findings by showing how independent measures of the findings agree with the finding or do not contradict with it.¹⁸⁷ Next to this, triangulation helped correct the researcher's bias in the process of developing indicators for the assessment of the results.

The framework thus consisted of three major parts: data type, data source, and methodology. The different components of the data type could be seen as the contributing factors of NGO influence. Betsill and Corell made a distinction between NGO participation and goal attainment, based on the two aspects of the definition of NGO influence.¹⁸⁸ The indicators for NGO participation were: activities, access, and resources. The indicators for goal attainment were outcome and process, as they noted that NGO influence "may be observed both in the outcome of the negotiations as well as in the negotiating process".¹⁸⁹

Based on their discussion about the pitfalls of previous research on NGO influence, all indicators had to be looked at in order to come to a more accurate indication of NGO influence in any given set of negotiations.

The approach Betsill and Corell took was not free from critique and has mainly been based on their own definition of NGO influence. Though they discussed in great length the different aspects of power and influence, the differences between these two concepts and all different kinds of resources NGOs may have and use, to focus on 'information' as key currency and basing the entire definition of NGO influence on this, has been rather tricky. A second critique to their definition of NGO influence has been that, after their lengthy discussion about power, influence, and use of multiple sources, the authors were very quick to use another person's definition of influence. More so, the context of this person's used definition is not gone over in much detail, and thus may be less useful outside its original research field than Betsill and Corell suggest.

¹⁸¹ Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 74.

¹⁸² See 2.1.1., Princen, 1994, p. 41-42 in Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 70.

¹⁸³ Knoke, 1994, p. 3 in Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 74.

¹⁸⁴ Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 74.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 74-75.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 75.

¹⁸⁷ Miles and Huberman, 1994 and Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 80.

¹⁸⁸ Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 79.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 81.

5.1.2 Arts (1998)

An author to which Betsill and Corell referred a lot in their article was Bas Arts. It therefore seemed useful to take a closer look into his reasoning towards the conceptualisation of influence. In his dissertation on the political influence of global NGOs he gave an elaborate review on the concept of 'political influence' as well as explanatory factors that contributed to this concept.

Arts, like Betsill and Corell, referred to the general definition of influence of Cox and Jacobson: "influence means the modification of one actor's behaviour by that of another."¹⁹⁰ Cox and Jacobson however added as well that:

"Influence is to be distinguished from power. Power means capability; it is the aggregate of political resources that are available to an actor. (...) Power may be converted into influence, but is not necessarily so converted at all or to its full extent."¹⁹¹

Arts subsequently pointed out that the distinction Cox and Jacobson made has not been shared by all as it would coincide too much with Dahl's definition of power ('to get B to do something', see 4.1.1). The disagreement could be seen as, on the one hand, an emphasis on *exercising* power or influence (Dahl's version) and an emphasis on *having* power or capabilities on the other (Cox and Jacobson's version).¹⁹² In the latter version, an actor was seen as powerful without actually exercising power. Advocates for the first version stated that "it was impossible to assess the capability of an actor if that capability has not been applied".¹⁹³

To find a way through this disagreement, Arts looked at Huberts and Kleinnijenhuis, who said that resources may give an indication of an actor's power. But on the condition that these resources had proved to be effective in the past or under comparable circumstances.¹⁹⁴ Following this line of reasoning, Arts connected power and influence as follows: "power is based on practices of influence whereas these practices sustain power".¹⁹⁵ To make it more clear, (political) power referred to a relatively permanent ability to influence policy outcomes. (Political) influence referred to a periodic effect on decision-making processes and their outcomes. In other words, NGOs could affect governmental actors in their policy goals. However, it would be premature to conclude that these NGOs have therefore been powerful players in international environmental governance.

A second line of thinking from Arts included the unintended effects of the mere presence of an actor on a decision-maker. Arts' final definition of influence therefore indicated that an actor has to deliberately have intervened to influence the outcome of a policy-making process:

"Influence is the achievement of (a part of) one's policy goal with regard to an outcome in treaty formation and implementation, which is (at least partly) caused by one's own and intentional intervention in the political arena and process concerned."¹⁹⁶

In other words, policy influence implies that the policy outcome was more in line with the policy goal of the actor who intervened or got involved, than would have been the case if this actor had not got involved. Arts' claimed that it was obvious that political influence referred to effects on policy outcomes. However, this did not immediately cover the temporary effects of NGOs on international debates Arts previously mentioned. To overcome this, Arts made another distinction in the sorts of influence: *product* and *process* influence.¹⁹⁷ With product influence he referred to effects of NGOs on

¹⁹⁰ Arts, 1998, p. 57.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Arts, 1998, p. 57.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Huberts & Kleinnijenhuis, 1994 in Arts, 1998, p. 57.

¹⁹⁵ Arts, 1998, p. 57.

¹⁹⁶ Arts, 1998, p. 58.

¹⁹⁷ Arts, 1998, p. 59.

formal policy outcomes, whereas process influence referred to the temporary effects on policy processes which usually were not clearly recognizable in the final policy outcomes.

To come to indicators measuring the previous described influence, Arts looked at methods developed by Huberts. Huberts assumed that the chance of pressure group A, or NGO, causing a change of a decision maker B increased if: 1) A really intended to change B, 2) A had access to B, 3) the time gap between A's attempt and B's change was short, 4) B's policy change was in A's interest and 5) B remained the same individual during the decision-making process.¹⁹⁸ From these five points the indicators intention, access, policy change, time gap, goal-achievement and personnel came forth. Next to this, resources were of importance according to Huberts: if several players could had similar objectives, or if they took similar or collective attempts to influence the same political player- then one might have to discriminate among the players on basis of resources.¹⁹⁹ The player who invested the most resources is then assumed to be the most influential.

In the end, Art's view of NGO influence has been rather usable as he gave a clear definition and pointed out several factors that influenced NGO influence. However, discussing the definition and factors contributing to it, there has been a slight lack of Art's own input to the definition and factors as he mainly used other authors' work. Which is not considered a loss, though more critique of these authors or a merge of definitions and explanations of the authors could have led to new(er) insights and conclusions.

5.1.3 Betzold (2014)

Though Carola Betzold did not give a ready to go definition of NGO influence, in her article she discussed NGO influence in a way that a definition could be abstracted. In her article Betzold analysed the lobbying behaviour of NGOs during international climate change negotiations. She purposely did not use a method called *ex-post evaluation* of NGO influence,²⁰⁰ which would have answered the questions: 'what is NGO influence and how is it operationalized'. According to Betzold this method neglected important questions concerning NGO behaviour during negotiations themselves. Therefore, Betzold turned the questions around: 'whom do NGOs lobby, and why?'²⁰¹ This method has been called an *ex ante* analysis.²⁰² For her analysis, Betzold focussed on intergovernmental negotiations, where government representative were the sole actors at the negotiation tables. To understand the impact of NGOs in the negotiations, Betzold highlighted the importance of learning about the interactions between NGOs and governments or government representatives. NGOs could focus on two things in these interactions: responsiveness and influence of the targets of their lobbying practices. Responsiveness referred to the targets more or most likely to have brought NGO input to the negotiation table. Influential targets were targets whose voice was more than others heard during the negotiations. Apart from the distinction between responsive and influential targets, Betzold also looked at the differences in lobbying efforts between policymakers who did and did not *a priori* shared the NGO's position. Those who did share the NGO's position were seen as 'friendly' or 'allied' to the NGO, whereas those policymakers whose position was not in line or oppose the NGO's position were named 'foes' or 'opponents'.²⁰³ Betzold reasoned that, at first glance, it made more sense to put time and effort in convincing an opponent than to invest in a policymaker whose support already could be expected without intervention. However, a precondition for lobbying has been access to policymakers, and access was more easily gained by interactions with allied decision-makers. Making them a more 'natural' target for NGOs' lobbying practices.²⁰⁴ Next to this, Betzold stated that one of the main

¹⁹⁸ Arts, 1998, p. 78.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Betzold, 2014, p. 36.

²⁰¹ Betzold, 2014, p. 35.

²⁰² Ibid., p. 36.

²⁰³ Ibid, p. 38.

²⁰⁴ Bauer et al., 1963; Baumgartner et al., Milbrath, 1963 in Betzold, 2014, p. 38.

purposes of lobbying was to engage policymakers as agents on behalf of a NGO. Being able to provide them with information and resources has then been crucial in gaining and keeping friendly policymakers as active agents.²⁰⁵ In international negotiations, decisions were often made by means of consensus, rather than by vote. So, for a NGO it seemed more advisable to target not only friendly policymakers, but also those whose opinion was not in line with the NGO's goals. Access, information and resources were factors counting as well in effort to engage and turn opposing policymakers.²⁰⁶ In her conclusion, Betzold stated that NGOs need to be selective in their advocacy due to their limited resources.²⁰⁷ Therefore access and strategically seeking out targets to share information with was key. Concluding, even though Betzold did not give a ready to go definition of influence, she has recognized that 'to maximize their [NGO] impact' access, resources and information are aspects to be considered. 'Maximizing impact' could be seen as influencing the targets, where lobbying has been a method to do so.

5.1.4 Marquez (2015)

In her article, Marquez took on an institutional organizational analysis (IOA) to develop a theoretical framework. With this framework, she assessed the "importance of organizational structure" of NGO and how this could explain different roles in policy processes.²⁰⁸ Like Betzold, Marquez did not define NGO influence. Nonetheless, her perspective on factors contributing to the influence or impact NGOs can have, had to be considered. Marquez included, compared to previous discussed authors, more endogenous factors which determine for a great length the way a NGO has been characterized and thus worked- both internally as when facing external challenges.²⁰⁹ In her introduction Marquez argued that "NGOs are arenas of conflict and bargaining that must resolve external challenges to pursue their aims".²¹⁰ As NGOs have not been homogeneous, they varied in principles, norms and values, structures and resources, they all responded differently to the external challenges. Similar NGOs in mission statements could thus be focussed differently in their ways of dealing with the external challenges, as one might have focussed on implementing public policies while the other may have acted as a policy advocate or agenda setters.²¹¹ Referring to IOA theorists like Kenneth and Edwards, Beyers and Klüver, Marquez argued that NGOs have in this field often been recognized as advocacy groups able to provide relevant information to help shape public policy decisions at both national and international level. NGO influence, in this line, was to influence policy results by providing timely and significant information to policy makers.²¹² However, in this 'definition' there has been a shortcoming that did not recognize the relevance of the organizational structure of NGOs. This while the organizational structure had to be taken into account to understand a NGO's capacity to influence policy processes.²¹³

The problem was that there was little known about the role organizational structure has played in policy processes, nor was there consensus on how to analyse organizational structure. To find a middle ground in these debates, Marquez took multiple authors to work with, in order to see how different variables of internal structure explained the influences of NGOs in policy processes. From Klüver, Marquez took the distinction between the resources of NGOs and the internal structure. Two variables for the resources were money and staff, whereas variables for internal structure were functional differentiation, professionalization and decentralization. "Functional differentiation described the specialization of employees, professionalization refers to their qualifications, while decentralization denoted the dispersion of decision-making authorities".²¹⁴ Nevertheless, Marquez recognized the need

²⁰⁵ Betzold, 2014, p. 38.

²⁰⁶ Betzold, 2014, p. 39-40.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 55-56.

²⁰⁸ Marquez, 2015, p. 465.

²⁰⁹ Marquez, 2015, p. 467.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Marquez, 2015, p. 467-468.

²¹² Beyers, 2008; Chalmers, 2001; Klüver, 2012 in Marquez, 2015, p. 469.

²¹³ Kriesi, 1996, 2006; Klüver, 2012 in Marquez, 2015, p. 469.

²¹⁴ Klüver, 2012, p. 495 in Marquez, 2015, p. 469.

for a centralized proposal power to set the agenda within the NGO as well as an enforcement power to monitor the NGO's performances, as important components.²¹⁵ Looking at international NGOs involved in humanitarian response and development, Marquez saw how different NGOs had adopted different organizational structures ranging from centralized corporate-like structures to organizational types that were based on loosely connected networks.²¹⁶ Among all the variation in organizational structures, there was a trend to be seen in the increase of professionalization of the NGOs. These types of NGOs were "compelled to organize themselves according to hierarchical business principles aimed at maximizing the efficiency of operations".²¹⁷ Referring to Maloney, there were three variables to be found in typical professionalized NGO:

"1) expert staff who can generate income and information at the same time that they shape perceptions of issues; 2) centralized governance who pursues a technocratic and scientific approach to organizational maintenance and influence over policy outcomes and 3) passive membership."²¹⁸

Still, not all NGOs that played a role on international policy level followed the professionalized model as set by Maloney, as their legacy and rootedness- two criteria used to prove criteria to justify a decision going against instrumental rational demands²¹⁹, also affected the NGO's policy decisions. In other words, a NGO's organizational structure was crucial in why some NGOs focussed more on advocacy and influencing policy processes, whereas others preferred to focus on the implementation phases of public policies.²²⁰

Even though no NGO has been the same, from IOA theories a general framework could be drawn, showing that NGOs had an organizational structure coming forth from interactions between endogenous and external factors.²²¹ As endogenous and external factors often have been intertwined, it was not an easy task to define a (series of) factors for both. However, Marquez referred to a notion that NGOs often have been rooted in pre-existing institutions and thus had different legacies or backgrounds guiding conflicts and outcomes within the organization.²²² With this notion in mind, Marquez took on an analysis of organisations thought of by Scott²²³, that tried to clarify what relevant endogenous factors have been, how these factors interacted with each other and with which external factors and challenges. Scott first defined a set of dimensions that affected a NGO's ability to interact in policy processes. These factors were 1) resources: "those attributes that enable organizations to accomplish their goals, such as their financial support, membership and staff"²²⁴, 2) the regulative dimension: the legal and constitutional order within a NGO, such as how power is allocated and the rules an organization sets, and 3) the normative dimension, which included the principles, ethics and main beliefs of a NGO.²²⁵

Especially the regulative and normative dimensions came forth from the rationale of pre-existing institutions, as they arose from previous choices made when a NGO is formed.

The next step, according to Marquez, was to further disentangle the interactions between the structural dimensions and the external factors. Key actors have been important for this, as they had the power to act in the organization's name and thus have been important for understanding the interaction in both the internal dimensions and with the external environment.²²⁶ These key actors could be policy entrepreneurs or veto actors. When put together with the structural dimensions, it could be said that "every NGO created rules to identify the organization's veto players in internal

²¹⁵ Marquez, 2015, p. 469.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 469-470.

²¹⁷ Marquez, 2015, p. 470.

²¹⁸ Maloney, 2012 in Marquez, 2015, p. 470.

²¹⁹ Polletta & Jasper, 2001 in Marquez, 2015, p. 481.

²²⁰ Marquez, 2015, p. 470.

²²¹ Ibid., p. 471.

²²² Thelen & Steinmo, 1992 in Marquez, 2015, p. 471.

²²³ Scott, 2008 in Marquez, 2015, p. 471.

²²⁴ Marquez, 2015, p. 471.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 472.

conflicts or crucial decisions about its internal governance or about its principles and mission. Veto players played an essential role as gatekeepers with power to impede or permit structural changes".²²⁷ Using the framework of structural dimensions and key actors, Marquez studied two Spanish NGOs. Though both NGOs shared many features, like the same institutional and constitutional context, both had over 50 years of experience in their fields and both had similar access to funding, there were differences in their organizational development and approach to public policy.²²⁸ Marquez tried to find the reason behind the questions why the NGOs took different roles in the policy process, even though they shared a similar institutional context. Her conclusions were that the approach to the policy processes taken by the NGOs has been influenced by the interaction between their own organizational structures and how internal key actors reacted to both external challenges and the NGO's own growth and success.²²⁹ The major difference between the two NGOs studies must be seen in their advocacy role, which is closely linked to the (internal) creation of knowledge and information. For example, through in-house research and development departments.²³⁰ The creation of knowledge through a professionalization of a NGO gave different focus point and resources than when a NGO relied primarily on volunteer work.

To summarize, the differences in the way NGOs approached policy processes or seemingly similar NGOs had different policy priorities could be traced back to the NGO's internal rules and power structures. These affected their capacities to create and deliver information and thus perform successfully in advocacy campaigns.²³¹ The organizational structure however went beyond resources and governance, as it also was a combination of ethics, principles, and beliefs that shape an NGO's identity. Key actors played an important role in both shaping a NGO's organizational structure as well as acting as gatekeepers for external factors and challenges. Resources were important, as they condition the ability of a NGO to achieve its goals. However, resources became meaningless without the guidance of internal decisions.²³² NGO influence in this line of reasoning consisted of the organizational structure of the NGO, the key players involved and the resources at hand.

5.1.5 Dany (2014)

Dany began her article with the statement that NGOs seem the best way to go for those who sought to enable the voice of civil society in international politics.²³³ She however warned that though it seemed that the more NGOs participate, the better they could influence policy outcomes, there have also been problematic aspects of far-reaching participation. This has not implied that more participation meant generally less influence, Dany stated, she however argued that "increasingly institutionalized participation in global governance risks modifying and distorting what NGOs were able to achieve in terms of substantive policy outcomes".²³⁴ Dany called this *Janus faced*, meaning that first something is duplicitous, which signals that NGO participation had both good and bad effects at the same time, thereby referring to the Roman god Janus with two faces.²³⁵

Though Dany mainly focussed on the negative sides of participation in her article, and with that did not give a clearly stated definition of NGO influence, she mentioned several factors or indicators that contribute to NGO influence.

A first factor that contributed, or works against, NGO influence was participation. NGOs that participated in international negotiations were according to Dany motivated and mobilized, trying to find opportunities to make a difference in the policy outcomes. Yet these efforts to do so, also hinged

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Marquez, 2015, p. 473.

²²⁹ Ibid., p. 481.

²³⁰ Bosso, 2005; Maloney, 2012 in Maraquez, 2015, p. 481; Maraquez, 2015, p. 481.

²³¹ Maraquez, 2015, p. 483.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Dany, 2014, p. 419.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid., p. 419-420.

on two types of structure: the institutional structure of the arena the NGO has been working in and the individual context of their agency.²³⁶ These two types of structures could be perceived as a second and third factor contributing to NGO influence. Participation however, as Dany argues, was seen by most studies on NGO influence as the basic condition for NGO influence.²³⁷ Studies on NGO participation have focussed on the conditions that enabled NGOs to achieve their goal, like agential and structural conditions. A large degree of NGO participation was institutionalized, though through their agential and structural conditions NGOs are enabled to contribute to the setting of advocacy agendas and standards. This ability to frame issues in a certain way was a fourth factor of NGO influence. Next to agenda setting, enabled by the institutionalization of NGO participation, NGOs have been bearing important functions in generating, providing and distributing expert knowledge, as well as facilitating the implementation and ratification of many international agreements.²³⁸

However, Dany argued, NGO participation has not been a suitable factor to solely base the degree of NGOs' influence on, or to let it be the main factor on which other factors are based on. She instead proposed a framework "to analyse the effects of external structures and internal structures on the NGOs' agency and vice versa."²³⁹ Dany identified external structures as the parts of structural context a NGO faces from the start when participating in policy processes. Examples were rules of participation and procedure and decisions on the main topics.²⁴⁰ Internal structures Dany identified as the structures inside the community of a NGO, organizational structures among NGO actors, for example practices like assembling, working in working groups, virtually or face-to-face and the NGO's perception of the role within the policy process.²⁴¹ Agency in Dany's framework referred to "all acts by NGOs related to the external and internal structures, as agency and structures are interrelated,"²⁴² like establishing or changing existing organizational structures, the use of resources and communicating.

As to the problems institutionalized participation of NGOs in governance structures could give, Dany suggested that NGOs self-framing as 'NGO diplomats' might not be the best strategy for NGOs to influence policy outcomes in an inclusive and representative manner. A solution could be to promote more legitimate procedures or promote a 'two-pronged approach' that combines NGO activities with negotiation processes.²⁴³

Summarizing, Dany identified several factors that constrain NGO influence, which vice versa can also be seen as factors contributing to NGO influence. NGO participation is an important factor, though Dany states that it was not a suitable factor to solely base NGO influence on - something she argued other scholars too often do. Structural and agential conditions have been two other conditions that are interlinked and together affect NGO influence.²⁴⁴ Dany argues that the agency of NGOs was generally more dependent on structural conditions, even if single NGO actors were able to play out considerable agency.²⁴⁵ A separate and fourth condition to NGO influence identified by Dany is agenda setting or framing issues, although one could argue that this factor could be included in the agential conditions as she conceptualizes agency as the acts of NGOs related to the both the external and internal structures such as the use of resources and communicating with other actors.

²³⁶ Dany, 2014, p. 420.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Raustiala, 1997, p. 726-731 in Dany, 2014, p. 421.

²³⁹ Dany, 2014, p. 422.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid..

²⁴³ Dany, 2014, p. 433.

²⁴⁴ Dany, 2014, p. 433.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

5.1.6 Definition of NGO influence

Looking at the discussed authors, several similarities in their conceptualizations of NGO influence were found. Betsill and Corell and Arts both mentioned the deliberateness of NGO interference in a policy process. A second similarity between Betsill and Corell and Arts was that NGOs influenced policy if the policy outcome was more in line with the intervening NGO, than would have been the case if the NGO had not got involved. However, a difference between Betsill and Corell and Arts was that Arts marked the notion of temporal effects of NGO interference. He did this by making the clear distinction in types of NGO influence: product and process influence, where product influence referred to the effect on formal policy outcomes and process influence referred to the temporary effects on policy processes.

Though the other authors did not give a ready to go definition of NGO influence, they all gave several factors contributing to NGO influence. NGOs obviously needed to participate in a policy process to be able influence it, though not all authors named it as a clear factor. This participation was in line with the deliberateness Betsill and Corell and Arts mentioned. To be able to participate, NGOs needed access to the negotiations. Allied actors gave easier access than actors with opposing ideas according to Betzold. Resources aided in getting access. Recourses in general were also needed, as (the amount of) resources affected the NGOs' capacities to create and deliver information and thus their capacity to perform successfully in advocacy campaigns. Information or knowledge creation and sharing was seen by Betsill and Corell as the key resource of NGOs.

For this research the definition of Knoke on NGO influence as used by Betsill and Corell was used:

"Influence that can be said to have occurred when one actor (the NGO) intentionally transmits information to another (policy maker) that alters the latter's actions from what would have occurred without that information".²⁴⁶

The distinction between process and product influence as was made, argued by Arts, to be able to distinguish between temporal and visible influence in policy processes and outcomes. Following the argumentation of Maraquez and Dany, the organizational structure of NGOs has been chosen as a third aspect of NGO influence, as it is the combination of ethics, principles, and beliefs that shaped a NGO's identity and thus the way the organization positioned itself in international negotiation processes.

The organizational structure of the NGO, the key players involved, the access they had and the creation, gaining and sharing of resources; these elements contributing to NGO influence have been discussed more extensively in section 5.2, where they have been presented and discussed as factors contributing to the NGO opinion leadership model.

²⁴⁶ Knoke, 1994, p. 3 in Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 74.

5.2 Contributing factors

Based on the NGO influence definition, NGO influence could be split firstly into two aspects: 1) the intentional transmission of information and 2) the alterations in the behaviour in response of given information.²⁴⁷ The third additional aspect of NGO influence was the NGO's organizational structure. Factors contributing to NGO influence have been categorized by the aspects, which could be seen as the 'general factors' that contribute to NGO influence (see figure 5).

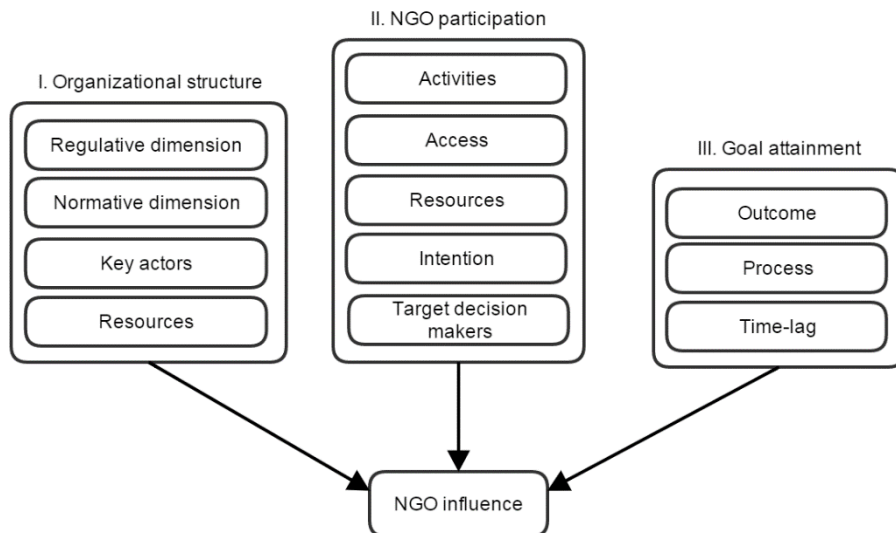


Figure 5: Visual representation of factors influencing NGO influence.

From this visual representation hypotheses were created for each factor, based on the different authors. These hypotheses have been leading while operationalizing the analytical framework. Table 2 shows the factors with one or multiple hypotheses, as well as literature references.

NGO influence aspect	Contributing factor	Hypothesis	Literature reference
I. Organizational structure	Regulative dimension	1.1 A NGO that has a more professionalized, differentiated and decentralized regulative structure will have more influence on decision-making process. 1.2 The more a NGO's regulative structure is professionalized, decentralized, and differentiated, the more influence the NGO will have in decision-making process.	Marquez, 2015, p. 469 & 471. Dany, 2014, p. 420 & 422.
	Normative dimension	2.1 A NGO that has a clearly stated normative dimension will have more influence on decision-making process.	Marquez, 2015, p. 469 & 471. Dany, 2014, p. 420 & 422.
	Key actors	3.1 A NGO that uses key actors as gatekeepers will have more influence in decision-making process. 3.2 The number of key actors that act as gatekeepers will increase the influence a NGO has in decision-making process.	Marquez, 2015, p. 472.
	Resources	4.1 The more resources a NGO possesses, the more influence in decision-making process it will have.	Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 70.

²⁴⁷ Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 74.

			Betzold, 2014, p. 39-40. Marquez, 2015, p. 469 & 471. Dany, 2014, p. 421.
II. NGO participation	Activities	1.1 The more a NGO engages in international policy negotiations, through lobbying or submitting information to negotiators on particular positions, the more influence the NGO will have.	Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 79 & 81. Dany, 2014, p. 419-422.
	Access	2.1 The higher number of negotiations a NGO attends, the more influence it will have on decision-making process. 6.2 The more allied policy makers a NGO has access to, the more influence a NGO can exert on the decision-making process.	Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 69-70, 79 & 81. Arts, 1998, p. 78. Betzold, 2014, p. 39-40, 55-56.
	Resources	3.1 The more resources a NGO allocates to engage in international policy negotiations, the more influence the NGO will have.	Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 79 & 81. Arts, 1998, p. 57 & 78. Betzold, 2014, p. 39-40.
	Intention	4.1 The greater the intention of a NGO to change a particular actor's behaviour, the more influence the NGO will have. 4.2 The clearer the intention of a NGO to change a decision maker's behaviour, the more influence the NGO will have on this decision maker and thus the decision-making process.	Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 74. Arts, 1998, p. 58 & 78.
	Target decision makers	5.1 The less different decision makers that will be contacted throughout the decision-making process leads to more influence of the NGO on the decision-making process. 5.2 Targeting allied decision makers leads to more influence of NGO on the decision-making process. 5.3 Strategically seeking out targets to share information with will lead do more influence of the NGO on the decision-making process.	Arts, 1998, p. 78. Betzold, 2014, p. 38 & 55-56.
III. Goal attainment	Product	1.1 The more the policy outcome represents the opinion of the NGO, the more influence the NGO has on the decision-making process.	Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 74-75 & 81. Arts, 1998, p. 59.
	Process	2.1 The more the NGO is involved with the draft versions of the policy outcome, the more temporary influence the NGO has on the decision-making process.	Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 81. Arts, 1998, p. 59.
	Time-lag	3.1 The less time there is between the NGO's attempt to influence the decision-maker and the change of said decision-maker, the more influence a NGO will have (had).	Arts, 1998, p. 78.

