

**INFLUENCE OF GLOBAL ENGOs OVER THE CONCEPT OF CLIMATE
CHANGE**

ULAŞCAN ŞEYHAN



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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date : 29.01.2021

Name/Surname: Ulaşcan ŞEYHAN

ÖZET

İklim değışikliğı zararlı etkilerini önleyebilmek için bir an önce müdahale edilmesi gereken kritik bir konu. Uluslararası arenada, toplantılar ve görüşmeler iklim değışikliğı problemine devletler tarafından ortak bir çözüm bulabilmek için uzun yıllardır aralıksız olarak devam etmekte. Bu anlamda, global çevresel örgütler sahip oldukları tanınırlıktan dolayı bu görüşmeler üzerinde sahip oldukları etkiler bakımından incelenmeye ihtiyaç duymaktadır. Bu çalışma, global çevre örgütlerinin uluslararası iklim değışikliğine müdahale için yapılan çevre görüşmelerinde sahip oldukları etki seviyesini, ve bu görüşme süreçlerinde yarattıkları farkı incelemektedir. Dünyaca tanınmış ve yaygınlaşmış en bilinen iki global çevre örgütü Greenpeace ve WWF sahip oldukları yapı ve strateji bakımından incelenmiş ve iklim değışikliğı görüşmelerinin kritik iki final dökümanı olan Kyoto Protokolü ve Paris Antlaşmasının bu bağlamda çevresel örgütler tarafından ne derece etkilendiğı incelenmiştir. Sonuç olarak, bu çalışma ortaya koymuştur ki global çevresel örgütler farkındalık yaratma ve uluslararası çevre antlaşmalarının görüşme süreçlerine müdahil olmada son karar verici olmasada kendilerini farkettirecek bir etki seviyesine ulaşmıştır. Ancak, konu kabul edilen maddelerin uygulanmasına ve devletlerin bu antlaşmalara sadık kalmasına geldiğı zaman, devletlerin karar mekanizmalarına karışamama ve uluslararası antlaşmaların bağlayıcılığını ortaya koyamama gibi sorunlar bu organizasyonların etkisiz kalmasına neden olmuştur.

ABSTRACT

Climate change is an issue that needs immediate attention to prevent its harmful effects. In the international arena, negotiations and meetings are going on endlessly to create collaboration between states to take the necessary precautions needed for solving the climate change problem. In this sense, environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOS) play a role that needs to be assessed since their position as organizations that focuses on environmental issues is widely recognized. This study explains the ENGO influence in international environmental negotiations and their relationship with the policy-makers in these negotiations, and whether there is a significant difference, they make in the process. Analysis of two of the most notable ENGOS, Greenpeace and WWF, in terms of their structure and strategies with the analysis of the final documents of critical international negotiations such as the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement, the ENGOS' role and influence in the international environmental negotiations are explained. In conclusion, this thesis found out that ENGOS have a noticeable influence in creating awareness for climate change within the masses and taking part in some level in international negotiations with the help of their strategies. However, when it comes to implementing the necessary precautions, their influence somewhat weakens because of the hardships they face impacting states' internal policy-making mechanisms.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAN	CLIMATE ACTION NETWORK
ENGO ORGANIZATION	ENVIRONMENTAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION
WWF WORLD WILDLIFE FUND)	WORLD WIDE FUND FOR NATURE (FORMERLY WORLD WILDLIFE FUND)
GHG	GREENHOUSE GASES
NGO	NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION
UNFCCC	UNITED NATIONS FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE
U.S	UNITED STATES
CO2	CARBON DIOXIDE

1- INTRODUCTION

This thesis analyzes the Environmental Non-Governmental Organization (ENGO) influence in the international environmental negotiations and policy-making processes. Doing so aims to explain the ENGOs role in these negotiations, which helps to enhance their strategies and motives to take part in these processes. The analysis of environmental negotiations is purposed to analyze the measures which have been taken against climate change to explain the ENGOs relationship with the policy-makers in the international environmental negotiations. The explanation of the ENGOs' relationship with policy-makers may help them to understand their impact on climate change's international environmental negotiations. This thesis aims to assess the ENGOs' potential to lead the collective action against climate change by seeking answers to the following research question: "What is the level of focuses on assessing ENGOs' level of impact on this climate change processes?"

This question is tried to be answered by analyzing ENGOs' role in the international environmental negotiations, and their position in the final documents of these negotiations that consider the measurements to be taken against climate change. This thesis's theoretical framework derives international relations theories from an extensive understanding of ENGO's influence in international environmental negotiations. Global governance theory, which considers the ENGOs' position in global governance, has been critical since ENGOs' role in international negotiations is assessed to explain their influence in the policy-making processes that consider climate change. (Nasritiousi et al. 2014; Weiss, 2000; Nasritiousi et al., 2016). The relationship between the ENGOs and the

policy-makers during the international negotiations is explained within the global governance theory because of the very nature of climate change. Climate change is a problem that needs to be addressed globally to take effective precautions. In this sense, collective action plays a vital role in fighting it. Global governance theory helped to explain these relationships in the global arena. Through understanding ENGOs place in the global arena, the impact they are trying to make is more accurately assessed.

In this thesis, it is also aimed to contribute to the literature by analyzing the two important documents of the international environmental negotiations, namely, the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement comparing them with the CO₂ emission rates to understand the ENGOs' position in the policy-making processes. The protocols' analysis in international negotiations results (Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004; Zahran et al., 2006; M.M. Betsill & Corell, 2001; M. Betsill, 2002; Savaresi, 2016) are an essential part of the analysis. The works that focus on ENGOs in international negotiations (Böhmelt and Betzol, 2012; Stroup & Wong, 2018; Berny & Rootes, 2018; Rietig, 2016) are considered while the role of the ENGOs in international negotiations analyzed. Works that take basis global governance concept (Zelko, 2017; Dany, 2014; Lövbrand et al., 2017; Backstrand et al., 2017; Nasritiousi et al., 2014; M.M. Betsill & Bulkeley, 2006) are building the blocks of this thesis to understand ENGOs place in international environmental negotiations. Starting with analyzing the final documents of the international environmental negotiations, which are the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris agreement, with the *summative content analysis* method (Hsieh and Shannon, 2015), and continuing with the analysis of CO₂ emission rates of the different countries, it is aimed to understand the ENGO influence in international

environmental negotiations and policy-making processes with the *exploratory sequential content analysis* (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2018). In the end, this thesis argues that academics and the public notice ENGOs level of influence in international environmental negotiations, but in terms of the level of influence, there are problems with the efficient involvement in the policy-making processes and controlling the implementation of these policies over states.

By explaining the ENGOs place in the concepts such as global governance concept and their role in the international environmental negotiations, it is aimed to have a comprehensive understanding of the relationships which ENGOs have with the parties involved in the negotiation processes of these protocols. By doing background research on protocols, the purpose is to understand how these protocols are created as a product of the international negotiations and which elements are essential while in the process. These elements are crucial since they are the elements that make contact with the ENGOs, such as states.

The thesis provides an account of ENGOs' structure and their strategies to be influential in negotiation processes. The reason for analysis is the importance of ENGOs' structure to have an idea about how these organizations work while trying to be influential in the negotiation processes. Two of the most influential global ENGOs, Greenpeace and WWF, are chosen to be explained. The primary reason for this choice is their expertise in global level organizational skills, compared to other ENGOs.

Statistical data, which are CO₂ emission rates, are analyzed because they are critical factors in fighting climate change's adverse effects. Throughout the protocols, we have underlined the importance of the reduction in CO₂ emissions.

So, analysis of the emission rates in the light of the content analysis of protocols helps gain insight into the ENGOs' involvement in international environmental negotiations, policy-making processes, and implementation.

Gathering the Kyoto Protocol's and the Paris Agreement content analysis will help create a complete investigation of the ENGO influence with CO₂ emission rates since the Kyoto Protocol was signed. The cumulative assessment of the literature, strategies ENGOs used, and their structure with the results of the CO₂ emissions, which reflects the situation of climate change today, aims to investigate the ENGOs impact on international environmental negotiations and parties that involve in the policy-making processes. It will also help realize the probable reasons for drawbacks and negative aspects that affect climate change policy-making processes.

1.1 NGOs, ENGOs, and their structure

NGOs and their structure need to be understood to reach a detailed understanding of their influence on the climate change issue. While trying to understand the NGOs' structure and their place in global environmental politics, it will also be understood that NGOs effectively affect the climate change issue, and if so, how. The elements of the global environmental politics, which are also elements of the policy-making processes in international environmental negotiations, are also come forward when understanding the NGOs' influence. Contributions and influence of NGOs' developments in the international negotiations are considered quite significant since these organizations are present in the negotiations themselves (Giorgetti, 1998, p. 115).

The need for understanding NGO influence in a much more systematic manner has been emphasized by the researchers before (M.M. Betsill & Corell, 2001;

Gulbrandsen & Andresen 2004). So, NGOs' position and the influence they possess are analyzed by many academicians, which makes it much more important to give relevant information to assess their structures and communication strategies. This comprehensive analysis of strategy requires a thorough investigation of NGOs' involvement in international negotiations. NGOs are taking part in international negotiations in large numbers (Rietig, 2016, p. 269). The amount of NGOs involved in these negotiations signifies available data to assess the NGO strategies.

With implementing essential organizational knowledge, which NGOs have, and with the information provided, NGOs are bringing change to organizations' behavioral patterns (Beyer, 2007, p. 515). From this idea, the NGOs' influence on the specific organizations that are parts of the international environmental negotiations' policy-making processes is not surprising. Many U.N. agencies are working with the NGOs (Giorgetti, 1998, p.115). It is one example of an organization that deals with environmental issues NGOs can reach. From the idea about the changing behavioral pattern, it can be said that the U.N. is one of the organizations in which NGOs are actively trying to change their behavioral pattern.

NGOs are fueled by the people's values, which is different when compared to other institutions, such as government institutions or profit-based institutions (Giorgetti, 1998). So, it is not a surprise that while governments and organizations which are based on profit have not been interested in the policies which are much more beneficial for the public good, NGOs are much more willing to emphasize the importance of the subjects such as human rights and climate change. Besides, the type of support which NGOs have is mostly from people with different methods, such as donations and grants from different persons or institutions, which make them much more independent while advocating a specific issue such as climate change (Giorgetti,

1998, p.116). It is essential when thinking about the type of motive these organizations have in understanding how these organizations follow different agendas that will not benefit the states or corporations, such as reducing CO2 emissions.

The strategies adopted by the NGOs and other non-state actors to influence the public and the government are everchanging (Rietig, 2016, p.270). This change in the strategies to influence the unique elements in the policy-making processes could be the need for different strategies for reaching different groups. We know that with each actor changing, the strategy which a specific actor uses is also changing. States have used different strategies such as using legal enforcement tools like legislative and judiciary organs of the government to install policies, with the support of either police or military force to watch over the policies that will be enforced.

Meanwhile, corporations, which are chasing for profit, can use their economic tools to press for the policies they want by pressuring different government institutions such as taxing or changing product sale policies. However, NGOs depend on other actors' influence and pressure by lobbying and mobilizing them (Vega & Murdie, 2020, p. 2). These strategies are essential to create necessary influence to ensure the aims that have been settled by ENGOS are reached.

Since the governments' contributions to the global environmental politics have not been enough to reach an acceptable level of the policy-making process in international negotiations, NGOs are gained importance (Nasritiousi et al., 2014, p.110). To say that NGO influence is dependent solely on the access and resources they have on the results of the policy on the international environmental negotiations is not enough. So, there was a need for a more systemic approach to assess the NGOs' influence on international environmental politics (Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004, p.

54). So the NGOs' influence has been researched to assess the protocols and conventions (M.M. Betsill & Corell, 2001; Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004; Lahn 2020; Backstrand et al., 2017).

In terms of the motives NGOs have to push for the international environmental negotiations, the difference between states and ENGOs also stood out in another perspective. To advocate for environmental issues, when there is a lack of motivation and resources for the states to push for the policies necessary to implement for the prevent harmful effects of climate change, Environmental organizations can push for these policies by the motivation of the same principles, which are adopted by the humanitarian organizations (Clark, 1995, p.509).

This motivation to commit to the policies that consider humanitarian or environmental issues helps these organizations motivate and mobilize an international level membership (Clark, 1995, p.510). One of the global NGOs' primary abilities is that their ability to recruit members for their purpose and mobilize them via activism strategies that include creating awareness through media and organizing members. This level of commitment is beneficial when it is considered that these organizations focus on their selected few targets for policy-making processes, which allows them to gain an advantage compared to other institutions. With broader aims, ENGOs can motivate the organization much more efficiently; here, it is environmental issues.

However, unrelated to in what level NGOs, specifically ENGOs, focused on their purposes and motivated and mobilizes the masses, there are critics it could not be as influential as expected since structural problems draw setback on these organizations from making the impact (Dany, 2014, p. 419). While it is accepted that a high level of NGO -besides with ENGO- participation in the global environmental

negotiations is noticed, it could harm the level of influence which they have because of the other actors' behavior towards NGOs to diminish their role to a much more trivial and unnecessary subject other than the ones which needed focus (Dany, 2014, p. 419). So, the analysis should consider whether these influences are focusing on the areas related to international environmental negotiations and if states and other actors have diminished the NGOs' role in these processes.

From moving on to the perspectives that are derived from the literature review, some put forward that while ENGOS' influence on the climate change issue is an aspect that is elaborately discussed, it is essential to develop a critical perspective towards the methods and assumptions in the scholarly works that are researching NGO influence, specifically ENGOS. Since there are different perspectives in the literature to assess the NGO influence in policy-making processes and global environmental negotiations, this criticism brings attention to ENGO influence from a fresh perspective.

In terms of the influence made, Gulbrandsen & Andresen (2004) describe for bases of influence of NGOs to assess the influence these organizations have in international environmental negotiations. These are:

- Intellectual Base
- Membership Base
- Political Base
- Financial Base

The intellectual base depends on the influence of the people in the decision-making processes, with related scientific information and expertise in the area, to convince decision-makers to the necessity of NGOs' policies. Membership base

signifies the organizations' ability to recruit and contain members worldwide since it is a negotiating power for addressing requirements. In that sense, political base signifies the NGO's ability to reach political officers and institutions to influence the negotiations' outcomes. The financial base is the ability of these organizations level resources which they can use for the processes, which are for influencing negotiation processes on different levels such as propaganda, using media tools, creating necessary reports, and participation in the conventions and agreements which are essential in the policy-making processes for environmental negotiations (Gulbrandsen & Andresen 2004, p. 58).

We see that while there are different perspectives about assessing NGO influence, it is essential to understand that with each perspective that has been given, there are critics for every work which has been done before. This variety in the perspectives about the NGO impact helped to review the literature to optimize the reasons and requirements of analyzing the NGO influence so that a more hybrid approach using the best of both worlds could be applied. In that sense, this work aims to contribute from many works mentioned before in terms of the criteria to assess the ENGO's influence on climate change and international environmental negotiations.

Besides perspectives that were used by Gulbrandsen & Andresen (2004) regarding the data derivation, there are three aspects emphasized to understand the NGO's influence in general. These aspects are:

- Access to negotiations and delegations
- Goal Attainment
- Ego and alter perceptions

As its name suggests, access to negotiations and delegations is one criterion that assess NGO influence according to the ability of the organizations' access the negotiations processes such as conferences and protocol meetings. Goal attainment is the type of assessment of whether NGOs reached their goal regarding influencing international environmental negotiation outcomes. To do this, correspondences between NGOs' demands on an issue and the actual outcome have been compared to the NGOs' capacity about the influence they have on international negotiation processes.

Newell (2000) is another remarkable work in this sense that considers assessing NGO influence by interviews with the Environmental NGOs and the decision-makers in the processes that international negotiations and processes are ongoing. While analyzing its content, it is understood that NGO influence has more complex issues when the in-depth analysis of the processes has been done. Since this thesis aims to understand the ENGO influence on climate change, it will be focused on the ideas and general facts about the ENGO influence.

2. GREENPEACE AND WWF

In the international negotiations processes to influence the policies to prevent climate change's harmful effects, NGOs are working under different organizations to be more organized, mobile, and efficient. Under these circumstances, well-known global NGOs such as Greenpeace and WWF have been chosen because of their ability to mobilize the masses, be well-known and heard by the media, and assess their organizations' influence level in international negotiations. These organizations' structure is analyzed from different perspectives, so it will be much more accurate to reach certain conclusions about their strategies.

2.1.1 Greenpeace

As one of the most critical ENGOs, Greenpeace has a considerable amount of members, and they are well known globally for their work in international environmental politics about the climate change issue. In this sense, it was significant to understand one of the most critical environmental NGOs and their structure and their influence level better to understand the ENGO influence over the climate change issue.

It started as a small group of environmental activists from Vancouver, Canada, in 1971, which are protesting the U.S.'s nuclear testing, had members from Canada and the United States at the beginning. After a decade, we see that Greenpeace had become one of the most influential NGOs worldwide, having and headquarter in Amsterdam and spreading a significant amount of nations (Zelko, 2017, p. 318). The fast evolution of this organization as an Environmental NGO shows the need for an organization, which addresses climate change and other issues about nature to be addressed by the community.

As it is understood that NGOs are much more dependent on the wide range of membership and mobilization of the masses to be more influential in the international arena, the importance of reaching vast amounts of memberships worldwide is significant to create necessary pressure in the policy-making processes. So, the rapid increase in both countries' Greenpeace spread and gained members is enough to say that the climate change issue has been taking public attention.

While the response of the people around the world was deliberately good because of the Greenpeace members' anti-nuclear protests, Greenpeace continued to add on their strategy by adding an anti-whaling campaign to their agenda from 1973 onwards (Eden, 2004, p. 596). We see Greenpeace continued to take the people's attention by addressing other issues and creating awareness for them. It is seen that Greenpeace continued to expand its strategies, formal and informal, to be considered by states and other influential actors.

2.1.2 The structure of Greenpeace.

Internal affairs of the organization have been deciding the approach which Greenpeace has taken internationally. To get its global position, Greenpeace had been gone through significant disputes between them. While a board of directors had been set up and a more institutional structure tried to be adopted, the office in Vancouver had tried to unify all the activities in North America; other offices said that they disagreed with the idea. During the period of that setup, there was a significant disruption between offices and between individuals (Eden, 2004, p. 596). In that case, it is understood that while NGOs formed, there are many parameters to consider while assessing their structure.

This structure has been influencing the way Greenpeace is formed today, which has related to the top-down approach adopted by Greenpeace's authorities to unify the organization, which includes establishing a headquarter in the Netherlands. (Eden, 2004, p., 596). The organization's evolution has been continued by the notion that a better organization leads to better influence in the areas where they aim to influence.

We see the creating an influence in the international environmental negotiations needs attention from the public to reach specific interests, by converting this attention to support, to a force to use it on the international arena's policy-making processes. Different strategies have gained much attention, but one of the most important of them is gaining media attention. The incident that happened in 1985, mentioned by Eden (2004), in which one of the Greenpeace ships in New Zealand has been mined and sunk afterward, resulted in one person's death. This incident has been gained media attention and sympathy to Greenpeace, resulted in a considerable amount of damage pay by France to Greenpeace decided by the court. (Eden, 2004, p. 597) Again we see the legal action taken against the government, which resulted in increasing credibility and legally known by the critical institutions, increasing the NGOs' influence since their support and fame is spread.

The current structure of Greenpeace has been developed extraordinarily since its establishment. Starting from the 2000s, the international environmental groups had been using professional staff and managing the organization in a much more professional manner (Eden, 2004, p. 599). This evolution into professionalism could be the need for a comprehensive strategy and resource demands of the international environmental negotiations. With transforming into a global organization, Greenpeace had to effectively use its resources and workforce in order to reach certain specific

goals in terms of climate change and nature. Gathering together the optimized structure, professional management, and global popularity, the specific NGO's influence in the international environmental negotiations could quickly increase.

Greenpeace's structure, other than other NGOs, has a difference in using their membership base. According to Eden (2004), Greenpeace's ordinary members are not as active as any other NGO. Instead, these members depend on fund-raising, and activism is much more dependent on highly trained professionals (p. 595). While at first, it can be seen as a good thing, in terms of organization and mobilization in the international negotiation processes, it has its side effects.

There are critics regarding the structure of Greenpeace. These critics aim to show Greenpeace's structure's negative effects because of its approach to its organization. Greenpeace's corporate-like structure and strategies that remind to market strategies that many corporations use, remind the structure of an organization that pursues profit and behaves, according to it (Bond, 2001, p. 67). Over the years, ENGO's organizational behavior like Greenpeace had developed something that can be called private organizational behavior, which replaces gaining profit to be influential on the international negotiations.

2.1.3 The strategies used by Greenpeace.

With getting together the strategy towards using ground-level activists and overall personnel usage of the Greenpeace, such as depending heavily on professionals, one of these strategies that ENGOs' use -mass mobilization- requires a different approach. Unlike other ENGOs, since activism level on the big scale is close to being passive, other strategies like depending on media attention and being

influential on the international negotiations are gaining much more importance by Greenpeace.

One example of this strategy is Greenpeace's communication skills to take media attention and to create necessary pressure on the policy-makers. Greenpeace has been using the impact of climate change on the world by documenting them and showing them to the world through rather impactful visuals (Doyle, 2007, p. 129). In this strategy, it could be seen that the steps to influence the international negotiation processes are evolved. While before there were protests at the sites and legal moves to gain attention and push for agendas, a new strategy was added.

From 1997, Greenpeace's expeditions to the Arctic and Antarctic have led to prove a visual version of climate change through examples of cracked and retracted glaciers. Other environmental organizations have adopted this method to increase public and governments' interest in dealing with skepticism. (Doyle, 2007, p., 129).

David McTaggart, which can be described as one of Greenpeace's most influential figures as a founder, captained a ship to a nuclear test site in the Pacific, which belongs to France, said beaten by French Commandos in the process. Because of that, he sued the French government, and to do that, he sets up an official office for Greenpeace and set up a bank account. Moreover, he helped set up offices in London and Paris in 1977 (Eden, 2004, p. 596). What is critical in this event is the very first effective strategies of the ENGOs. It can be seen that while a small group, the organization members used traditional ways such as suing a government to take public attention and noticed by the states and public. It is also a vital sign of a strategy that uses international and domestic legal processes to influence the authorities, which they aim to take the public's attention.

From continuing onwards, Greenpeace's method to take public attention to influence the environmental negotiations is one way to fill the gap in which created by the inefficiency of its ground-level activists. The method seems while funding the necessary personnel that comprises professionals by the funds, these professionals would use different methods to take states' and public attention to the matter at hand. The importance of the donations by the public can be seen in Greenpeace's explanation itself. Greenpeace explains that when it is looked at their website, they are a global campaigning network to protect the environment while maintaining peace. They highlight that they do not accept donations from any political organizations and government (Greenpeace European Unit, 2019). The primary reason for this behavior could be the intention to be free from all forms of pressure from the potential decision-makers. It would not be very wise for ENGOs to take donations from oil or gas companies since being dependent on the institutions like them is both harmful in terms of the clash of interests and bad reputation in front of the public.

Greenpeace's intentions in being influential in the international arena have been stated by its means of communication. On its website, on the about page, the European Unit of the Greenpeace stated: "Based in Brussels, we monitor and analyze the work of the institutions of the European Union, expose deficient policies and laws, and challenge decision-makers to implement solutions that work for people and the planet" (Greenpeace European Unit, 2020). This statement can be a part of the communication strategy, since the explanation is aiming to take part in the negotiation processes which consider climate change, and by stating that they are aiming to challenge the decision-makers, the direct intention of aiming to change the policies has been showing itself.

2.2.1 World Wide Fund For Nature (WWF)

Another crucial global organization in global environmental politics as an ENGO is WWF. While there is significantly less academic work for WWF than Greenpeace, the information derived from its structure and strategies will help get how this organization works and how it differs from Greenpeace.

Founded in 1961, WWF nearly spread to one-hundred countries. The approximate amount of supporters are over 5 million, and supposedly there are over 30 million followers on social media platforms (World Wide Fund For Nature, 2020). From the information gathered the WWF website, it can be said this NGO satisfies the requirements to be a global ENGO. These requirements do not letter to letter explained criteria. Instead, the enormous supporter base and widespread organization of over a hundred countries give the impression of an NGO that has achieved global-level influence.

The WWF's official purposes and aims are differing from Greenpeace in terms of conservation and sustainability. Officially, WWF explains its mission as conservation of flora and fauna, supporting renewable energy sources, and reducing all kinds of pollution (WWF, 2020).

While Greenpeace focuses on the activism and lobbyism side of creating influence in environmental politics, WWF is much more on the side of acting from local to global by influencing decision-makers with solid and proven demonstrations on the field (Chartier & Deleage, 1998, p. 31).

As an ENGO that uses its member base to supply the resources needed, WWF highly depends on individuals' funding. As in 2019, 55 percent of their income comes from the individuals, 778 million euros overall (WWF-INT, 2019, p. 57). This

dependence on the individuals is worth talking about, since it is expected for global NGOs to be financially independent of any other organization to defend the values they are preaching.

In terms of the structure, Greenpeace and WWF have, they adopt a form of enterprise on a base that organizationally protests in nature. To survive this organization, these ENGOs needed to collect enough money, members, and expertise to continue their influence in policy-making processes (Chartier & Deleage, 1998, p. 35). While trying to collect the necessary capital to survive as an organization and trying to reach WWF aims, it is essential to use their resources with caution and systematically to maximize efficiency. In this sense, the WWF structure is essential to explain as an ENGO to understand how its mechanisms work to create influence.

2.2.2 The structure of WWF

The structure of the WWF is linked with its organizational setup. WWF describes itself as an organization that relies on networking. (Anyango-van Zwieten et al., 2019; p., 3753). WWF's reason to consider itself a network organization is the methods and ways they used to finance themselves and spread their influence. It is presented that WWF highly depends on individual donations when compared to other types of incomes (WWF-INT, 2019). this dependence is what should encourage the networking style which WWF adopts. While trying to get enough resources to continue their projects, networking and finding new professionals for the organization, and creating connections with particular policy-makers are more comfortable with this networking strategy.

The structure of the WWF depends on its complex and highly professionalized staff. WWF describes itself as an independent organization with a specific structure

itself, including the Board of Trustees. (WWF, 2020). When it is understood as an ENGO, the WWF structure builds itself around Europe's important international political negotiation centers. It is not a coincidence since it is also seen in Greenpeace, which established its headquarters in Amsterdam, which can also be considered one crossroad of international negotiation meetings. By physically being close to the places that important meetings for environmental negotiations are held, these ENGOs will take advantage of being close to the officials and policy-makers. Physical closeness could help during the meetings and when there are no meetings because of being in touch with the officials outside of the meetings for lobbying issues.

According to Anyango-van Zwieten et al. 2019, there are four core bodies of governance in the WWF. These are:

- The Council
- The Assembly
- International Board of Trustees
- Network Executive Team (Anyango-van Zwieten et al. 2019, p. 3753)

According to Anyango-van Zwieten et al. (2019), the Council is where the president and the chairpersons of all WWF offices worldwide can be seen and direct the global effort in environmental issues. The Council appoints the International Board for environmental negotiation issues, and the Assembly comprises CEOs and program representatives. Moreover, the Network executive team in a position that advises all the board and Assembly reports to the International Board.

From the WWF structure, it can be understood that there is a distribution of power between the organization's key elements. This power distribution could be useful for taking steps for different environmental aims in a broad perspective, but

could slow down the decision-making process since there are many bureaucratic stages to consider any given decision.

WWF has systematically spread worldwide by different hubs and offices, which gives an attempt to increase efficiency. The WWF's networking and personnel organization are explained as having four regional hubs, with the primary hub established in Switzerland and the secretariat. The secretariat is explained as having a role in coordinating all the offices globally while supporting networking, campaigns, and partnerships (WWF, 2020).

From moving with the WWF statement about their organizational formation, WWF can be said that spread from region to region, and within each region, headquarters controls and organizes the offices. To increase the influence globally, each region's offices contribute by pushing for the policies via campaigns and financial support. The organizational structure of the WWF's complexity is not an interesting result since aiming for global-level influence in a specific international negotiation type -in this case, it is environmental negotiations- requires human resources, strong financial status, and organizational power.

When the keywords in the WWF statement about their structure have been analyzed, there can be seen words such as “developing policies,” “global partnerships,” and “international campaigns.” These keywords give the idea about the type of work that WWF put through to impact climate change via international environmental negotiations and policy-making processes. The idea is, while WWF has been actively funding itself and pursuing necessary support from the public, the organization is also using different strategies that contain lobbyist intentions partially. These lobbyist intentions can be seen in the purpose of developing policies and

creating global partnerships. There are two WWF offices in Brussels and in Washington DC that specialize in the organizations' influence according to their location. While the Brussels office was interacting with the European Union, the Washington DC office interacted with the institutions that specificities in economics, such as the World Bank (WWF, 2020). Structured WWF offices around the world are on the agenda of influencing and lobbying in the places they are settled. As it can be understood from WWF's statement about their structure, the organization agrees that they are actively trying to manipulate the policies; influencing these policies is part of the international environmental negotiation deals.

2.2.3 The strategies used by WWF

As a global ENGO, WWF used strategies to be convincing and impactful in the international environmental negotiations as Greenpeace. These strategies are part of the intention of influencing international environmental negotiations and policy-making processes. Continuing from this idea of the intentions, officially WWF intended to:

- Pressuring States through Governments
- Cooperating with Business
- Help for adaptation to change
- Founding new allies (WWF, 2020)

To create solutions for the climate change issue. While putting pressure on governments can be described as one strategy that makes states agree on climate change policies, this pressure also contains a strategy within itself. To pressure governments in the international negotiations and policy-making processes, ENGO's known to use media, public support, lobbying, and activism (Rietig, 2016, p. 270). In

the WWF case, as conservation one of their primary goal, they have used the networks they created to gain information, expertise, and necessary knowledge to gain leverage on their agendas about conservation and environmental issues (Anyango-van Zwieten et al., 2019, p. 3754).

From networking, WWF gains members and financial support worldwide, making them much more convincing for the issues they face. As an ENGO, WWF is an organization that professionalized in media, marketing, and mass communication (Heijden, 2002, p. 194). Necessary expertise gained can be thought in the areas of politics, environment, lobby, pr, and communications, which are areas that will increase an ENGO's influence and power significantly. WWF can reach a broad spectrum of actors in the international environmental negotiations, including national, international, and business actors (Giorgetti, 1998, p. 128). This ability to access international actors proves WWF uses its resources and expertise well in the process to pursue a specific goal.

As one of the most important focuses of the WWF is the conservation of nature, the organization is strictly trying to fund the conservation operations worldwide (Anyango-van Zwieten et al., 2019, p. 3751). This activity in fund research could help WWF for building better connections with the other organizations. Also, the need for funds makes it important to be better at reaching ordinary people for organizations' cause to gain support, which is essential for all NGOs to affect both negotiations and policy-makers.

The strategies and structures of WWF and Greenpeace are explained since it is intended to understand how NGOs, particularly ENGOs, influence international environmental negotiations. The origins of both organizations carry similarities to

have sensitivity against environmental problems. To solve environmental problems, these organizations evolve into a more professionalized and structured look to impact environmental policies. By using activism via a vast amount of donations from members, combined with the experts' usage, these organizations had sought out influence inside and outside of the policy-making processes combined with lobbying during the negotiations. In this sense, the outcomes of these international negotiations, which are protocols and agreements, are analyzed along with the conventions to understand better the ENGOs and their level of impact on these negotiations.



3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 What does NGO mean?

NGOs' influence on the climate change issue can not be addressed without a thorough account of how to conceptualize NGOs as an international actor. This chapter will briefly describe what an NGO is and why it is crucial in international environmental politics. Furthermore, the focus on ENGOs within the literature will be assessed.