Organizational structure

As Maraquez and Dany discussed, the organizational structure of a NGO affects a NGO's ability to interact in policy processes. Dany identified 'internal structures' as the structures inside the NGO community. Examples Dany gave are practices like the NGO's perception of the role the NGO played within a policy process, but also the way their employees worked: in groups, virtually or face-to-face.²⁴⁸ Maraquez also recognized the internal structure of NGOs, but gave three variables that formed the internal structure: functional differentiation, professionalization and decentralization.²⁴⁹ Similar to the internal structure of NGOs, Maraques referred to Scott's endogenous factors that made up a NGO's organizational structure and which affected the ability of NGOs to interact in policy processes. These factors were resources, the regulative dimension, and the normative dimension. This regulative and normative dimension together formed the internal structure Dany identified. Because Maraquez clearly made a distinction between the two, this distinction was also followed in the factors contributing to NGO influence for this research. The identified variables functional differentiation, professionalization, and decentralization could be sorted under the regulative dimension, as all three variables have been concerned with the legal and constitutional order of a NGO, as well as how power within NGOs was allocated.

Next to the regulative and normative dimensions of the organizational structure of NGOs, Maraquez argued that key actors were important to disentangle the interactions between both the organizational structure dimensions and external factors. Key actors functioned both as gatekeepers and acted in the NGO's name, and thus have been important for guiding direction in the interactions between the internal dimensions and the external environment.²⁵⁰

External factors have not been represented in table 2 as these are part of a broader context, one in which the NGO enters when participating in policy processes. Examples given by Dany are rules of participation and procedures.²⁵¹

Resources were the final factor that made up a NGO's organizational structure. As table 2 shows, resources were put both under organizational structure and NGO participation. Maraquez identified resources as the money and staff an organization 'possesses', whereas Betsill and Corell argued that NGO resources are, first and primarily, knowledge, financial and other assets and "the number of supporters and their particular role in negotiations".²⁵² For this research, resources under organizational structure have been understood as financial and other assets, staff and the knowledge created by the NGO. Resources under NGO participation have been discussed further in the paragraph on NGO participation.

NGO participation

For NGOs to have influence in any form, they naturally needed to participate in the arena the issue was playing. Though this was a rather obvious factor, only two of the five authors specifically mention NGO participation. Betsill and Corell stated that many studies discussing NGO influence often mistook the level of NGO activities for the level of NGO influence. NGO activity however did not automatically lead to NGO influence, as it was very possible that actors actively targeted by NGOs during negotiation processes did not change their behaviour.²⁵³ Likewise, Dany argued that the level of participation in negotiation processes has often been used as a sole factor to base the degree of NGO influence on.²⁵⁴ Still, it was reasonable to include NGO activities as a factor contributing to NGO influence as NGO participation and thus the number of activities has been a basic condition to exert influence.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Klüver, 2012, p. 495 in Marquez, 2015, p. 469.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 472.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Wright, 2000, p. 83.

²⁵⁴ Dany, 2014, p. 420 & 422.

Similar to the factor activities, the factor access was a factor Betsill and Corell see many studies have taken as a single defining factor in determining NGO influence.²⁵⁵ However, solely focussing on the number of negotiators NGOs were able to interact with could be deceptive for the same reason as relying on the number of NGO activities.²⁵⁶ Especially since access to negotiations or voicing their opinions has often been denied to NGOs during discussions.²⁵⁷ However, as Arts and Betzold discussed, having access to negotiations was not solely a matter of physically getting access to negotiations. Especially Betzold highlighted this point, as she focusses on intergovernmental negotiations, where government representatives were the sole actors at the negotiation table. To influence these actors, NGOs needed access to policymakers.²⁵⁸ And as access was more easily gained by interactions with allied decision-makers, a link was easily made between the number of allied policy makers a NGO has access to and the level of influence a NGO could exert. However, Betzold did state that due to limited recourses, NGOs needed to be selective in their advocacy.²⁵⁹

As mentioned in section on organizational structure, resources have been a factor contributing to both the organizational structure aspect as well as to the NGO participation aspect. Where resources in the former aspect referred to the financial assets, staff and knowledge created by the NGO, the resources factor in the NGO participation aspect referred to the information, money and staff that has been put into NGO participation activities. As Betzold stated, NGOs often had a limited amount of this kind of resources they could put into participation activities like lobbying.²⁶⁰ It could therefore be argued that the more resources a NGO was able allocate to engage in policy negotiations, the more influence a NGO could exert.

The NGO's intention was a fourth factor contributing to NGO participation. Based on Betsill and Corell's and Arts' definitions of NGO influence, NGOs had to have the intention to change another actor's behaviour in order to have had influence on this actor.²⁶¹ Arts argued that the clearer this intention was, the better policy makers could respond to this. It however depended on the goals set by the NGO whether this intention was directed at, for example, agenda setting or getting their opinion represented by policy makers.

The last factor 'target decision makers' was linked to the factor access. Arts argued that the less different the decision makers are representing the same organization, the more influence a NGO will have.²⁶² This seemed contrasting to the factor access, that argues 'the more the better'. Arts however stated that as less different decision makers were contacted, information could be more effectively shared. Betzold's statement on strategically seeking out targets underlined this argument.²⁶³

²⁵⁵ Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 79 & 81.

²⁵⁶ Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 69-70.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Betzold, 2014, p. 39-40.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 55-56.

²⁶⁰ Betzold, 2014, p. 39-40, 55-56.

²⁶¹ Arts, 1998, p. 57 & 78; Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 74.

²⁶² Arts, 1998, p. 57 & 78.

²⁶³ Betzold, 2014, p. 38 & 55-56.

Goal attainment

The three factors in this last aspect of NGO influence have been related to the second part of the definition of NGO influence: the alteration of actions based on the transmitted information. Following Arts, there was a distinction to be made between product and process outcomes, to be able to distinguish between clearly visible and temporal influence in policy processes and outcomes.²⁶⁴ Next to this distinction, Arts argued that the time between the NGO's attempt to influence the decision-maker and the change said decision-maker makes, also affected the level of NGO influence.²⁶⁵

5.3 Concluding

Through an extensive literature study of the five articles a definition of NGO influence was found and factors contributing to it, thus answering the second sub-question:

'What is NGO influence and which factors contribute to it?'

For this thesis, NGO influence has been defined as:

"Influence that can be said to have occurred when one actor (the NGO) intentionally transmits information to another (policy maker) that alters the latter's actions from what would have occurred without that information".²⁶⁶

A distinction was made between process and product influence, to be able to distinguish between visible and temporal influence.

Factors contributing to NGO influence could be divided in three main aspects:

I. Organizational structure:	II. NGO participation:	III. Goal attainment:
Regulative dimension,	Activities,	Product,
Normative dimension,	Access,	Process, and
Key actors, and	Resources,	Time-lag.
Resources.	Intention, and	
	Target decision makers.	

Looking at these factors and the factors contributing to opinion leadership, some similarities were found. Chapter 6 holds the results of the comparison between all the factors contributing both to opinion leadership and NGO influence and has synthesized this into an analytical framework to analyse NGO opinion leadership.

²⁶⁴ Arts, 1998, p. 59.

²⁶⁵ Arts, 1998, p. 78.

²⁶⁶ Knoke, 1994, p. 3 in Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 74.

6. Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership

This chapter combines the results of the previous two chapters and merges these into an analytical framework on NGO opinion leadership, thereby answering the third sub-question ‘Which factors from the literature dealing with opinion leadership and NGO influence are similar and how can they be synthesized into a Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance?’

The first section will discuss the factors contributing to NGO opinion leadership. The second part will discuss how these factors and their hypotheses can be operationalized into a model that can be used for case studies.

6.1 NGO opinion leadership and contributing factors

Comparing and combining the results presented in tables 1 and 2, some similarities have been found. Figure 6 shows the factors that together contribute to NGO opinion leadership.

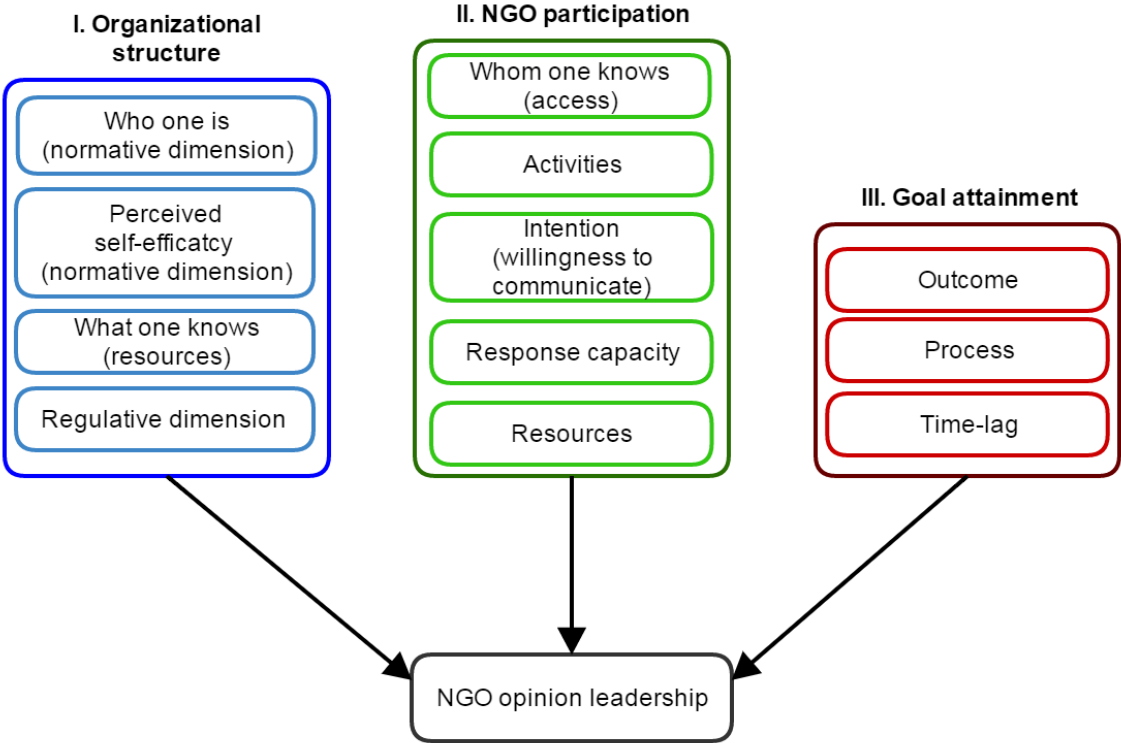


Figure 6: Visual representation of factors influencing NGO opinion leadership.

Organizational structure

Firstly, the second factor contributing to NGO influence, the normative dimension, discussed who the NGO is: the values, mission, and characteristics of the actor. This corresponded with the first dimension of opinion leaders ‘who one is’. A factor from opinion leadership that has also been related to the normative dimension was the perceived self-efficacy, however this factor was not as similar as the ‘who one is’ factor.

The ‘what one knows’ factor contributing to opinion leadership discussed mainly the information an opinion leader holds and could potentially share. The resources factor in the organizational structure aspect of NGO influence was mainly the (expert) information the NGO had on a certain topic. These two factors could therefore be merged as well. Thirdly, the regulative dimension of NGO influence discussed the way in which the rules, internal power structures and the ‘ways of training and working’ of an organization were set up. This had similarities with the recruitment and training factor of opinion leaders, though they were not completely similar. The regulative dimension was much broader

than the recruitment and training factor. It would have been more fitting to argue that the recruitment and training factor was part of the regulative dimension, next to the (degree of) professionalization, decentralization, and differentiation. Though NGOs may act as individuals in international environmental governance discussion, they are composed of different elements: the organizational structure. The first three factors all fall under the first aspect contributing to NGO opinion leadership: the *organizational structure* aspect.

NGO participation

The second aspect of NGO opinion leadership was the *NGO's participation* in international environmental governance discussions. Because without participating, they could not have been opinion leaders. Factors that fell under this aspect were a combination of merged and non-merged factors. The first factor was a merged factor, consisting of the 'who one knows' factor from opinion leadership and the 'access' factor from NGO influence. Both factors concern themselves with the number and kind of people the intervening actor could engage with, as well as with which role the NGO played in this interaction: e.g. acting as gatekeeper or as a consultant.

The factor 'willingness to participate' had similarities with two factors from the NGO participation aspect: activities and intention. An opinion leader first had to have the intention of intervening, to be willing to participate, in order to engage in activities. However, the intention to participate is different from the actual number of activities a NGO engages in. Therefore, the two were split into two different factors: the willingness to participate and activities.

The last two factors falling under the second aspect of NGO opinion leadership were two non-merged factors: response capacity and resources.

Goal attainment

The third aspect of NGO opinion leadership was similar to the third aspect of NGO influence: *goal attainment*. Something that has not been specifically discussed in the literature on opinion leadership is how its effectiveness can be measured. The goal attainment aspect of NGO influence was a way to see if, how, and when or where, influence has been exercised. Time-lag was the only factor directly contributing to NGO opinion leadership as a factor linked to the influence an opinion leader could exert. Still, the factors outcome and process were valuable factors when considering in which state of the policy-making process influence was exerted.

NGO Opinion leadership

From the above described contributing factors, as well as looking at the definitions of both opinion leadership and NGO influence, the following definition of NGO opinion leadership was formed:

'NGOs holding informal positions of power in a social network and therefore can intentionally intervene to transmit information or advice, and frame opinions regarding issues, attitudes, or behaviour in such a way that those targeted by the interference alters their behaviours or opinions.'

6.2 Operationalisation

Operationalizing ‘Framework for Analysing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance’ has been based on two main steps: 1) triangulation of data sources and analysing methods, and 2) hypotheses. The framework can be found in table 3.

When operationalizing the analytical framework, the hypotheses are leading in analysing the data from the different data sources. While analysing the data from literature review, media analysis or interviews, the hypotheses will each be tested as affirmed, refuted or not found.

The hypotheses are either copied from the factors discussed in previous chapters, or come from merging the hypotheses of the different factors.

Table 3: Framework for Analysing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance			
I. Triangulation			
Data source	Primary texts (e.g. (non) academic literature)	Secondary texts (e.g. media reports)	Interviews
Methodology	Literature review	Media analysis	Interviews
II. Hypotheses			
Aspect	Contributing factor	Hypothesis	Literature reference
i. Organizational structure	Who one is (normative dimension)	1.1 The more the values of the NGO correspond with the dominating values of the network it is operating in, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 1.2 The more characteristics of an NGO correspond with the characteristics associated with ‘good leaders’, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 1.3 A NGO that has a clearly stated normative dimension can exert more influence as an opinion leader on the decision-making process.	Dany, 2014, p. 420 & 422. Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 191. Marquez, 2015, p. 469 & 471. Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 5-6. Muhammad & Ridwan, 2015, p. 293 & 295. Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 11.
	Perceived self-efficacy (normative dimension)	2.1 The more the NGO perceives themselves as an opinion leader, the more the NGO is perceived by the group as an opinion leader and the influence the opinion leader can exert can increase.	Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1442-1445. Dany, 2014, p. 420 & 422. Marquez, 2015, p. 469 & 471.
	What one knows (resources)	3.1 The more the NGO is considered an expert within their community on the issue or topic at hand, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 3.2 The more the NGO is considered an expert outside their community on the issue or topic at hand, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 3.3 The more resources a NGO possesses, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.	Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 70. Betzold, 2014, p. 39-40. Dany, 2014, p. 421. Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 5-6. Marquez, 2015, p. 469 & 471. Muhammad & Ridwan, 2015, p. 293 & 295. Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 11.

	Regulative dimension	<p>4.1 The more a NGO's regulative structure is professionalized, decentralized and differentiated, the more influence the NGO will have in decision-making process as an opinion leader.</p> <p>4.2 The more the activities of the NGO are reviewed, supported and sustained over time, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader over time.</p> <p>4.3 The more NGO is trained as communication strategists, the more meaningful and persuasive they become as an opinion leader to their recipients.</p>	<p>Dany, 2014, p. 420 & 422.</p> <p>Marquez, 2015, p. 469 & 471.</p> <p>Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 18.</p> <p>Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 12.</p>
II. NGO participation	Whom one knows (access)	<p>1.1 The more the NGO is accessible to others inside their social network, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.</p> <p>1.2 The more the NGO acts like a gatekeeper between different social networks, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.</p> <p>1.3 The greater the number of people with whom the NGO is in contact with within a community, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.</p> <p>1.4 The more the mass media seeks the NGO's advice or opinion, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.</p> <p>1.5 The higher number of negotiations a NGO attends, the more influence it can have as an opinion leader on decision-making processes.</p>	<p>Arts, 1998, p. 78.</p> <p>Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 79 & 81.</p> <p>Betzold, 2014, p. 39-40.</p> <p>Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1439.</p> <p>Muhammad & Ridwan, 2015, p. 293 & 295.</p> <p>Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009, p. 5.</p> <p>Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 1 & 11.</p>
	Activities	<p>2.1 The more a NGO engages in international policy negotiations, through lobbying or submitting information to negotiators on particular positions, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.</p>	<p>Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 79 & 81.</p> <p>Dany, 2014, p. 419-420.</p>
	Intention (willingness to communicate)	<p>3.1 The greater the intention of a NGO to change a particular actor's behaviour, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.</p> <p>3.2 The clearer the intention of a NGO to change a decision maker's opinion or behaviour, the more the NGO can act as an opinion leader.</p> <p>3.3 The more a NGO is willing to communicate about a certain issue or opinion, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.</p>	<p>Arts, 1998, p. 58 & 78.</p> <p>Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 74.</p> <p>Dalrymple, Shaw & Brossard, 2013, p. 1442-1443.</p> <p>Valente & Pumpuang, 2007, p. 11.</p>
	Response capacity	<p>4.1 The better the opinion leader can respond to stressors, the more influence the opinion leader can exert.</p> <p>4.2 The more social capital a NGO has, the greater the response capacity it has as an opinion leader.</p>	<p>Keys, Thomson & Smith, 2010, p. 189.</p>
	Resources	<p>5.1 The more resources a NGO allocates to engage in international policy negotiations, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.</p>	<p>Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 79 & 81.</p> <p>Arts, 1998, p. 57 & 78.</p> <p>Betzold, 2014, p. 39-40.</p>

III. Goal attainment	Outcome	1.1 The more the policy outcome represents the opinion of the NGO, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader on the decision-making process.	Arts, 1998, p. 59. Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 74-75 & 81.
	Process	2.1 The more the NGO is involved with the draft versions of the policy outcome, the more temporary influence as an opinion leader the NGO has on the decision-making process.	Arts, 1998, p. 59. Betsill & Corell, 2001, p. 81.
	Time-lag	3.1 The less time there is between the NGO's attempt to influence the decision-maker and the change of said decision-maker, the more influence a NGO will have (had) as an opinion leader.	Arts, 1998, p. 78.

6.3 Concluding

Through an extensive literature study of the five articles a definition of NGO influence and factors contributing to it was found, thus answering the second sub-question: *'Which factors from the literature dealing with opinion leadership and NGO influence are similar and how can they be synthesized into a Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance?'*

For this thesis, NGO opinion leadership has been defined as: *'NGOs holding informal positions of power in a social network and therefore can intentionally intervene to transmit information or advice, and frame opinions regarding issues, attitudes, or behaviour in such a way that those targeted by the interference alters their behaviours or opinions.'*

Factors contributing to NGO opinion leadership be divided in three main aspects:

I. Organizational structure

- Who one is,
- What one knows,
- Regulative dimension;
- Perceived self-efficacy

II. NGO Participation

- Access,
- Activities,
- Intention,
- Response capacity;
- Resources

III. Goal attainment

- Outcome,
- Process, and
- Time-lag.

The 'Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance' is based on the definition of NGO opinion leadership and its contributing factors, with hypotheses substantiating them, and triangulation of data sources and methodologies. This analytical framework forms the base for the case study discussed in chapter 7.

7. Holy See as Opinion Leader prior and during COP21

In order to operationalize the analytical framework created and discussed in previous chapter, this research invokes the use of a case study. This chapter answers the fourth sub-question: “*Which factors of the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance play a role in the influence of the Holy See in Climate Governance?*”

To scope the arena of climate governance, a specific time frame was chosen: the months leading up to and the time during the UNFCCC’s COP21, or the Paris Conference in November 2015.

The case study is based on triangulation of data sources and methods, so firstly the literature review, media analysis, and interviews are discussed, each concluding with a preliminary answer to the sub-question. The chapter ends with an overall conclusion and answer to the sub-question.

7.1 Literature review

This literature review considered several articles of academic, theological, and political background, as well as combinations of these fields. The purpose was to form a context in which the Holy See has been acting and intervening in climate governance, as well as identifying which factors contributing to opinion leadership have played a role in the opinion leadership of the Holy See in climate governance.

Historic tradition

The Holy See has been member of various international organisations and groups, and a permanent observer in various international organisations like the United Nations General Assembly, the Council of Europe, UNESCO, the WHO, and the World Trade Organization (WTO).²⁶⁷ The Holy See’s involvement in these organisations came forth out of a historic tradition,²⁶⁸ one which could be studied as the main subject of a Master’s thesis.

Two German researchers, Rleck and Niebuhr, have conducted a study towards the role of the Holy See in international politics.²⁶⁹ They concluded that the Holy See, due to its “hybrid function as a sovereign subject of international law and a transnational actor focused on values also gave rise to a number of special features of its foreign policy activities.”²⁷⁰ The influence the Holy See could exert relies on several factors, according to Rleck and Niebuhr.

Firstly, since World War I, the Holy See has been intervening regularly at “decisive junctures” of the conflict between East and West, between Marxism and liberalism. Pursuing a ‘Third Way’, one that lies between communism and capitalism, gave the Holy See influence on the world stage as an international political actor.²⁷¹ Especially with the decolonialization processes after World War II, and particularly in the Global South, as the Holy See took on a mediating and peacemaking role.²⁷²

Secondly, the worldwide global diplomatic service of the Holy See. Not only is it one of the oldest, Rleck and Niebuhr stated that it is unique in terms of durability, centralisation, global presence, membership, and clear and consistent stance in global challenges.²⁷³

Thirdly, the pope’s political leadership role with its claim to ethical leadership have been of importance, based on the pope’s soft power: his reputation as an honest broker, a role increasing in importance since the end of the Cold War.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁷ Permanent Observer Mission of the Holy See to the United Nations, n.d.

²⁶⁸ Rleck & Niebuhr, 2015, p. 44-55.

²⁶⁹ Rleck & Niebuhr, 2015.

²⁷⁰ Rleck & Niebuhr, 2015, p. 56.

²⁷¹ Ibid., p. 56-57.

²⁷² Ibid., p. 45, 57.

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 57.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 49, 57.

As main representatives of the Holy See, several popes over the last couple of decades have been putting emphasis on global economic, social, and environmental issues. The first under papal authority published statement, dating back to 1891, was Pope Leo XIII's encyclical²⁷⁵ *Rerum Novarum* in which he addressed inequality and social justice issues coming forth from modern thinking: capitalism and communism.²⁷⁶ Since Leo XIII, several popes have triggered or reacted to worldwide felt movements and discussions.²⁷⁷ One of the best examples has been Pope John XXIII's encyclical from 1963, *Pacem in Terris*. With the world "teetering on the brink of nuclear crisis",²⁷⁸ John XXIII called on "establishing universal peace in truth, justice, charity, and liberty"²⁷⁹ and focussed on human rights and the common good. The encyclical received worldwide media attention, and was the first encyclical to be printed in full text by the newspaper *New York Times*.²⁸⁰ Various international actors commented on the encyclical, for example president John. F. Kennedy who praised the encyclical on its "penetrating analysis of today's great problems."²⁸¹ Over the course of several years the encyclical was subject of multiple international debates, ranging from nuclear weapons topics to human rights, including a conference at the UN.²⁸² It was to this encyclical, to this pope John XXIII, Pope Paul VI and his immediate predecessors John Paul II and Benedict XVI that Pope Francis referred to in his encyclical *Laudato Si': On Care For Our Common Home* when he stressed that he was not the first and not the only pope to address "all men and women of good will (...) to enter into dialogue about our common home."²⁸³ These 'men and women of good will' included the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the UN back in 1971, the members of the General Assembly of the UN in 1965, 1879, 1995, 2008 and 2015 when popes addressed the General Assembly²⁸⁴ and countless others over the years on international level.

Laudato Si'

The most relevant papal document to this thesis has been Pope Francis' encyclical *Laudato Si': On Care For Our Common Home*'. In this document, Francis made a call to everybody to enter into dialogue in order to help humanity understand the destruction that man has been doing to the environment and his fellow man.²⁸⁵ Over the course of six chapters, Francis discussed the 'rupture' between mankind and the environment as well as prospects for healing this relationship. Though Pope Francis recognized a "growing sensitivity to the environment and the need to protect nature, along with a growing concern, both genuine and distressing, for what is happening to our planet",²⁸⁶ he urged for an 'ecological conversion'.²⁸⁷ This ecological conversion was an urgent invitation to everyone to 'change direction' by taking on the responsibility of the task of 'caring for our common home'.²⁸⁸ Taking responsibility, Francis argued, had to be done through an *integral ecology*, which respects its human and social dimensions.²⁸⁹ In this perspective, Francis proposed dialogues at every educational, spiritual, ecclesial, political and theological level as the *ecological conversion* played at every level of social, economic and political life and had to be a transparent decision-making process.²⁹⁰

²⁷⁵ An encyclical is a letter written by a pope concerning Catholic doctrine and usually addressed to bishops, or in some cases a wider audience. Papal encyclicals have a more personal nature in form as opposed to the formal papal bulls, but are nonetheless recognized as second in importance nowadays issued by popes.

²⁷⁶ Beale, 2013.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Francis, 2015, p. 4.

²⁷⁹ XXIII, J., 1963.

²⁸⁰ Ziegler, 2013.

²⁸¹ The Heights, 1963 in Ziegler, 2013.

²⁸² Ziegler, 2013.

²⁸³ Francis, 2015a, p. 4.

²⁸⁴ Francis, 2015b.

²⁸⁵ Francis, 2015a, p. 12.

²⁸⁶ Francis, 2015a, p. 16.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 159.

²⁸⁸ Archdiocese of Toronto, 2015, p. 1.

²⁸⁹ Francis, 2015a, p. 103.

²⁹⁰ Archdiocese of Toronto, 2015, p. 1.