There is not an accepted and clear definition of NGOs in the literature. NGO's are part of non-state actors, which are a broad category since it is understood that non-state actors consisting of many actors other than NGOs (Nasritiousi et al., 2014, p.110). There are different approaches in the literature to define NGOs concerning their participation in climate change negotiations (Cabre, 2011; Rietig, 2011), their position in international environmental law (Tarlock, 1992), their position in global governance (Nasritiousi et al. 2014; Giorgetti 1998; Auer 2000) and their role in the climate change policies (Dolsak, 2013).

This study finds relevant the global governance concept (Nasritiousi et al. 2014; Dany, 2014; Stroup and Wong, 2018) and studies consider the place of the NGO's in international environmental negotiations (M.M. Betsill & Corell, 2001; M.M. Betsill & Corell, 2008; Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004). The global governance concept addresses the global arena's governance issue, in which international negotiations and policy-making processes are part of it. Since ENGOs represent themselves in the international environmental negotiations, analyzing ENGOs' influence on environmental issues, one of the primary purposes of this study. These organizations can be categorized according to their activism style, geographical

range, or the problems they address (M.M. Betsill & Corell, 2008; Woodward, 2011; Clark, 1995). From moving these differences in motives, Environmental NGO's are the focus of this study, since this research is focused on analyzing the influence on climate change, which is an environmental issue. While there was specific categorization for NGOs by their specific specialties, literature needed to address NGOs more accurately to explain their influence on climate change better. In this sense, the term NGO in the literature is mostly used as the actors involved in processes that require international negotiations, using different means of tools used for communication and influence (M. Betsill, 2002; M.M. Betsill & Corell, 2001).

One way of categorizing NGOs is according to their motivation. Unlike many other organizations related to state or any intergovernmental organizations, NGOs are defending society's values. The way these organizations are supported (by the community through support and donations) makes them independent from the influence of the organizations they negotiate with, resulting in a better position (Giorgetti, 1998, p.116). Highlighting this independence of NGOs is pretty important since the literature analyzes the relationship between NGOs and the policy-makers to assess the level of influence of the NGOs over climate change.

The NGO influence is fundamental, since the definition will help understand the work NGOs have been doing in international negotiations to analyze the negotiation processes. Betsill and Corell's (2001) work on this influence with a framework that focuses on the NGOs' power over international environmental negotiations since states are conventionally seen as the main actors that can shape and determine these negotiations' outcome. So, according to Betsill and Corell (2001), it would be more accurate to look at the NGO's ability to do:

- Transmit their knowledge and aims which they have on environmental politics intentionally and,
- Change the other actors' behavioral patterns in terms of their response according to the information. (p. 87)

These abilities are essential to assess the NGOs' influence since there is a definition of the NGO's influence first, and it can be assessed by looking at correct data and making correct comparisons. On the other hand, Betsill and Corell (2001) propose to use three variables to decide on NGO participation. These are:

- Activity level
- Level of Access to negotiations
- Resources available for NGOs (p. 88)

Notwithstanding the criticisms that these three points are not enough to assess the NGO influence (Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004), focusing on them is valuable for simplifying the literature's complexity. The accuracy of deciding whether NGOs influential in international negotiations is not an ever changing argument that needs to be elaborated. Therefore, it is considered delving into the conventions and protocols, which are essential aspects of the international environmental negotiations (Gulbrandsen & Andresen 2004).

NGOs can aim for collective action and can mobilize citizens for that action. Also, we see NGOs can create substantial work in educating the masses and can take part in the global governance concept to address the issues related to their problem (Vega and Murdie, 2020, p. 5). In terms of climate change, these tools are essential since this problem needs to be widely recognized to take action. At this point, it is significant to describe how these organizations are trying to influence states' relevant

institutions in order to pursue their agenda. Strategies include taking public attention, mobilizing the masses, using activism and lobbying (Rietig, 2016, p. 270), and using social media attention (Vu et al., 2019). The reason is that NGO's are devoted to the issue which they are focusing on (e.g., Environmental activities, Human Rights), and this devotion makes NGO's influence and encourages many members to support them in a specific situation. (Clark, 1995, p. 509) NGOs are essential tools in influencing the people to meet their goals on global governance or international negotiations since their significance in educating the masses of people regarding the problems they are focused on has been given a value by both governments and different international organizations (Giorgetti, 1998).

Defining NGO's is an area that requires extensive research in order to cover a comprehensive perspective because of the broad spectrum that non-governmental organizations cover. In that sense, the literature needs to be analyzed thoroughly in order to realize the basic concepts of environmental NGOs.

3.2.1 The concept.

Since the 1990s, after the end of the Cold War, non-state actors became more active in environmental politics than the states because of the general increasing activity of non-state actors in global politics (Dauvergne, 2005, p. 19). This interdisciplinarity enriches the literature by expanding the scope of environmental politics research to encompass different concepts, methods, and perspectives. The multiplicity of perspectives is critical when understanding if a different actor other than the NGOs plays a critical role in the climate change issue.

During the late 90s, non-state actors became an interesting subject to research as an influential actor in the international arena. The reason behind this interest seems

unclear in the literature, but it could be said that the increasing interest in non-state actors is that it was becoming some type of trend. In the later parts of the 20th century, non-state actors increased in numbers drastically (Clark, 1995, p. 19). This drastic increase has made the non-state actors part of both the International Relations and Political Science topic in the literature as it reviewed since NGO's influence area covers both research topics at the same time. Moreover, analysis of the NGO's relationship with the states and environmental institutions (Raustiala, 1997) and critics that made to the ongoing structure of the environmental NGO's (Chartier & Deleage, 1998) continued to contribute to the literature by preparing the trend of analyzing NGO's in international negotiations arena.

There are many arguments for what is the place of NGO's in the literature of environmental politics. In that sense, the research base its arguments on environmental politics covers a comprehensive perspective of studies since NGO influence is happening on different levels, such as on the international and domestic levels (Nasritiousi et al. 2014, p. 112). States, as one of the important actors in the international environmental negotiations along with the NGO's, are critical to emphasize because of their influence when it comes to applying the policies which are done. So, a concept such as international regimes includes states in its study to give a broader approach to explaining NGO influence (Dauvergne, 2005, p. 14). From the examples and variety of research areas, it is possible to conclude that NGOs' influence on climate change belongs to an area that consists of a variety of interdisciplinary research subjects (Dauvergne, 2005, p. 8).

In the literature of global environmental politics, international NGOs play an important role in their influence in the policy-making processes. Many studies emphasize the NGOs' place as an essential part of the global communication process

(Betsill and Corell, 2001; Nasritiousi et al., 2014; Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004; Woodward, 2011). Besides, their significance has been widely researched to get an idea about how these NGOs are influential and make a difference in the environmental policy-making process (Corell & Betsill 2001; Woodward, 2011; Böhmelt & Betzold 2012; Raustiala, 1997; Finger et al. 1995). Also, the need for analyzing the impact of the NGO's on government systems has been highlighted in work by Nasritiousi, Hijerpe, and Linner (2016). Betsill and Corell's research (2001), which analyzes the Desertification Convention and Kyoto Protocol, is significant to understand the NGO involvement in the policy-making processes. Kyoto Protocol has been subjected to many more works to explain ENGO' involvement in climate change negotiations. (M. Betsill, 2002; Zahran et al. 2007; Gulbrandsen & Andresen 2004)

This literature analysis has shown that different methods and perspectives are used to analyze the NGO factor in negotiations (Betsill and Corell, 2001, Zahran et al., 2004; Auer, 2000; Böhmelt and Betzold, 2012; M. Betsill, 2002; Cáceres, 2012). The literature needed to be searched to find the works that compare different actors of international environmental negotiations. A good example is Stroup and Wong's (2018) work. They comparatively analyze global INGOs, including ENGOs, to highlight the critical aspects of their influence on climate change negotiations.

Stroup and Wong's analysis reveals that NGOs' relations with corporations are an important factor to consider since the NGO's influence on climate change relies on policy-making strategies, hand-in-hand with corporation relations (Stroup and Wong, 2018). These corporations are the organizations that aim for profit in the field of either fossil fuel industry such as oil and fuel companies, instead of the ENGO's that have environmental worries (Jonathan & Terrence, 2004, p.9). Throughout literature, it can be understood that there are multiple factors such as

states, IGO's (Inter-Governmental Organizations), and media, besides global non-governmental organizations, to explain whether climate change has been addressed and policies are influenced. Deciding which factors are concerning non-state actors to determine this influence level, the literature has been analyzed differs in terms of their perspective, for example, depending much more on the comparisons (Jonathan & Terrence, 2004).

When these methods from different works are considered, the method used by Betsill and Corell (2001) comes forward because of its type of analysis, which is distinctive in the literature. Climate conventions and protocols used as specific cases to decide whether non-state actors are influential in the environmental policy-making process are substantial work that creates a framework for understanding the influence of the non-state actors over specific organizations that can decide authority in the process of policy-making of environmental politics.

While these works in the literature are analyzed, it is significant that what other concepts are taken into account while talking about the non-state actors' influence on climate change. In this sense, Betsill and Corell (2001) provide an excellent example since they include corporations and conventions in the research area.

Instead of the works in literature, which solely focuses on the specific roles, Rietig (2016)'s work focuses on how ENGOs tries to influence governments, how governments respond to these influence attempts, and whether these attempts influenced the negotiation power of the ENGO's or not. Rietig (2011) and Vega and Murdie (2020) are other significant works that explain the influence of the ENGOs in international environmental negotiations.

Besides the debate on non-state actors' influence over climate change, it is also crucial to define which strategies these actors adopt to influence the negotiations. Rietig focuses on the strategies the actors adopt to influence negotiations. Moreover, he reveals these strategies depend on the demand that comes from the ENGO. The ENGO's demands are categorized into two as *macrodemands* and *microdemands*. The former refers to the demands that aim global scale achievements in the international negotiations and consider influencing significant protocols and negotiations. The latter is the local scale demands pursued by the NGO's that have limited influence on the global scale (Rietig, 2016, p. 272). The literature focuses on both types of demands and accordingly on both global and local ENGOs. The global and significant achievements that can be considered as pushing collective action in environmental policies and the local level influence attempts by the small ENGO's are also important in the literature.

Moreover, the works that analyze the ENGOs' strategies and other non-state actors contributed valuably to the literature review (M. Betsill, 2002; Stroup and Wong, 2018; Raustiala, 1997; Jonathan and Terrence, 2004).

The local level NGO focus is significant in the literature, and while analyzing the global NGOs, there are mentions of local level NGO's and non-state actors. (Tarlock, 1992; Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004; Mermet, 2018). This is because many environmental problems started at the local level are evolved into problems that occur on the global level, such as climate change and desertification (Heijden, 2002). Analyzing the push for local agenda of NGOs could give us an idea about what in the global level negotiations are different and what influence level could be required to complete the objectives which these global level non-state actors are aiming. These non-state actors' strategy mostly relies on their influence level and whether there is a

conflict of interest between negotiators or not (Rietig, 2016, p. 272). While local NGO's are also significant, the big impact global NGO's have over the international negotiations, and policy-making processes for climate change make researching global NGO's more interesting and easier to focus on at the same time.

3.2.2 Global Governance Concept

The global Governance concept can be explained as the “application of the notion of governance to the globe” (Weiss, 2000, p. 806). Many works analyze NGOs and other non-state actors within the framework of global governance. For instance, Nasritiousi et al. (2014) consider NGOs ' place in the global governance concept. They started by stating that non-state actors proliferated throughout time and have become a crucial and non-separated part of the contemporary global system (Nasritiousi, Hijerpe&Linner 2014, p. 110). What differentiates this work from others is that the tendency towards defining non-state actors with a single case study like Betsill and Corell (2001) by comparing NGO's and other non-state actors either in terms of their leverages they have or points of view (Nasiritousi, Hijerpe&Linner, 2016). In this work, we also see the attempt to create a framework by analyzing specific conventions or agreements, which can be seen as marking events of how non-state actors are work, or they are seen as a way of measuring the influence level of the non-state actors.

In this work, the critique of the literature in general, in the abstract, is also eye-catching. The critique relies on the idea that there is an issue with the focus of ongoing research. It is mentioned that there is a gap in the literature by not analyzing the non-state actors which do not have as significant influence as their global counterparts have (Nasiritousi et al., 2014, p. 110). This research gap in the literature

has been analyzed and pinpointed by the author to focus on the gap that has not been focused on before. The comparative work between non-state actors in terms of policy and lobby of governance were not adequately researched, and this paper aimed to do so by putting on a specific framework to fill this gap (Nasiritousi et al., 2014, p. 110).

M.M. Betsill and Bulkeley (2006) have created a detailed work on the global governance concept and its relation with the NGO's. This work uses the CCP (Cities for Climate Protection) program to create a definitive theory about the global governance concept using a broadened view other than the traditional research method (Betsill and Bukeley, 2006, p. 14). The global governance concept is linked to the non-state actors in a way that emphasizes the relationship between NGO's and the elements which are influential in the policy-making process of climate change issue. The work aims to use an approach that takes a basis in many levels of the global governance process, taking it to a local area which is argued as this local level is also crucial for global governance process on the bigger picture, and by emphasizing different degrees of relationships in different levels analyzing the global governance issue on many levels (Betsill and Bukeley, 2006). Unlike many other works in the same area, the approach used in this work proves the evolution of the literature over time in terms of approach. This evolution can help future researchers better understand the ENGOS and their structure so that more accurate conclusions can be made about the influence of the non-state actors on climate change.

In the literature, there are also counter-arguments to the proposition that NGO's always affects the global governance processes positively. For instance, Dany argues that NGOs' participation in the global governance process can negatively affect NGOs' influence power by scaling down the organizations' demands to detailed and sometimes trivial demands (2014). Rapid institutionalization of the

NGO's and their involvement in the global governance process can be a reason to diminish the influence of NGO's, which they have on the policy outcomes. The NGO's involvement in the policy process has sound effects, but there can be a harmful side of this involvement since NGO's structure is open to change, which is not necessarily good (Dany, 2014, p. 420). Critics of the adverse effects on NGOs are constructive since despite a fair amount of positive comments on the NGOs' influence on subjects such as climate policy outcomes as seen in the literature, adverse effects on the structure could be harmful since it worsens the level of influence.

3.3.1 Conventions and Programs.

Conventions and agreements play such a massive role in defining the influence level of non-state actors in the literature; the analysis that is emerging from them about non-state actors is expanded to fill in other perspectives. In that sense, Lövbrand et al. (2017) is one work that uses these conventions and agreements to highlight the importance and influence of the non-state actors. UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) was one of the critical institutions in the paper mentioned to describe the non-state actor's influence on global environmental politics. Compared to the work that analyzes ENGO influence in global climate governance (Nasritiousi et al. 2014), this work focuses on conventions and protocols as many other works in the literature (Corell & Betsill, 2001; Backstrand et al. 2017; Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004; Zahran et al. 2006; Rietig, 2016; Bolin, 2007; Vega & Murdie 2020; Dolsak, 2013; Woodward, 2011; Lövbrand et al. 2017; Cabre, 2011).

Backstrand, Kuyper, Linnér, and Lövbrand (2017) adopt a different approach. First, not only NGOs but also other non-state actors are involved. They define the

non-state actors which involve in the international environmental negotiations as “environmental NGOs, activist groups, intergovernmental organizations, city networks, oil companies, consultancy, and legal firms, carbon brokers, indigenous communities, trade unions, women’s groups, youth organizations, and religious communities.” (Backstrand et al., 2017, p., 564). Taking these non-state actors into consideration is essential as they can indirectly affect NGO’s influence level can be indirectly affected by these other non-state actors. With the variation of the non-state actor groups, their influence on global environmental negotiations is varied, giving them different multilateral climate diplomacy roles (Backstrand et al., 2017, p. 562). Non-state actors’ influence on global environmental politics is changing among the groups and the parties involved in the negotiations, which these different kinds of non-state actors are trying to influence.

3.3.2 State and non-state actor relationship.

States are among the most important international actors to consider in analyzing the NGO’s influence, since the relationship between the two is one of the deciding factors to take necessary precautions for climate change. It is crucial to understand the state’s role in the negotiations for policy-making in the environmental policies, which will influence the outcome of the measures to tackle climate change. In the literature, there are arguments about considering states as the key actors and putting NGOs in a secondary place as they only can influence the policy-making process but not execute it (Giddens, 2009, p.5). In line with the realist theories, such arguments stem from the assumption that states are the most crucial elements in the climate change issue. When it is considered that states are the main actors in international relations, to make necessary changes in the policies of climate change, it is much easier to mobilize the masses of the people to achieve a specific goal since

the states' citizens are much more reliable to support policies that are made (Giddens, 2009).

Rietig (2016)'s work provides an alternative approach by focusing on the states' behavior. He aims to explain the state's' perspective and behavior towards the non-state actors, especially ENGOS, by looking at climate change. It is concluded that the ENGO's may have a limited impact on states by lobbying and activism, but their impact can be aggrandized if organizations optimize their strategy. Emphasizing the relationship between the states and the ENGOS can give us an idea about how these influence processes work, which will help us understand the impact NGOs have over the states in policy-making processes.

Since states are an essential factor while analyzing the influence of climate change, in the literature, using the relationship between the states and the ENGO's as part of the research is also expected. The strategies which are used by the international NGOs to influence the states are in a wide range and influential. (Stroup and Wong, 2018, p. 1102). These strategies are beneficial for mobilizing the masses to achieve a specific goal. The NGOs and activists did not alter the place in which states have in the climate change negotiations. Instead, they used a wide-range of information techniques to make sure that the public knows about climate change and its dangers via taking enough attention from the mass media, and with this way concerned public would influence its government because governments need to concern the citizens needs to be in power in the coming years (Rietig, 2016, p. 274).

The emphasis on the non-state actors on different influence levels makes literature more comprehensible since the research gains a broader perspective, creating more accurate conclusions. This analysis of influence levels helps this study

to assess NGO's in international negotiations better. Emphasis on the conventions such as Convention on Climate Change and agreements such as the Paris agreement becomes much more highlighted (Gulbrandsen & Andresen 2004; Zahran et al. 2006; Backstrand et al. 2017; Cabre, 2011; Corell & Betsill, 2001; Lövbrand et al. 2017; Bolin, 2007). The importance given to these events shows that when trying to assess NGO influence, these can be accepted as one of the most crucial measurement concepts. When in the literature, the influence of non-state actors is analyzed, it is also crucial to understand the concept behind the agreements and conventions that drive them.

One of the early works in the late 1990s is Clark's (1995), which focuses on environmental and humanitarian to discuss the NGOs' widespread influence on the international arena. He defines the influence of NGOs by comparing the states and NGO, highlighting the differences between them to reflect the NGO's structure upon

NGOs are committed to a specific cause or purpose; states rarely have the motivation or resources to reach a specific goal (Clark, 1995, p. 509). In the period Clark wrote this work Clark (1995), the environmental NGOs' role in their relations with states was still unclear. The researcher found out that there was a question of authority between them when it comes to being influential on climate change policies. As seen in Clark (1995), this question of authority is vital in the literature (Auer, 2000; Giddens, 2009; Böhmelt and Betzold, 2013; Rietig, 2011) because the NGOs' influence level critically depends on this authority comparison. The lack of authority that NGOs have is changing; by comparing the states and NGOs in terms of authority, it could be understood why specific policies are accepted or rejected, which are the policies attempted to intervene by the NGOs'. By analyzing the harmful effects of NGO involvement, the NGOs' research can improve by integrating the social

movement literature (Dany, 2014, p. 420). By this integration, the literature's perspective about ENGOs on climate change problems can improve and create a better understanding of how and why ENGOs are influencing the climate change issue.

ENGO's influence level on the climate change issue is a subject that has long been researched. Different scholars have analyzed the effect they have on the policy-making processes and advocacy for environmental issues (Corell & Betsill, 2001; Rietig, 2011; Rietig, 2016; Tarlock, 1992; Giorgetti, 1998; Vega & Murdie 2020; Nulman & Özkula 2016; Heijden, 2002; Mermet, 2018; Chartier & Deleage, 1998; Böhmelt; 2012; Stroup & Wong, 2018). Vega and Murdie's work (2020) is an important work that researches non-governmental organizations' influence over CO₂ emission rates. According to Vega and Murdie (2020), ENGO's needs to mobilize citizens to pressure the policy-making process. The success of such pressure depends on the state which pressured on needs to be negotiable on some level for ENGOs to push policy-making processes; otherwise, ENGO influence could not be very successful (Vega and Murdie, 2020, p. 5).

The impact ENGO's have in the international environmental negotiations has been researched by Vega and Murdie (2020) by using data such as CO₂ emissions from different countries and commenting on them whether ENGOs are influential in the process of policy-making by deciding according to CO₂ levels, which are either increased or decreased. According to Vega and Murdie (2020), to see a decrease in the CO₂ emissions in a given country or specific location, there needs to be an excellently organized and influential ENGO that can channel masses to a specific intention, aimed by that specific ENGO, which is motivated by influencing policy-making process in environmental policies. In that sense, this work in literature stands

out because of the hard data it uses, such as CO₂ emissions, and trying to correlate it to measure ENGOs' influence in a given context.

While there are works using frameworks that uses conventions (Betsill and Corell, 2001) to measure ENGO influence or incorporate corporate relations into the policy-making process of ENGOs to analyze further the NGO influence (Stroup and Wong, 2018), usage of CO₂ emission levels as the primary determining factor for NGO influence level is a significant addition to the literature. In this way, the research on the international negotiations' environmental outcomes can determine the ENGOs influence using different data and algorithms derived from environmental processes.

What can be derived from using hard data such as CO₂ emissions as in work by Vega and Murdie (2020), is the importance of the protocols and conventions, which has been the end product of the states' complex international negotiations, NGO's and other non-state actors (Rietig, 2016). The reason that CO₂ emissions are important for protocols is that CO₂ emission rates are one of the most important statistics are aimed to be decreased, because protocols have been used, such as Kyoto Protocol, are seen in many works such as Rietig (2016), Backstrand et al. (2017), and most importantly, Betsill and Corell (2001).

3.4.1 Protocols in the NGO literature.

Considering the protocols, agreements, and conventions in the literature are significant since NGOs' influence on climate change problems relies on the negotiations and protocols. These conventions and protocols are where international environmental negotiations take place. These environmental negotiations are where ENGO's trying to assert their influence since policy-making processes and meetings with the decision-makers are happening in these conventions. Protocols are the results

of these conventions and meetings; since they are the outcome of the environmental negotiations which took place in conventions. By assessing the protocols and their content through the negotiations held, ENGO's strategies and methods for manipulating these meetings' outcomes could be identified (Corell & Betsill, 2001; M.M. Betsill and Corell, 2008; Rietig, 2011; Gulbrandsen & Andresen 2004; Dolsak, 2013).

A thorough analysis of the Kyoto Protocol through concepts within ENGOs and international negotiations is necessary to understand the NGO's influence on environmental issues and consequently about climate change. Betsill and Corell (2008) analyze Kyoto Protocol negotiations, and through this analysis, he reaches certain problems in the process of negotiations in which ENGOs are involved. These problems signify the ENGO influence by understanding which strategies are used and why they are not as successful as environmental organizations.

According to Betsill and Corell (2008), when the Kyoto Protocol was analyzed, there is an effort to assess the ENGOs' influence level, and the place which ENGOs have in the negotiations during the Kyoto Protocol meeting is not explicitly clear. It is revealed that environmental NGOs influenced the negotiations with other means besides directly being present in the negotiations, at a modest level. (p. 50) These means were rather direct or indirect; At the same time, official statements and physical presence in the negotiations are deemed as direct strategies; ENGOs were pressuring the negotiation process with different means, such as canalizing the press's attention to the negotiations or pressuring the negotiators by lobbying, which could be called as indirect methods. The importance of the protocols in the NGO's influence comes forward when the decisive factor of negotiation processes is analyzed. During the negotiations for deciding the Kyoto Protocol, environmental non-state actors,

specifically ENGOs, were vigorously involved in the process of delivering necessary information (Betsill and Corell, 2008, p.50). By analyzing the negotiating processes, ENGO influence signs could be assessed, which can help create a schematic for patterns (Betsill and Corell, 2001; Zahran et al., 2006; Backstrand, 2017; Betsill and Corell, 2008) of ENGO involvement types in policy-making processes.

In M.M. Betsill and Bulkeley (2006), the focus is on the Cities for Climate Protection (CCP) program in the global governance framework. This program is a network on many levels, both local and global, and contains state actors and non-state actors, incorporating them into global governance. (M.M. Betsill & Bulkeley, 2006, p. 142) In the scope of global governance, programs, conventions, and protocols are significant since systematically assessing them helps to realize the influence level NGO's have on the global governance concept.

Kyoto Protocol is a product of the UNFCCC, and what is known about the UNFCCC is that it is a structure organized on multiple levels (M.M. Betsill & Bulkeley 2006). The concept of international regimes is implemented to assess NGOs' influence in this work, which helps to look from a different perspective to understand the impact NGOs have in international environmental negotiations according to the global governance concept.

However, in the literature, another criticism for only analyzing NGO influence by negotiation results comes from Betsill and Corell's (2008) work. While trying to understand NGO influence, relying on only the evaluation results can mislead because it focuses on results more than the process (Betsill and Corell, 2008). While analyzing NGO influence, the results of the negotiations should not be the basis but the process,

since the process can give much more information to us by activities which are done by NGO's in the negotiations processes of climate change issues.

The negotiation process which NGO's came through in order to influence the results of the policy-making processes to create better options and measures, which is going to help them tackle climate change, is questioned in the literature by the works that criticize the strategies which ENGO's are adopted. Berny and Rootes (2018) analyze this difference between the crucial strategies to practice and analyze whether ENGOs will influence different climate change processes. The ENGO's aims and the points they make about the climate change issue are vital for tackling climate change and its side effects. Nevertheless, even though ENGO's are involved in the critical institutions related to states, their level of influence is challenging since the strategies used are questioned.

In this sense, ENGO's are in a position that needs to choose one way or another. One way is that they continue to deepen the relationships with the state and its institutions to be much more influential in the policy-making process. The second way is to take a more non-mainstream position to strengthen the activism that has been practiced to take policy-makers under pressure, which will give them a substitute power in the face of the institutional policy-making processes. (Berny & Rootes, 2018, p. 947). Compared to other works in the literature, it can be seen that Berny and Rootes have been using the strategies ENGO's adopt to compare them in a manner in which assessing the different strategies impact the policy-making processes in different platforms such as states in protocols or conventions.

The policies created in international negotiations to regulate climate change have found themselves an essential part of the literature. Since NGOs are either

lobbying the institutions or mobilizing the masses to reach a particular goal about raising awareness in the climate change issue, the policies that are made depend on this awareness or lobby actions. So researchers can see signs of NGO influence on the policies which has been made. The literature contains works that analyze NGOs, specifically in the area of policy-making processes.

Tarlock (1992) analyzes the role of NGOs in the area of imposing and building the bricks of the international law that sets the rules in global politics. By doing so, in the literature, it becomes essential to realize that global politics are interlinked with the NGO's as well as the states, which makes them significant, influential actors to consider, whether they are failing to influence at some point or not. The management of natural resources by the countries is becoming an important factor since the scientific improvements clarified that climate change affects natural resource consumption (Tarlock, 1992, p.61). This issue becomes a vital factor to consider because while trying to limit natural resource usage, the states will be much more cautious about calling into the negotiations since natural resources that need to be reduced in terms of consumption are the resources that many developing countries depend on such as fossil fuels. Especially CO₂ emissions, which are mentioned in work, Vega and Murdie (2020), are crucial for protocols since their emission range is critical for climate change.

3.4.2 Industrial NGOs

While environmental NGO's (ENGOS) are the focus of this research, Industry NGOs are coming face to face with the ENGOS in terms of aims when they are considered in the climate change issue. Their level of influence and interactions with ENGO's put under scrutiny to assess their influence on the negotiation processes for

environmental issues. When it comes to assessing and comparing the differences between environmental and industrial NGOs in terms of their influence on the international environmental negotiations and their structures of organization, there is a vast difference (Pulver, 2002, p. 56). This difference in NGO's structure is linked to their level of influence on the international negotiation process; thus, on their power in the global political arena in terms of the policy-making process. The strategies which NGO's use can differentiate as insider and outsider strategies, in which insider strategy using lobbying and other related activities to reach influence in person and outsider strategies rely on the media attention and mobilization of the activists (Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004, p. 57). "Global activist groups like Greenpeace and WWF also engage in knowledge construction, using scientists and analysts to acquire further understanding of complex issues" (Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004, p.57). While using different strategies with different structures, the results can vary. For example, Greenpeace may be able to use outsider strategy much more efficiently because of its structure relying on activism mentioned by Eden (2004); WWF can be more successful on the insider strategy with its structure professionalized on networking, which researched by Anyango-van Zwieten et al. (2019).

What could be told about this difference in structure between industrial and environmental NGO's shows us the main reasons why industrial NGO's are not as accomplished as their environmental counterparts in the policy-making process. According to Pulver (2002), the main difference between them is motivation. The industrial organizations are focused on the corporate aspect of the negotiations and prioritize profit (p. 56). On the other hand, an environmental organization's motivation is driven by the ideas that consider humankind's future, which shares the same structure as human rights NGOs (Clark, 1995, p. 509).

In light of Pulver's (2002) work, it can be argued that contradiction between the industrial and environmental NGOs starts from the structure. The basis, purpose of these two types of NGO's are contradictory, which affects their level of influence in environmental politics. Since Industrial organizations have different objectives and motives than ENGO's, influencing the policy-making processes is much more different in the environmental negotiations. While ENGO aims to be impactful for greater ideas such as environment and humanity, corporations' motivations are focused on profit.

3.5.1 Connecting and Analyzing ENGOs in a contemporary world

With the advancement of time, technology has been improved, and alternative ways of communication have emerged. This improvement in technology and new ways of communication means that the strategies that NGO's use in order to influence global environmental politics according to their agenda also need to improve and adopt new strategies accordingly. In the literature, reflections of this advancement in communications have been researched, and NGO's performance on this new communication processes has been assessed. In this area, Vu et al.'s work (2020) is noteworthy. The researchers measure the impact level of the ENGO's in social media by looking at their interaction on Twitter. Social media is analyzed to understand the ENGO's influence because of the widespread usage of social media by the masses. Their analysis suggests that NGOs are not as active as expected on social media. This way, they provide a critical account of ENGO's influence by revealing that they cannot use newly developed strategies to mobilize the public and push for the policy-

making processes, which is necessary to create good influence to change the outcome of the climate change issue.

3.6 Getting Literature Together

Early works in the 1990s in the literature has shown us the evolution of the NGO's as part of the global environmental negotiations. Tarlock's (1992) is research elaborates on the non-state actor's involvement in the area of international law, which is a crucial aspect to understand whether NGOs are part of the international negotiation process compellingly. Clark (1995) emphasizes the evolution and importance of the NGO's as part of the global world politics, which aims to question the authority problem within the NGO's. Both works are essential in paving the way for contemporary research.

The literature review suggests notwithstanding the multiplicity of the works that highlight the NGOs' importance, there are criticisms about their level of influence—these criticisms by critiquing either strategy or the NGOs' structure itself. Trying to assess the NGOs' level of influence by conventions and protocols (Corell & Betsill, 2001; Backstrand et al. 2017; Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004; Zahran et al. 2006; Rietig, 2016; Bolin, 2007; Vega & Murdie 2020; Dolsak, 2013; Woodward, 2011; Lövbrand et al. 2017; Cabre, 2011) created a robust framework for the NGOs' involvement in the international negotiation processes. This trend continues by involving other non-state actors, defining not only environmental NGOs but also other non-state actors in the process of international negotiations and policy-making with Backstrand et al. (2017). This thesis will benefit from these works and will analyze them to understand ENGO's influence. Analysis of the specific global ENGO's Greenpeace and WWF contributes to the study to understand how global ENGO's

work influences environmental negotiations. (Eden, 2004; Anyango-van Zwieten et al., 2019; Doyle, 2007; Chartier & Deleage, 1998; Scherrer, 2009) Also, there are works analysis of the relationship between NGOs and the state (Berny & Roots, 2018; M. Betsill, 2002; Raustiala, 1997; Auer, 2000; Clark, 1995; Giddens 2009; Giorgetti, 1998; Tarlock, 1992)

Stroup and Wong (2018) use a comparative approach to assess the NGOs' influence on climate change. What differing in this work is its emphasis on the involvement of corporate relations with NGOs in the assessment. Besides, Pulver (2002) involves industrial NGO's in the process which is essential compared to Stroup and Wong (2018) since it enables direct assessment of the industrial organizations against ENGOs despite the corporate relations of the ENGO's

The global governance concept is another essential concept to consider since analyzing the relationship between the ENGOs and policy-making processes for international environmental policy negotiations. Nasritiousi et al. (2016) provide a novel work in this sense that it covers not only one non-state actor but also others to reach a greater understanding of the broader perspective. M.M. Betsill and Bulkeley (2006) is another work in the literature that researches the global governance concept to analyze the ENGOs and the impact these organizations have on the environmental negotiations and policy-making processes through the research on their role in the global governance.