The publication of *Laudato Si'* by Pope Francis in June 2015 was a remarkable decision, as the COP21 in Paris was set for November that year. Only Pope Francis knows if he purposefully tried to influence this meeting, but in the text of *Laudato Si'* one could read a strong call for world leaders to establish “enforceable international agreements (...), since local authorities are not always capable of effective intervention.”²⁹¹ Next to the publication of *Laudato Si'*, Francis spoke about his encyclical and his views when he addressed the members of the General Assembly of the UN in September 2015 during his visit in the United States of America. Referring to *Laudato Si'*, he stated that “solemn commitments are not enough, although they are certainly a necessary step towards solutions.”²⁹² Global regulatory norms were another part of the solution Pope Francis proposed, in order to “impose obligations and prevent unacceptable actions”.²⁹³

Even before *Laudato Si'* was published the encyclical got a lot of media attention. The primary concentration of the media attention was on aspects tied to environmental policies that were being discussed at that moment on the global agenda, such as climate change and pollution.²⁹⁴ After the publication, media worldwide gave attention to the encyclical. Ranging from responses of bishops and other catholic leaders, to regular news agencies, to world leaders and sparked the interest of scientists, politicians, and communities around the world.²⁹⁵ The media analysis that is part of this thesis looked mainly at the media reports from around the time of COP21 in Paris, but also included reports and responses given shortly after the release of *Laudato Si'*.

Contributing factors

The literature was reviewed with the hypotheses in mind, and for sake of clarity only the affirmed hypotheses are shown in the table below (Table 4).

Table 4: Affirmed hypotheses literature review		
Aspect	Contributing factor	Hypothesis
I. Organizational structure	Who one is (normative dimension)	1.2 The more characteristics of an NGO correspond with the characteristics associated with ‘good leaders’, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 1.3 A NGO that has a clearly stated normative dimension can exert more influence as an opinion leader on the decision-making process.
	What one knows (resources)	3.1 If the NGO is considered an expert within their community on the issue or topic at hand, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 3.3 The more resources a NGO possesses, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.
	Regulative dimension	4.1 The more a NGO’s regulative structure is professionalized, decentralized and differentiated, the more influence the NGO will have in decision-making process as an opinion leader. 4.2 The more the activities of the NGO are reviewed, supported and sustained over time, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader over time.

²⁹¹ Francis, 2015a, p. 127.

²⁹² Francis, 2015b.

²⁹³ Francis, 2015a, p. 127-128.

²⁹⁴ Australian Catholic Bishops Conference, 2015, p. 2.

²⁹⁵ See chapter 7.2.

II. NGO participation	Whom one knows (access)	1.2 The more the NGO acts like a gatekeeper between different social networks, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 1.3 The greater the number of people with whom the NGO is in contact with within a community, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 1.4 The more the mass media seeks the NGO's advice or opinion, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 1.5 The higher number of negotiations a NGO attends, the more influence it can have as an opinion leader on decision-making processes.
	Activities	2.1 The more a NGO engages in international policy negotiations, through lobbying or submitting information to negotiators on particular positions, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.
	Intention (willingness to communicate)	3.1 The greater the intention of a NGO to change a particular actor's behaviour, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 3.2 The clearer the intention of a NGO to change a decision maker's opinion or behaviour, the more the NGO can act as an opinion leader.
	Resources	5.1 The more resources a NGO allocates to engage in international policy negotiations, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.
III. Goal attainment	Process	2.1 The more the NGO is involved with the draft versions of the policy outcome, the more temporary influence as an opinion leader the NGO has on the decision-making process.
	Time-lag	3.1 The less time there is between the NGO's attempt to influence the decision-maker and the change of said decision-maker, the more influence a NGO will have (had) as an opinion leader.

Some distinctions have been made, as the results do not fit the hypotheses completely. For the factor 'who one is', the moral authority of the Holy See and the pope played a large part in its contribution to opinion leadership. The factor 'resources' and 'what one knows' both are referring to the encyclicals, and specifically to *Laudato Si'* in which not just ethical and theological knowledge is included, but scientific, technical, and economic as well.

Conclusion literature review

Based on the literature review, it could be said that the Holy See has been an international actor who since the beginning of the 20th century has been active in mediating between ideologies while also promoting its own ideology. To preliminary answer the fourth sub question: '*what factors of the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance play a role in the influence of the Holy See in Climate Change Governance?*', several factors have been found to contribute to the opinion leadership of the Holy See.

From the first aspect, organizational structure, these were: who one knows, what one knows and the regulative dimension. From the second aspect, NGO participation: whom one knows, activities, intention, and resources. The type of influence found was *process* influence. Time-lag was found to be the last contributing factor.

As this thesis has been based on triangulation, these findings do not give enough insight to fully answer the sub question with. The following section therefore discusses the next method used: the media analysis.

7.2 Media analysis

This section discusses the results generated from the media analysis. The results of this media analysis have been based on 69 coded articles analyzed using the hypotheses from the Analytical Framework of NGO opinion leadership. As not all hypotheses were found affirmed or refuted, and to keep the results structured, the results of the media analysis have been structured according to the three aspects contributing to NGO opinion leadership: organizational structure, NGO participation and goal attainment. This section gives a preliminary answer to the fourth sub question ‘*what factors of the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance play a role in the influence of the Holy See in Climate Change Governance?*’ and ends with a set of hypotheses attuned to the Holy See, which formed the basis for the interviews.

Organizational structure

The first aspect contributing to NGO opinion leadership consists of five factors. For each factor, the several hypotheses were tested using the coded articles. Table 5 is showing the hypotheses and whether they are affirmed, refuted, or not found.

Aspect	Contributing factor	Hypothesis	Hypothesis affirmed, refuted, or not found
I. Organizational structure	Who one is (normative dimension)	1.1 The more the values of the NGO correspond with the dominating values of the network it is operating in, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 1.2 The more characteristics of an NGO correspond with the characteristics associated with ‘good leaders’, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 1.3 A NGO that has a clearly stated normative dimension can exert more influence as an opinion leader on the decision-making process.	1.1 Not found 1.2 Affirmed 1.3 Affirmed
	Perceived self-efficacy (normative dimension)	2.1 The more the NGO perceives themselves as an opinion leader, the more the NGO is perceived by the group as an opinion leader and the influence the opinion leader can exert can increase.	2.1 Affirmed
	What one knows (resources)	3.1 The more the NGO is considered an expert within their community on the issue or topic at hand, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 3.2 The more the NGO is considered an expert outside their community on the issue or topic at hand, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 3.3 The more resources a NGO possesses, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.	3.1 Affirmed 3.2 Not found 3.3 Affirmed
	Regulative dimension	4.1 The more a NGO’s regulative structure is professionalized, decentralized and differentiated, the more influence the NGO will have in decision-making process as an opinion leader. 4.2 The more the activities of the NGO are reviewed, supported and sustained over time, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader over time. 4.3 The more NGO is trained as communication strategists, the more meaningful and persuasive they become as an opinion leader to their recipients.	4.1 Affirmed 4.2 Affirmed 4.3 Not found

different levels is an important characteristic of Francis. The encyclical and the call to dialogue indicates that the “the phase of the church’s overarching power in telling us what to do”³⁰³ is over.

However, the clear moral teaching on the environment from Francis stands in a line of previous popes addressing the way humanity is treating the environment. Therefore, it is too simplistic to say that Pope Francis is the sole driving force behind the moral teachings of the Holy See. Though the encyclical *Laudato Si’* is Francis’ work, it was written in cooperation with a number of high officials within the Holy See’s ranking order. Still, Pope Francis is said by insiders to have “wanted to use his popularity and authority to firmly frame climate change as a symptom of a planet whose ethics have gone haywire.”³⁰⁴ This statement shows a sense of self-efficacy, another factor under the organizational structure aspect. The corresponding hypothesis for self-efficacy states that the more the opinion leader perceives themselves as an opinion leader, the more this leader is perceived by the group as an opinion leader. Purposely using one’s popularity and authority to frame a subject is in this sense knowing one is a leader of some kind, being it spiritual, political or as an opinion leader. McCarthy subscribes to this in his article ‘our best hope for a deal on climate change’ when he says that difficult political problems, where “opposing positions have become entrenched” need a third voice who delivers a powerful rhetoric, an “immense impetus (...) so that governments may relax intransigent positions”.³⁰⁵ Pope Francis, according to McCarthy, would be suited for this role “in his self-appointed new role as global environment champion.”³⁰⁶

Even though Pope Francis may be acting with a sense of self-efficacy, it remains a too simplistic a thought to argue that he as a person is the opinion leader instead of the Holy See as an organization. Looking into the articles, traces of a regulative dimension were found. This factor looks into the professionalized, differentiated and decentralized structures of the NGO. First of all, the pope as the head of the Church, the Vatican and the Holy See is an indication of a differentiated structure within the organization. The multiple (pontifical) councils involved in the publication of other encyclicals show another side to the differentiated aspects within the Holy See’s organization, as each encyclical focuses on another subject which is specialized in by different councils. A clear example of this is the publication of the encyclical ‘*Pacem in Terris*’ from John XXIII, who “helped guide the world’s superpowers toward a reduction in nuclear tensions.”³⁰⁷ These councils that aid in the publications of the different encyclicals are also intertwined into the last factor contributing to the organizational structure aspect: what one knows.

The ‘what one knows’ factor looks into the knowledge and expertise the opinion leader has on an issue or topic, and if the NGO is considered an expert by others both inside and outside its community. The Catholic Church, Vatican and thus also the Holy See have their own university: The Pontifical Academy of Sciences. This institute hosts accredited programs, in many scientific directions. Francis, chemist and theological doctor, has listened to “well-qualified advisors at the Pontifical Academy of Sciences”³⁰⁸, which makes it clear that he followed a science based view on climate change. Francis’ solutions to the problems related to climate change show the knowledge the Pontifical Academy and other involved scientists possess and generated regarding the topic. Not just on theological or philosophical matters, but also regarding technological innovation, adoption and limitation, economics and economic growth.³⁰⁹ But it is the combination of the philosophical and moral knowledge with the scientific knowledge that makes the Holy See and its front man so unique because “our choices about technology and economic growth are part of a deeper set of questions focused on what kind of world

³⁰³ Thompson, 2015.

³⁰⁴ The Washinton Post, 2015, October 26.

³⁰⁵ McCarthy, 2015.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Widmer, 2015.

³⁰⁸ Stanford, 2015.

³⁰⁹ Pielke, 2015.

we wish to live in together.”³¹⁰ Finding answers to these questions collectively and taking actions upon them, will be “messy, inconsistent and deeply political.”³¹¹ And according to Pielke, referencing to other encyclicals and (religious) teachings published by the Holy See, “if history is any guide, religious teachings will inform these answers but not determine them.”³¹² It is in the word ‘inform’ that the ‘what one knows’ factor can be seen, as the expertise from the Holy See is seen and taken as a guidance for people’s opinions and decisions.

Summarizing the above, nuancing the degree of how affirmed, refuted, or not found hypotheses were, table 6 was created. A scale was used to give an indication of how strongly the factors came forward in the media analysis. The scale runs from ++ being ‘highly contributing’, + being ‘moderately contributing’, +/- being ‘slightly contributing’ to – being ‘not contributing’.

Table 6: Overview presence factors contributing to organizational structure aspect			
Who one is	Perceived self-efficacy	What one knows	Regulative dimension
++	+	++	+/-

NGO participation

The second aspect contributing to NGO opinion leadership deals with the intentional transmission of information from the NGO: NGO participation. For each factor, the several hypotheses were tested using the coded articles. Table 7 is showing the hypotheses and whether they are affirmed, refuted or not found.

Table 7: Results media analysis aspect II. ‘NGO participation’			
Aspect	Contributing factor	Hypothesis	Hypothesis affirmed, refuted or not found
I. NGO participation	Whom one knows (access)	1.1 The more the NGO is accessible to others inside their social network, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 1.2 The more the NGO acts like a gatekeeper between different social networks, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 1.3 The greater the number of people with whom an the NGO is in contact with within a community, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 1.4 The more the mass media seeks the NGO’s advice or opinion, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader. 1.5 The higher number of negotiations a NGO attends, the more influence it can have as an opinion leader on decision-making processes.	1.1 Not found 1.2 Affirmed 1.3 Not found 1.4 Not found 1.5 Refuted
	Activities	2.1 The more a NGO engages in international policy negotiations, through lobbying or submitting information to negotiators on particular positions, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.	2.1 Affirmed
	Intention (willingness to communicate)	3.1 The greater the intention of a NGO to change a particular actor’s behaviour, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.	3.1 Affirmed 3.2 Affirmed

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Ibid.

		3.2 The clearer the intention of a NGO to change a decision maker's opinion or behaviour, the more the NGO can act as an opinion leader. 3.3 The more a NGO is willing to communicate about a certain issue or opinion, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.	3.3 Affirmed
	Response capacity	4.1 The better the opinion leader can respond to stressors, the more influence the opinion leader can exert. 4.2 The more social capital a NGO has, the greater the response capacity it has as an opinion leader.	4.1 Not found 4.2 Not found
	Resources	5.1 The more resources a NGO allocates to engage in international policy negotiations, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader.	5.1 Affirmed

In total, there were 154 text fragments coded for this aspect, of which the majority for the factors 'who one knows', 'activities' and 'intention'. A first word frequency query (see figure 8 and appendix I.2) was conducted to give a first indication of the concepts used in the coded text fragments.



Figure 8: Word cloud NGO participation aspect.

The first thing that is noticeable, is the word 'status'. The program found many synonyms and specializations for this concept, including 'activity', 'demand', 'event', 'involvement' and 'participation'. All these concepts can be put under the factor 'activities', of which corresponding hypothesis states that the more a NGO engages in international policy negotiations, the more influence the NGO can exert. If there is one thing not lacking, it is the amount of activities that the Holy See was involved in. Many of the articles spoke of the various speeches Pope Francis, cardinal Turkson or other representatives of the Holy See gave at different occasions leading up to the Paris conference. Likewise, many articles stated that the release of *Laudato Si'* a few months prior to the Pope's visit to the USA and the UN General Assembly in New York was a strategic move.³¹³ Not only was the encyclical addressed "just to fellow Catholics, as it usually is, but to the whole planet", thereby creating an opportunity to extend the moral authority well beyond the 1.2 billion members of the Catholic Church.³¹⁴

Next on the agenda was the papal visit to the USA, speech to the UN General Assembly in September, and other speeches at UN bodies by cardinal Turkson. Already in June, with the release of the

³¹³ McCarthy, 2015; Burke, 2015; Stanford, 2015.

³¹⁴ Standford, 2015.

encyclical, journalists speculated on the contents of the speeches that still were to come.³¹⁵ All these activities led up to the conference in Paris in November. During the time of the conference, the Pope himself was not present: he was visiting Kenya, the United Nations Office at Nairobi (UNON) and had meetings with the Executive Directors and Director-General of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the UN-Habitat and UNON. During his visit, Francis urged “world leaders to seal a strong agreement at the Paris climate change meeting,” highlighting that a transformation in “current development models was a political and economic obligation.”³¹⁶ Meanwhile, other delegates of the Holy See were present at the COP21 negotiations. Both cardinal Turkson and cardinal Parolin spoke before all the world leaders at the negotiation table and others were present at many of the side events held in Paris.³¹⁷ A last, but not invisible, activity in order to underscore its aim toward environmental protection coinciding with the COP21 in Paris was the public art projections onto St. Peter’s Basilica. Cooperation with Vulcan Inc, the World Bank and other organizations, the projections were an extra call to the spectators to protect ‘our common home’.³¹⁸

However, the vast amount of activities covered by the media might only be the tip of the iceberg. Much of the preparations for COP21 by the negotiators of each country were made without media presence. The explicit references to the papal encyclical by at least ten country leaders give an indication of the activities of the Holy See at national level.³¹⁹

The number of activities goes hand in hand with the access the NGO has to other players in the climate change arena. This ‘access’ factor in the NGO participation aspect looks at who the opinion leader has access to in their own network, if the NGO acts as a gatekeeper between different networks, the number of negotiations a NGO attends and if the media seeks the NGO’s opinion. As mentioned in the case selection, the Holy See has one of the most close-knit networks in the international relations realm, thanks to its permanent non-state observer status at the UN and the Apostolic Nunciatures around the world.³²⁰ Because of its status at the UN and the different bodies within the UN, the Holy See is present at many different negotiations. While not always openly voicing an opinion, the Holy See has since the preparations of *Laudato Si’*, and specifically after its publication, stepped into the spotlight where the discussion topics touched upon poverty and the environment.³²¹

This began with a climate summit at the Vatican where UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon held the opening address and over sixty religious leaders and scientists participated after being invited by the Pontifical Academies of Sciences and Social Sciences.³²² Over the next couple of months, connections within the UN could be used by the Holy See to further spread its opinion on the environment, which again indicates that the Holy See can be seen as an opinion leader. Cardinal Turkson spoke on behalf of the Holy See before several UN bodies, like Unicef in July 2015, and held meetings with known environmental activists such as Naomi Klein.³²³ In September 2015, the papal visit to the USA included a stop in Cuba before going to the USA, where Francis sat down to have a chat with Cuban officials on peace negotiations with the USA. In America, a series of meetings with high officials like president Obama, the American bishops, the United States Congress and an appearance at the UN General Assembly were on the agenda. At each occasion, Francis addressed poverty, social responsibility and the environment with constant references to his encyclical.³²⁴ Media in the USA seemed to cover each

³¹⁵ Green, 2015; Vanden Heuvel, 2015; Insua, 2015; Burke, 2005; Vatican Information Service, 2015; Stanford, 2015

³¹⁶ UNEP, 2015.

³¹⁷ World Council of Churches, 2015; McGrath, 2015b; Ware, 2015.

³¹⁸ Vulcan Inc., 2015; Povoledo, 2015.

³¹⁹ Ware, 2015.

³²⁰ Rleck & Niebuhr, 2015, p. 40-41.

³²¹ Ware, 2015; Green, 2015, Standord, 2015.

³²² Kirchgaessner, 2015, April 28; Terrell, 2015.

³²³ Kirchgaessner, 2015, July 1.

³²⁴ Baker & Shear, 2015; Baker & Yardley, 2015.

step Francis made and analysed each word he spoke,³²⁵ which adds to the positively proved hypotheses on NGO opinion leaders from the analytical framework.

Looking back at the above, it may already be clear that the willingness to communicate, or the 'intention' factor, is highly present. The hypotheses corresponding to this factor however, covers in greater detailed the intention to change the precipitant's behaviour as a result of stating one's opinion.

The Holy See has come straight forward with its intention to change people's behaviour: not just a change in behaviour is needed to save the environment, but a system change away from consumerism towards a "stable climate and fairer economy."³²⁶ The system should change from consumerism towards 'integral ecology', a concept introduced in *Laudato Si'*. This requires not only that developed countries to step up in aiding poorer countries in sustainable development, but Francis also calls for a "fundamental shift in how governments approach climate change."³²⁷ Next to what governments should be doing, the pope also targets "the 99 percent to challenge consumerist culture", which requires a shift in the moral imagination of all of us.³²⁸

The last two factors contributing to the NGO participation aspect are resources and response capacity. The former factor looks at the resources used by an NGO to engage in international policy negotiations. The latter factor looks at the social capital of the NGO or how the NGO reacts to stressors. For both factors, not much evidence was found in the media analysis. The word frequency query (figure 9, appendix I.3) for the resource factor shows that the encyclical is about the only resource covered by the media.



Figure 9: Word cloud 'resources' factor.

Another resource very visibly used by the Holy See to further advocate its view on climate change, is of the material kind: the St. Peter basilica. With the projections of 'Fiat Lux: Illuminating Our Common Home', the St. Peter basilica was brought to life the "interdependence of humans and life on earth with the planet, in order to educate and inspire change around the climate crisis across generations, cultures, languages, religions and class".³²⁹ Not only did it coincide with the Extraordinary Jubilee of Mercy, but also with COP21 in Paris in order to underscore the Holy See's push for environmental protection.³³⁰

³²⁵ New York Times, 2015.

³²⁶ Vatican Information Service, 2015;

³²⁷ McKechnie, 2015.

³²⁸ Thompson, 2015; McKechnie, 2015.

³²⁹ Vulcan Inc., 2015; Povoledo, 2015.

³³⁰ Telegraph Video, 2015.

The ‘response capacity’ factor is the least coded factor. Only one article mentions self-examination and “dealing with unsettlements”.³³¹ However, though this references to the impact of the encyclical it was aimed more at what this document had unsettled within the Holy See and the Catholic Church’s teachings, than at dealing with stressors coming from reactions to the NGO’s participation.

Summarizing the above, nuancing the degree of how affirmed, refuted, or not found hypotheses were, table 8 was created. The scale indicates if the factor was ‘highly contributing’ (++) , ‘moderately contributing’ (+), ‘slightly contributing’ (+/-) or ‘not contributing’ (-).

Table 8: Overview presence factors contributing to NGO participation				
Access	Activities	Intention	Response capacity	Resources
++	++	++	-	+/-

Goal attainment

The final aspect contributing to NGO opinion leadership deals with the behavior of other actors after the intentional transmission of information from the NGO: goal attainment. Did the receiving actors change the way the NGO intended them to change, is this outcome clearly visible, or did the intervention of the NGO have a more temporary or non-visible effect, and in which timespan did the change occur after the intervention. The three corresponding factors for the goal attainment aspect are ‘outcome’, ‘process’ and ‘time-lag’. For each factor, several hypotheses were tested using the coded articles. Table 9 shows the hypotheses and whether they are affirmed, refuted, or not found.

Table 9: Results media analysis aspect III. ‘goal attainment’			
Aspect	Contributing factor	Hypothesis	Hypothesis affirmed, refuted or not found
I.	Outcome	1.1 The more the policy outcome represents the opinion of the NGO, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader on the decision-making process.	1.1 Not found
	Process	2.1 The more the NGO is involved with the draft versions of the policy outcome, the more temporary influence as an opinion leader the NGO has on the decision-making process.	2.1 Affirmed
	Time-lag	3.1 The less time there is between the NGO’s attempt to influence the decision-maker and the change of said decision-maker, the more influence a NGO will have (had) as an opinion leader.	3.1 Affirmed

There were 145 references created for all the three factors, of which the majority were for the ‘process’ factor. Looking at this factor in further detail started with a word frequency query as shown in the word cloud in figure 10, and with the more comprehensive table in appendix I.4.

³³¹ Widmer, 2015.



Figure 10: Word cloud ‘process’ factor.

Several concepts stand out in the results of the word frequency query. Going over the references corresponding with the concepts, it showed that during the two-week summit in Paris the encyclical was mentioned on numerous occasions. Not just by cardinal Parolin during his speech in front of the 200 countries’ representatives, but also by several of the world leaders themselves. The President of Paraguay, Horacio Manuel Cartes, for example, gave credits to how Pope Francis “gave a dramatic warning that we face a crisis and need to protect the world upon which we rely for life” through his encyclical.³³² Next to this, as the Holy See aimed to increase impact of the Paris agreement by having it consist of a change or guidance in behavior “of all the actors involved, beginning with the governments.”³³³

Still it is not easy to pinpoint the influence the Holy See had on the governments, though an influence can be seen in the way climate change was debated prior to and during the Paris conference.³³⁴ Where previously governments whose economic interests were perceived to be adversely affected by climate change policies and the focus on climate change was thus based more on science and technological solutions, there was now a ‘new’ “ethical analyses of climate change policy issues.”³³⁵ In that sense, some articles claim that Pope Francis had a “transformative role” during COP21.³³⁶ They state it was partly due to the push that *Laudato Si’* gave in proposing a moral side to the climate change negotiations and pleading for shared yet equal responsibilities that “diplomats succeeded in Paris because they crafted an agreement that allowed each nation to decide its own response to climate change rather than dictating a prescribed set of regulations.”³³⁷

Going over the results from the ‘process’ factor gives rise to the question that these results could not be categorized under the ‘outcome’ factor as well. After all, it was the intention of the Holy See to add an ethical side to the climate change debates, stating a plea to developed countries to step up in aiding poorer countries in sustainable development.³³⁸ The above paragraph shows that this ethical side was present during COP21. However, to see this result as an ‘outcome’ there would have to be direct references or copied text fragments from statements of the Holy See or the encyclical *Laudato Si’* in the Paris Agreement. Such visible outcomes of the intervention of the Holy See were however not visible in the Paris Agreement. The above does show that the ideology of ‘integral ecology’ was present

³³² Ware, 2015.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Commero, 2015.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Vatican Radio, 2015; Crean, 2015.

³³⁷ Nagle, 2016.

³³⁸ McKechnie, 2015.

during the COP21 negotiations, putting the results under the ‘process’ factor in the goal attainment aspect.

The last factor, time-lag, looks at the time between the attempted intervention and the change in behaviour of the decision maker(s). Though the hypothesis states that the less time there is between the NGO’s intervention with the decision maker, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader, the media analysis proves differently. As mentioned in the NGO participation aspect, several articles claimed that the timing of the publication of *Laudato Si’* was ‘strategic’.³³⁹ Even Francis himself is believed to have highlighted the importance of “a bit time between the issuing of the encyclical and the meeting in Paris, so that it can make a contribution.”³⁴⁰ Together with all the carefully planned activities of the Holy See’s delegates, it may be clear that the ‘time-lag’ factor has been of importance in the influence that the Holy See tried to exert on the international climate change debate. However, instead of the influence being exerted due to less time between the intervention and the change in behavior, it was of importance that there was some time between the intervention and the change in decision-maker(s).

Summarizing the above and distinguishing the degree of how affirmed, refuted, or not found hypotheses were, table 10 was created. The scale indicates if the factor was ‘highly contributing’ (++) , ‘moderately contributing’ (+), ‘slightly contributing’ (+/-) or ‘not contributing’ (-).

Table 10: Overview presence factors contributing to goal attainment

Outcome	Process	Time-lag
-	+	++

Conclusion media analysis

Based on the media analysis, it could be said that the Holy See has been an international actor who is and was highly active in promoting its ideology within the international climate change arena. In regard to answering the fourth sub question: ‘what factors of the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance play a role in the influence of the Holy See in Climate Change Governance?’ A summary of the presence of the factors contributing to the NGO opinion leadership aspects is shown in table 11, including all three aspects and all twelve factors.

Table 11: results media analysis, overview presence factors contributing to opinion leadership

Organizational structure				
Who one is	Perceived self-efficacy	What one knows	Regulative dimension	
++	+	++	+/-	
NGO participation				
Access	Activities	Intention	Response capacity	Resources
++	++	++	-	+/-
Goal attainment				
Outcome	Process		Time-lag	
-	+		++	

Based on the results from the media analysis, it shows that at least six of the twelve contributed highly to the influence that the Holy See could exert as an opinion leader in the Climate Governance: who one is, what one knows, access (whom one knows), activities, intention, and time-lag. The influence of the Holy See occurred as process influence: temporary, and non-visible influence. Perceived-self efficacy did contribute to the role as an opinion leader, as well as the regulative dimension of the Holy

³³⁹ McCarthy, 2015; Burke, 2015; Stanford, 2015.

³⁴⁰ Insua, 2015.

See, and the resources allocated to fund the activities. Though all three factors contributed less than the first six factors. Response capacity was not found as a contributing factor in this media analysis.

Based on the findings of the media analysis, the hypotheses of the analytical framework were attuned to the case of the Holy See (table 12). Those factors shown to be more contributing have been paid special attention to, whereas the hypotheses and corresponding factors ‘not found’ where not altered.