We see the usage of statistics in the literature of global environmental politics many times. For instance, Vega and Murdie's work analyzes statistical data of CO₂ emissions (2020) yearly, while Vu et al. use Twitter data statistics to research the ENGO influence on social media (2020). What is common in these works that they

are trying to find a way to measure the ENGO influence in the policy-making processes in the global environmental international negotiation processes. This method is useful while trying to narrow down the research area when trying to assess the influence level of the ENGO's but on the other hand, they seem to be at a disadvantage when they only try to assess the influence level from the statistics they receive.

Researchers reviewed the relationship between the state and non-state actors in the literature to analyze the ENGOs' influence in detail. Giddens (2009) argued that states are the most crucial factor when it comes to applying the necessary policies while not discrediting the value of the ENGOs, but putting the secondary level. In that sense, Berny and Rootes (2018) are different because it involves non-state actors not as secondary-level actors but as one of the main actors and catalyzers. Also, we see the broader analysis of the relationship between NGOs and other actors involved in the environmental negotiation processes, such as states. Rietig (2016) is the work that mentions the motivation of the states through ENGO involvement in order to accomplish a specific task, in this particular theme, policy-making about the climate change issue.

Protocols and conventions seem to be one of the most critical aspects of the literature. The reason could be that these processes are relatively easy to track and comment on. The protocols are made, and the conventions that happened to make that protocols happen helped create different frameworks for assessing the ENGO's influence (Corell & Betsill, 2001; M.M. Betsill and Corell, 2008; Nasritiousi et al. 2016; Backstrand et al. 2017; Zahran et al. 2007; Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004). Besides, researching the specific protocols, such as Kyoto Protocol, to understand

what kind of dynamics are going through the processes, to deliberately understand the point of view states have against the non-state actors (Rietig, 2016).

While there are works in the literature that discuss the influence of the ENGO's over the concept of climate change, the research about the disadvantages and adverse effects of ENGO's can also be seen. Vu et al. (2020) analyzed the influence of the ENGOs on social media in terms of their effect and ability to mobilize the people and concluded that ENGOs are not sufficiently active on Twitter, which would have helped them to increase their scope of influence on the global environmental policy-making process. Besides, there is an argument that excessive ENGO involvement in the global arena reduces ENGOs' effects because of the adopted strategies. Since ENGOs choose to be informal and want to directly approach negotiators and state officials, this makes them vulnerable as the negotiations' final processes come, which in this phase, they are most likely to be excluded.

Finally, the cumulative understanding of ENGOs' literature is that the research about their influence contradicts since the concepts in which researchers have been working are giving different perspectives according to their analysis. While generally there can be said that there is a fundamental level of influence of ENGO's on the climate change issue by both policy-making and involvement in international negotiations, there are analyses about how ENGOs are inefficient at the local level influence and incapable of creating global awareness, which is no more than an individual one. When it is looked at the works that analyze the ENGOs' institutional structure, there are arguments for inefficient structure organization and not optimized relationship with the partners, which makes these organizations crippled in the face of creating enough influence on the states to create enough pressure of policy-making processes. While there are high expectations on the ENGOs about their expected

performance on the climate change issue in terms of policy-making and international negotiations, and creating public awareness, there needs to be an improvement both in the strategies and the related tools used.



4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction to Methodology

To explicitly understand NGOs' role in the context of climate change, it is significant to analyze this relationship systematically. This chapter will explain how this analysis of NGOs' influence -specifically ENGOs- on climate change, global environmental politics, and international negotiations for climate change policy-making will be conducted. For this purpose, the data and the method to analyze the data will be put forwards. Understanding that many works analyze NGO influence on climate change is significant for this chapter. This variety is mentioned in the literature, and the mainframe of assessing NGO influence according to qualitative and quantitative data stays the same.

The thesis's research question is simple, but at the same time, quite tricky when it comes to assessing its outcome.

- To what extent ENGOs are influential on international environmental negotiations and policy-making processes in terms of leading the collective action to point out climate change?

The ENGOs' influence of the mobilization of an international response to climate change issue will be operationalized by assessing their capacity in addressing the problems that are needed to take action right away, creating awareness for the level of importance of the issue to the states and policy-makers, and influencing the negotiations by involving in the policy-making processes. Following the operationalization of the key concepts, the chapter will discuss whether ENGOs are influential in the climate change problem, and if so, at what level by thoroughly

analyzing the necessary documents and data, by using qualitative content analysis on legal texts, academic works, and statements of the global ENGOs. The literature review reveals differences in terms of perspectives between the approaches and the types of data used by different researchers to assess the NGO's influence, which led to little to no information due to the NGOs' influence over international environmental negotiations. (Betsill and Corell, 2001; M. Betsill, 2002; Rietig, 2011; Rietig, 2016; Vu et al. 2020; Cabre, 2011; Dany, 2014).

In this sense, the methods used in this research have aimed to adopt different approaches from the literature reviewed. Deriving data from conventions and protocols and using them to understand the NGO influence over the international environmental policy process (Corell & Betsill, 2001) and using statistical data to assess this outcome of the influence whether these NGOs has been influential other than the negotiations and policy-making processes in terms of application procedures (Vega and Murdie, 2020) are two mainframes of this research. This research adopts these strategies because of the need for a more hybrid approach for understanding the NGO's influence over the climate change issue. As seen in the literature, there is a need to take a different approach with mixing the methods used that are proved their reliability to take on a different perspective about the climate change issue.

4.1.1 Research Data

While it is significant to understand the ongoing concept of this research, what will contribute more is understanding the approach, which has been taken to understand the dynamics both behind the method and the research. In this sense, the

paramount understanding of the logic behind the collection of relevant findings to explain the NGOs' influence over the concept of climate change is essential.

One of the essential findings in this area had to be the previous researches from the literature. Because the reliable works that have been peer-reviewed and stood to the test of time are essential in this work, the need for an explicit understanding of the NGOs' influence is necessary. Also, the analysis of the works has been created a great understanding of literature. The literature's positive and negative sides have been presented because of this extensive analysis of the literature, which is gained by the motivation of trying to find stable and reliable works to understand the field.

Throughout the literature, the sources of data for assessing the NGO influence have been presented. Protocols, conventions, and agreements, which are mentioned many times in this work before, have been critical to the field of global environmental politics since the NGOs' influence had been tried to assess by analysis of these three aspects. Particularly, if there is a need for explaining the role of NGOs in international environmental negotiations, the importance of the conventions has been underlined many times by the analysis in the literature to create frameworks to understand NGO influence. (Betsill and Corell, 2001; Rietig, 2011; Lahn, 2020; Backstrand et al., 2017).

Protocols, conventions, and agreements are significant sources of data when it is considered that the conventions and meetings assess NGO influence, and the outcome of these meetings are most of the time are these protocols or agreements. NGOs take part in international negotiations in high numbers and in a way that aims to be part of the policy-making processes. (Rietig, 2016, p., 269). Analysis of the protocols and agreements, in that sense, can give us an idea about the NGOs' influence on global

environmental politics since protocols are the outcomes of the hard and long processes of environmental negotiations. The negotiations in which ENGOs participate are the sources of information to collect and understand the ENGOs' international negotiations position. Since this participation is an important aspect to assess the ENGO influence, literature is rich in terms of the works that analyze these official documents. (Rietig, 2011; Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004; Dolsak, 2013; Zahran et al., 2006; Corell & Betsill, 2001) Besides, it is significant to give the example of the UNFCCC 1992 Rio Earth Summit because it shows ENGOs' contributions to drafting the negotiation text through campaigns and mass mobilization (Rietig, 2011, p. 4). From this example, ENGOs' strategies to impact the international negotiations' importance appear because analysis of these strategies gives an understanding of ENGOs processes to influence policy-making processes.

Most of the time, it could not be possible to trace the ENGO influence on the official documents resulting from the international negotiations. Judging from the perspective that ENGO influence should appear in the final texts of negotiations could mislead (M. Betsill, 2002). Focusing on the negotiation outcome only for the ENGO influence can distract to understand the processes in which ENGOs are trying to shape (Betsill and Corell, 2001). However, while looking at the negotiation processes is important, it is very hard to get relevant data to assess the negotiation processes' ENGO influence. While there can be seen the physical evidence on the agreements, negotiation processes often continue behind closed doors; even ENGOs can not be part of it most of the time (M. Betsill, 2002, p.54). Moreover, there are works such as Gulbransen & Andresen (2004) who participated in the negotiations and interviewed both ENGO and policy-maker representatives to understand the negotiation processes' ENGOs strategies. There can be a problem with the overall information

collected since there is no guarantee about the amount and quality of information a person could get. Works that are based on interviews are taken into account (Gulbresen & Andresen, 2004, Rietig, 2016; Rietig, 2011; Beyer, 2007) and works lean on final documents of international negotiations while taking into consideration the problems discussed.

In addition to the official documents of meetings and negotiations, the analysis will also draw upon the statistical data used in the literature to measure the ENGOs' influence on global environmental politics. Using quantitative data is helpful to understand the impact that ENGOs are likely to create. For this purpose, the thesis uses the statistical data on climate change, such as the level of CO₂ emissions through time, to explore the ENGO's impact in practice. Data from the interviews, agreements, and statistics help ask different questions about the same issue, which is ENGO's influence in international negotiations.

Analysis of the protocols and agreements helps to understand at what level the ENGOs' aims are reflected on the final result of international environmental negotiations and works that consist of interviews with the parties involved in policy-making processes. Statistical data such as CO₂ emission rates will help whether ENGOs have influenced the implementation of the accepted policies. It is significant to understand that one cannot give all the credit to ENGOs if CO₂ emissions are reduced to desired levels, or ENGOs are not solely to blame if emissions are much higher than expected. What will be helpful when pointing out the annual CO₂ emission rates is understanding the world's situation since the agreements affect CO₂ emission rates. For example, giving the annual CO₂ emission rates from the year, Kyoto Protocol accepted, 1997, to today will help to create a more accurate understanding of the evolution of climate negotiations, through that, if there is an

evolution in the strategies ENGOS use. An increase or decrease in levels of CO₂ emission will help to comment on possible disadvantages or advantages ENGOS have against the parties in the international negotiation processes and policy-makers.

4.1.2 Type of Research Approach.

a) Explanation

Moving from these explanations for different types of documents and statistics to consider the influence of the NGOs over climate change, it is necessary to explain the approach adopted in this research to understand the path that will be taken. By doing so, the type of data and how they will be used can be clearly understood.

This thesis adopts a mixed-method approach, which brings together qualitative and quantitative data. In the literature, Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) is a crucial work that discusses the mixed method's essentials. When the mixed-method approach's essentials are analyzed; while bringing both qualitative and quantitative data, it does not mean that this work is adopting a mixed-method; the way they sequencing and interact is. First, qualitative data will be given and discussed. Second, quantitative data will be presented and discussed, connected to the qualitative data analysis. In this sense, it could be said that the method of this work adopts . It is important to mention that the presented qualitative analysis paves the way for analyzing the quantitative data. By doing so, it is expected that while trying to reach certain assumptions with qualitative analysis, with the qualitative data, the assumptions which are concluded with the quantitative data will conclude an understanding of the NGO influence from different perspectives. In that sense, the reason for using both qualitative and quantitative data is reaching different perspectives, which is mentioned. While using qualitative data, it will be easier to

assess the NGO's influence on the processes, and while analyzing the quantitative data gathered, it will be easier to conclude the results, which has been the outcome of the processes. Usage of the qualitative data with the content analysis will help understand the ENGO influence, strategies, and method they used in the international negotiations while understanding the ENGOS' place in the policy-making processes in climate change. Quantitative data analysis, in light of the qualitative data, will contribute to the analysis of the ENGOS in terms of their role in the international environmental negotiations and will help to assess their influence on the climate change problem.

In terms of the research design, the analysis will use qualitative data, and then quantitative data will be used to analyze in the light of the analysis made in the qualitative data chapter that puts the research in the area of mixed method. In this way, types of data used in the literature will be put on work efficiently.

b) Qualitative Method

The qualitative method depends heavily on the content analysis. Content analysis is a type of examination that uses a systemic approach to examine and interpret a specific piece of material to identify and understand the themes of the data examined (Berg & Lune, 2017). The type of content analysis which will be adopted in this work is a conceptual analysis. It aims to understand the concepts related to international environmental negotiations and the policy-making process, which ENGOS are positioned themselves. The reason is the need for a detailed explanation of the processes (e.g., conventions, protocols, and agreements) to understand better the NGO's influence in international environmental negotiation processes and concepts critical in assessing the related policy-making stages. Content analysis will

help emphasize the NGOs' structure, which is essential for understanding and explaining the benefits or constraints caused by them. Besides, content analysis helps understand the ENGOS' general place in the international environmental politics and environmental policy-making process since the content analyzed heavily consists of information that helps understand the dynamics behind the processes, which resulted in NGO influence.

c) Quantitative Method

Quantitative data will be explained through the analysis, which has been done for the presented qualitative data. Since the exploratory sequential method (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018) considers quantitative data after analyzing the qualitative data, this research method will adopt the same sequence. While the climate change issue has been pointed out by researchers and scientists by delicate calculations and measurements, the statistics given according to these scientific facts will also help broaden the perspective. In that sense, to help assess the NGO's influence, relevant statistics such as CO₂ emissions will be used to reach a comprehensive perspective. While it is significant to understand the concepts and approaches in the literature about NGO influence, it is also wise to consider that statistical data can help assess the ENGO influence in international negotiations by understanding its weaknesses or strong suits. We see this approach in Vega and Murdie (2020) where the activism strategy of the ENGOS is widely used to influence the reduction policies of the CO₂ emissions; this understanding of activism has been assessed by taking CO₂ emission sample in between specific years and evaluating in what level ENGOS are influential in the reduction of CO₂ emission.

This research will consider the quantitative method in a sense that is similar to the argument in Vega and Murdie (2020) and Lahn (2020) to reach an understanding of the influence of the NGO's overall. Overall, themes derived from this approach are quite significant since the research area on ENGO influence considers mixed-method often to analyze ENGOs in international environmental negotiations.

4.2 Relevant Data Collection and Methods of Analysis

The data to explain and analyze the NGO influence needs to be area-specific. In terms of quantitative data, climate change is triggered by specific greenhouse gases, mainly by CO₂, that needed to be analyzed to result from the policy-making processes. In qualitative data, the literature on climate change is a vast area in terms of various research. Since there are many factors involving climate change through international negotiations, specific works on NGOs and ENGOs had to be pointed out. So, the relevant literature is scrutinized in order to find area-specific data. Doing so aims to search for the relationship between ENGOs and the global environmental negotiations elements that would understand environmental negotiations' policy-making processes. By analyzing these processes that have been mentioned in the literature by assessing ENGO influence through international environmental negotiations (Betsill and Corell, 2001; Rietig, 2011; Rietig, 2016; Zahran et al. 2007; Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004; Cabre, 2011; Giorgetti, 1998; M. Betsill, 2002; Böhmelt and Betzold, 2013; Raustiala, 1997), the aim is to reach a detailed understanding of the NGO's influence on climate change by consuming the literature in general.

In terms of the difference between the data needed and the data which is found, it could be said that there is no actual difference in expectations. The literature has been extensive in the research area and from a broad perspective. Also, the content searched for the thesis was extensive; in that sense, it was challenging to pick the right content to analyze and consider. The sources of the content which are accessed splits into two. As primary sources, agreement texts themselves are taken into account. As secondary sources, it is mostly academic journals and books, and for the quantitative method, there are statistics from the trusted internet sources, which belong to scientific institutions. While agreement texts only give the specific facts about measurements taken, the question of how and why has been tried to be answered by analyzing the works that assess these agreements from a critical perspective. Other data sources, such as internet sources and institution content, help give examples of the argument.

The collection method of the data was mostly from internet databases. This is because there is a current limitation on the physical access to libraries and stores due to the COVID-19 pandemic. So, at this point, it was more secure and safe to do the required research from online sources and databases. This review in the content started from the general to specific, in terms of concepts and specification of the works, and then connected to a more complex approach that compares themes to find suitable content for the thesis.

Key themes have appeared during the research for accurate content in the literature. Frameworks that are created to analyze the ENGO influence (Corell & Betsill, 2001; Backstrand et al. 2017; Berny & Rootes 2018) have appeared in analyzing the literature about NGO influence in the beginning. After the continuous research, the global governance concept (Nasiritousi et al. 2014; Auer, 2000; M.M.

Betsill & Bulkeley 2006) has appeared as an essential aspect to consider since ENGOs' influence in the literature has based multiple works on it. As the content analysis progressed, the relationship between the state and the ENGOs specified in the works (Giddens, 2009; Stroup & Wong 2018; Rietig 2016; Bayer, 2007) which was evolved the research in a position that considers states as the crucial factor when assessing the ENGO influence.

With the integrated usage of conventions, agreements, and protocols, it is realized that incorporating them in the research is crucial since ENGO influence has been relying on the analysis of these negotiation processes. With the integration of the works which are considering contemporary methods which are evaluating ENGO influence, the research has been evolved in a way that emphasizes different concepts in order to assess the ENGO impact, which helped to organize an approach that uses contents from different approaches in order to evaluate the ENGO effect on the concept of the climate change. During the literature review, the content that is going to be used in the content analysis has shown itself by highlighting itself both in the aspect of being relevant to the research question and has an understanding of reliability to the concept of the ENGO influence.

How is this data analyzed is reflecting how the complex relationships between the research question and the literature. It is also shown that ENGO's impact in the global environmental negotiations and environmental policy-making process is crucial when it is understood that the type of analysis made in the first place highlights the process, which describes why this influence is essential to talk about in the first place. Analyzed content has been drawn out in order to describe specific institutions or situations in the first place. Secondly, the reason for specific data to be collected is its analytic quality on the international environmental negotiation processes. These

aspects, when given together, will help to explain better the ENGO influence since the structure of the different organizations which are related to the ENGO influence will be analyzed in the context of the negotiations, with the influence of the other content which is taken to create a better understanding for the global environmental politics, as a concept.

How quantitative data will be analyzed is significant for understanding ENGO influence better by comparing data gained by qualitative analysis. In this sense, the importance of the exploratory sequential design is coming to light. Quantitative data in this thesis will be used after analyzing the qualitative data, which will help assess the ENGO influence by using the quantitative data analysis to create a better understanding. During the usage of the statistical data, it can be said that numbers will act as a catalyzer to conclude the main arguments made before by the content analysis. The reason is that statistical data is showing us some stories about the ongoing process, but not all of them. Rigorous content analysis has shown that global environmental politics is merely based on either method since there are many complex procedures in between them. For example, it could not be said that ENGOs are influential because the average global heat is not as high as expected since there are many actors in the process to decide that ENGOs are the ones behind all of this.

4.3 Elements of Qualitative and Quantitative Data

4.3.1.1 Elements of Qualitative Data

What qualitative data will contain is a result of the lengthy procedure of the content analysis. The appropriate content from the literature has been drawn out to highlight concepts and structures that are thought of as an essential aspect of both ENGO influence and climate change. It was also crucial to consider the facts, which

solely depend on the statistical analysis, to give an extensive understanding of the explained concept.

The first phase of the method will consider the NGOs, which will be explained in terms of their origin, structure, motives, and efficiency. The reason is that understanding each NGO and its structure is essential since analyzing the ENGO influence will help us to understand better how and why these organizations are adopting the motives and strategies as they do. Since the ENGOS' structure is complex, and their strategies are everchanging, content analysis will help us realize better the overall structure of the ENGOS. Also, with the help of the literature, it will be better understood why NGO's are behaving in the way they did and in what framework they behave, as highlighted in work by Betsill and Corell (2001).

a) ENGOS

To narrow down the research on the NGOs in order to simplify the process, research on NGOs will be focused on two well-known, influential ENGOS. While it is almost impossible to cover all of the ENGOS in order to create a work that analyzes the influence on them, as this research aims, it is much more accurate to focus on specific types of NGOs, which are global NGOs to reach an understanding about the ENGO influence on the climate change. The two global ENGOS which are focused on in order to understand the structure and strategies of the ENGOS are:

- WWF (World Wide Fund For Nature)
- Greenpeace

These two global ENGOS are perfect to understand how global NGOs uses different strategies in order to influence international environmental negotiations is that:

- The structure of each organizations relationship with the ENGO influence

- Related organizational relationships with the partners in the negotiations
- Their place in the international environmental negotiations.

By analyzing the mentioned organizations, it is aimed that while understanding these specific ENGOs structures and their place in the international environmental negotiations, the influence on the NGO's will be analyzed in the sense of their influence on different aspects such as agreements and protocols.

These two organizations are selected for being two examples of global, widespread environmental NGO's. Besides, they are taking part in the researches to assess the influence of global ENGOs (Eden, 2004; Zelko, 2017; Roose, 2012). Due to their high-level influence and popularity compared to other organizations, it is assumed that their influence can be more visible and measurable. In terms of data collection, focusing on these two major organizations provides the researcher with multiple data sources.

b) Conventions, Protocols, and Agreements

The documents that will be used in the content analysis are the following:

- Kyoto Protocol
- Paris Agreement
- UNFCCC

In the second phase, specific conventions and agreements will be considered and explained in order to assess the NGO's influence. The reason to use these elements is that both conventions and agreements are critical when it comes to assessing the NGO's influence since in the literature, we see most of the time where NGOs are trying to establish their influence on the environmental issues is these events. Also, it

could be said that many works in the literature have been used these events to analyze and assess the NGO's influence (Corell & Betsill, 2001; Zahran et al. 2006; Gulbrandsen & Andresen 2004; Bolin 2007; Lahn 2020; Backstrand et al. 2017; Cabre; 2011).

The works used conventions, protocols, and agreements are part of the international environmental negotiations and policy-making processes. At this point, it is crucial to specify the number of events that are going to be used in order to understand the relationship between the organizations. If the number of the events analyzed is too many, it will be much harder to create a solid argument since the variables will be too much to analyze in one research.

The reason for using these elements is that, at first, they are essential aspects of climate change in terms of their negotiation processes and implying the necessary precautions to address them. Kyoto Protocol is one of the most important international relations deals because of the limits and measurements for climate change regarding greenhouse gas emissions. The Paris agreement is considered the Kyoto Protocol's successor, which consists of significant measurements critical to the Kyoto Protocol (Derwent et al., 2006; M. Betsill, 2002). UNFCCC was critical for negotiations of both deals since many environmental issues were discussed with the policy-makers and non-state actors. From moving on to this information, analysis of these elements in terms of the policy-making process and ENGO influence is highly beneficial because of their value. Second and more important, these elements can be considered as the playground of the global NGO's like Greenpeace and WWF, since the processes of negotiations for these two protocols and climate change conventions are an excellent opportunity for global NGO's to imply their influence (Rietig, 2016; Rietig, 2011; Betsill 2002; Gulbrandsen & Andresen 2004; Betsill and Corell, 2001;

Zahran et al. 2004; Backstrand et al. 2017; Nasritiousi et al. 2016; Derwent et al., 2006).

Also, it is crucial to explain the background of these three aspects and the results of the international negotiations since it will help us to understand the necessary steps for NGO's to take in order to be influential on the necessary steps. Also, the non-state actors operating at the local level, such as local NGOs, are important actors to consider since their relationship and cooperation with the global ENGO's such as Greenpeace and WWF boosts domestic activism for environmental issues. ENGOs can work with these local actors in terms of resources and political activity to boost their environmental activism (Tarlock, 1992, p. 65). In that sense, Dolsak (2013) considers domestic NGO influence in the Kyoto Protocol and the Copenhagen Meeting. He looks to the domestic NGOs' strength by analyzing the events in which domestic NGOs are involved and found out that domestic actors' activity level is an important deciding factor to ratifying the environmental agreements and protocols, Kyoto Protocol in this case. What is significant in work for this research is the strategies of global ENGOs to ratify the Kyoto Protocol in specific areas supporting domestic NGO's in terms of resources and politics.

These agreements and protocols will help assess ENGO's role and level of influence in international negotiations and policy-makers. The parts contain texts that show the outcomes of the meetings or the meetings' processes and can be traced to the signs of NGO influence. How is that NGO influence can be found? It should be mentioned about the approaches to content analysis to understand how and why a specific approach is used. It is discussed in Hsieh and Shannon (2005) there are three approaches to content analysis. These three content analysis types are *conventional content analysis*, *directed content analysis*, and *summative content analysis*. The

summative content analysis uses the keywords and concepts in given qualitative data to interpret the overall concept. A method that searches texts to find and match appropriate texts -which are final documents of international environmental negotiations- with the NGO statements and press releases to understand whether there is a specific correlation in keywords regarding similarity can be called *summative content analysis*. This similarity can be a likeness of the words used in the documents, that used in the environmental issues such as CO₂, fossil fuels, or in the meaning of the words, such as close percentages of reduction in the greenhouse gases emissions in terms of numbers. There could not be a specific similarity between the official documents and the statements that are made by the ENGO's, but the comparison of keywords and ideas will give us an understanding of the ENGO impact. These similarities are examples of the influence of the NGO's over international negotiations and policy-making processes, which are the essential areas for being influential for the climate change problem. The desired idea or criteria that tried to implement by the ENGOs may show itself on the assessed content as a similarity. These similarities can appear as keywords, conceptual explanations about climate change, or an idea preached by the ENGOs for a long time. While these similarities between ENGO intentions and the content analyzed are not definite signs of ENGO influence, interpreting how these similarities occurred will help understand whether there is another factor than ENGOs for these similarities to be found.

4.4 Elements of Quantitative Data

Carbon Emission Rates and Global Annual Temperature

Global Annual Temperature and CO₂ rates are crucial in terms of assessing the harmful effects of climate change. The reduction of CO₂ emissions is one of the

top priorities of global ENGOs, given that the increased amounts of CO₂ in the atmosphere directly trigger global warming (Dauvergne, 2005, p. 44). The data suggest that the atmosphere's CO₂ level is linked to the melting of glacial caps and the areas that are permanently frozen (Giddens, 2009, p. 22). This is why the level of CO₂ emissions is treated as an indicator of the ENGO's influence on the mobilization of collective action against climate change. In that sense, the conventions and agreements which are argued in the results chapter are significantly crucial to be influential for the ENGOs since the CO₂ emission rates and global annual temperature, by doing so, is expected to decrease the progress of the harmful effects of the climate change. At this level, effects of CO₂ emissions increase have been started to notice, in melting glacial caps and in increased melting rates in areas that are permanently frozen. (Giddens, 2009, p., 22).

It is also significant to understand that increase in the global annual temperature is a direct cause of CO₂ emission (Giddens, 2009, p. 18). In that sense, a decrease in the CO₂ emission rates will decrease the global annual temperature. This is why policies aiming to cut off the CO₂ emissions are on the agenda of the ENGOs. Why is it focused on that aiming to reduce the CO₂ emission rate is bound to policy-making? Like oil and gas, fossil-fuels are currently the most preferred energy sources, and they are the primary producers of carbon dioxide (Giddens, 2009, p.21). From the factories producing a long-range of products to transportation, these fossil fuels are used in many areas. So, it is necessary to reduce this fossil fuel usage, which is directly related to involvement in the policy-making processes that are trying to bind states and companies to reduce this kind of energy source.

To assess the NGO's influence on the global environmental politics related to the CO₂ emissions and global annual temperature, charts about the yearly CO₂

emissions from different countries will be presented from the sources found in the literature review process. Secondly, presented charts and statistics will be explained in a context that concludes the points made in the content analysis phase by analyzing the data by criticizing and comparing the arguments reached in terms of understanding NGOs' influence in policy-making processes. Doing so will be clearer to understand the NGO's influence on climate change with the analysis of international environmental negotiations and policy-making processes. The stats gathered and presented will also help analyze the ENGO's influence on the negotiations and policy-making processes.

4.5 Analysis of the Collected Data

Analysis of the data collected will not be done after giving the necessary data as a different chapter. Instead, the analysis will go on hand to hand with the presentation of the necessary information. The reason is that the method used, which is content analysis, is much more compatible with interpreting the given data. While presenting the relevant data from the content analysis, the concepts and the arguments' comparison will also be presented to avoid the reader's distraction. Since the connections between the content that is going to be presented are crucial to see and understand the steps and links between the concepts, a cumulative approach will be much more useful for thoroughly assessing NGO influence.

Interpretation of the quantitative data given in the next chapter will depend on the qualitative data analysis, which will conclude the analysis together. While the data has been collected with a careful review of the literature and ongoing debates over the years, these two approaches' interpretation can be explained by including content analysis to the procedure. Using the mixed method approach by the data presented by content analysis and the data presented as quantitative data, needed to adopt

exploratory sequential design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018) to understand the connections between the concepts that appeared in the content analysis and quantitative data.

The conceptual development of the research has been evolved during the presentation of the content analysis. Since at the same time the presented content is compared, concluded, and commented on to understand the NGO influence, during this process, concepts which are related to climate change, NGO's and international environmental negotiations are laid out itself, created an overall development of concepts.

4.6 Evaluation

The research evaluation is significant since the work has been done to explain how and why this research took place. In that sense, the method used and the data collected needs to be in harmony with the interpretations made while assessing the NGO's influence over climate change. The steps taken to create an appropriate work for this thesis have been analyzed to explain how this work is valid and what the limitations are of the work in terms of understanding NGO influence.

4.7 Validation

This research has been done by reviewing the literature extensively, finding the principal works (Betsill and Corel 2001; Backstrand et al. 2017; Lahn 2020) which are crucial in the area, and analyzing them while adding the other crucial works which considers different perspective about the subject (Vega and Murdie 2020; Rietig 2016; Zahran 2007). From continuing onwards with the collected data and content, the literature analysis has been taken an analytic approach to assessing the NGO's influence on climate change effectively. The methods and comparisons used are the

methods used in the social sciences as a way to analyze different concepts from many angles. So, the thesis's validity has been built on the works widely discussed in their literature. This is why there are extensive reviews and analyses behind the research.

Also, statistical facts contributed effectively to give a definitive understanding of the analyzed perspectives and comparisons, which has done during the content analysis period. These statistics helped to understand the ENGO impact on international relations because this analysis contributes to the research's validity since the research outcome will find its basis on numerous scientific facts. How are these statistics deciding ENGO influence? Since many variables can be accounted for the quantitative data changes, there will be a search to understand the ENGOs strategies and level of effectiveness rather than a definite answer.

4.8 Limitations

This research's limitations have been understood during the literature review and assessing the necessary method to decide. It was a long process to cover the topics related to the issue and organize them to make it meaningful in understanding the concepts and ideas mentioned in the literature. It is significant to say that research on the area, which considers NGO, its structure, its influence, and place in the international environmental negotiations and global environmental politics is widespread, and a lot of work and information could be found. Nevertheless, this made the required material collection even harder since gathering the relevant data has become more complex. One of the reasons for this complexity is that the wide range of concepts and perspectives to derive from different works. It was needed to distinguish and eliminate rather unnecessary concepts or studies to create an eligible

work that uses important information to assess ENGO's influence on the climate change issue. By doing so, collected material revealed itself as:

- Concepts (Global Governance, state-non state actor relationship, and so on)
- Structure of the NGO's
- International environmental negotiations and global environmental politics processes
- Conventions, agreements, protocols, and frameworks and their importance in climate change problem
- And CO₂ emissions, fossil fuel usage, and global annual temperature rise

While it was a detailed work to bring together all of the information which is going to be used in the thesis, one of the most critical disadvantage is the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic which restricts physical access to the libraries and campus itself, which is significantly influenced the improvement of the ongoing research by influencing both students and supervisors mentally and physically. It is essential to consider while this work is written, continuous restrictions have been put on by officials around the world, which is made it hard to focus on the subject other than the current news.