Table 12: Hypotheses based on results media analysis³⁴¹

Aspect	Contributing factor	Hypotheses
I. Organizational structure	Who one is (normative dimension)	1.1 Because of the moral authority as pope, Pope Francis acted as a gatekeeper between political and ethical groups concerned with climate change governance. 1.2 Due to the ascribed role as inspirational leader and unrelenting motivator, Pope Francis exerted influence as opinion leader. 1.3 Due to its unique role as permanent observer at the UN, the Holy See acted as a gatekeeper between different actors and thus exert influence as opinion leader.
	Perceived self-efficacy	2.1 Because Pope Francis purposely used his popularity and authority, he exerted influence as an opinion leader.
	What one knows (resources)	3.1 Being able to use a combination of philosophical and moral knowledge with knowledge regarding technological innovation and economics aided the Holy See in the exerting influence as an opinion leader. 3.2 Due to its unique role in moral leadership the Holy See is considered an expert on ethical matters and thus could exert influence as an opinion leader.
	Regulative dimension	4.1 Due to the (hierarchical) structure of the Holy See, it exerted more influence on decision-making processes as an opinion leader.
II. NGO participation	Whom one knows (access)	1.1 Due to its unique status as permanent observer at the UN, the Holy See had access to many different actors outside its community and is therefore able to exert influence as an opinion leader. 1.2 Due to its unique role as permanent observer at the UN, the Holy See acted as a gatekeeper between different actors and thus exert influence as opinion leader. (<i>similar as 1.3</i>) 1.3 Because of its own close-knit network (in the international relations realm), the Holy See had access to many different actors and is therefore able to exert influence as an opinion leader. 1.4 Being so intertwined with the Vatican State and the Catholic Church gave the Holy See access to many different actors, and thus it can exert influence as opinion leader.
	Activities	2.1 Through the high number of activities concerning climate change action after the publication of the encyclical <i>Laudato Si'</i> , the Holy See exerted influence as an opinion leader.
	Intention (willingness to communicate)	3.1 Due to the clear intentions of the Holy See in aiming at a fundamental shift away from consumerism and changing how governments approach climate change, it exerted more influence as an opinion leader. 3.2 Targeting not only governments but also ‘the 99 percent’ to change their behaviour regarding climate change governance, gave the Holy See more opportunity to act as an opinion leader.
	Response capacity	4.1 <i>The better the opinion leader can respond to stressors, the more influence the opinion leader can exert.</i> 4.2 <i>The more social capital an NGO has, the greater the response capacity it has as an opinion leader.</i>

³⁴¹ Hypotheses of the factors not found contributing in the media analysis have been included in italics in the attuned hypotheses set.

	Resources	5.1 Because of the use of different sorts of resources (papal writings, social teachings, buildings like the St. Peter), the Holy See exerted more influence as an opinion leader.
III. Goal attainment	Outcome	1.1 <i>The more the policy outcome represents the opinion of the NGO, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader on the decision-making process.</i>
	Process	2.1 The numerous mentions and references to the encyclical and other speeches of delegates of the Holy See, show an influence as an opinion leader in the climate change governance arena.
	Time-lag	3.1 Due to the strategic timing of the publication of Laudato Si' and the carefully planned activities following it, the Holy See exerted more influence as an opinion leader.

Though the media have been covering many of the activities, the finding of the media analysis was not enough to base a complete answer of the fourth sub question on. In addition, the internal validity of the case study would not have been high if the conclusions would be solely based on either the desk research, the media analysis, or even a combination of both. Triangulation with two other methods is therefore needed. This leaves the last method of data gathering and analyzing: interviews

7.3 Interviews

In this section the results of the interviews are discussed. From the results of the media analysis a new set of hypotheses was created (table 12, see 6.5). As the goal of the interviews was to falsify these hypotheses, each respondent was given the hypotheses prior to the interview. The bold hypotheses were the hypotheses primarily focused on, as these hypotheses were deemed to give the most insight into the Holy See's role as opinion leader (table 13). A second reason not all hypotheses were discussed, is because the time for each interview was limited.

Transcriptions of the interviews have been added to this thesis in appendix II, together with a short resume of each respondent. To prevent overlap between the interviews, the results have been discussed based on the aspects contributing to NGO influence. This section ends with a preliminary answer to the fourth sub question, 'what factors of the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance play a role in the influence of the Holy See in Climate Change Governance?'.³⁴²

Aspect	Contributing factor	Hypotheses
I. Organizational structure	Who one is (normative dimension)	1.1 Because of the moral authority as pope, Pope Francis acted as a gatekeeper between political and ethical groups concerned with climate change governance. 1.2 Due to the ascribed role as inspirational leader and unrelenting motivator, Pope Francis exerted influence as opinion leader. 1.3 Due to its unique role as permanent observer at the UN, the Holy See acted as a gatekeeper between different actors and thus exert influence as opinion leader.
	Perceived self-efficacy	2.1 Because Pope Francis purposely used his popularity and authority, he exerted influence as an opinion leader.
	What one knows (resources)	3.1 Being able to use a combination of philosophical and moral knowledge with knowledge regarding technological innovation and economics aided the Holy See in the exerting influence as an opinion leader. 3.2 Due to its unique role in moral leadership the Holy See is considered an expert on ethical matters and thus could exert influence as an opinion leader.
	Regulative dimension	4.1 Due to the (hierarchical) structure of the Holy See, it exerted more influence on decision-making processes as an opinion leader.
II. NGO participation	Whom one knows (access)	1.1 Due to its unique status as permanent observer at the UN, the Holy See had access to many different actors outside its community and is therefore able to exert influence as an opinion leader. 1.2 Due to its unique role as permanent observer at the UN, the Holy See acted as a gatekeeper between different actors and thus exert influence as opinion leader. (<i>similar as 1.3</i>) 1.3 Because of its own close-knit network (in the international relations realm), the Holy See had access to many different actors and is therefore able to exert influence as an opinion leader. 1.4 Being so intertwined with the Vatican State and the Catholic Church gave the Holy See access to many different actors, and thus it can exert influence as opinion leader.
	Activities	2.1 Through the high number of activities concerning climate change action after the publication of the encyclical Laudato Si', the Holy See exerted influence as an opinion leader.

³⁴² Hypotheses of the factors not found contributing in the media analysis have been included in italics in the attuned hypotheses set.

	Intention (willingness to communicate)	3.1 Due to the clear intentions of the Holy See in aiming at a fundamental shift away from consumerism and changing how governments approach climate change, it exerted more influence as an opinion leader. 3.2 Targeting not only governments but also ‘the 99 percent’ to change their behaviour regarding climate change governance, gave the Holy See more opportunity to act as an opinion leader.
	Response capacity	4.1 <i>The better the opinion leader can respond to stressors, the more influence the opinion leader can exert.</i> 4.2 <i>The more social capital an NGO has, the greater the response capacity it has as an opinion leader.</i>
	Resources	5.1 Because of the use of different sorts of resources (papal writings, social teachings, buildings like the St. Peter), the Holy See exerted more influence as an opinion leader.
III. Goal attainment	Outcome	1.1 <i>The more the policy outcome represents the opinion of the NGO, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader on the decision-making process.</i>
	Process	2.1 The numerous mentions and references to the encyclical and other speeches of delegates of the Holy See, show an influence as an opinion leader in the climate change governance arena.
	Time-lag	3.1 Due to the strategic timing of the publication of Laudato Si’ and the carefully planned activities following it, the Holy See exerted more influence as an opinion leader.

Organizational structure

This aspect holds four factors, table 14 shows the hypotheses and whether they are affirmed, refuted, not found, or have been nuanced. The latter indicating that a hypothesis was not completely confirmed, yet also not completely refuted. Instead, a part of the hypotheses was affirmed, but in a nuanced manner.

Aspect	Contributing factor	Hypotheses	Affirmed, refuted, not found, or nuanced
I. Organizational structure	Who one is (normative dimension)	1.1 Because of the moral authority as pope, Pope Francis can act as a gatekeeper between political and ethical groups concerned with climate change governance. 1.2 Due to the ascribed role as inspirational leader and unrelenting motivator, Pope Francis can exert influence as opinion leader. 1.3 Due to its unique role as permanent observer at the UN, the Holy See can act as a gatekeeper between different actors and thus exert influence as opinion leader.	1.1 Nuanced 1.2 Affirmed 1.3 Nuanced
	Perceived self-efficacy	2.1 Because Pope Francis purposely used his popularity and authority, he could exert influence as an opinion leader.	2.1 Affirmed
	What one knows (resources)	3.1 Being able to use a combination philosophical and moral knowledge with knowledge regarding technological innovation and economics, aided the Holy See in the exerting influence as an opinion leader. 3.2 Due to its unique role in moral leadership the Holy See is considered an expert on ethical matters and thus could exert influence as an opinion leader.	3.1 Affirmed 3.2 Affirmed

	Regulative dimension	4.1 Due to the (hierarchical) structure of the Holy See, it can exert more influence on decision-making processes as an opinion leader.	4.1 Affirmed
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First of all, the factor ‘who one is’. Being the head of the Catholic Church, Pope Francis has automatically been holding a moral authority. However, due to his personality Pope Francis “established himself as a credible and authentic leader.”³⁴³ When elected pope Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio choose the name of Saint Francis of Assisi.³⁴⁴ This saint focused his life on poverty, the poor, animals, and the environment and has been well known all around the world through the Franciscan orders he founded.³⁴⁵ Expectations of the new pope were therefore high: would he focus on poverty, or also incorporate the environment? With the annunciation of *Laudato Si’*, an environmental encyclical, proved the latter. Being the first encyclical of this pope, it also made the statement that the environment would be central to his papacy.³⁴⁶ And with the lifestyle, Pope Francis took on, he made clear that he would ‘live what he preached,’ just like the man he took his name after.³⁴⁷ Though other popes had touched upon the topic of environment, never was an encyclical so centered around environmental and social questions. The combination of those topics was something relatively new, especially at the international level, as poverty and climate were usually discussed separately though the SDGs have been opening a broader approach to social questions as well.³⁴⁸

The Holy See, with Pope Francis, has been positioning themselves as a bridgebuilder regarding these two fields and topics. Next to this, because of their observer states and because they have no economic or geopolitical position, the Holy See could be in permanent contact with diplomats of almost every nation represented in the UN without being biased by their own (national) interest. This gave way for a moral standpoint that was not influenced by economic or political interest.³⁴⁹ Especially at the international level, this moral standpoint had been missing in the discussions as there has been a favor towards scientific and technological arguments.³⁵⁰ Again, Pope Francis positioned himself as a bridgebuilder in this matter using the encyclical. Argumentation in *Laudato Si’* has not been solely of social or ethical nature: science plays an important role in it as well, gathering advice from experts in economic, technological, and environmental fields.³⁵¹ Though some of those scientific arguments have showed some gaps, scientific arguments have been taken seriously, which showed the willingness of building bridges between two sides of the same coin: technical and social answers to climate change problems.³⁵²

The regulative structure aided in this as well. The Dutch ambassador of the Holy See identified two hierarchical structures that together form the regulative structure of the Holy See: formal and informal hierarchies. The formal hierarchy has been a classical, pyramid formed hierarchy: the pope on top, with the cardinals and the rest of the clergy under him. However, each bishop has his own authority over his district, his diocese, and there can decide for himself what and how to implement certain regulations. This is called the principle of subsidiarity, as not one diocese is identical to another. A negative side of this principle has been that some messages or intentions presented by the pope, like stimulations for a more sustainable mindset, could not be given priority.³⁵³ The informal structures show the civil society side of the church, NGOs, parishes, and grassroot organizations affiliated with

³⁴³ J. de Bourbon de Parme, 2016.

³⁴⁴ When elected as pope, the cardinal takes on a new regnal (or papal) name.

³⁴⁵ J.J. Hasselaar, 2016; J. de Bourbon de Parme, 2016.

³⁴⁶ J. de Bourbon de Parme, 2016.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁰ S. de la Fuente, 2016.

³⁵¹ J.J. Hasselaar, 2016; J. de Bourbon de Parme, 2016.

³⁵² J.J. Hasselaar, 2016; J. de Bourbon de Parme, 2016; S. de la Fuente, 2016.

³⁵³ J. de Bourbon de Parme, 2016.

the Catholic Church or its social teachings. These NGOs, like Cordaid, have been operating and lobbying on not just local, but also national and international levels. Because of their informal structure and because they have not been part of the formal, hierarchical, structure of the church, these organizations could be flexible and have been able to reach out to other non-Catholic or religious NGOs or actors.³⁵⁴ Though during the conference in Paris, it was the formal structure who could exert the most influence.³⁵⁵

Summarizing the above, nuancing the degree of how affirmed, refuted, or not found hypotheses were, table 15 was created. The scale indicates if the factor was ‘highly contributing’ (++) , ‘moderately contributing’ (+), ‘slightly contributing’ (+/-) or ‘not contributing’ (-).

Table 15: Presence factors contributing to organizational structure aspect

Who one is	Perceived self-efficacy	What one knows	Regulative dimension
++	-	++	+

NGO participation

This aspect holds four factors, table 16 shows the hypotheses and whether they are affirmed, refuted, not found, or have been nuanced.

Table 16: Results interviews aspect II. ‘NGO participation’

Aspect	Contributing factor	Hypotheses	Affirmed, refuted, not found, or nuanced
II. NGO participation	Whom one knows (access)	1.1 Due to its unique status as permanent observer at the UN, the Holy See has access to many different actors outside its community and is therefore able to exert influence as an opinion leader. 1.2 Due to its unique role as permanent observer at the UN, the Holy See can act as a gatekeeper between different actors and thus exert influence as opinion leader. <i>(similar as 1.1.3)</i> 1.3 Because of its own close-knit network (in the international relations realm), the Holy See has access to many different actors and is therefore able to exert influence as an opinion leader. 1.4 Being so intertwined with the Vatican State and the Catholic Church gives the Holy See access to many different actors, and thus exert influence as opinion leader.	1.1 Nuanced 1.2 Nuanced 1.3 Affirmed 1.4 Affirmed
	Activities	2.1 Through the high number of activities concerning climate change action after the publication of the encyclical <i>Laudato Si’</i> , the Holy See could exert influence as an opinion leader.	2.1 Affirmed
	Intention (willingness to communicate)	3.1 Due to the clear intentions of the Holy See in aiming at a fundamental shift away from consumerism and changing how governments approach climate change, it could exert more influence as an opinion leader. 3.2 Targeting not only governments but also ‘the 99 percent’ to change their behaviour regarding climate change governance, gave the Holy See more opportunity to act as an opinion leader.	3.1 Affirmed 3.2 Affirmed

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

	Response capacity	4.1 <i>The better the opinion leader can respond to stressors, the more influence the opinion leader can exert.</i> 4.2 <i>The more social capital an NGO has, the greater the response capacity it has as an opinion leader.</i>	4.1 Not found 4.2 Not found
	Resources	5.1 Because of the use of different sorts of resources (papal writings, social teachings, buildings like the St. Peter), the Holy See can exert more influence as an opinion leader.	5.1 Affirmed

The formal and informal structures of the regulative dimension in the first aspect have shown that not just the regulative dimension has been a contributing factor to the opinion leadership of the Holy See, but also showed the importance of the factor ‘access’ from the NGO participation aspect. Partly due to the Holy See’s role as permanent observer at the UN, but also because being recognized as an authentic and moral leader, Pope Francis and other Holy See representatives had access to many country leaders and policymakers. All respondents also touched upon the ‘rumor’ that Pope Francis himself picked up the telephone during the negotiations in Paris to convince several countries to sign in on the Paris Agreement.³⁵⁶

The activities factor has been intertwined with the access factor, as well as the regulative dimension. Since the publication of *Laudato Si’*, and even prior to it, several conferences concerning the environment were organized, hosted, or attended by (representatives of) the Holy See.³⁵⁷ A highlight was the attendance during the UN General Assembly of Pope Francis in the USA, as well as the other activities and speeches during his tour through the USA. The question arose of whether or not the Holy See could have done more to exert influence regarding the topic. Two answers followed from this. The first being that only those directly involved with the negotiations and meetings leading up to them, know how much or often there was interference of the Holy See, or the contents of these meetings. The second answer involved an affirmative: yes, the Holy See could have done more.³⁵⁸ Specifically, they could have taken up a mediating role shortly after the failed 2009 Copenhagen Summit (COP15), bringing parties together around the negotiating table.³⁵⁹ This role was now filled by the executive secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), Christiana Figueres.³⁶⁰ However, as Pope Francis only took seat in 2013, and the focus on environment began with his papacy, it seemed illogical to state that the Holy See should have taken on the mediating role the executive secretary of the UNFCCC took.

The intention of the Holy See, presented in *Laudato Si’* by Pope Francis, has been a main contributing factor. As mentioned above, Francis presented the encyclical with the intention to build bridges between two sides of the same coin, between the social and technical questions of climate change and solutions. His answer to these questions has been in the form of a new perspective: an inclusive culture of care, in which all of humanity and all of nature had to be in balance, an integral ecology perspective.³⁶¹ This perspective has been based on not just scientific, technical argumentation, but also the ethical and moral argumentations.³⁶² But most of all, it is a perspective that has been based on dialogue between different actors and between different levels.³⁶³

³⁵⁶ J. de Bourbon de Parme, 2016; S. de la Fuente, 2016; J.J. Hasselaar, 2016.

³⁵⁷ J. de Bourbon de Parme, 2016.

³⁵⁸ S. de la Fuente, 2016.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ S. de la Fuente, 2016.

³⁶¹ J.J. Hasselaar, 2016.

³⁶² S. de la Fuente, 2016; J.J. Hasselaar, 2016.

³⁶³ J.J. Hasselaar, 2016.

Summarizing the above, nuancing the degree of how affirmed, refuted, or not found hypotheses were, table 17 was created. The scale indicates if the factor was ‘highly contributing’ (++) , ‘moderately contributing’ (+), ‘slightly contributing’ (+/-) or ‘not contributing’ (-).

Table 17: Overview presence factors contributing to NGO participation				
Access	Activities	Intention	Response capacity	Resources
++	+/-	++	-	-

Goal attainment

This aspect holds four factors, table 18 shows the hypotheses and whether they are affirmed, refuted, not found, or have been nuanced.

Table 18: Results interviews aspect III. ‘goal attainment’			
Aspect	Contributing factor	Hypotheses	Affirmed, refuted, not found, or nuanced
III.	Outcome	1.1 <i>The more the policy outcome represents the opinion of the NGO, the more influence the NGO can exert as an opinion leader on the decision-making process.</i>	1.1 Not found
	Process	2.1 The numerous mentions and references to the encyclical and other speeches of delegates of the Holy See, show an influence as an opinion leader in the climate change governance arena.	2.1 Nuanced
	Time-lag	3.1 Due to the strategic timing of the publication of Laudato Si’ and the carefully planned activities following it, the Holy See could exert more influence as an opinion leader.	3.1 Affirmed

As seen in the media analysis, the sort of influence the Holy See exerted has been process influence. Though the hypotheses regarding outcome and process influence were presented to the respondents, the question was also asked of which type of influence they thought the Holy See exerted most prior to and during the Paris conference. All three respondents reaffirmed the initial hypothesis, stating that the influence exerted by the Holy See was the indirect process influence. Though it may have touched negotiators personally, whom then acted upon the call of the pope directly, but they still had to negotiate following a set of guidelines and targets given by the country they represent.³⁶⁴

Regarding the factor time-lag, another contributing factor as showed in table 18, the timing of the publication of Laudato Si’ could not have been any later. Because of the extensive preparations involved in publishing an encyclical, attuning with the social teachings, and waiting for all the translations to be done, the encyclical was released only a mere six months before COP21 in Paris. Most countries by then had already formed their positions regarding an agreement, which left little room for the Holy See to exert influence.³⁶⁵ However, the encyclical still had a boosting effect for all those who were already concerning themselves with climate governance, as the pope brought back the ethical side of the discussions and offered a sense of moral leadership that had been missing in the discussions.³⁶⁶ The pope was not just one of the many people shouting something on climate change and solutions, he brought back the bigger picture or what the dilemma entailed, who was getting affected and how to proceed from that point in time.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁴ S. de la Fuente, 2016.
³⁶⁵ J. de Bourbon de Parme, 2016
³⁶⁶ S. de la Fuente, 2016.
³⁶⁷ J. de Bourbon de Parme, 2016.

Summarizing the above, nuancing the degree of how affirmed, refuted, or not found hypotheses were, table 19 was created. The scale indicates if the factor was ‘highly contributing’ (++) , ‘moderately contributing’ (+), ‘slightly contributing’ (+/-) or ‘not contributing’ (-).

Table 19: Overview presence factors contributing to goal attainment		
Outcome	Process	Time-lag
-	++	+

Conclusion interviews

At the end of the interviews, the respondents were asked which factors they saw most contributing to the opinion leadership of the Holy See. Combined with the results discussed above, table 20 has been created to summarize the presence of the contributing factors according to the respondents of the interviews.

Table 20: results interviews, overview presence factors contributing to opinion leadership				
Organizational structure				
Who one is	Perceived self-efficacy	What one knows	Regulative dimension	
++	-	++	+	
NGO participation				
Access	Activities	Intention	Response capacity	Resources
++	+/-	++	-	-
Goal attainment				
Outcome	Process	Time-lag		
-	++	+		

As can be seen in table 20, five factors are highly present and contributing to the opinion leadership of the Holy See. First, the factors ‘who one is’, and in this specific case, the person of Pope Francis. With the authority tied to the role as pope and the personality of Pope Francis, where he has been ‘living what he preaches’, people from all levels have been seeing him as a moral leader.³⁶⁸ With the encyclical Francis showed that he is not just telling a narrative on how things should be done, but also showed the Holy See’s investment in scientific and technological knowledge. Which was identified as the second contributing factor, ‘what one knows’.³⁶⁹ This combination, between the investment in knowledge and being the living example, has contributed the most to the influence of the Holy See and Pope Francis according to the ambassador.³⁷⁰ Access has been of importance as well, together with the formal and informal structures of the regulative dimension. The intention of the change from a culture of consumerism to a culture of care, being holistic, and inclusive, was also pointed out as a main contributing factor.³⁷¹ The new perspective could offer an opening for dialogue between different actors and between different levels, while taking a step back in order see the bigger picture in an attempt to give an answer to the questions and problems that surround climate change.³⁷² The type of influence therefore was identified as process influence, as the Holy See, Pope Francis, and the encyclical opened dialogue between actors and gave a boost to already existing initiatives, debates, and negotiations.³⁷³

³⁶⁸ J. de Bourbon de Parme, 2016.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ S. de la Fuente, 2016; J.J. Hasselaar, 2016.

³⁷² J.J. Hasselaar, 2016, S. de la Fuente, 2016; J. de Bourbon de Parme, 2016.

³⁷³ S. de la Fuente, 2016;

7.4 Conclusion

The purpose of the case study was to operationalize the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance. Based on three criteria, the Holy See was chosen as case subject, leading to a single case study. To give the operationalization a better direction, a sub-research question was created: *What factors of the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance played a role in the influence of the Holy See in Climate Change Governance?* To scope the question, research was done to the influence of the Holy See prior and during COP21, the Paris conference on climate change.

Triangulation was used to increase internal validity. This resulted in gathering three sorts of data and analyzing the data using three different methods based on hypotheses coming from the analytical framework: a literature review of (academic), non-media related literature, a media analysis, and interviews.

The literature review showed that the relation of the Holy See to international politics and climate governance in specific, has been increasing since the beginning of the 20th century. The Holy See took on a mediating role between ideologies while creating and promoting its own ideology as well. From the twelve contributing factors, eight factors were found contributing to the influence the Holy See exerted as an opinion leader prior: who one is, what one knows, the regulative dimension, whom one knows, activities, intention, resources, and time-lag. The type of influence was found to be process influence.

For the media analysis, 69 articles were selected and coded in NVivo using the factors from the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance. Out of the twelve contributing factors, six were found to be contributing highly to the influence the Holy See exerted as an opinion prior and during COP21: who one is, what one knows, access, activities, intention, and time-lag. Less contributing were the factors: perceived self-efficacy, regulative dimension and resources allocate for NGO participation. The type of influence the Holy See exerted was found to be process influence. The hypotheses from the analytical framework were adapted with the results from the media analysis to create a new set of specified hypotheses. This set of hypotheses was used to base the interviews on.

The aim of the interviews was to falsify the hypotheses created from the results of the media analysis. Each respondent was given the hypotheses prior to the interview, and the hypotheses were discussed during the interview. As each respondent had their own insights into the international movements prior and during COP21, and each respondent was positioned different prior and during the Paris conference, their answers showed some variation. Putting the interviews next to each other however, showed that several factors were pointed out as contributing to the opinion leadership of the Holy See. Highly contributing factors were argued to be 'who one is', 'what one knows', 'access', 'intention'. Less contributing factors included the 'regulative dimension', 'activities' and 'time-lag'. The type of influence found was process influence.

A difference with the results from the media analysis, is the amount or impact of this more invisible influence. Where the results of the media analysis showed that there has been 'some influence', the respondents all mentioned the impact of the encyclical *Laudato Si'*.

Another difference is the amount of contribution of the regulative dimension. The media analysis referred partially to the structures of the Holy See, its network, and the workings of it. During the interviews however, it became clear that a main part of the resonance that *Laudato Si'* found has been thanks to the bridge building attitude coming from both the formal and informal structures of the Holy See.

The factor 'activities' was also a factor of which the degree of contribution differed. Where the media focused on the activities, as they reported on them, the interviews showed that it was not the activities themselves that really mattered. Instead, what topics were opened because of the activities: dialogue

between different actors on different levels. Next to this, much of the activities were probably behind closed doors and thus only those present will know what the effects of those conversations were.

A last difference could be found in de factor ‘time-lag’. Results from the media analysis argued that most of the activities hosted and attended by the Holy See, where done so strategically to enlarge the influence on negotiators attending COP21. However, during the interviews it became clear that the publication of *Laudato Si’* was just barely on time to even be included for the Paris conference. Although it put climate change on the agenda of many people who were previously unaware, for those already concerning themselves with climate governance it seemed to have more of a boosting effect as the pope brought back the ethical side of the discussions and offered a sense of moral leadership that had been missing in the discussions. To really have influence, it was said that the Holy See should have been involved this strongly at a much earlier time.

Reflecting on the results of all three methods, table 21 was created to give an overview of the factors contributing to the influence of the Holy See as an opinion leader within climate governance.

Table 21: overview presence factors contributing to Holy See’s opinion leadership				
Organizational structure				
Who one is	Perceived self-efficacy	What one knows	Regulative dimension	
++	-	++	+	
NGO participation				
Access	Activities	Intention	Response capacity	Resources
++	+	++	-	+/-
Goal attainment				
Outcome	Process		Time-lag	
-	++		+	

With the use of this overview, an answer could be given to the fourth sub-question: *What factors of the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance played a role in the influence of the Holy See in Climate Governance?*

Contributing factors were found to be:

- *Who one is*: the combination of the authority as pope and his personality, made Pope Francis seen as a moral leader who ‘lives what he preaches’.
- *What one knows*: the inclusion of scientific, technological and economic aspects in *Laudato Si’* showed the efforts made to initiate an inclusive ‘culture of care’.
- *Access* and the *regulative dimension*: these two factors are interlinked, as the formal and informal structures of the Holy See and the status as permanent observer at the UN made way for the access to many policy makers, negotiators, and country leaders, as well as the civil society that could pressure their national politics in their turn.
- *Intention*: the new perspective of an inclusive ‘culture of care’, offered by the Holy See and Pope Francis, brought forward in the encyclical *Laudato Si’*, showed an intention to build bridges between the two sides of the same coin of climate change and solutions.
- *Activities* and *time-lag*: though not as intertwined as access and the regulative dimension, these two factors are somewhat interlinked. The activities hosted or participated by the Holy See had their influence on those attending as well. Some were more strategically planned then others, but the publication of *Laudato Si’* could still be considered as the main influencing activity, especially because of its timing prior to the Paris conference.