5. ANALYSIS OF THE ENGO INFLUENCE: CONVENTIONS, PROTOCOLS, AND AGREEMENTS

This chapter discusses the processes in which ENGOs involve to be influential in the international environmental negotiations, that are, conventions, protocols, and agreements. This discussion is held between international relations actors, consisting of states, ENGOs, IGOs, and other non-state actors such as corporations and local level NGOs. Conventions are where these meetings are held, and protocols and agreements are the outcomes of this series of meetings. The analysis of the meetings and the protocols gives us an idea about the ENGOs influence over climate change policies and negotiations.

5.1.1 Conventions

For international environmental negotiations, conventions are significant since the conventions held for environmental issues contain large amounts of environmental policy-making organizations and actors. Because of the various actors' presence in environmental negotiations, for ENGOs, these conventions gain critical importance since they can reach and use their strategies to impact other elements that critical in the policy-making, such as states. Moreover, the conventions held for environmental issues and set up the necessary implements to eliminate the adverse effects of climate change, so the decisions made in these processes are straightforward solutions to resolve climate change. This work will focus on UNFCCC, as it led the two most critical climate protocols -Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement- to be accepted.

5.1.2 UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change)

As part of the United Nations, UNFCCC is responsible for supporting the global fight against climate change (UNFCCC, 2020a). The actors involved in preventing the

harmful effects of climate change are progressing through negotiations and meetings on this convention to reach an agreement about the measurements which could be taken. As the Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement's foundational place, UNFCCC is critical for the international environmental negotiations since these two deals are essential to understanding ENGOS' influence over climate change. UNFCCC negotiated in 1992 with the involvement of an enormous number of countries to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. In terms of this reduction in the emissions, developed countries burden greater responsibility since they are the main sources of the high level of greenhouse gas emission due to industrial development (Dolsak, 2013, p.186).

The signature of the UNFCCC by many countries is an important sign for the effort towards climate change (M. Betsill, 2002, p. 49). Moreover, while it is no evidence for a concrete ENGO influence when it is looked at the objective, which is reducing the greenhouse gases, it could tell us that what ENGOS' are trying to create awareness about is also noticed by the other actors besides ENGOS. Greenpeace and WWF have been advocating the reduction of greenhouse gases long before the UNFCCC is held.

In the process regarding UNFCCC negotiations, the contribution of the ENGO's was substantial. ENGO's often excluded from the closed-door sessions, which many important decisions are taken (M. Betsill, 2002, p. 51). So, they had to take a different approach to influence the policy-making processes. ENGOS made suggestions and created awareness for climate change to influence the negotiators, which are states (Böhmelt & Betzold, 2012, p. 128). To pressure states to make necessary attempts and convince them to accept the negotiated terms, ENGO's were using their strategies to pressure the states both in and outside the negotiations. To create a necessary effect

on the international environmental negotiations, such as UNFCCC, ENGOs do not have the states' official power, such as legislation or policy-making. They point out the problem, protest the problem to create awareness, make people see it on the media, and mostly wait for their decisions (Chartier & Deleage, 1998, p. 30). Where ENGOs are trying to impact the outcome of the negotiations is during the active meetings mostly. According to Betsill (2002), the most impact ENGOs has been made by lobbying during the negotiation processes. It can be said that ENGO's are trying to be influential on the processes, hoping to influence the outcome in the end. Two of the outcomes of the UNFCCC, the Kyoto Protocol, and the Paris Agreement, are results of these processes in which ENGO's involved.

5.1.3 Kyoto Protocol

As it is one of the most significant agreements in the history of international environmental negotiations, the Kyoto Protocol can also be acknowledged as a milestone for environmental policies. The Kyoto Protocol is an international treaty signed to manage climate change's possible outcomes (Zahran et al., 2007, p. 38). In that sense, states and ENGOs involved in the process communicated with ENGOs' with different strategies, and this mixed give and take processes in between the participators evolved into documents called protocols or agreements.

Kyoto Protocol takes UNFCCC in operation by demanding that industrialized countries limit greenhouse gases in terms of the protocol's limits. Convention's responsibility is to ask to implement the policies accepted and give a periodical report (UNFCCC, 2020b). The Kyoto Protocol's agreed terms to reduce the emission of greenhouse gases are what preached by the ENGOs for a long time. For instance, Greenpeace has been trying to create awareness for climate change from 1980

onwards. Moreover, after the Kyoto Protocol's signature, this awareness has been continued to secure the protocol's practice (Eden, 2004, p. 604).

The Kyoto Protocol was agreed in Kyoto, Japan, in December 1997 (Corell & Betsill, 2001, p. 92). There were concerns about the decisions made during the UNFCCC meeting in 1992, such as the decision that industrialized countries will hold their greenhouse gas emission rates in 1990 stable until 2000 (Betsill and Corell, 2001 p.92). Kyoto protocol changed this in terms of emission rates: "Protocol requires industrialized states to reduce their aggregate GHG emissions 5% below 1990 levels in the period 2008–2012" (Betsill and Corell, 2001, p. 92). These emission limits were for the Annex I countries, which can be considered developed countries. Developing countries, such as India, are not included in this emission rate (Dolsak, 2013, p. 384). The reason is that developing countries are much more dependent on fossil fuels, which are the primary source of greenhouse gas emissions since the cost of fossil fuels is much lower. The officials in the UNFCCC have emphasized the responsibility of the developed countries. What is stated about the responsibility of the developed countries is as follows:

Kyoto Protocol principles are based on UNFCCC adopts its structure in terms of annex-based countries. Developed countries are bonded to commit the protocol since they are mostly responsible for high greenhouse gas emissions (UNFCCC, 2020b). While developed countries are given the responsibility to reduce GHG (greenhouse gases) emissions in the Kyoto Protocol, developing countries are asked to be voluntary to reduce it. In this sense, it can be argued that since developing countries are much harder to give up on fossil-fuel consumption, they are left out of this requirement of emission reduction. This shows us that policy-making for climate change needs extensive care from the developed countries since most of the GHG are

emitted from these countries. Also, it is taken into consideration that developing countries are much more dependent on GHG emissions because they mostly rely on fossil-fuel and oil, which emits mostly CO₂. This dependence makes developing countries more vulnerable to the restrictions on GHG emissions economically.

Moreover, in between the countries that signed the protocol, post-cold-war countries have the right to sell some of their GHG emission quotas to other countries (Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004, p. 70). This situation worried the ENGOs about reducing the GHG emissions since there was no way to limit this transfer in the quota (Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004, p. 70). At this point, ENGO's influence is weakened since there is no way for ENGOs to manipulate the trade between countries.

The ENGO participation in the Kyoto Protocol has its positive and negative sides for ENGO influence. Greenpeace, Friends of Earth, and WWF were mostly active in Kyoto Protocol negotiations with their high number of delegates, among the organizations involved in sessions. (M. Betsill, 2002, p. 52)

The delegations' appearance in high numbers at the Kyoto Protocol negotiations is an important sign of ENGOs' intention to influence the meetings' outcome. In Rietig's (2016) work, the ENGOs' international negotiations involvement is considered a *lobbyist strategy*. According to Rietig (2016), lobbyist strategy consists of communicating with government officials and policy-makers to transfer ENGO's knowledge and intentions about environmental issues (p. 270). During the Kyoto Protocol negotiations, ENGOs were also using strategies that can be called activist strategies in which this strategy type was mentioned by Rietig (2016). An example of this activism strategy is displayed during COP 1 in Berlin, with three activists from Greenpeace climbed and suspended themselves from smokestack in

Germany to protest the fossil-fuel emissions (M. Betsill, 2002, p. 55). With both activism and lobbying, ENGOs' strategies are aimed to influence the result of the negotiations, the Kyoto Protocol in this case.

However, the criticism about ENGOs participation in the Kyoto Protocol negotiations shows the other side of the medallion regarding ENGOs' physical evidence in international environmental negotiations. Whether ENGOs influence on the Kyoto Protocol has physical evidence, Betsill (2002) says that ENGO influence does not mean always having physical evidence about their impact. "By this measure, it appears that CAN had relatively little influence on the Kyoto Protocol negotiations" (M. Betsill, 2002, p. 56). Climate Action Network (CAN) is a global network containing almost 300 ENGO's to change climate change's adverse effects to a sustainable level (Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004, p. 61). What these organizations jointly tried to do is being present and influential in the policy-making processes.

An example of physical evidence could be having signs of ENGO impact on the negotiations' final text. In this sense, Betsill (2002) says that it could give the wrong idea to judge ENGO impact solely depending on international negotiations' final document. (p., 56). That can be the limitations of ENGO's face when they are presenting in the negotiations. ENGOs influenced the Kyoto Protocol's international environmental negotiations by involving in the debates around emission trading, acting as a motivator to pressure the states to make them agree on the Kyoto Protocol. (M. Betsill, 2002, p., 57). Using the insider status strategies, ENGOs have influenced the Kyoto Protocol negotiations with lobbying and individual interference to the delegates and policy-makers.

However, lobbyist strategies used by ENGOs to influence policy-making processes have been criticized. The main criticism is the lack of efficiency of the ENGOs when creating a strong impact by lobbyism. One other hardship that the ENGOs' lobbyism activities face is that they are not taken into consideration by government delegates as their expertise on the area worth, which is a reason for the differences in their demands and delegates' positions being sided with the governments they represent (Rietig, 2011, p., 28). During the Kyoto Protocol, this situation could lead to a rather diminished impact on the negotiations' interference. On the other hand, during the negotiations, observers suggested that the agreement's final form could be even weaker in ENGOs' absence (M. Betsill, 2002, p.58).

As a result, while there can be more activist strategies included to gain leverage on the negotiations of the Kyoto Protocol, one might argue ENGO inclusion of the negotiations via lobbyism and debates, an impact on the policy-makers about the decisions taken can be seen by the interviews which have been made in work Betsill (2002).

5.1.4 Paris Agreement

After the Kyoto Protocol was signed in 1997, the state's attention towards climate change and GHG emissions started to decline significantly. What was accepted and said to reduce GHG such as CO₂, is not met with the requirements. The political movement behind the Kyoto Protocol is drastically decreased. After 2012, when the first commitment period ended, new emission rates with the developed countries could not be negotiated, including Canada and U.S are not even parties to the protocol (Savaresi, 2016, p.17).

In the means of ENGO influence, notwithstanding the impact of the lobbyist strategies (Rietig, 2016) on the signing of the Kyoto Protocol Betsill (2002), the protocol's implementation stagnated. This stagnation can be partly explained by the lack of important developed countries such as the U.S and China as signatories. On the other hand, there can be seen that the impact of the ENGOs is limited even after the signing of these treaties. The reason is that, while in the international negotiations, ENGOs are involving in the policy-making processes with different strategies, their status as an observer is also recognized by these international treaties. On the other hand, at the local level, intergovernmental policy-making processes tend to prevent outsider involvement, as it happens in most states. The implementation of the accepted policies is bound to the states' intergovernmental organs, and they are mostly are not open to any intervention from outside. Because of that, ENGOs influence cannot reach the implementation of these agreements on a local level.

To include more states that will contribute to the struggle against climate change by reducing GHG emissions, UNFCCC pushed for negotiations to establish more restrictive climate change policies (Savaresi, 2016, p. 17). After a series of setbacks and negotiations, the Paris Agreement was officially accepted in 2015. "The Paris Agreement is the first-ever universal, legally binding global climate change agreement, adopted at the Paris climate conference (COP21) in December 2015" (European Commission, 2019). In this process, researchers and the parties within the agreement noticed the ENGO's influence in international negotiations. The Paris Agreement recognizes the involvement of the non-state actors in discussing climate change for the first time and slightly increases their level of influence in international negotiations. (Savaresi, 2016, p., 26). ENGOs' role in the Paris Agreement can be seen as progressing through and after the agreement to ensure that the Paris

Agreement's terms are respected. Signs of these intentions to keep the agreement procedures in check and progress can be seen in the ENGOS' official statements, such as stated by WWF as E.U's climate target for 2030 must be increased before COP 26 climate summit in November 2020. While E.U leaders agreed that zero net GHG emissions should be reached by 2050, WWF believes this should be reached by 2040, highlighting that there needs to be immediate intervention to defeat climate change (WWF, 2020).

The campaigns and the activism procedures to manipulate the agreement and ensure that the agreed criteria are practiced, ENGOS depend on their activism and advocacy -Greenpeace- and networking strategies -WWF-. The need to mobilize the people to get their attention is essential for creating pressure on the policy-makers and parties. Since it is complicated to be completely successful in ensuring that the mentioned parties are loyal to the agreed terms instead of all the ENGO measurements, it is hard to say that there are breakthroughs in ENGO influence (Gulbrandsen & Andresen, 2004, p. 72). The level of influence in which ENGOS have over the years is not always possible to measure in a definite way without a significant difference since it is hard to assess the ENGO level in a comprehensible way because of a high amount of variables.

The Paris agreement's final results were more comprehensive in context and content than the Kyoto Protocol (Derwent et al. 2006, p. 11). The most critical aim of the Paris Agreement is that the limit on the temperature rises. Aim to limit the countries' temperature rise and observe governments' responsibilities, in that case, has been stated by the European Commission as:

“Governments agreed:

- *a long-term goal of keeping the increase in global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels;*
- *to aim to limit the increase to 1.5°C, since this would significantly reduce risks and the impacts of climate change;*
- *on the need for global emissions to peak as soon as possible, recognising that this will take longer for developing countries;*
- *to undertake rapid reductions thereafter in accordance with the best available science, so as to achieve a balance between emissions and removals in the second half of the century” (European Commission, 2019).*

The establishment of these terms to reduce the global temperature, accepted by governments, can be argued to be an indicator of the ENGOs’ impact, including as they are the terms that had been promoted by Greenpeace and WWF. Ongoing attempts to change the climate issue and create an awareness to call the governments to action, a joint statement by WWF and Greenpeace was launched in 2019 regarding the attempt to secure the Paris Agreement’s terms in the call for an E.U. climate law. According to this joint statement, published in both the WWF and Greenpeace official websites, one of the twelve statements is:

“Commit to no backsliding and establish a five-year review mechanism, in line with the Paris Agreement, to revise targets and update the E.U.’s long term strategy.”
(Greenpeace European Unit, 2019)

It is seen that ENGOs using the internet as a tool to spread their influence in international negotiations, depending solely on digital tools, is not a good idea to create good results in terms of lobbyism since physical lobbyism is more influential than depending on digital lobbyism (Nulman & Özkula, 2016, p. 15). Among the twelve statements, the statement given as an example shows the eagerness to create a control mechanism towards ensuring that the terms in the Paris Agreement have been respected. The emphasis on the possible revision and update could mean that these ENGOs aim for improvement in the terms considers annual temperature rate and

GHG emissions. By putting such a statement on their website, Greenpeace and WWF's strategy, as an organization, aims to put together their means of propaganda to create awareness about climate change, pressuring the policy-makers with public attention.

The Kyoto Protocol and its successor, the Paris Agreement, aimed to create awareness for the climate issue while trying to get states together for terms to be accepted. With the main aim of reducing the GHG emissions and slowing the global temperature increase, ENGOs supported these agreements both in and out of the negotiations process and after. While in the Kyoto Protocol, signs of the ENGO influence were indirect, it is understood by Betsill's (2002) works and Backstrand et al. (2017) ENGO's were trying to be impactful in the negotiations and policy-making processes by lobbying and activism. In the Paris Agreement's negotiation process, the non-state actors' position and ENGOs were accepted as they have a role in international negotiations (Savaresi, 2016, p. 26). Also, the negotiation processes' involvement continued with internal and external methods, and ENGOs tried to secure the measurements taken to ensure that they are practiced afterward.