The type of influence the Holy See exerted was found to be *process* influence. There were no direct references found in the outcome, the Paris Agreement. Several world leaders and negotiators however referred to the encyclical and the perspective presented by the Holy See and Pope Francis: the inclusion of the ethical side in answers to climate governance, an integral ecology - a culture of care.

As this case study involved only one case, these results are not generalizable. Few, if any, other actors will match the same normative and regulative dimension of the Holy See, combined with its 1.2 billion followers and long history of ethical and moral teachings and leadership.

This case study however has shown how an unconventional actor, the Holy See as not being a market actor nor a government or a conventional NGO, still was of influence in an international political setting. The role it played prior and during COP21 and the influence it has exerted has been explained using the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance. The results of the case study aided in a better understanding of the analytical framework, as well as how it could be operationalized. Thus leading to a final conclusion, and discussion, which are discussed in the next chapter.

8. Conclusion and discussion

In this last chapter, the main research question will be answered. To come to this answer, a short overview as well as the overall results will be discussed in the conclusion. The next section will discuss the limitations of this thesis, as well as suggestions for further research, and the last sub question pertaining if the analytical framework can be used to analyze the opinion leadership of other NGOs.

8.1 Conclusion

This research began with establishing that, although the Holy See is seen as an opinion leader in climate governance, it has been unclear what factors account for this. Opinion leaders have commonly been studied as individuals, and it was acknowledged that NGOs are gaining influence. Thus, a bridge was built between the two subjects, resulting in the research objective of the research: to further develop theory on the role of the Holy See in international climate governance by creating an analytical framework that analyses which factors contributed to NGOs as opinion leaders in environmental governance. To scope the research, a specific area of environmental governance was chosen: climate governance. This led to the main research question:

“What factors enable the Holy See to act as an opinion leader in international climate governance?”

As both opinion leadership and NGO influence were the subject of many studies, multiple definitions and conceptualizations were found. However, as ‘NGO opinion leadership’ was not conceptualized yet, two desk researches were carried out in order to define both opinion leadership and NGO influence. Aiding in these conceptualizations were sub-questions 1 and 2:

1. *What is opinion leadership and which factors contribute to it?*
2. *What is NGO influence and which factors contribute to it?*

For both concepts a literature study was conducted, reviewing five articles based on their relevance and year of publication. Both opinion leadership and NGO influence were conceptualized, leading to a definition and contributing factors for each concept.

Combining the two concepts and contributing factors was aided by sub-question 3: *Which factors contributing to opinion leadership and NGO influence are similar and how can they be synthesized into a Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance?*

NGO opinion leadership was defined as: *‘NGOs holding informal positions of power in a social network and therefore can intentionally intervene to transmit information or advice, and frame opinions regarding issues, attitudes, or behaviour in such a way that those targeted by the interference alters their behaviours or opinions.’*

The contributing factors were divided into three aspects:

I. Organizational structure	II. NGO Participation	III. Goal attainment
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Who one is,- What one knows,- Regulative dimension;- Perceived self-efficacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Access,- Activities,- Intention,- Response capacity;- Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Outcome,- Process, and- Time-lag.

The ‘Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance’ has been based on the definition of NGO opinion leadership and its contributing factors, with hypotheses substantiating them, and triangulation of data sources and methodologies.

To operationalize the analytical framework, a case study was conducted to the opinion leadership of the Holy See. The fourth sub-question aided in this: *'What factors of the Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance play a role in the influence of the Holy See in Climate Governance?'*

A literature review and media analysis were conducted based on the hypotheses from the 'Framework for Analyzing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance.' A new set of hypotheses attuned to the Holy See was created based on the results of the media analysis and literature review. These hypotheses were presented to the respondents during the interviews. The goal being to falsify the hypotheses.

Answering the main research question, the factors found contributing to the opinion leadership of the Holy See were:

- *Who one is*: the combination of the authority as pope and his personality, made Pope Francis seen as a moral leader who 'lives what he preaches'.
- *What one knows*: the inclusion of scientific, technological and economic aspects in *Laudato Si'* showed the efforts made to initiate an inclusive 'culture of care'.
- *Access and the regulative dimension*: these two factors are interlinked, as the formal and informal structures of the Holy See and the status as permanent observer at the UN made way for the access to many policy makers, negotiators, and country leaders, as well as the civil society that could pressure their national politics in their turn.
- *Intention*: the new perspective of an inclusive 'culture of care', offered by the Holy See and Pope Francis, brought forward in the encyclical *Laudato Si'*, showed an intention to build bridges between the two sides of the same coin of climate change and solutions.
- *Activities and time-lag*: though not as intertwined as access and the regulative dimension, these two factors are somewhat interlinked. The activities hosted or participated by the Holy See had their influence on those attending as well. Some were more strategically planned than others, but the publication of *Laudato Si'* could still be considered as the main influencing activity- especially because of its timing prior to the Paris conference.

In the end, it could be said that the Holy See exerted *process* influence prior and during COP21 in Paris. The unique position as moral leader of the Holy See and the personality of Pope Francis, its neutral stance having no economic or geopolitical positions and the new perspective of an inclusive culture of care, have contributed to the position as opinion leader within international climate governance.

8.2 Discussion

As any research, this thesis was hindered by several limitations. First of all, the analytical framework could have been based on more scientific articles, making it thus more reliable. However, the articles used were selected with great care, and thus were all highly relevant to the research.

A second limitation regarded the case study. With the research proposal, an internship with the Dutch embassy of the Holy See was intended to gather most data for the case study. However, the position was given twice to another person having more experience in international relations. Though the internship would probably have given more detailed insights into the role of the Holy See in international relations, the internal validity of the research could have gotten under scrutiny as results could have been biased because of the closeness to the case study subject.

A third limitation was the selection of respondents for the interviews. For the interviews, respondents were sought that had knowledge about the Holy See, climate governance and international relations. Several candidates were found, among who the Apostolic Nuncio in the Netherlands, and via a recommendation of a befriended priest, the Apostolic Nuncio and permanent observer of the Holy See to the United Nations in New York. However, after submitting the details of the interview, both cardinals declined the interview due to their direct roles in the negotiations. Though their views could have aided in the results, it could also have biased the results as too many respondents then would have been directly tied to the Holy See.

The results of this thesis have showed that the Holy See indeed is an opinion leader in climate change. The analytical framework could be used to analyse the factors contributing to the Holy See's opinion leadership role in other international government areas. Also, each contributing factor offers a possibility to further research the details of what enables the Holy See to act as an opinion leader in international (environmental) governance.

The last sub-question is concerned with the impact of the overall results of this thesis: *'To what extent can the Framework for Analysing NGO Opinion Leadership in International Environmental Governance be used to study the opinion leadership of other NGOs in international environmental governance?'*

As the analytical framework was formed on the preconception of the Holy See being an opinion leader, using the analytical framework to analyse another NGO would require the NGO to be considered an opinion leader. Another possibility is to use the framework to analyse why a particular NGO is *not* an opinion leader- thus identifying the 'missing factor'.

From the case study, it could be gathered that some of the factors were more contributing to NGO opinion leadership than others. The characteristics of a NGO, which knowledge it produces, their regulative dimension, their intention, and to whom the NGO has access to, have been found to be the main contributors. Based on the studied NGO, other factors could be more, or less contributing as well. Results from analyzing other NGOs can aid in a better understanding of how NGOs can acts as opinion leaders, as well as how individual opinion leaders exerted influence and how NGOs exerted influence in international climate governance.

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Appendix

I. Tables word frequency queries

I.1 Word frequency 'who one is'

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
pope	4	71	3,35	pontiff, pope, pope', popes
world	5	72	2,73	creation, earth, global, human, humanism, humankind, humans, public, publication, secular, university, world
francis	7	46	2,17	francis, francis'
climate	7	39	1,84	climate
change	6	23	1,08	change
leaders	7	24	1,08	leader, leaders, leadership
encyclical	10	20	0,94	encyclical
issue	5	33	0,93	effective, effects, emerged, event, events, issue, issued, issues, issuing, matter, matters, number, public, publication, publishing, supply, take, taking, topic
state	5	27	0,9	countries, country, expressed, formal, national, nations, nations', saying, state, stated, states, telling, tells
leading	7	30	0,84	ahead, contributes, direct, direction, directly, going, head, hints, lead, leadership, leading, leads, principal, star, take, taking
cardinal	8	18	0,83	cardinal, cardinals, central
speaking	8	24	0,8	address, addresses, addressing, mouth, speak, speaking, speaks, talk, talking, talks
political	9	19	0,79	cultural, culture, government, governments, political, politics
catholic	8	22	0,75	catholic, catholicism, catholics, university
talks	5	20	0,72	dialogue, lecture, negotiating, negotiations, negotiator, negotiators, singing, talk, talking, talks
vatican	7	15	0,71	vatican
moral	5	16	0,68	"ethical, ethics, lesson, moral, morality
environment	11	13	0,61	environment
laudato	7	13	0,61	laudato, 'laudato
pontifical	10	13	0,61	apostolic, papacy, papal, pontifical
turkson	7	13	0,61	turkson
gives	5	27	0,56	afford, commitment, contributes, established, establishment, feed, gives, hand, hands, make, making, open, opening, present, presented, reach
poor	4	12	0,53	poor, poverty, short
church	6	11	0,52	church, churches
going	5	24	0,5	cracked, department, died, enduring, fail, going, last, live, lived, lives, living, moved, moving, offers, sounds, tour, turn, turned, work
warming	7	13	0,5	hearts, quickly, strong, warm, warming, warms, warmth
call	4	16	0,48	anticipated, call, called, calling, calls, crying, named, phone, shouting, visit
voice	5	16	0,47	part, representative, represented, representing, soft, sounds, vocal, voice, voices
paris	5	10	0,47	paris
author	6	16	0,45	author, authorities, authority, clear, dominant, dominated, dominates, government, governments, office, surely

I.2 Word frequency NGO participation aspect

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
encyclical	10	9	2,69	encyclical
pope	4	9	1,65	pontiff, pope, popes
world	5	10	1,11	earth, global, humans, publication, world, worldwide
laudato	7	9	1,05	laudato, 'laudato
francis	7	7	0,98	francis
climate	7	6	0,94	climate, mood
close	5	5	0,86	close, faith, faithful, finally, nearly
environment	11	4	0,84	environment
address	7	5	0,77	address, addressing, called, calling, speaking
support	7	4	0,75	support, sustainability, sustainable, underpinned
document	8	4	0,74	document, support
church	6	3	0,65	church
issue	5	4	0,65	issue, publication, released, take
leaders	7	3	0,62	leaders, leadership
obligation	10	3	0,61	obligation, responsibilities, responsibility
praised	7	3	0,58	praised
teaching	8	3	0,58	teaching
life	4	4	0,57	life, live, spirit, spirited
open	4	3	0,56	open, possible, spread
action	6	2	0,56	action, action'
arrives	7	2	0,54	arrives, come
called	6	3	0,52	called, calling, visited
change	6	2	0,51	change
conference	10	2	0,51	conference
days	4	2	0,5	days, year
development	11	2	0,5	development
dropping	8	2	0,5	dropping, swing
environmental	13	2	0,49	environmental
game	4	3	0,49	game, spirit, spirited
goals	5	2	0,48	goals

I.3 Word frequency 'resources'

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
encyclical	10	9	3,05	encyclical
pope	4	9	3,05	pontiff, pope, popes
world	5	10	3,05	earth, global, humans, publication, world, worldwide
laudato	7	9	3,05	laudato, 'laudato
francis	7	7	2,37	francis
climate	7	6	2,03	climate, mood
close	5	5	1,36	close, faith, faithful, finally, nearly
environment	11	4	1,36	environment
address	7	5	1,19	address, addressing, called, calling, speaking
support	7	4	1,13	support, sustainability, sustainable, underpinned
document	8	4	1,13	document, support
church	6	3	1,02	church
issue	5	4	1,02	issue, publication, released, take
leaders	7	3	1,02	leaders, leadership
obligation	10	3	1,02	obligation, responsibilities, responsibility
praised	7	3	1,02	praised
teaching	8	3	1,02	teaching
life	4	4	0,85	life, live, spirit, spirited
open	4	3	0,85	open, possible, spread
action	6	2	0,68	action, action'
arrives	7	2	0,68	arrives, come
called	6	3	0,68	called, calling, visited
change	6	2	0,68	change
conference	10	2	0,68	conference
days	4	2	0,68	days, year
development	11	2	0,68	development
dropping	8	2	0,68	dropping, swing
environmental	13	2	0,68	environmental
game	4	3	0,68	game, spirit, spirited
goals	5	2	0,68	goals

I.4 Word frequency 'process'

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
world	5	14	3,82	earth, global, human, university, world
agreement	9	12	3,46	accord, agreement, agreements
climate	7	7	2,11	climate
points	6	8	1,88	degrees, direction, point, points, stop, targets
countries	9	8	1,81	countries, country, national, state, stated
paris	5	6	1,81	paris
needs	5	8	1,71	need, needed, needs, take, want', wanted
development	11	7	1,71	developed, developing, development, getting, produces, rise
change	6	5	1,51	change
result	6	7	1,42	effective, effects, issued, leads, outcome, result
governments	11	5	1,36	governments, organization, political
common	6	4	1,2	common
expressed	9	5	1,2	expressed, face, limits, state, stated
francis	7	4	1,2	francis
interests	9	4	1,2	interest, interests, worried
must	4	4	1,2	must
negotiations	12	4	1,2	dialogue, negotiations
part	4	4	1,2	part, percentage
pope	4	4	1,2	pope
good	4	5	1,05	effective, effects, good, just
meeting	7	4	1,05	meeting, meetings, seeing
sustainable	11	6	0,95	getting, maintain, support, supports, sustainable
among	5	3	0,9	among
damage	6	3	0,9	damage, damages, term
environment	11	3	0,9	environment
expectation	11	3	0,9	expectation, expectations, great
goals	5	3	0,9	goal, goals
home	4	4	0,9	home, national
important	9	3	0,9	important, significant
laudato	7	3	0,9	laudato

II. Transcribed interviews

II.1 Prince Jaime de Bourbon de Parme

Prince Jaime de Bourbon de Parme (1972), son of Princess Irene of the Netherlands, studied international relations at Brown University in the United States, subsequently obtaining a master's degree in International Economics and Conflict Management at John Hopkins University in the United States. During his studies, he performed internships at the World Wide Fund for Nature and the Red Cross. After working for the ABN-AMRO bank in Brazil, he started at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. For the Ministry, De Bourbon de Parme held several positions at embassies, the European Union in Brussels, and as Special Envoy for Natural Resources. As of October 2014, he is the ambassador of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the Holy See.

Because of a cold, the ambassador send his remarks on the hypotheses by email. This way, to save his voice, the interview could stay short by going over the remarks made. The remarks on the hypotheses are shown in table 22, followed by the transcription of the interview.

Contributing factor	Hypotheses	Comment J. de Bourbon de Parme
Who one is (normative dimension)	<p>I.1.1 Because of the moral authority as pope, Pope Francis can act as a gatekeeper between political and ethical groups concerned with climate change governance.</p> <p>I.1.2 Due to the ascribed role as inspirational leader and unrelenting motivator, Pope Francis can exert influence as opinion leader.</p> <p>I.1.3 Due to its unique role as permanent observer at the UN, the Holy See can act as a gatekeeper between different actors and thus exert influence as opinion leader.</p>	<p>I.1.1 Indeed, though the pope rather sees himself as a bridge builder, than a gate keeper.</p> <p>I.1.2 Pope Francis had established himself as a credible and authentic leader already prior to writing his encyclical and the choice of the name Francis was a prelude that not only poverty, but also the environment would be central to his papacy. The authenticity, 'new angle' of religion within the climate discussion, anticipation, publication of the encyclical and the unrelenting messaging indeed makes him an influential opinion leader.</p> <p>I.1.3 Again: bridge builders. Because of their observer status they can be in permanent contact with diplomats of nearly every nation represented in the UN. Their niche is: the church has no economic or geopolitical position, it is not a large polluter, it has the ear of affected peoples and it has an 'integral approach' linking climate to poverty and a host of other challenges. At the UN and member states, these topics are usually discussed separately, but are opening for a broader approach (see SDGs).</p>
Perceived self-efficacy	I.2.1 Because Pope Francis purposely used his popularity and authority, he could exert influence as an opinion leader.	I.2.1 If its purposely or not, the fact that he has authority and popularity helped him.
What one knows (resources)	I.3.1 Being able to use a combination philosophical and moral knowledge with knowledge regarding technological innovation and economics, aided the Holy See in the exerting influence as an opinion leader.	I.3.1 The pope gathered advice from experts in all these fields. The encyclical is well written and comprehensive. Thought, in the words of the Holy Father, it is by no means complete and finished. On economics there are some gaps. The conference on 'climate and the economy' we organized three weeks prior to the launch of the encyclical was an attempt to inform the Vatican more about the positive role of business in tackling climate change.
Regulative dimension	I.4.1 Due to the (hierarchical) structure of the Holy See, it can	I.4.1 It's both the hierarchical and decentralized structure that exerts influence. Though bishop

	exert more influence on decision-making processes as an opinion leader.	conferences often felt uneasy in talking about climate change, a topic they were not knowledgeable about. CIDSE therefore prepared information and speaking notes for them in all major languages.
Whom one knows (access)	II.1.3 Because of its own close-knit network (in the international relations realm), the Holy See has access to many different actors and is therefore able to exert influence as an opinion leader.	II.1.3 There are formal (Holy See / diplomatic service) and informal actors (NGOs and interest groups) of the church. If they sing of the same song sheet, then indeed influence grows. If they do not, it hurts the main message.
Activities	II.2.1 Through the high number of activities concerning climate change action after the publication of the encyclical <i>Laudato Si'</i> , the Holy See could exert influence as an opinion leader.	II.2.1 Rather: After the publication, there were many opportunities for influencing leaders.
Intention (willingness to communicate)	II.3.1 Due to the clear intentions of the Holy See in aiming at a fundamental shift away from consumerism and changing how governments approach climate change, it could exert more influence as an opinion leader. II.3.2 Targeting not only governments but also 'the 99 percent' to change their behaviour regarding climate change governance, gave the Holy See more opportunity to act as an opinion leader.	II.3.1 Clear messaging and positioning helps the dialogue. II.3.2 This is one of the strengths of the church. World leaders (or how some call them jokingly Elected Followers) are sensitive to public opinion.
Response capacity	<i>II.4.2 The more social capital an NGO has, the greater the response capacity it has as an opinion leader.</i>	II.4.2 The pope does not head an NGO, though many NGOs are influenced by him, the bishops, and the social teaching of the church (Caritas Internationalis).
Resources	II.5.1 Because of the use of different sorts of resources (papal writings, social teachings, buildings like the St. Peter), the Holy See can exert more influence as an opinion leader.	II.5.1 Yes: the reach to 1.2 bln Catholics, papal writings, social teachings, messages during weekly public audiences, convening power at the Vatican in private audiences or multi stakeholder conferences, papal visits to affected peoples, church network (information and action), personal calls of the pope to government leaders, etc. all contribute. Note that he wrote the encyclical inspired by the work of the 'Green' Patriarch (Bartholomew). Many other religious leaders supported or have written their own response to protecting creation. A declaration of Islamic scholars in Istanbul are an example.
Process	III.2.1 The numerous mentions and references to the encyclical and other speeches of delegates of the Holy See, show an influence as an opinion leader in the climate change governance arena.	III.2.1 Indeed. During the UN General Assembly in 2015 many leaders quoted Pope Francis. This is public information.
Time-lag	III.3.1 Due to the strategic timing of the publication of <i>Laudato Si'</i> and the carefully planned activities following it, the Holy See	III.3.1 Some feared it would be too late, but the timing was perfect. The activities following were not carefully planned, but seemed more improvised.

	could exert more influence as an opinion leader.	
Extra remarks: We should not exaggerate the role of the pope and church, for there were many actors involved, but it did positively contribute to the outcome. Much of the actions of the church are not seen, because they were done behind the scenes, which is likely to be the most effective diplomatic approach.		

Transcription interview

Interview with the Dutch ambassador of the Holy See, Jaime de Bourbon Parme.

November 2, 2016

Ambassador = A

Sanne = S

Introduction

A: Dag Sanne.

S: Goedemiddag.

A: Hai hai, alles goed met je?

S: Ja, zeker. Ik hoop met u ook, ondanks de verhoudheid?

A: Ja.. dat is gewoon een deel van de tijd van het jaar denk ik. Mijn stem is wel een beetje zwak, dus ik dacht ik antwoord snel per mail alvast, dan heb je in elk geval al iets, maar het gaat wel redelijk.

S: O nou dat is mooi. Het was in elk geval al heel fijn om al wat te lezen. Ook voor mezelf, dat ik denk van, nou dat wat ik de afgelopen tijd heb gedaan slaat in elk geval ergens op, als ik zo uw antwoorden een beetje lees. Altijd prettig.

A: Maar wat ik me afvroeg, is dit een kader wat al bestaat? Of hoe kom je aan het kader? Van de organizational structure en dat soort dingen?

S: Het is dus voor mijn masterthesis en de master die ik doe is dan environmental governance binnen sustainable development. En ik vanuit daar, ja ik heb altijd zelf interesse gehad in de kerk en in de heilige stoel en wat die allemaal doet. En toen dacht ik, waarom daar niet eens kijken voor iets studiegerelateerds, zeker ook omdat het nog niet eerder was gedaan vonden ze dat op de opleiding ook erg leuk.

A: Maar dus het kader, de hypothesis uit de media analysis. Die structuur, komt dat uit de literatuur of?

S: Nee dat het ik grotendeels zelf gemaakt. Daarvoor heb ik een uitgebreid literatuuronderzoek gedaan, naar zowel opinileiderschap als NGO influence, en daarvan uit is dit kader ontstaan.

A: Heel mooi, het ziet er goed uit. Het enige probleem is dat het Vaticaan geen NGO is en dit toch wel expliciet NGOs vermeld.

S: Ja dat was een ook een punt waar ik met mijn begeleider al over heb gesproken. Maar hij zei van, ja ik vind je case wel heel interessant. Dus het gaat nu meer richting opinieleiderschap dan perse specifiek NGO.

A: Nou, ik ben klaar voor je vragen.

S: Ja, ik had dus uw antwoorden al doorgekeken. En ja, sowieso dus wel heel erg bedankt dat u daar al op heeft gereageerd. Ik vroeg me nog af, ik weet niet of u het stuk voor u heeft?

A: Ja

Regulative dimension

S: Bij de factor 'regulative dimension', schreef u dat zowel de hiërarchische als de decentrale structuren ook invloed uitoefenen. Zou u hier wat meer op kunnen ingaan? Wat u hiermee bedoelt?

A: Ja, dus er is een structuur, een piramide zegmaar, waar de paus bovenaan staat en de kerk een beetje als een leger georganiseerd is, naar beneden toe. Maar dat, in de praktijk, vanwege subsidiariteit, het beginsel, dat mag zo laag mogelijk in de kerk, heeft paus af en toe wel wat directieve zegmaar, boodschappen bij de rest van de wereldkerk. Maar heeft elke bisschop en elke parochie kan zelf bepalen wat ze daarvan overnemen. De missie over het algemeen is duidelijk, de maatschappelijke invulling van de missie kunnen ze allemaal zelf bepalen. Want in Ghana is een heel andere relatie gaande dan in Bolivia of in Noord-Engeland. Dus daarom is die regel van subsidiariteit heel belangrijk. De paus heeft als boodschaprdrager, als vaandeldrager van het katholicisme in gevuld. Maar de toepassing daarvan is niet automatisch, niet in elke kerk wordt dat als een order opgenomen. Dat is zegmaar de negatieve kant, dat niet iedereen hem perse hoeft te volgen op Laudato Si'. Positieve kant is dat, omdat als er lokale kerken wel geïnteresseerd is om mee te doen, dan heb je echt een grassroot, bottom-up zegmaar steun voor Laudato So. En dan heb je echt het volk onder je. Want de kerk is echt onderdeel van het maatschappelijk middenveld. En dan heb je echt niet alleen maar woorden, maar dan krijg je ook daden in het veld zegmaar, en dat is heel sterk. En dan bedoel ik met hiërarchie, het was heerst als top-down, maar het is meer bottom-up, de kracht van de kerk. En dan heb je formal en informal, dus formele structuren dan heb je de

paus, de bisschoppen en dan de lokale priesters. En de informele structuren zijn bijvoorbeeld NGO's zoals Sant'Egidio, of Cordaid Nederland, of andere NGOs. Die wel volgens de principes van de sociale leer van de kerk opereren, maar niet onderdeel zijn van de kerk. Het is dus niet die binnen de kerk ordeschap geven, maar voelen zich cultureel en mentaal qua uitgang wel katholiek, maar ze zijn niet onderdeel van de structuur. En dat is de informele structuur. En die hebben ook behoorlijk veel invloed. En die hebben veel minder directe invloed op macht dan de kerk zelf, maar ze zijn daartegen wel veel flexibeler dan de kerk, in stand om te opereren. En dat is het informele network, dat is dan een heel universum wat vrijkomt. Dat is niet alleen de kerk en de kerkstructuren, maar ook kerkgefaciliteerde organisaties die zich daar ook in de basis mee bezig houden. En met de Parijs klimaatonderhandelingen liepen niet alleen maar de nuncio rond, en wat vertegenwoordigers van de curie, maar er liepen ook gewoon NGOs rond. Die zich katholieke NGOs noemen, die daar met geitenwollensokken en sandalen rondlopen en hun eigen ding doen.

S: En als u kijkt naar de Parijs conferentie, welk van de twee structuren, de formele of informele, heeft daar meer invloed op gehad?

A: Ik denk dat de formele meer invloed heeft, dus machter is, vanwege de subsidiariteits regel. Omdat het een heel zichtbaar persoon, de paus, voor zich heeft. Bijvoorbeeld, echt concrete informatie heb ik niet, omdat het allemaal achter de schermen heeft gespeeld. Maar aanwijzingen wel, bijvoorbeeld, *Evon Moralis*, de president van Bolivia. Bolivia is een beetje tegen het internationale systeem, verzet zich tegen iedereen. Maar de paus heeft de indigenes, de lokale bevolking van Latijns Amerika, deze week zijn op audientie geweest bij de paus. Wereldwijd zeg maar de lokale gemeenschappen, de oude volkeren. Dat is de achterban van *E..Moralis* ook. Dus de paus heeft aandacht gegeven aan mensen die *E.. Moralis* als achterban ziet. En de paus zegt, ik ben kritisch over het economisch stelsel in de wereld, over het kapitalistisch systeem. Er zijn allemaal uitbuitingen waar wat aan gedaan moet worden. En dat zegt *E. Moralis* ook steeds. En als de paus hem dan opbelt en zegt, nou ik ben tegen zo'n systeem en op zulke dingen, dat is dan één. Maar doe nou mee met de klimaatonderhandelingen, en wees dan niet nog een keer iemand die er tegen ingaat. Ja dan kan zo'n *E.Moralis* er bijna niet omheen. ZO van, als jij het vraagt, dan doe ik het wel.

S: Ja,

A: Dus het persoonlijk zeg maar, heeft heel veel, kan de paus heel makkelijk alle residenten zeg maar meekrijgen in de onderhandelingen. Omdat de paus zegt, ja we zijn allemaal één mensheid. En we moeten als mensheid gezamenlijk het probleem oppakken. Dus doe nu een keertje mee. EN dan een stuk makkelijker. Hetzelfde voor kardinaal Turkson, die heeft ook een deel van de encycliek mee mogen schrijven. Hij is Ganees en kardinaal en die kan dus ook veel makkelijker tegen Afrikaanse leiders zeggen 'ik weet dat jullie meer gedupeerd zijn, dat het westen meer eruithaalt nu er minder is voor iedereen. Maar doe nou mee, het is ook voor jullie toekomst het beste als er een akkoord komt'. Dus het zijn zeg maar allemaal diplomaten, maar vanwege hun neutrale standpunt, want het Vaticaan is zelf niet politiek of een economisch monster, het heeft helemaal geen middelen, maar kan daarmee wel een moreel standpunt innemen. En dan bij iedereen anders heeft men argwaan van als je zegt ik doe het voor de mensheid, 'ja ja, je doet het voor jezelf'. En dat kun je van de kerk niet vinden. Dus dat heeft absoluut geholpen.

S: Oké. Ja, dat denk ik opzich ook wel. Maar het is altijd fijn om nog van anderen te horen. En zeker over het stukje formele en informele structuur. Dat komt toch in die hele media analyse die ik heb gedaan, en dat ligt dan natuurlijk ook er maar net aan welke artikelen je geselecteerd hebt, dat komt dan toch niet zo naar voren. En dat vind ik opzich wel heel interessant.

A: Nou kijk, het ligt er ook aan hoe mensen zich identificeren hè. Als je bijvoorbeeld kijkt naar de klimaatop en onderzoekt wat NGOs allemaal gedaan hebben voor het klimaat.

S: Ja dat heb ik idnerdad niet gedaan.

A: Dan kun je zeggen van, niet iedereen identificeert zich tijdens de top als katholiek en niet iedereen identificeert zich als NGO. En dan kun je zeggen, een percentage van de NGOs is, en dan denk ik dat er een lijst van NGOs die er ook fysiek aanwezig waren. En misschien herken je er een paar, zoals Coraid, en dan zeg je hé, als Cordaid er bij was – en ik weet niet of ze er bij waren hoor – dan zijn er meer geweest. En dat betekent dus wel al dat er aanwijzing is dat een percentage, en dat kun je dat in het midden laten hoeveel precies, maar een percentage van het maatschappelijk middenveld zijn of direct katholiek of indirect katholiek geassocieerd. Sommige zeggen, ik ben een katholieke -zoals catholic release services is duidelijk katholiek. Anderen, zoals cordaid, dat ligt er wat losser tegenaan. Het is wel onze katholieke hulporganisatie, maar het zit er minder katholiek strak in als in het verleden. Maar directe of indirecte zeg maar hulporganisaties geassocieerd aan de sociale leer van de kerk. En de gedachtegoed van het christendom. En je zou kunnen zeggen, in bredere zin ook seculiere NGOS, maar dan ga je al wel een stapje verder hoor. Maar daar kun je ook van zeggen, kijk het hele idee van barmhartigheid, nee niet barmhartigheid maar solidariteit etc. Dat zijn christelijke waarden, en of je nou seculair bent, dat is een onderdeel van onze cultuur, wat we mee hebben gekregen of in ieder geval verwoven is, ook in de encycliek, door de eeuwen heen. Dus daarom wordt, hoor je dat steeds vaker hoor, dat iets van het deel van de netwerk,

de cultuur die we in het westen ontwikkeld hebben. Dat die niet uniek westers is, maar wel door het christendom heel sterk vertegenwoordigd is. En die zich dan ook misschien het best verwant voelen met de boodschap van de paus, dus daar toch wel ook wat herkenning van inzien ook, ook al zijn ze seculair.

Intention

S: Ja, zeker. Over de factor 'intention'. De 'clear messaging and positioning helps with the dialogue'. Heeft u daar nog voorbeelden van? U sprak net al over de paus toch zegt van 'ja, hoe het economisch stelsel is ingericht, dat zint me niet zo'. Heeft u daar meer specifieke voorbeelden van, wat betreft het klimaat veranderings debat?

A: Ja kijk, ik zou gewoon heel diep wikipedia en laudato si door gaan, de engelse samenvatting is wel goed moet ik zeggen. Maar daar in zit het vol met voorbeelden. En er zijn zoveel aspecten van klimaat verandering waar je naar kunt kijken. Je kunt kijken naar de 'debt discomp', van hoeveel is het dat arme landen die het niet kunnen betalen, hoeveel kosten, die landen die nu bijvoorbeeld onder water komen staan, maar het minst hebben bijgedragen aan klimaat verandering. Het hele debt displace vraagstuk. Ook van die het eerste het gevoeld hebben zijn de allerarmste volken, alle mensen die in zwakke gebieden wonen. Dus de mensen die in vavella's wonen, in cambodja, in afrika in droge gebieden. Dus die de eerste slachtoffers zijn. Dus daar komt het ook voor. Het is ook de positionering, iedereen heeft het erover 'wie moet wat doen'. En de paus doet even een stapje terug en zegt 'waaorm moeten we het ook alweer doen'. Als mensheid. In plaats van iedereen die z'n positie verdedigt en elkaar aanvallen enzo, de paus neemt een veel bredere zin en laat dat, laten we elkaar even loslaten. Maar waarom wilden we dit ook alweer doen. Die komt met een veel meer motiverende speech en beschouwende overzicht. En iedereen heeft dat natuurlijk al honderd keer gedaan, maar het is geloofwaardiger wanneer het van de Paus komt dan van de Verenigde Staten van Amerika.

S: En waarom is dat denkt u?

A: Omdat Amerika een grootse vervuiler is en natuurlijk opkomt voor z'n belangen. En de paus die komt op voor iedereen's belang in dit thema. De paus praat niet alleen voor de 1.2 miljard katholieken maar ook voor zou je kunnen zeggen namens de mensheid als je kijkt naar hoe hij dat zegt, ik ben er niet alleen voor de katholieken, een soort ombudsman voor de katholieken, nee hij zegt ik ben er voor de mensheid. En echt op de mensheid gericht. Zonder specifieke landen uit te wijzen of wat dan ook. En sommige zeggen, Merkel is er één van, hij is dé morele leider op dit moment. Dat heeft te maken met hoe hij handelt, hoe hij door derden gezien wordt, dus en en andere leiders hebben het morele standpunt niet omdat zij te maken hebben met conflicterende boodschappen en de realiteit zegmaar. Je bent voor vrede maar je stuur bommenwerpers naar Syrië. Dat is lastig. En het Vaticaan heeft geen bommenwerpers, dus die kan gewoon over vrede blijven praten.

S: Ja, dat scheelt.

A: Dus ja, dat is makkelijker. Dus je kunt zeggen omdat het zo klein is, omdat het zo weinig belangen heeft etcetera kan blijven spreken. En daarnaast is het van deze paus, hij communiceert ongelooflijk helder. Hij 'practices what he preaches' dus alles wat hij zegt, legt hij meteen voorbeelden bij met wat hij doet. Dus hij zegt dat hij voor de allerarmste opkomt en hij vliegt naar de meest onzichtbare oorden zoals in centraal afrika republiek om daar vrede te stichten. En hij gaat niet naar de world bank voor overleg, maar weet je, nee daar gaat hij pas later naar toe. Hij gaat naar de plekken waar mensen niet gezien worden. Dus hij spreekt niet alleen maar, hij doet het ook nog eens een keertje. Dus dat verrast iedereen weer en daardoor heeft hij dus een imago opgebouwd van authentiek leiderschap en na Nelson Mandela is dan, wie is dan, ja de Daillama een beetje maar die is ook aan geloofwaardigheid ingeboekt, wie is de morele leider? Wereldwijd? Op dit moment moet ik toch constateren dat de paus, als er meerdere zijn, iedergeval één van is, maar ik op dit moment niemand anders noemen. Bedenken, die op dat niveau zo'n inpakt heeft.

S: Ja.. ik zo één-twee-drie ook niet.

A: Hij heeft 1.2 miljard katholieken, hij heeft 32 miljoen volgens op twitter. Nederland heeft 17 miljoen mensen, dus als Rutte elke Nederlander zou hebben als volger op twitter, dan nog zou hij niet kunnen bereiken wat de paus bereikt heeft.

S: Zeker, zeker

A: Dus daarbij heeft hij natuurlijk korte metten gemaakt met de schandalen in de kerk, hij is de financiën aan het opschonen, hij is dus dus en dan spreekt hij, als hij dat allemaal aan het doen is, spreekt hij over echte maatschappelijke thema's. Niet alleen over migratie, maar bijvoorbeeld ook over parochies om vluchtelingen op te vangen en dan doet hij dat zelf ook, nu er 13 man in het Vaticaan leven. Dus zo, dat maakt hem gelooflijk geloofwaardig.

S: Dus doordat hij echt doet wat hij verteld

A: Hij practices what he preacht, en dat maakt hem een heel sterk politiek leider. Daarbij zit hij minder vast aan, hij heeft natuurlijk ook dilemma's, maar minder vaste dilemma's als de aardse machten. Die dan zitten met ja moet ik dan wel of niet vliegtuigen sturen, of moet ik dan dit of dat.

Die keuze hoeft hij niet te maken, dus kan hij zuiver blijven op z'n toezeggingen.

Time-lag

S: De time-lag, wat ik vond is dat Laudato Si, de publicatie daarvan, was toch of scheen toch wel op een strategisch tijdstip te zijn geweest. Omdat de paus daarna nog naar Amerika is gegaan en voor de UN daar nog heeft gesproken. Maar eigenlijk schrijft u het een beetje andersom, dat het meer die activiteiten die daarna kwamen niet perse ook zorgvuldig gepland waren maar meer geïmproviseerd.

A: Ja. Dus wat je denkt, het is zo'n bolwerk, maar er werken ook maar mensen. En en, hun doen ook niet altijd strategisch. Dus de paus heeft een enorm gevoel voor timing. En hij heeft de vorige klimaatconferentie in Peru in Lima gezien, dat vertelde hij mij een keer, en dat hij dacht van en in geloofsbriefjes toen schreef hij van 'hoe kan het zijn dat de mensheid gezamenlijk een probleem herkent hè, kijk maar naar het klimaat, maar als mensheid niet tot een conclusie kan komen, tot een oplossing. Dat we allemaal zitten te kussenbessen en te vechten en niet met een oplossing komen. Toen zij hij nu ga ik mijn gewicht erachter zetten, ik ga mijn volle gewicht erachter zetten, om tot verandering te komen. Dus dat heeft hij heel bewust gedaan. En dan wordt zo'n ding geschreven, zo'n encycliek, en de paus heeft er zelf ook veel aan geschreven, maar ook heel veel mensen hebben daar ook voorwerk voor gedaan, onderzoek en dat soort dingen. En dan duurde het maar en dan moet het nog vertaald worden, en dat is één aspect. Ja dat het stuk moet ook wel afgestemd worden en voordat dat klaar is en in alle hoofdtalen vertaald is en dat iedereen het over de vertalingen eens is, dat kost gewoon tijd. Dus het was eigenlijk nét op tijd klaar. Maar kijk, een halfjaar voor de klimaatonderhandelingen, dan zijn ambtenaren al lang bezig om de dossiers voor hun ministers te schrijven en de standpunten in te nemen voor de klimaatconferentie. Dus hadden ze het iets later gedaan, dan waren ze al te laat geweest. Want de ministers krijgen dan die briefings mee en die bepalen toch behoorlijk veel hun standpunten en dan is het standpunt van de paus niet meegeteld. Het vele was, een paar maanden na Laudato Si had je de SDGs top, de Sustainable Development Goals, waarin het klimaat ook een rol speelt en daar zou de paus dus gaan spreken. Dus wat je allemaal, van nou, en de zomer zat er tussen en de zomer gebeurt gewoon niets voor een maand, de maand augustus. Dus het was wel een beetje kantje boord, maar gewoon mooi op tijd. Dat heeft absoluut een momentum meegepakt. Daarnaast was de reis van de paus naar Amerika heel belangrijk omdat Amerika zeg maar de grootste vervuiler is, samen met China. En daarom had ik ook een conferentie georganiseerd over het klimaat en business, want daar vond ik de paus toch wat veroordeeld tegen business. En ik dacht ja, als wij neerzetten dat een linkse paus dan verliest dat aan kracht zeker in Amerika. Daarom heb ik een conferentie georganiseerd met het bedrijfsleven en incredible world en Washington om alvast een Amerikaanse stem erin te brengen. En dat heeft hij enorm fantastisch gedaan. En dat heeft het Vaticaan ook enorm gewaardeerd dat ik ook ongeveer drie weken voor Laudato Si, ik zei het maakt me niet uit wat er nou in Laudato Si staat, maar ik kan me voorstellen dat dit een punt is voor aandacht. En bij de lancering van Laudato Si hebben ze dus hoofdlijnen van de conferentie herhaald, van dat Notre Dame University, om die boodschap te herhalen. Dan zie je dat zeker niet alleswetend zijn. Ik heb zo'n lijstje met dingen die niet in Laudato Si zijn beland die er wel in zouden moeten staan, en waar de kerk zelf ook van heeft gezegd van 'ja het kan nog beter. Het is een work in progress, het is niet een eindstuk en dergelijk al en daarmee perfect.'. Het is een dialoog, een punt van dialoog. En nja, daarna, wat gebeurt er, CIDSE organiseert een conferentie meteen na Laudato Si, en daar heb ik ook aan mee helpen organiseren, waarin ze dus spreekpunten maken voor alle bisschoppenconferenties, want geen bisschop weet iets over klimaat.

S: Nee., vrij weinig waarschijnlijk.

A: Dus die voelen zich ontzettend schuw en die gaan daar dan niet over praten, bang dat de pers er dan meer van afweet dan zij. En die sluiten de deuren en laten zich drie weken niet zien op dat thema, tot het allemaal over waait en als mensen ze populair vinden roepen ze maar wat dingen na, maar ze nemen geen leiderschapsrol. Omdat ze het niet kennen. En dus moest CIDSE en niet het Vaticaan, CIDSE is een aparte lobbyorganisatie – geaffilieerd met de kerk maar die uit eigen initiatief organiseert dus om allemaal spreekpakketten voor allemaal bisschoppen wereldwijd te gaan maken. En denk ik ja mooi, lekker, maar waarom moet de buitenwereld dat doen? He? Dus ik moet een conferentie over klimaat en economie doen, dat vind ze goed en dat vind ze mooi, en CIDSE organiseert dan van die pakketten, ja hoeft niet maar mooi. Dus dan zo'n beetje ad hoc allemaal. Nou de paus bezoeken naar Amerika was natuurlijk súper goed voorbereid, dus daar had het klimaatverhaal ook een belangrijke rol in, Laudato Si. Maar dat, daar heeft het een ander geholpen zeg maar. Maar daarna.. nee.. daar heb ik misschien iets te makkelijk over geweest, want de paus bezoeken natuurlijk aan de VN zelf was natuurlijk ook goed getimed, en dus dus. Die drie zaken waren absoluut met elkaar verbonden. Maar alle andere kleine handige dingen om de rest van de kerk mee te krijgen, dat was een beetje ad hoc. En misschien stel ik die vraag dan naar mijn weten, dat ze moesten deliver, nou hier is het doe er maar mee wat je wilt, maar er kwam niet een actieve push van het Vaticaan. De verwachtingen waren er wel, maar er werd niets concreets mee georganiseerd en daarom dat CIDSE dus insprong. Dus een beetje van wat ik zeg, dat misschien moet ik het nuanceren. Het was deels strategisch die drie grote stappen, die drie grote evenementen waren georganiseerd,

maar alles eromheen was adhoc en geïmproviseerd. Wat opzich niet altijd slecht is, want je weet niet van tevoren hoe alles gaat lopen.

S: Inderdaad, daarom ja.

A: Dus ja.. gestructureerd en georganiseerd een deel en een deel van laissez-fair en we zien wel allemaal hoe het komt en rond de conferentie , ja, toen hebben zijn natuurlijk tijdens de klimaatonderhandelen een aantal mensen gebeld en beïnvloed en tijdens de conferentie ook zelf aangesproken , wat zoveel mogelijk achter de schermen is gedaan om partijen bij elkaar tot dialoog te krijgen. En dan speelde hun een rol zoals vele anderen een rol gespeeld hebben tijdens de conferentie.

S: Oke.. Ik had, dat waren eigenlijk de vragen die ik verder had over wat u nog verder had geschreven. Ik had nog één vraag wel. Van, alle factoren die die ik heb gevonden die bijdragen aan opinie leiderschap. Welk denkt u dat voor de heilige zetel het meest waardevol is, of welke factor draagt het meest bij aan de opinieleiderschap van de heilige stoel?

A: Ik denk de combinatie hoe mensen deze paus zien, dus als een moreel leider. Met z'n schrift encycliek laudato si, dat hij niet alleen maar dingen roept maar hij ook echt enorm veel geïnvesteerd heeft in een stuk van kennis. En dat die combinatie hem heel sterk hebben gemaakt. Het was niet zomaar een talking head, een zoveelste persoon die zomaar iets roept, hij heeft echt substantieel bijgedragen aan het document die niet direct in de klimaatonderhandelingen waren, maar zijn eigen standpunten daar heeft uitgewerkt. En dat zie je, ik schreef ook in de aantekeningen naar jou dat andere religieuze leiders hem volgeden, dat voorbeeld ook. De imam, je ziet dat overal mensen ook bezig waren met dat eigen kerkelijke standpunt. Anders waren dat allemaal kussentjes geweest en was het doel ook pas later geweest, om maar, dat er maar een nu een groot stuk, nu konden zij hun brieven, steun, alternatieven en ga zo maar door., daarover schrijven. En niemand ging daar tegen in, het lijkt wel of dat allemaal in de lijn met laudato si aanvullend geschreven werd zegmaar.

S: dat is wel mooi.

A: Ja, dat is ook een kracht. Dus Laudato Si, op zichzelf, dat document zelf is ontzettend krachtig geschreven maar wel met een heel duidelijk figure head en een persoon als deze paus.

S: Het is echt de combinatie.

Ending

S: dat waren mij vragen. Ik weet niet of u nog vragen heeft voor mij?

A: nee, ik ben heel benieuwd. Wanneer is de deadline?

S: 9 december

A: o spannend, dat word echt blokken.

S: Ja vanwege de kerstvakantie is alles wat vroeger qua inleveren. Maar dat gaat wel goedkomen, het is even hard werken, maar het gaat wel kukken.

A: als er nog thema's waarvan je hebt van ja dat is niet helemaal duidelijk, bel gerust even terug. Dan kunnen we daar altijd nog over praten deze week, ja?

S: Ja, dat zal ik doen.

A: maar ik vond het wel heel leuk dat je het thema opneemt als thema, dus ik weet dat het heel interessant is. En leuk ook dat de professoren er ook op verstaan.

S: Shceelt misschien wel iets vanwege de afdeling, dat het zo over duurzaamheid gaat en governance.

A: ja maar ookd aar zitten seculaire cultuur zegmaar. En dan is het mooi dat daar openheid voor is. Dat heeft denk ik ook wel te makeen met het imago van de paus, dat zie je ook in de international relations. Maar toch blijft er een vooroordeel en weinig kennis over de rol van dit network, van het vaticaan.

S: ja..

A: heel leuk wel. Heel veel succes.

S: ja nogmaals heel erg bedankt. En een fijne dag nog.

A: Ja, jij ook.

II.2 Soscha de la Fuente

Soscha de La Fuente (1991) studied History and did her MA Philosophy of Science at Utrecht University. In 2014, she became the Youth Representative for Sustainable Development from the Netherlands to the United Nations. In this function, she participated at COP21 and several (side) events leading up to the conference.

Transcription interview

Interview Soscha de la Fuente
November 10, 2016.

Soscha de la Fuente = SF
Sanne = S

Introduction

SF: Misschien kun je het gewoon nog een keer vertellen?

S: Ja ik snap inderdaad, ja, ik ben er zelf natuurlijk al een tijd mee bezig. Ik doe mijn afstudeer thesis over de invloed die NGO hebben op internationale verandingsdebat. Je hebt natuurlijk gewoon NGOs die invloed hebben door te lobbyen enzo, maar je hebt opinieleider. En normaal zijn dat personen, maar je ziet nu, en al helemaal binnen dat klimaatverandingsdebat, dat NGOs heel veel invloed hebben. Dus ik had de vraag van ja, kan zo'n NGO dan niet een opinieleider zijn in plaats van een individu? En daar en ik nara gaan kijken, bleek er heel weinig nog naar gekeken te zijn. Dus ik heb daar zelf een analytisch raamwerk voor opgesteld, en daar zijn deze factoren uitgekomen. Drie aspecten die de hoofdbedragers zijn: organisatiestructuur, NGO participation en goal attainment- dat is meer ook om te kijken wat voor een invloed ze hebben. En binnen die aspecten heb ik verschillende factoren gevonden die bijdragen aan dat specifieke aspect. Dat raamwerk wilde ik testen met een casestudie. En ik ben zelf gewoon heel geïnteresseerd in, wat voor een invloed heeft de katholieke kerk nou op dat, nou überhaupt in de internationale politieke wereld. En toen bracht de paus die encycliek over het milieu uit, zo van 'nou kijk daar heb ik mijn casestudy!'. Nou is de Heilige Stoel binnen de internationale relaties niet perse een NGO, maar wel gewoon heel interessant, dus ik ben een klein beetje weggestapt van die NGOs en meer richting de opinieleiderschap gegaan. En daar zijn na een media analyse al deze hypothese uitgekomen. Het was vervolgens mijn idee om met mensen die ook een beetje kennis hebben van die hele VN wereld, en wat daar allemaal een beetje heeft gespeeld enzo, kijken of mijn hypothesen ergens op slaan. En toen zei Carel Dieperink, hij is mijn begeleider...

SF: O tof!

S:..dan moet je even Soscha benaderen. Nou dan doe ik dat! Dus zodoende ben ik hier.

SF: Ja, oke. Wat kan ik voor je doen?

S: Ja, kijken of mijn hypothesen kloppen of niet! Ja.. je zei dat je het wat lastig vond om er doorheen te komen omdat je niet helemaal wist waar het over ging. Nja, voor die dikgedrukte..

SF: Ja, nja, ik weet voor niet zo goed hoeveel ik erover kan zeggen. Want, goed. Ik ken de VN, ik ken de klimaatveranderingen, maar ik moet eerlijk zeggen, ik heb de Paus daar nog nooit gezien. Volgens mij was hij wel bij het ondertekeningsmoment van de Paris Agreement..maar dat weet ik niet zeker. Volgens mij was hij er ook bij de SDGs.

S: Parijs zat hij in Kenya, bij de SDGs was hij er volgens mij wel ja.

SF: Maar goed, ik ken de beste man niet weet je, dus dat maakt het wel lastig. Ik vorig jaar wel meegedaan aan een.. ja.. inspiratietafel hebben we dat gedoopt toen. Voor de COP, toen hebben we met best wat mensen uit de katholieke gemeenschap gezeten, iemand uit de joodse gemeenschap en volgens mij was er een moslim..de 'excuus moslim', en wat politieke figuren. En toen hebben we samen gekeken naar de rol van religie binnen het klimaat... conflict. Dus misschien zijn dat dus eerder.. misschien zijn dat mensen handiger om je aan hun te linken voor zegmaar het stukje paus.

Ja want.. ik weet het gewoon niet weet je, dus ik kan je er wel allerlei dingen over gaan vertellen, of zoals ik erover nadenk, maar..

Questions

S: Maar dat is ook interessant om te weten! Ik bedoel, want je hebt wel de twee klimaatoppen, wat jij denkt.. wat jij denkt wat de invloed van religie of religieuze leider is geweest. Ik bedoel, wat ik heb gevonden is dat, de paus die zijn encycliek uitbracht en zijn statement over wat hij vindt dat er aan gedaan moet worden..vervolgens zag je dat andere religieuze leiders dat ook gingen doen.

SF: Ja dat klopt.. daar was ik hem eigenlijk ook wel heel erg dankbaar voor moet ik eerlijk zeggen.

S: Hoe zag je daar, zegmaar.. je hebt er dus wel wat van meegekregen, specifiek van wat de paus..

SF: ja, die encycliek heeft wel echt veel teweeg gebracht. Ik denk dat de klimaatverandering ineens op de agenda stond bij héél veel mensen, bij wie het eerder gewoon niet relevant leek. Want het katholieke geloof is niet, ligt eraan de interpretatie die je eraan geeft..en de interpretatie die we er de afgelopen honderden jaren aan hebben gegeven, is dat we eigenlijk met onze planeer mogen doen wat we willen want wij zijn de heersers van onze planeet. Nou eigenlijk God, maar eigenlijk wij. En..hoe noemen ze dat..rentmeesterschap, dat heeft hij echt teruggebracht. En je ziet nu..tenminste ik merk nu dat katholieke jongeren die ik heb gesproken, daar wel anders nu naar zijn gaan kijken. Naar de aarde en rol die mensen daarop hebben. Je moet daarvoor zorgen en klimaatverandering is dus slecht en dat willen we niet. Dus het heeft een hele nieuwe groep mensen bereikt die eerst niet meededen en is wel het mooiste eraan.

S: en valt binnen die groep mensen die nu bereikt is, ook een stukje politiek? Dat ze er misschien op een andere manier mee bezig zijn gegaan dan voorheen?

SF: Dat vind ik lastiger. Ik heb het in ieder geval in nationale politiek nog helemaal niet gemerkt. Het CDA en de SGP zijn helemaal niet duurzamer gegaan sinds de encycliek..jammer. Uhm. Maar ook andere landen..die lijken zich niet heel erg te laten leiden. Amerika is natuurlijk een heel religieus land, maar daar is de encycliek onder de delegatie..welke encycliek, welke encycliek, doe encycliek. Doen we niet mee.

S: Dat is wel interessant. Zeker omdat de Paus daar wel op bezoek is geweest.

SF: Ja, maargoed. Hij komt natuurlijk voornamelijk met een moreel argument. En mijn ervaring met VN onderhandelingen is dat morele argument nooit winnende argumenten zijn.

S: Waarom?

SF: Er is een voorkeur voor economische argumten, technische argumenten. Dingen waar je een nummertje aan kunt plakken. Niet vanuit het gevoelsleven. Het wordt bepaald niet serieus genomen. Ik weet niet waarom..het zou heel handig zijn als ze het wel zouden doen. Maar het schijnt..er is weinig plek voor.

S: Oke.. dat is wel jammer.

SF: Ja, er wordt ook weinig stil gestaan eigenlijk bij. Het is allemaal een heel technisch verhaal. Zeker de klimaatonderhandelingen. Het gaat over de cijfertjes, de mechanismes, welke woorden er op papier moeten komen. Je kunt eigenlijk nooit gesprekken hebben met z'n allen over wat verbind ons nou als mensen, wat is nou de toekomst waar we gezamenlijk heen willen. Dat je zegt ik wil geen klimaatverandering, dat is toch geen toekomstbeeld. Weet je, maar waar willen we dna wel heen. Wat bindt ons, wat zijn onze verschillen..dat wordt allemaal een beetje zo onder het tapijt geschoven, van laten we dat maar niet heir doen. Dat is wel zonde. En daardoor, kijk de grote problemen in de k limaatveranderingen, een aantal jaren is dat.. de rijkere landen, de geïndustrialiseerde landen..het 'westen'..voelen zich niet, zoals ik het heb beleefd, voelen zij zich niet verantwoordelijk voor het tegengaan van klimaatveranderingen buiten hun eigen landsgrenzen eigenlijk. Dus niet , ze voelen niet de verbondenheid, de verbinding met ontwikkelingslanden bijvoorbeeld. Ontwikkelingslanden zeggen dan 'ja maar jongens, we hebben echt jullie hulp nodig, want we zijn niet zo rijk, we kunnen nog niet zoveel, weetje..deel je technologie nou eens met ons. Wij willen ook wel'. Maar dat werkt niet. Er zitten allemaal marktkrachten achter die ervoor zorgen dat, bijvoorbeeld Nederland dat dan zegt, ja maar onze watertechnologie..daar verdienen we geld aan, dat gaan we niet zomaar aan jullie geven, k om het maar halen, betaal er maar voor. En dan worden er wel partnerschappen gesloten, maar neits wat niet voordelig is voor ons. Dat hele mooie aan de encycliek was is dat het één wereld is, dat we daar gezamenlijk op leven, dat we daar gezamenlijk zorg voor dragen. Maar dat hele idee van samen, dat bestaat niet in onderhandelingen.

S: Terwijl als je, als je iemand die niet super veel verstand van heeft, naar de SDGs kijkt..dan zie je toch wel een stuk van, we moeten dit samen oplossen.

SF: Ja, klopt. De SDG heeft dat heel erg in z'n tekst, in hoe het is opgezet. Dat is wat ze wilden uitstralen ook. En het is ook nodig. Maar die tekst is meer zo ingericht zodat bijvoorbeeld het maatschappelijk middenveld zich betrokken voelt, of het bedrijfsleven, om die samenwerking aan te gaan. En dat het gaat ook over samenwerking tussen landen. Maar dat gaat in de praktijk heel erg moeilijk. Dus je ziet dat dat achterloopt. Terwijl bedrijven zich best wel hard tegen de SDGs aan gaan bemoeien, omdat zij zich wel zien van 'o maar wij hebben hier dus ook een rol, dan gaan we die ook nemen'. En landen die elkaar landen helpen is in die zin wat lastiger.

S: Zou je dan ook kunnen zeggen dat het effect van de encycliek dan ook meer op het maatschappelijk middenveld ligt?

SF: Ja..absoluut, dat denk ik wel. Ik denk eigenlijk, weet je, neit teveel concreet van terug kunt zien in de onderhandelingen. Wel in de zin dus dat burgers een andere mening erover krijgen en dat dat gevoeld wordt door de politiek. Dus de politiek zal dan ietsjes meer gaan schuiven naar een ambitieuzer beleid of een anders ingericht beleid , maar uiteindelijk zijn het gewoon onderhandelaars die naar die conferenties komen. Die krijgen gewoon een to-do list van ministers of de staatssecretaris, zo van 'ga deze dingen maar regelen, dit mag wel, dit mag niet..en dit is je spelingsruimte'. Ja, daar moeten ze het dan mee doen. Dus eigenlijk wordt er helemaal neit actief onderhandeld. Iedereen is hun to do list aan elkaar aan het oplezen. Zo van ja, ik heb deze opdracht en jij

die opdracht, o dat is wel ongeveer dezelfde opdracht..laten we dan een team vormen. Dan zoeken we er nog een paar bij en dan hebben we allebei onze opdracht gehaald. Ja..

S: Dus dat is alsnog redelijk achterkamertjespolitiek.

SF: Ja, sowieso.

S: Oke.. maar het stuk ethiek staat dus niet centraal, is meer een bijkomende factor misschien?

SF: Ik denk dat het voor de bevolking wel centraal staat, maar voor politicie niet nee. Die hebben eigenlijk de stap daar voorbij al gemaakt, van oké, het morele argument doet er niet zo toe..wat willen we nou in de praktijk, wat kunnen we in de praktijk, hoe maken we dit, vertalen we dit in nummertjes. En dan houdt het ongeveer op.

S: Dat is grappig, want met die media analyse zag ik eigenlijk wat anders.

SF: Vertel.

S: Wel inderdaad dat er geen concrete, bijvoorbeeld concrete uitspraken van de paus of de encycliek in het Parijs agreement staat, maar wel wel dat die encycliek, die is wel meerdere keren genoemd door een aantal sprekers. Dus dat er wel, dat het wel een bepaald invloed heeft gehad. In elk geval hoe de mensen die daar waren onderhandelen hun boodschap brachten, dat ze er toch over na dachten.

SF: Misschien dat het een aantal onderhandelaars persoonlijk heeft geraakt, dat ze het inspirerend hebben gevonden. Maar ik denk niet dat het impact heeft gehad in hoe ze hun werk uitvoeren. Je bent er ook niet als persoon, je bent er als ambtenaar. Dus wat jij ook persoonlijk belangrijk vind aan het klimaatprobleem, wat jou persoonlijk aangrijpt, moet je gewoon even parkeren en je werk doen.

S: En dan mag het toch wel in die speeches naar voren komen.

SF: Ja tuurlijk, want dan doe je alsof je een heel ethisch mens bent, en een heel ethisch land en er heel betrokken mee bezig bent. Maar de praktijk is anders.

S: En wat, stel je dat de paus wel echt zoiets had gehad van 'ik wil wel invloed uitoefenen op die parijs onderhandelingen', wat had hij dan kunnen doen? Of wat had de Heilige Zetel kunnen doen?

SF: Ja dan hadden ze sowieso jaren eerder in moeten springen. Eigenlijk zijn ze met het Parijs akkoord begonnen na Kopenhagen, in 2009, 2010, dan had ie er toen in moeten springen en eigenlijk de rol van het VN secretariaat een beetje moeten overnemen in het zijn van die verbindende factor. De UN secretary, Christiana Figueres van de UNPC.. die heeft die rol op zich genomen, die heeft eigenlijk zes jaar lang gewerkt om al die landen steeds maar weer samen aan die onderhandelingstafel te krijgen, zo van hee jongens we gaan één akkoord maken voor ons allemaal. Hoe willen we dat dat er allemaal uit ziet, kom nog eens een keer allemaal bij mij. Dus die heeft heel erg die rol van mediator gespeeld naar die landen toe. En dat had misschien veel beter gewerkt als dat de paus was. hij heeft toch wel een soort autoriteit die zij niet heeft.

S: Ja zeker, hij is natuurlijk de leider van die kerk.

SF: Natuurlijk wel lastig wanneer je met bijna 200 landen van over de hele wereld werkt. Kan me voorstellen dat niet iedereen fan is van de paus.

S: Nee, maar groot aantal landen is natuurlijk, zijn katholiek of christelijk.

Ik had net wat bedacht, nu ben ik het even kwijt. Ja, die mediator rol..die zegt de paus wel zelf, in elk geval spreekt de paus dat wel uit dat hij dat is of wil zijn. Hij zegt dat dan in de vorm van building bridges, echt een bruggenbouwer. Dat klinkt toch wel alsof hij een mediator is en die rol heeft. En er zijn ook wel geruchten dat hij wel met bepaalde landen, personen, heeft gebeld van 'goh, doe even niet zo moeilijk.'

SF: Ja, dat kan ik me zeker wel voorstellen dat dat geholpen heeft. Maar ik snap ook wel dat hij dat niet publiekelijk op zich neemt.

S: Ligt daar misschien ook zijn kracht in? Dat hij dat juist niet en public doet.

SF: Ja, hij is denk ik zeker een strategisch man met waar hij wel en niet zijn gezicht laat zien. Of wat hij wel en niet publiek doet. Hij heeft ook zijn hele dialoog gedaan met religieuze leiders vanuit andere godsdiensten. Nou dat was ook magisch, vond ik eigenlijk. Dat ik dacht van wow, hoe krijg je al deze mensen überhaupt bij je. En dan ook nog eens praten over duurzaamheid...amazing! Dus ja, daargood, dat maakt hij dan publiek. Maar , ik moet heel ererlijk zeggen, als ik met de president van Amerika zou moeten bellen om te zorgen dat hij toch het klimaatakkoord ondertekend, dan zou ik dat niet voor de videocamera doen. Dat is dan toch een privégesprek waar je toch juist op iemands hart kunt zitten. Ja dat kun je bijna niet doen in het openbaar. Tenminste, nee. Ik heb dat wel zo ervaren de afgelopen twee jaar, dat bijna niemand durft om naar een ander toe, dus eigenlijk direct één op één als het niet uitkomt een moreel argument te maken. Je wilt ook niet iemand recht zetten zo van 'ja maar jij bent dus een minder goed mens dan ik'. Dat is wel heel lomp. Dus die morele argumenten verdwijnen naar de achtergrond of die komen alleen naar voren tijdens van die speeches wanneer je een hele zaal adresseert, dan voelt niemand zich persoonlijk aangesproken. Maar het blijft niet op de voorgrond van die onderhandelingen staan. Terwijl voor mij de logische volgorde is: wat willen we, zegmaar emotioneel, intuïtief, qua gevoels leven..en wat is daar dan de praktische invulling van. Dat is toch een logischere manier dan van 'laten we alles praktisch invullen en hoe voelen we ons daar dan bij.' En dan moeten we daar dan nog 30 jaar mee wachten tot het een keer zover is.

S: Ja, dat is vreemd, helaas, hoe het gegroeid is. Nouik zit even die factoren af te gaan, en stiekem heb je toch al wel wat hypothesen bevestigd, hetzij in minder sterke bewoording dan ik ze heb opgeschreven.

Tsja. De paus heeft nu eenmaal een bepaalde morele autoriteit en die encycliek is gewoon heel dragend geweest, of..?

SF: Ja..het was ook wel een versterkende factor voor mensen die al bezig waren, dat heb ik eigenlijk nog niet genoeg benadrukt. Toen die encycliek uitkwam zat ik in Brussel voor een overleg met denk ik een man of honderd.Nou we hebben de hele dag over niets anders gepraat dan die encycliek. Iedereen vond het fantastisch. En ook dat eens een keer uit religieuze hoek kwam. Ik ben persoonlijk geen fan van godsdiensten, omdat ik ze te indoctrinerend vind in bepaalde aspecten. Maar moreel leiderschap is wel iets wat we missen in de huidige tijd.

S: En of dat dan godsdienstig is, of niet, het is dat morele leiderschap wat mist.

SF: Ja, ik vond dat hij dat gevoelsleven heel mooi had teruggebracht in die discussie. En ik merk dat onder jongeren dat dat wel heel erg zo is, dat het vanuit het gevoel en die wil komt van he ik wil iets veranderen. En ook vanuit het maatschappelijk middenveld. En eigenlijk iedereen die dit doet omdat ie er passie voor heeft, komt het vanuit een soort onderbuik gevoel van ik kan dingen beter maken. En dat is mooi. En dat had hij er ook heel duidelijk ingezet: we gaan naar een mooie toekomst. En het is ook een positieve vibe en we kunnen voor elkaar zorgen en dat is allemaal heel heel, ik werd er een beetje warm van van binnen.

S: ja.. wat fijn dat de paus het met mij eens is

SF: ja, maar ook dat, bijvoorbeeld op de VN onderhandelingen, zijn..wij onderhandelen dan vanuit de jongerenpositie, kunnen wij af en toe ook spreken, en we hebben dan standaard een verhaal van een meisje op een eiland wiens eiland onder water loopt en daar dan staat van 'jongens, hallo, toekomst, mijn eiland..ik weet niet, moet ik dan de rest van mijnleven onder water staan, hoe zit dit'. Ja.. het komt gewoon niet meer aan. Want we zeggen dit inmiddels al 20 jaar als jongeren. Ja weet je 20 jaar geleden kon je ook een ander eiland nemen en een jongere die daar dan vandaan kwam en dan zeggen 'joo, iks ta onder water, wat doe je?!'. Dus ja. Het maakt geen indruk meer. En dan iemand als de paus, van wie je zo'n milieu aspect eigenlijk niet verwacht, of in elk geval..met deze paus misschien wel, maar de vorige pausen sowieso niet.

S: Niet zo duidelijk nee,

SF: Dus het maakt echt een statement. He dit is belangrijk, dit hoort bij onze tijdgeest. Dat was zeker mooi. En voor ons ook een soort empowering, zo van zie je wel we zien dit niet verkeerd...zelfs de paus vind eht nu belangrijk. Het lag niet aan mij.

S: En de encycliek.. de paus had erin best wel commentaar op het kapitalisme en de consumptiemaatschappij. Hoe is dat opgepakt? Gaat dat hand in hand met we moeten wat aan het klimaat doen?

SF: Voor mij wel. Ik denk voor de meeste jongeren wel. Mensen die ik spreek, van onze generatie, die zien..die praten neit zozeer meer over klimaatverandering, maar over duurzame ontwikkeling. En dat is niet alleen klimaat, dat is ook economisch factoren, ook onze samenleving, ook hoe we met elkaar omgaan. Dus wat ons betreft mag alles anders. En het was wel mooi dat hij dat ook zo zei. Dat hij niet zo was van o we moeten alleen maar de boompjes en de plantjes redden. Nee, we moeten onszelf als wereldmaatschappij, als aarde, gaan beschermen. Ik bedoel..de mensen die het niet willen weten, weten het ook wel. Die ondehandelaars bij de VN zijn ook niet dom. Die weten ook wel dat ze over meer onderhandelen, of zouden moeten onderhandelen, dan klimaat. Maar ze zwijgen alleen.

S: Waarom doen ze dat, denk je?

SF: We proberen nu al 20 jaar dat gesprek over arm en rijk te hebben, en hoe we dat in willen vullen, naar de toekomst kijken. Maar dat lukt gewoon niet. Het is alsof wij niet uit onze.. dat wij ons niet voor kunnen stellen hoe het is, gewoon omdat jij het neit meemaakt, omdat jij altijd als het westen in die bevoorrechte rol zit. We zitten in onze eigen bubbel en hebben geen besef meer van wat daarbuiten gebeurt. Dus zij maken allerlei morele argumenten naar ons die wij niet horen.

S: Het komt gewoon niet meer aan.

SF: En als dat 20 jaar niet aankomt.. dan heoven we er misschien ook niet vanuit te gaan dat dat snel gaat veranderen.

S: Nja, je weet niet. Als iemand als de paus zegt, het maakt wel uit.

SF: Volgens mij heb je eerst nog wel een paar cycli door te gaan. We hebben eerst de Brexit en de Trump.. en dan pas als de wereld echt een beetje instort kunnen we weer gaan herbouwen.

S: Was je er zelf bij in Parijs? Want ja, een beetje aan het eind, volgens mij, van de onderhandelingen, 8 december, heeft de paus de St Pieter laten gebruiken als een soort immens bioscoopscherm.Wat vond je daar vna?

SF: Jaa..dat klopt! Ja echt super stoer. We hadden bijvoorbeeld ook de Eiffeltoren in Parijs, die was ook helemaal in het teken van duurzaamheid.. en ze hadden geloof ik nog een aantal gebouwen. Het was eigenlijk een hele mooi collectie geworden. Helemaal top als mensen dat doen. Maar ook gewoon omdat het betekenis geeft aan.. weetje.. je kunt het wel alleen maar bij die VN onderhandelingen over kl imaat hebben, maar dan heeft de rest

van de wereld geen flauw benul dat het belangrijk is. En juist door zo'n gebouw even anders te laten zien breng je mensen echt aan het denken. Maar ik denk niet dat er echte verandering gaat komen van onze "politieke leiders". Ik denk dat we dat zelf gaan doen. Dus wat dat betreft heeft hij ook wel de betere strategie.

S: Ja.. de mensen die wellicht nu het maatschappelijk middenveld staan, zijn over een x aantal jaar de politiek.

SF: Ja weet ik niet.. maar sowieso niet dat daar..hoe ga ik dit zeggen. De politiek is in zichzelf al zo veeleisend, alsin je functiepakket vraagt al zoveel van je, dat het heel moeilijk is om echt je hart en je ziel en alles erin te leggen. En je kunt dus veel minder hard dan je misschien zou willen. Kijk naar een partij als de PVDD, fantastische ideeën, maar ze gaan er nooit iets mee kunnen, want die politieke meerderheid zit er gewoon nooit in. Ja, waar kun je dan het beste zitten? In die politiek of in het maatschappelijk middenveld en echt iets aan eht doen zijn? Dus ik weet niet of de politiek wel echt de manier is.. ik begin daar wel echt over te twijfelen. Ik denk dat de echte innovatie in ieder geval als gewoon in de maatschappij gebeurt. En dat verspreid zichzelf gewoon, ook naar de politiek later. Maar ook gewoon andere maatschappelijke initiatieven, dat zijn de winnende ideeën, niet die drie zonnepanelen die de overheid dan op het dak zet.

S: Nee die drie helpen niet zoveel, misschien een heel dak vol net een beetje.

SF: Maar ze doen het gewoon niet zoveel...dat is dan weer jammer. Wanneer is het voor het laatst dat jij ambitieus politiek beleid hebt gehoord?

S:..nou, ik denk dat ik het me niet eens kan herinneren, dat ik echt ambitieus politiek beleid heb gehoord. Het zijn meer ambitieuze ideeën, zoals Trump, maar het uitvoeren ervan is een tweede. Er wordt vooral heel veel geroepen.

SF: Maargoed, ik zie ze in de praktijk dus niets doen. Gelukkig maar ook.

S: Merk je iets van de status als permanent observer van de Heilige Stoel binnen de VN?

SF: Ja, VN breed wel. Klimaat.. ik in ieder geval persoonlijk nog nooit echt gemerkt. Maar kan me wel voorstellen dat ze op andere plekken wel actiever zijn. De permanente locatie van de VN is natuurlijk in New York, kan me wel voorstellen dat daar permanent mensen rondlopen om voor hun eigen plannen te lobbyen. Heb wel het idee dat er altijd mensen komen naar de klimaatop vanuit het Vaticaan.. maar ik heb ze persoonlijk nog nooit gezien..ja achter zo'n bordje gezeten.

S: ..Ja..zo'n kerel met een zwart overhemd en een wit boordje.

SF: Ja, je herkent ze wel. Maar ik heb er nog nooit eme samengewerkt of mee gesproken. En ik denk dat die ook meer op de landen zitten,en niet zo..

S: Ja, ze hebben in feite in elk land iemand zitten. En andersom. Oke.

SF: Maar goed, bij de VN heb je de landen, en die maken de dienst uit. En dan heb je heel veel mensen daarom heen, en die proberen die landen te beïnvloeden. En ja, ik bedoel, ik sta er ook maar een rijtje achter. Maar ik sta daar ook niet namens nederland, ik zou wel willen hoor. Of ja, nee, want dan moet ik ministerbeleid uitvoeren. Maargoed, dan sta je, ik weet niet hoe ik zou moeten staan.. met het vaticaan, dat lijkt me heel lastig. Denk wel dat het leuk zou zijn, om het te proberen. Maar ik heb zelf nooit heel veel van ze gemerkt.

S: En ja, een beetje ter afsluiting. De paus heeft die encycliek geschreven, en die is goed ontvangen. En meer ook kijkend naar de factoren.. wat draagt er nou aan bij, qua factoren, of wat draagt er uberhaupt aan bij dat die encycliek zo goed is gehoord? Is dat , bijvoorbeeld, door de morele autoriteit van de paus of doordat die encycliek gewoon óveral ter wereld is verspreid..'lees m', heel veel verspreid..of..waardoor zou dat?

SF: Ik denk dat het voornamelijk drie dingen zijn: hij is gewoon bekend, alsin, iedereen kent de paus. Dus als de paus dan een keer iets uitbrengt, wil iedereen dat weten. Er stond in elke krant, in elk land, over de hele wereld..dat was echt, absurd. Maargoed. Dat is al naamsbekendheid. Dan gaabn mensen al wel wat lezen. Tuurlijk, hij heeft het moreel gewoon voor het zeggen, maar in elk geval in grote gebieden van de wereld. Maar het was ook gewoon een goed verhaal. Dat is volgens mij iets wat we echtmissen ind e klimaatdiscussie, dat toekomstbeeld, dat samen leven aspect. Niet alleen zegmaar technologisch, economisch..maar juist een moreel verhaal, iets om naar toe te leven. En dat heeft hij heel mooi toegevoegd aan de discussie. Er was nog niemand zoals hij geweest die dag gedaan had.

S: Die het allemaal tegelijk had genoemd.

SF: Ja, want Al Gore bijvoorbeeld.. hij heeft dan verteld over klimaatverandering, maar die heeft niet gezegd dit is de maatschappij waar we heen willen. Dit is het paradijs.. en wie kan dát beter dan de paus.

Ending

S: Ja, daar kan ik wat mee. Dankjewel.

SF: Heel graag gedaan.

S: Dat ws het eigenlijk, ik weet niet of ji jnog vragen hebt voor mij?

SF:Nja, zou je het leuk vinden om bijvoorbeeld met die organisator van die inspiratietafel, om jullie met elkaar in contact te brengen. Hij weet gewoon veel meer inhoudelijk over het beleid van de paus en wat hoe hij zijn ding doet, denk ik, hoop ik. OF anders kan hij in elk geval je naar mensen wijzen die dat wel weten.

II.3 Jan Jorrit Hasselaar

Jan Jorrit Hasselaar is a researcher within the project team 'The Catholic Tradition as a Living Source' at Tilburg University, working on his PhD in the field of public theology at the consortium of the Radboud University Wageningen, Wageningen University, and Tilburg University and is a senior Lecturer at Almere University of Applied Sciences. Apart from his research projects, he is the chairman of the working group Ecological Sustainability for the Dutch Council of Churches. For this council, he was host and organizer of an 'inspiration table' around the encyclical with representatives of different churches, corporations, government bodies and scientists.

Transcription interview

Interview with Jan Jorrit Hasselaar
November 22, 2016

Jan Jorrit Hasselaar = JJ
Sanne = S

Introduction

S: Ik ben dus geïnteresseerd in de rol van religie binnen het duurzaamheidsdebat, maar dat is veels te breed. Dus ben ik gaan kijken naar de rol van de Heilige Zetel, van de Katholieke Kerk. Daar moest wel een theoretisch raamwerk aan hangen, dus ben ik gaan kijken naar opinieleiderschap. Nu zijn opinieleiders meestal onderzocht als individuen, en de Heilige Zetel is dat niet. Ik ben er uiteindelijk bij uitgekomen dat ze een soort NGO zijn, de meest niet normale NGO eigenlijk dat wel. Dus ik ben een framework gaan ontwikkelen voor NGO opinion leadership. Omdat dat er ook nog niet was. Daar zijn deze drie aspecten uitgekomen, die daar aan bij dragen, met de verschillende factoren. Organisatiestructuur, de mate van participatie van de NGO, en doel bereiking, goal attainment. Met verschillende factoren die bij elk bijdragen. Daar heb ik hypothesen bij opgesteld om dat in feite te kunnen testen. Mijn doel met de interviews is om te kijken of mijn hypothesen kloppen..of niet. Met verschillende mensen, waaronder jij.

JJ: En met Soscha heb je ook zo'n exercitie gedaan?

S: Ja klopt. Carel Dieperink kende Soscha van ooit, een vak, denk ik. En zo bij Soscha terecht gekomen, die vertelde over de inspiratietafel en dus zo kwam ik bij jou.

JJ: En waarom verwees hij jou naar Soscha?

S: Omdat zij als jongerenvertegenwoordiger bij de VN over duurzame ontwikkeling gaat. Verder heb ik nog de ambassadeur bij de Heilige Stoel geïnterviewd, en hopelijk kan ik ook nog de nuntius hier in Nederland interviewen. En ik zocht nog wat mensen die wat losser van de kerk zegmaar staan, en zo bij de rest terecht gekomen.

JJ: En heb je een eigen achtergrond in de kerk?

S: Ja, ik ben zelf katholiek. Ik ga regelmatig naar de kerk.

JJ: Het instituut is van binnenuit ook niet helemaal onbekend?

S: Klopt, heb ook wel redelijk wat vrijwilligerswerk gedaan op bisdomniveau en landelijk niveau gedaan. Zo krijg je ook wel wat meer van de lagen te zien en hoe alles in elkaar steekt.

JJ: Heb je bisschop De Korte ook geïnterviewd?

S: Nee.. ik heb wel verschillende bisschoppen gevraagd, maar de meesten hebben gewoon geen tijd ervoor./ Ik Wilde graag bisschop Hogeboom interviewen vanwege zijn rol binnen de Europese Bisschoppenconferentie, maar zijn agenda zit gewoon helemaal vol. Dus dat is jammer.

JJ: Er stond nu een klein verhaaltje in van bisschop Van der Hende..

S: Ja, ik zag het. Had het document nog even gescand, zag er.. ja, volgens mij was het een heel interessante dag.

JJ: Middag was het ja. Ja, er is een hoop gezegd. Het was een gevuld programma. Maar inderdaad, kijk bisschop De Korte was er niet bij betrokken omdat hij al eerder een lezing had op die dag. Maar namens de bisschoppen is hij het meeste in de weer geweest met Laudato Si. Maar goed, laten we maar focussen op jouw hypothesen.

Questions

S: Ja de dikgedrukte is voor mezelf even, dat ik die het meest graag behandel zegmaar. Ja, de paus heeft als paus zijnde natuurlijk bepaalde morele autoriteit. In hoeverre denk je dat dat heeft bijgedragen aan hoe Laudato Si is ontvangen in de wereld?

JJ: Vanuit zijn functie, vanuit zijn zetel, heeft de paus natuurlijk een morele autoriteit. De ene paus zal het meer hebben dan de andere paus. Dus de een spreekt meer tot de verbeelding dan een andere paus. Deze paus doet dat natuurlijk heel erg. En toen die zijn naam aannam, dus van Franciscus, enerzijds verwijst het natuurlijk naar

Sint Franciscus het element dat met armoede te maken heeft. Dat verwijst ook naar de context waar de paus vandaan komt, uit Argentinië, vanuit de bevrijdingstheologie, uit Zuid-Amerika. Maar veel mensen zaten er ook op te wachten dat hij die andere kant zou expanderen, namelijk dat Sint Franciscus ook de schepping op het oog had in z'n heel tijd. Dus het zonnelied van St. Franciscus waarin hij natuurlijk spreekt over broeders en zusters, de maan en de zon, de vogels en noem maar op. Dus men zat erop te hopen, en toen kwam hij inderdaad in juni 2015 met de encycliek die al een tijdje in de lucht hing en dat een paus dit thema zo centraal pakt, dat is nog niet eerder gebeurd. Dus hij, in andere encyclieken zitten wel al elementen van milieuvragen, maar deze encycliek is natuurlijk niet alleen milieuvragen maar ook sociale vragen. Dus sociale gerechtigheid en milieu is verweven in één integraal systeem. Dat gebeurde zo nadrukken, dat dat zo nadrukkelijk gebeurde, dat is nieuw in deze encycliek. Na zoals ik al mailde ook, in de eerste paar hoofdstukken, alineas, haalt de paus Patriarch Bartolomeus aan. Die heeft veel gepioneerd op dit vlak. Als je wilt is Bartolomeus de paus van het oosten en Franciscus van het westen. Ik ken de patriarch persoonlijk, dus vandaar dat het mij wat meer opvalt. Dus het is ook een lijn die de wereldraad van kerken heeft vanuit de jaren 80, de patriarch vanuit de jaren 80. De pausen wat meer recent. Met name als je kijkt naar Patriarch Bartolomeus, die heeft al meerdere symposia geïntroduceerd met convenantia van de VN, met Emanuel Barrossa, de voormalige president van de Europese Commissie. Dus je ziet, de encycliek van de paus staat niet op zichzelf, maar komt ook in een traditie van kerkleiders en kerken die op dit thema al 30, 40 jaar actief zijn en daar ook al. de patriarch, maar ook het hele constituarie proces was in de jaren 80 al heel groot, ook in Nederland. Dus het staat niet helemaal op zichzelf, maar hij heeft al bepaalde inbedding die breder is dan alleen de katholieke kerk. Dus in de eucomene gebeurd er ook al wat. Deze paus heeft natuurlijk een uitstraling die ongekend is. Zeker in vergelijking met de vorige paus.

S: Patriarch Bartolomeus is er dus al heel lang mee bezig, vanuit de eucomene ook, maar toch, vanuit de media.. is het pas vanuit deze encycliek, vanuit deze paus, lijkt het pas te worden opgepakt.

JJ: De vraag is natuurlijk, wat is media? Toen patriarch Bartolomeus in 2015 op staatsbezoek kwam in Nederland, heb ik de media flink moeten informeren wie deze meneer was. Dus in noord-west Europa kennen we hem niet zo. En dat heeft te maken met de scheiding van 1000 jaar tussen oost en west. En daar is nogal wat om te doen aan weerskanten van de scheiding. Dus dat klopt. De media in onze contereien kennen Patriarch Bartolomeus amper, hoe wel dat verandert wel langzaam. Maar goed dat zegt ook iets over ons, als je kijkt naar andere delen van de wereld, daar lopen straten vol als de patriarch voorbij komt. Dan is het echt een paus die voorbij komt zegmaar. Dus dat zegt echt wat over ons en over de geschiedenis die we met elkaar hebben. En de paus spreekt natuurlijk in onze contereien veel meer tot de verbeelding, en iedereen weet wie hij is natuurlijk.

S: En ook op international politiek niveau? Ik bedoel, de patriarch heeft wel gesproken met de Europese..

JJ: Nee ja, op international niveau. Je kunt zeggen dat de Paus van Rome de eerste in de hiërarchie is. De patriarch volgt al snel als tweede. Dus internationaal is de patriarch een grote invloed, die ontmoet ook Obama en Merkel. Dus die speelt daar ook echt mee. En het zegt ook echt iets over ons dat we dat niet weten. Maar dat is echt zo de geschiedenis tussen oost en west. Dus op internationaal vlak is de paus, spreekt nog meer tot de verbeelding, maar de patriarch is daar ook.. je ziet, ook de afgelopen jaren.. dat de paus en patriarch Bartolomeus zijn uit hetzelfde hout gesneden. Dus allebei wat ondeugend, allebei lak hebben aan de regeltjes. Het gaat echt ergens over. En juist daarom hebben ze lak aan de regels. En die zien elkaar ook vrij veel en treden ook steeds vaker samen op, en dit is dus een voorbeeld. En ze zijn ook samen op Lesbos geweest. Ze hebben in 2015 in mei geloof ik, of april, samen gevierd in Jeruzalem dat ze beide kerken 50 jaar samen ingesprek zijn. Ze hebben de feesten, dus de paus heeft natuurlijk het feest van Petrus dat zijn naamfeest is en de patriarch van Andreas dat zijn naamfeest is. En voor het eerst hebben ze dat samen gevierd. Dus de broers vinden elkaar weer. En deze broers vinden elkaar wel goed, ze zijn van hetzelfde soort. En dat stond ook in dat artikel wat ik je gestuurd heb, John schrijft over die interactie. En John is de naaste adviseur van de patriarch. Dus op het moment dat de patriarch een lezing geeft over duurzame ontwikkeling, kun je ervan uitgaan dat John daar achter zit.

S: Ah ja, dat is wel leuk als je de mensen erachter een beetje leert kennen. Ik heb een media analyse gedaan over de rol van de Heilige Stoel en de paus voorafgaand aan de Parijsconferentie en dus wat de invloed er tijdens ook een beetje was. En de media die zegt een beetje dat de paus een soort van gatekeeper is, vanuit zijn rol als kerkleider en de positie van de Heilige Stoel binnen de VN. De ambassadeur zegt meer van 'ja maar de paus ziet zichzelf meer als een soort van bruggenbouwer tussen de twee werelden zegmaar, tussen het maatschappelijk middenveld en de politieke wereld'. Hoe zie jij dat?

JJ: Dan moet je me heel even uitleggen wat volgens jou het verschil is tussen een gatekeeper en een bruggenbouwer.

S: Volgens mij is een gatekeeper iemand die toegang kan bieden tot een bepaald netwerk, en vaak op zijn of haar voorwaarden. En een bruggenbouwer die wil juist die twee, of verschillende soorten netwerken met elkaar verbinden.

JJ: En het essentiële verschil tussen beide is dat.. een gatekeeper zend een boodschap en de ander verbind?

S: Ja..een gatekeeper daar moet jij bijna naar toegaan zo van 'ik wil toegang tot' en die kan jou dan koppelen. Terwijl de bruggenbouwer zegt van ik wil juist dat ze met elkaar in gesprek gaan.

JJ: Als je de encycliek leest en.. Afijn. Twee dingen. Het kan zijn dat elke paus daarin zijn eigen accent heeft. Dus wat je ziet in, veel kerkelijke documenten – even breder, daar zit vaak een hele zendende houding achter. Wij weten hoe het zit en wij gaan het jou even vertellen. Dus of dat nou richting economen is of richting de politiek. Jullie moeten dit, jullie moeten dat. Dus het vingertje zegmaar. Dat zit in een aantal encyclieken ook. Je zou van deze encycliek kunnen zeggen.. dat dit meer een bruggenbouwende encycliek is. En uiteindelijk zal het vaticaan zeggen dat elke encycliek voortbouwd op de ander, dus daar zit geen verschil in. Nou misschien zit daar toch wat accentverschil in, als je wilt. Wat opvallend aan deze encycliek is, en dat zie je bij andere encyclieken veel minder, is een serieuze wetenschappelijke analyse zit. Dus de wetenschap wordt heel serieus genomen en die brengen ook iets heel anders dan wat de kerk doet. En dat zegt de paus hierin ook, ja we hebben als kerk niet alle antwoorden. En hij roept ook op tot gesprek en dialoog en dat zit er ook heel sterk in, dialoog op verschillende niveaus. En daar is dit [de inspiratietafel] een voorbeeld van. En dat is ook een bruggenbouwende houding, waarin je niet alleen maar bruggen bouwt.. dat hebben we hier [inspiratietafel] ook niet gedaan. Dus kerk is niet alleen maar, als je hier kijkt, dit was wel primair georganiseerd door de Raad van Kerken en de Oud-Katholieke kerk. En dan bouw je niet alleen bruggen tussen politiek, bedrijfsleven, NGOs, media, religies.. maar je hebt ook een stem in dat gesprek. Die is wel van de boodschap van de patriarch ook. Dus hoe sterk wil je het hebben. En Erik Borgman hield een inleiding op de encycliek, met ook het idee van 'het is niet alleen maar een encycliek die zegt wat we al wisten wordt niet ook door de paus onderschreven, dus 1 miljard katholieke ondersteunen nu ook het milieu'. Maar Erik Borgman zegt hier ook nu in, het geeft een eigen perspectief op het milieuvraagstuk. Maar milieuvraagstuk of sociale gerechtigheid waar iedereen iets aan heeft. Dus ik zou zeggen, het is zowel bruggenbouwer als het zenden van een boodschap. Maar niet alleen maar het zenden van 'dit is het antwoord voor nu en altijd', maar dat in gesprek verder ontwikkeld wil worden. Waar prins Jaime [de ambassadeur van de Heilige Stoel] misschien vanuit zijn positie ook veel meer op dat bruggen bouwen zit. Dus die zegt van het maakt niet uit dat ik katholiek ben, iedereen had hier kunnen zitten eigenlijk. Maar ik denk eigenlijk dat hij [de paus] beide doet, en dat is wel..niet heel vaak zo scherp al gedaan als hierin zou ik zeggen.

S: En is dat perspectief wat Laudato Si bied, is dat een perspectief wat miste op het internationale niveau? En is dat een perspectief dat is overgenomen denk je?

JJ: Ik denk dat dat laatste te sterk is. Dat is natuurlijk klimaatvraagstuk is eigenlijk een heel klassiek vraagstuk zoals voor aangeboden tot vandaag. Dus er is, in de economie noemen we dat.. mijne eigen achtergrond is, ik ben econoom en theoloog. In de economie noemen we dat een falen van de markt. Dus er zijn twee partijen die het ene vragen en de andere bied iets aan en daarbij ontstaat een extern effect, en dat zie je niet in de prijs. In dit geval, is dat op het moment dat je vliegt, neem je een vliegticket af van de maatschappij. Dus je hebt een vraag en een aanbieder. In de prijs die je ervoor betaald is neit gedisconteerd dat het vliegtuig een bepaalde uitstoot geeft. Dat noemen we een extern effect. En alle externe effecten bij elkaar over de hele wereld, maken samen dat het klimaat verandert. En normaal gesproken, op doorgaans, wordt dat extern effect dan door de overheden gecompenseerd door wetgeving of je creëert er een markt op. Dan heeft het toch een prijs. En eigenlijk het hele klimaatdebat, of antwoord op klimaat, wordt nu gegeven vanuit overheden. Dus de Conference of Parties, wat Parijs ook is, is een United Nations framework, waar alleen maar overheden zitten. En die kunnen dan met wetgeving of met afspraken, of deze afspraak is niet bindend maar ook niet vrijblijvend. Dus dat is het antwoord van overheden. Terwijl ook een inzicht van Parijs is dat non-governmental parties nodig hebt, het bedrijfs leven, NGOs, religie, de samenleving, om dat klimaatstuk aan te pakken. Dus dat blijkt eigenlijk gaandeweg zo complex dat dat niet, dat het antwoord dat we altijd geven op zulke vraagstukken, of het nou zure regen is of het vervuilen van water, alleen maar antwoorden van overheden volstaat niet. En wat Parijs ook gedaan heeft is dat het iets ruimte heeft geboden voor die nieuwe invalshoek. En dat is allemaal nog neit zo ontwikkeld. Dus zulke bijeenkomsten als dit zijn er amper. Maar hierin zie je wel dat bij het samenkomen het idee van 'ja jongens we moeten het toch met elkaar doen op de één of andere manier, hoe weten we nog niet precies'. En de Paus legt hier volgens iemand als Erik Borgman een ander perspectief neer dat aardig gelijk optrekt met het perspectief dat de patriarch ook neerlegt. Er zit wel acceptverschil in. Dus is dat er nog niet? Voor een deel wel, voor een deel ook nog niet. Zeker nog niet met de uitstraling die de paus heeft. *En dat is een culture of care, een cultuur van hoop, liefde.. niet als zwaar gedoe, maar als daadwerkelijk verschil makend in de economie, in de samenleving.* Dat je beleidsmakers daar nog neit helemaal bij aan hoeft te komen, dat is ook wel helder. Dus daar valt nog wel werk te doen, dat dat inderdaad zinvolle begrippen zijn om over te spreken met het klimaatvraagstuk. Dus ik denk dat er een ander perspectief word ontwikkeld in deze encycliek dat er deels al is vanwege andere stemmen daarin, maar dat op verschillende niveaus, of dat nou lokaal, nationaal, of internationaal is, verder ontwikkeld dient te worden. In gesprek met elkaar. Dus het is meer dan dat er nu 1 miljard rooms-katholieken zich nu ook in gaan zetten op die vraag.

S: Die Conference of Parties, dat zeg je dat is voornamelijk dus al die landen. Maar de Heilige Stoel heeft daar wel z'n aparte permanent observer status in. Hebben ze, kunnen ze op die manier dan, hebben ze invloed uitgeoefend, of zouden ze invloed uit kunnen oefenen?

JJ: Michiel Trentenaar, de Nederlandse klimaatgezant. Die heeft na afloop een stukje hierin [boekje over inspiratietafel] geschreven en daarin zegt hij dat in Parijs kwamen een aantal lijnen samen. Dus van onderaf was er veel inzet van NGOs, regilie, bedrijfsleven.. daar onstond veel druk. Dat de milieu encycliciek van de paus er lag, hielp ook. En hij zegt in een zin dat op het laatste moment de paus of in ieder geval de heilige zetel wel gebeld heeft met een aantal landen die nog niet over de drempel waren. Dus dat de paus heir en daar even een zetje heeft gegeven van 'kom op jongens, even een handtekening eronder'. Dus maar dat is 'talk uit de wandelgangen', dus dat zul je nooit weten.

S: Maar dat is wel vrij hardnekkige talk.

JJ: Ja het staat hierin [boekje nav inspiratietafel] ook wel ja, zwart op wit. Maar het maakt natuurlijk uit of je observer bent of als volwaardig partij aan tafel zit. En of je natuurlijk serieus wordt genomen, neit alleen om te observeren wat er gebeurt, maar of je perspectief serieus wordt onderzocht als een optie. Als een stem in het debat.

S: En wordt de stem van de Heilige Stoel dat?

JJ: Dat zou je aan.. nja, ik..

S: Wat denk jij?

JJ: Ik denk dat dat ontwikkeld moet worden. Dus dat zal tot op zekere hoogte, maar dat je nooit zoals hoop, geloof en liefde, dus hoop, vertrouwen en liefde.. dat je dat uitwerkt tot zinvolle categorieën in het klimaatdebat. Nou sommige plekken is daar ruimte voor, op veel plekke nog niet denk ik. Dus ik zou zeggen, het is in ontwikkeling.

S: Dat is goed om te weten.

JJ: Ja dat verschil..dit is wel opmerkelijk, ik bedoel ik vond het wel opmerkelijk. We hebben dit [inspiratietafel] georganiseerd en je hoeft maar uit te nodigen en Shell komt, de Rabobank komt, klimaatgezant komt. Iedereen die je uitnodigd komt. Dus dat men de bereidheid heeft om als de kerken met elkaar willen samenwerken o phet gebeid van klimaat, dat iedereen aanschuift.. dat is opvallend.

S: Ja, zeker. Even kijken.. Ja zo gaande weg hebben we toch al wel heel wat dingen gehad. Meer tijdens de Parijsconferentie, daar hield kardinaal Turkson een toespraak en nog een kardinaal van wie ik altijd zijn naam vergeet. Maar goed. En andere leiders die hebben wel specifiek ook de encycliciek benoemd. Zou je zeggen dat dat meer is vanuit een soort van persoonlijk, emotioneel geraakt zijn, of zou dat een teken kunnen zijn van dat doel van de Heilige Stoel, het doel van de paus toch wel deels al bereikt is or wordt?

JJ: Je hebt natuurlijk, kijk.. in noord west europa hebben we de ontwikkeling, de opmerkelijke ontwikkeling en vreemde ontwikkeling ergens dat religie beperkt wordt tot de voordeur. We zijn daar een enorme minderheid in. Dus wereldwijd is dat een gek idee. En daar komen we denk ik ook op terug met z'n allen, hoewel ook mondjesmaat. Dus in veel landen, of in de meeste landen, is religie en de paus gewoon de realiteit in je politiek, in je economie, in je samenleving. Men is vaak religieus, of Rooms-Katholiek. Dus als het hoofd van de rooms-katholieke kerk iets zegt over het milieu, dan is dat van belang, en is dat een duwtje in de rug. Het feit dat hij wellicht gebeld zou hebben met bepaalde regeringsleiders zegt dat hij een bepaalde invloed heeft. Maar is nog steeds, is nogsteeds, een Conference of the Parties, en dat zijn overheden. Dus je kunt daar alleen maar het woord krijgen op het niveau van overheden. Dus international afspraak zoals die er nu ligt bijvoorbeeld. En ik vermoed dat de paus met deze encyliciek iets veel breders op het oog heeft. Dus hij spreek neit alleen tot overheden, maar hij roept op tot dialoog op heel veel niveaus. Dus op het moment dat je overheden toespreekt, dan kun je alleen maar, kan men alleen maar antwoorden geven in taal van overheden. Dus met subsidies en tax, en afspraken. Zo'n culture of care zit op een heel ander niveau ook. Het kan mekaar allemaal versterken, maar ik denk dat overheden maar één publiek zijn en dat met deze encyliciek veel meer soorten publiek aangesproken worden.

S: Ja, dat is wel waar.Is dat een strategische zet denk je, van de paus? Om het niet alleen tot de katholieken of neit alleen tot de overheden te richten, maar zegmaar naar de 99%?

JJ: Nee..niet..het is misschien een strategische stap die net voor de klimaatop in Parijs komt met een encyliciek, dat zou strategisch kunnen zijn. Waarom niet een halfjaar later? Nee..dat is niet strategisch, dat is vanuit de theologie van de paus en de patriarch, die zeggen van..in essentie gaat het om een verandering van je houding, van je identiteit. Dus dat een andere manier van, dat we met elkaar op een andere manier gaan kijken naar de werkelijkheid. En dat moet iedereen op zijn eigen plek doen. En wetenschap brengt daar bepaalde dingen in, het bedrijfsleven brengt bepaalde dingen in. Dus kl imaatverandering is niet alleen een taak van de overheden, maar van ons allemaal. En daarom heeft iedereen een bepaalde verantwoordelijkheid in. En de een brengt dit in en de ander dat in, en samen maakt je meer. Dus gemeen, het idee van gemeenschap, met je samen culture van care bouwt, samen het antwoord van hoop formuleert..dat is niet strategisch, maar dat is inhoudelijk gepositioneerd.

S: Maar de timing zeg je dus, is wel strategisch.

JJ: het zou me verbazen als dat niet zo is.

S: en ook gekoppeld aan het bezoek aan Amerika?

JJ: Je zou het de paus zelf moeten vragen..

S: Als dat nou eens kon!

JJ: Maar bepaalde lijnen komen samen. En daar zal men ook naar gedacht hebben, vermoed ik.

S: Terwijl ik dus raamwerk opzette, kwam ik erachter dat het in de theorie heb je twee soorten invloed. Outcome influence, dat is echt meer zichtbare invloed en de process influence. Ik heb zelf meer het idee dat het een soort van, dat het process influence is, dat de paus met zijn encycliek uitoefent. Dus meer een soort van onzichtbare, tijdelijke invloed op de mensen die uiteindelijk de beslissingen maken, dan dat je directe invloed ziet op bijvoorbeeld het Parijs akkoord. Denk je dat ik daar goed zit of denk je van 'nou, ik zie toch meer directe invloed'?

JJ: Nou als je kijkt naar Parijs is dat indirect geweest denk ik. Indirect geeft hij een steuntje in een bepaalde richting, in de wandelgang spreek je misschien die en die. Maar als je kijkt naar wat de paus hierin [encycliek] zegt, dan is dat, dan legt hij daar een eigen weg neer. Met een centrale rol van educatie. Dus als, en daar zijn wel gedachten over, als je zou doorontwikkelen wat erin staat, dan word het een veel directere invloed. En dan ga je op scholen en in universiteiten en kerken e, ga je veel meer in het onderwijs aandacht besteden aan de houding tussen mens en natuur en mens en mens. Komt er veel meer aandacht in de liturgie voor natuur en sociale gerechtigheid, worden er veel meer van zulke tafels georganiseerd. En dat is natuurlijk een richting die je niet in Parijs zelf ziet, omdat dat breder..die zijn gezonden, die moeten dingen behalen, check check. Terwijl de paus zegt 'nee jongen, het moet een andere manier gewoon kijken'. Het gaat nu niet meer primair over het terugdringen van CO2, we moeten met z'n allen op een andere manier gaan kijken, veel inclusiever. En als we dat doen, stapje voor stapje, dan gaat die CO2 wel. Maar we moeten ons op een niveau lager concentreren. Dus ik denk dat de paus primair een andere agenda neerlegt, en dat zou een veel directere invloed kunnen hebben.

S: Tijdens de klimaatconferentie is het een..

JJ: Ja en de encycliek kwam een halfjaar van te voren, dus heel veel meer ruimte was er ook niet. Dus de invloed zal daar in, met name indirect zijn geweest. En de vraag is natuurlijk wat gebeurd en nu verder met de encycliek.

S: Ja, dat zullen we zien.

Ja eigenlijk alweer de laatste vraag. Een beetje een gesloten vraag eigenlijk, maar denk je dat de Heilige Stoel als een opinielider gezien kan worden, of gezien wordt, binnen het klimaatveranderingsdebat?

JJ: De vraag is, door wie?

S: Door de internationale politiek zegmaar, dat niveau zit ik toch wel meer te kijken.

JJ: Ja ik denk dat de paus een opinielider is. Maar opnieuw, of ze door hebben dat hij ook een ander perspectief biedt. Dus neit alleen maar hen steunt tegen klimaat, maar een ander perspectief biedt met een culture of care, en nadruk legt op onderwijs en anders dingen zien.. dus in hoeverre dat echt samen optrekt en ze daar ruimte voor hebben, dat weet ik niet.

S: Misschien ook ruimte voor willen geven.

JJ: Of moeten leren zien dat daar ruimte voor kan ontstaan, en dat er iets anders is. Want het is natuurlijk, al die milieuvragen worden tot nu toe gezien als iets dat primair opgelost wordt op, door de overheid of door de markt. Dat religie daar ook een eigen stem in heeft, dat is nog, denk dat dat nog minder ontwikkeld is en dat dat meer aandacht zou kunnen krijgen. En dan zou de opinie van de paus aan invloed winnen. Maar hij zal gezien worden als een opinielider, ja.

S: Dat is mooi, dan haal ik niet nu mijn eigen voorlopige resultaten onderuit!

Ending

S: Dat waren mijn vragen, ik weet niet of jij nog vragen aan mij hebt?

JJ: Het is wel grappig dat je de kerk nu natuurlijk als NGO duidt.

S: ja.. eht is meer die Heilige Stoel, ja.. heel basicly, de casus moet natuurlijk aan theorie gehangen worden, met al bestaande actoren.

JJ: Dat zou een kritische vraag aan je uiteindelijke conclusie kunnen zijn. Want de kerk is natuurlijk veel ouder dan de NGOs, dus waarom hangen we de NGOs niet aan de kerk?

S: Ja, dat is een hele goede vraag.

JJ: ja precies, het zegt ook wel iets over de theorie en wie de theorieën op gesteld hebben, dat het zo moeilijk is om de kerk als een eigen.. een eigenheid te formuleren.

S: Ja, zeker binnen de bestuurskunde, binnen het vakgebied. Als je meer binnen religiewetenschappen kijkt bijvoorbeeld is dat ineens een stuk makkelijk om het te benoemen. Gewoon omdat het daar al wat meer geaccepteerd is dat religie ook een invloed heeft, en dat is binnen beleidswetenschappen zegmaar toch niet zo geaccepteerd. Maar goed. Heel erg bedankt voor je medewerking!

JJ: Ja alsjeblieft. Ik vind het leuk dat je dit onderzoek doet. En ik ben ook zeker benieuwd naar je uiteindelijke conclusies, je eindstuk zegmaar.

S: Ja ik kan m wel opsturen als je wilt.

JJ: Dat zou ik wel leuk vinden ja.

S: Oke, dan mail ik m tegen die tijd wel.

III. Dutch summary

Nederlandse samenvatting

Hoewel het internationale klimaat bestuur (*climate governance*) voornamelijk een activiteit is van regeringen, hebben andere actoren hier ook een rol in gespeeld. Waar overheden over het 'Parijs akkoord' hebben onderhandeld, probeerden actoren uit de marktsector en NGO's ondehandelaars te beïnvloeden. De Heilige Stoel (*Holy See*) zat echter aan de onderhandelingstafel, en was zo in de positie onderhandelaars te beïnvloeden. De Heilige Stoel wordt in het international recht erkent als een soevereine juridische entiteit, maar wordt niet als een overheid beschouwd, heeft ze geen stemrecht tijdens de *UNFCCC Conference of Parties (COP)*. Hoewel de Heilige Stoel als een invloedrijke opinieleider wordt gezien, is het onduidelijk welke factoren hiervoor verantwoordelijk zijn. In deze thesis wordt dit kennishiaat behandeld.

Dit leidde tot de hoofdonderzoeksvraag:

“Welke factoren stellen de Heilige Stoel in staat als een opinieleider op te treden in internationale klimaatonderhandelingen?”

Omdat de Heilige Stoel geen overheid is, noch een op winst gerichte actor uit de marktsector, is de term 'niet-gouvernementele organisatie' (NGO) het best passend. Om de factoren te bestuderen die de Heilige Stoel in staat stellen als een opinieleider te fungeren, is een nieuw analytisch raamwerk opgesteld: het 'Raamwerk voor het analyseren van NGO opinieleiderschap in internationaal milieu governance'. Dit raamwerk is gebaseerd op twee literatuuronderzoeken naar opinieleiderschap en NGO invloed.

Bijdragende factoren voor zowel opinieleiderschap als NGO invloed zijn samengevoegd in de definitie van NGO opinieleiderschap, welke de basis vormde voor het 'Raamwerk voor het analyseren van NGO opinieleiderschap in internationaal milieu governance'. De bijdragende factoren kunnen in drie categorieën worden ingedeeld: organisatie structuur, NGO participatie, en doelbereiking. Elk aspect is geoperationaliseerd in verschillende hypothesen. Deze hypothesen hebben betrekking op de twaalf factoren die onder de aspecten vallen.

De hypothesen zijn gebruikt als een startpunt voor een casestudy naar de rol van de Heilige Stoel voorafgaande en tijdens de COP21 in Parijs. Door middel van een literatuurstudie en een media analyse zijn de hypothesen uit het analytisch raamwerk afgestemd op de casus. Vervolgens is deze nieuwe set van hypothesen getest door middel van interviews. De resultaten van de interviews, gecombineerd met de resultaten van de literatuurstudie en de media analyse, hebben geleid tot de conclusie dat de factoren die bijdragen aan het opinieleiderschap van de Heilige Stoel zijn: de combinatie van de autoriteit als paus en de persoonlijkheid van Paus Franciscus, het opnemen van wetenschappelijke, technologische, en economische aspecten in *Laudato Si'*, de inspanningen om een inclusieve 'cultuur van zorg' te initiëren, de formele en informele structuren van de Heilige Stoel, de status als permanente waarnemer bij de VN, en de activiteiten georganiseerd of deelgenomen door de Heilige Stoel. Het type invloed door de Heilige Stoel uitgeoefend bleek *proces invloed* te zijn: een tijdelijke, onzichtbare vorm van invloed.

Naar onze mening kunnen de resultaten gebruikt worden om een breder scala aan NGO's mee te analyseren. Op basis van de bestudeerde NGO kunnen andere factoren meer of minder bijdragen. De resultaten van de analyse van andere NGO's kunnen helpen in het begrijpen van hoe NGO's fungeren als opinieleiders, evenals hoe individuele opinieleiders invloed uitoefenen en hoe NGO's invloed uitoefenen in internationale klimaatonderhandelingen.