6. ANALYSIS OF THE DOCUMENTS

The two final products of the international environmental negotiations, the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement, have been analyzed in terms of their articles to understand the ENGOs influence in international environmental negotiations. As explained in the methodology chapter, the thesis's method is a mixed-method, which specificities on the exploratory sequential method (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018) consider the qualitative data analysis before quantitative data. In terms of the qualitative data analysis, in which the protocols, there are three content analysis types discussed in Hsieh and Shannon (2005): *conventional content analysis*, *directed content analysis*, and *summative content analysis*. In this sense, analysis of these agreements will adopt *summative content analysis*, which involves the analysis of the articles in the protocol, searching for keywords, meanings, and themes in articles to assess the ENGO influence from the content which are discussed, which are the examples from statements and joint press release published by WWF and Greenpeace

6.1 Kyoto Protocol

In Article 2 of the Kyoto Protocol, it states that:

“Each Party included in Annex I, in achieving its quantified emission limitation and reduction commitments under Article 3, in order to promote sustainable development, shall:

(iv) Research on, and promotion, development and increased use of, new and renewable forms of energy, of carbon dioxide sequestration technologies and of advanced and innovative environmentally sound technologies; (Kyoto Protocol, 1997).

In Article 2, we see the implementation of the “emission limitation” and “reduction” as a commitment. The word “sustainable development” is also crucial since, in the environmental issues, it has long been propagandized by ENGOs to depend on sustainable development. Reductions in carbon emission and limiting them depend on the technology measurements, so, in the protocol, it is highlighted that necessary technologies should be adopted to reach a certain amount of reduction in the carbon emissions. Annex I countries, which are explained as developed countries, are wanted to commit to the program, which there can be seen a correlation with the ENGOs activism in the U.S and other developed countries in the E.U, such as Greenpeace.

In Article 2, paragraph three,

The Parties included in Annex I shall strive to implement policies and measures under this Article in such a way as to minimize adverse effects, including the adverse effects of climate change, effects on international trade, and social, environmental and economic impacts on other Parties, especially developing country Parties and in particular those identified in Article 4, paragraphs 8 and 9, of the Convention, taking into account Article 3 of the Convention. (Kyoto Protocol, 1997)

In Article 2, paragraph three of the Kyoto Protocol, the emphasis on climate change, and its “adverse effects” is an excellent example of the jargon that has been used by ENGOs also. Environmental organizations widely use the concept of preserving nature and implementing measurements for the world’s protection. In this sense, while it is not a definite example of the ENGOs direct influence on the protocol, in terms of the jargon and methods to protect the environment, the arguments are close enough to see the similarity. In terms of policy-making, there can

be an attempt to encourage creating necessary policies for climate change. In this sense, while ENGOs have a hard time involved in the policy-making processes, the terms policy can be counted as a minor achievement.

In Article 3, it states that

- 1- *The Parties included in Annex I shall, individually or jointly, ensure that their aggregate anthropogenic carbon dioxide equivalent emissions of the greenhouse gases listed in Annex A do not exceed their assigned amounts, calculated pursuant to their quantified emission limitation and reduction commitments inscribed in Annex B and in accordance with the provisions of this Article, with a view to reducing their overall emissions of such gases by at least 5 per cent below 1990 levels in the commitment period 2008 to 2012.*
- 2- *Each Party included in Annex I shall, by 2005, have made demonstrable progress in achieving its commitments under this Protocol.*

The emphasis on CO₂ emissions and the terms greenhouse gases in Article 3 shows important dedication for emphasizing the need for reducing CO₂ emissions since it is one of the critical factors to defeat the adverse effects of climate change. Greenhouse gases listed in Annex A, which includes CO₂ and other important gases to reduce to fight the adverse effects of climate change, are advised by the protocol to countries “ensure” that their emissions reduction has taken place. There we can see the implementation of the words -such as ensure- that leave the policies’ practice to the countries with no control mechanism. These are the signs that the Kyoto Protocol does not have reliable sanctions for the parties who do not meet with requirements. On the other hand, putting a percentage for the reduction in the overall emissions can be explained as a good thing since at least it

establishes an aim for the parties involved, in which ENGOs will be able to pursue their agenda to increase the decided percentages in the future, and preach for the implementation of these numbers. In the second paragraph of article 3, the emphasis on the progression in a given year is also significant for creating a sense of progress and control. Besides, we can see the emphasis on “shall” rather than “must,” which shows the protocol’s non-mandatory nature.

In Article 4, it states that:

5. In the event of failure by the Parties to such an agreement to achieve their total combined level of emission reductions, each Party to that agreement shall be responsible for its own level of emissions set out in the agreement.

Article four, paragraph five, gives a significant understanding of what will happen in failure to reach desired emission rates. The statement that each Party will be responsible for its level of emissions carries no value in the face of possible failure. Being responsible for in the face of failure is unclear in terms of what will happen in the case of possible negative results.

Article 13 is important when it comes to an understanding of the role of ENGOs during international environmental negotiations.

8. The United Nations, its specialized agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency, as well as any State member thereof or observers thereto not party to the Convention, may be represented at sessions of the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Protocol as observers. Any body or agency, whether national or international, governmental or non-governmental, which is qualified in matters covered by this Protocol and which has informed the secretariat of its wish to be represented at a session of the

Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Protocol as an observer, may be so admitted unless at least one third of the Parties present object. The admission and participation of observers shall be subject to the rules of procedure, as referred to in paragraph 5 above.

Article 13, paragraph eight, is where the emphasis on the non-governmental organizations and their role is taking place in the document. The word non-governmental represents the organizations that depend on governments; in this sense, ENGOs are included. It can be seen that the role of the non-governmental organizations during the meetings in this protocol can only be attending as observers within a certain procedure. So, on a legal basis, it could be said that ENGOs do not have legislative power to decide protocol criteria.

On the other hand, Article 13, paragraph four, shows the possibility of an advisory role from non-governmental organizations in terms of implementation.

4. The Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this Protocol shall keep under regular review the implementation of this Protocol and shall make, within its mandate, the decisions necessary to promote its effective implementation. It shall perform the functions assigned to it by this Protocol and shall:

(i) Seek and utilize, where appropriate, the services and cooperation of, and information provided by, competent international organizations and intergovernmental and non-governmental bodies; and (j) Exercise such other functions as may be required for the implementation of this Protocol, and consider any assignment resulting from a decision by the Conference of the Parties.

The advisory position of the non-governmental organizations, if needed, has been accepted by the protocol. In that sense, this advisory position can be in the form of information, cooperation, or service. As organizations that focus on climate change with all its elements, ENGOs could be assessed as a natural volunteer for information providing and cooperation. Assignments are also a possible way for ENGOs to involve in the implementation of the policies.

As analyzed in the documents, the position of the ENGOs in international negotiations can be quite challenging to understand since the number of variables presented. Ideas presented in the Kyoto Protocol, such as reducing the GHG emissions and the commitments expected from the developed countries, are advocated by ENGOs with different strategies over a long time. However, their influence on the Kyoto Protocol document is part of complex relationships with the policy-makers' multiple parties. In that sense, to address the ENGOs' role in this variety, the concept of global governance helps to understand the ENGOs' role and explains that they depend on the spread of information and knowledge (Nasiritiousi et al., 2014, p.113). Specifically, in climate governance, where ENGOs are trying to exert their methods and strategies to impact the policy-making processes, we see the activism and lobbyism strategies used to change the ongoing talks in climate change or even create the agenda. Their specific focus on the environmental issues and mobilization of many people is helping them exert a particular agenda in climate governance by involving in policy-making processes (Nasritiousi et al., 2014, p. 113). As in the Kyoto Protocol negotiations', ENGOs attempted to contribute to the negotiations by being observers. It was also made possible with Article 13 to be in an advisory position for implementation of the

protocol, making it possible for ENGOs to interact with the policy-makers on a much more influential basis to share expertise and knowledge.

6.2 Paris Agreement

The Paris Agreement, signed in 2015, has tried to take further the aims of the Kyoto Protocol about climate change.

Article 2 states the aims and objectives of the Agreement:

1. This Agreement, in enhancing the implementation of the Convention, including its objective, aims to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change, in the context of sustainable development and efforts to eradicate poverty, including by:

(a) Holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels, recognizing that this would significantly reduce the risks and impacts of climate change;

In Article 2, paragraph one, the agreement's aim has been set up to limit the global annual temperature increase, which can not be seen in the Kyoto Protocol. To fight the adverse effects of climate change, pursuing a decrease in global annual temperature has not been mentioned in the Kyoto Protocol. Over the years, continuously raised awareness helped governments be aware of the necessity of the limit the rise of the global annual temperature. In that sense, ENGOs and their work to raise awareness for climate change with the activism methods and media can help create an impact on the overall understanding of climate change.

Article 4, paragraph one states that;

1. *In order to achieve the long-term temperature goal set out in Article 2, Parties aim to reach global peaking of greenhouse gas emissions as soon as possible, recognizing that peaking will take longer for developing country Parties, and to undertake rapid reductions thereafter in accordance with best available science, so as to achieve a balance between anthropogenic emissions by sources and removals by sinks of greenhouse gases in the second half of this century, on the basis of equity, and in the context of sustainable development and efforts to eradicate poverty.*

The importance of greenhouse gas emissions and the need for their reduction to fight climate change has been underlined by the articles in Paris Agreement, such as Article 4. Mention of global annual temperature is a concept that can not be seen in the Kyoto Protocol back in 1997. The awareness of the correlation between greenhouse gas rates and global annual temperature shows a better understanding of climate change since the Kyoto Protocol. The mention of a need for rapid reductions in Article 4 is significant since it is spoken out by different non-governmental organizations many times over the years. Reflection of this idea on the agreement can be considered a positive impression of climate change's cumulative understanding by different elements involving international environmental negotiations, including ENGOs.

In Article 16, paragraph eight, the position of the non-governmental organizations can be seen.

8. *Any body or agency, whether national or international, governmental or non-governmental, which is qualified in matters covered by this agreement and which*

has informed the secretariat of its wish to be represented at a session of the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to this agreement as an observer, may be so admitted unless at least one third of the Parties present object. The admission and participation of observers shall be subject to the rules of procedure referred to in paragraph 5 of this Article.

There can be seen that the position of the ENGOs can officially achieve in the international negotiations considering the Paris Agreement, which directly related to environmental issues regarding climate change. The status of the non-governmental organizations, as underlined in the document, can be observer status. From this, it can be understood that non-governmental bodies such as ENGOs are not considered part of international environmental negotiations' policy-making processes. Since the Kyoto Protocol, the official situation of the ENGOs is staying the same as observers.

The relationship between ENGOs and policy-makers has been explained under the concept of hybrid multilateralism in Backstrand et al. (2017). According to hybrid multilateralism, there is significantly high interaction between broadly non-state actors and policy-makers, and the UNFCCC has been possessed a role in managing the relationship between them (Backstrand et al., p. 574). The organization type of the non-state actors' relationship between them helps non-state actors coordinate themselves under the umbrella of the UNFCCC, and it can be one of the reasons for increasing ENGO influence from the Kyoto Protocol to the Paris Agreement. The ENGOs' importance during the Paris Agreement's negotiation processes has shown itself in Article 16, as the non-governmental organizations' position explained. Also, the non-state actors' importance has been accepted by the Paris Agreement despite the obvious critical role of the states as enforcers of the policies (Backstrand et al., 2017, p. 575). Observer status of the ENGOs and admitted expertise of the non-

governmental organizations has empowered ENGOs to take into account by authorities a bit more. As a result, ENGOs inclusion in international negotiations for the Paris Agreement has shown itself as an incremental influence during the negotiations. It is not clear who will be obliged if there is a failure in the terms accepted (Backstrand et al., 2017, p.575).

6.3 CO2 Emissions and Global Temperature as deciding factor

During the Kyoto Protocol take effect, and after that, the Paris Agreement's implementation, both agreements' aims were lowering the GHG emission rates and slowing the increase of global temperature. In that sense, the GHG emission rates, specifically CO₂, and the temperature rises could tell us a lot about whether the agreed protocols were effective as wanted. It could also help us assess the overall ENGO influence after the agreements put on work, in the means of efficiency of the adopted strategies.

There is a linear relationship between CO₂ emissions and temperature rise (Lahn, 2020). So, the ENGOs insist on reducing CO₂ emission globally, relying on the scientific observations of emission rates and annual change in the global temperature. It is stated that, in the IPCC and European Commission, at least 2 celsius should be aimed to prevent the harmful effects of climate change, but with the current level of CO₂ emissions, it is already impossible (Giddens, 2009, p. 22). Even in the most probable scenario, the temperature is still expected to rise around 4 celsius, influencing the decrease of rainfalls by around 20 percent in the sub-tropical areas (Giddens, 2009, p. 21).

After the agreement on the Kyoto Protocol and the date, it took effect in 2005. through the replacement with the Paris Agreement in 2015, the global temperature and CO₂ emissions changes are significant tools to understand if these deals impact climate change.

Figure 1

Annual CO₂ emission rates between 1997-2017

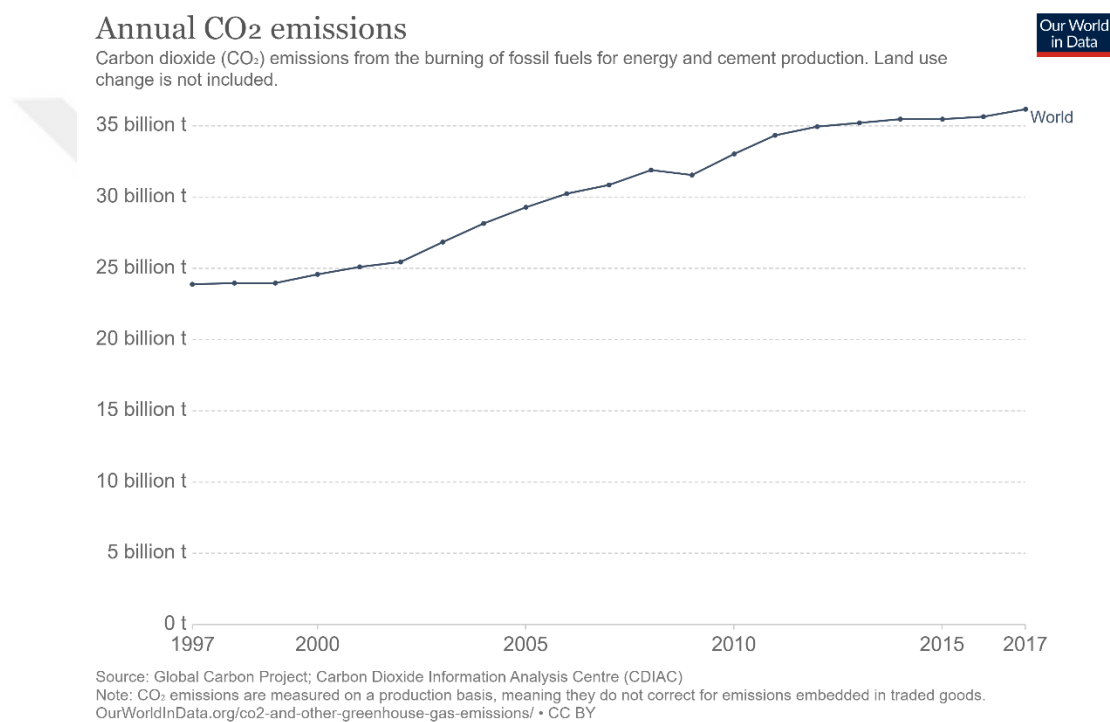


Figure 1 Annual CO₂ emission rates between 1997-2017

Figure 1 shows the annual CO₂ emissions between the years 1997-2017. The reason that the year of figure started in 1997 is, in that year Kyoto Protocol agreed. It is considered that with the agreement of protocol, the necessary implementations and ENGO campaigns speed up to reduce the CO₂ emissions. It is important to mention these changes between the CO₂ emissions since the figure's changes show us whether implemented agreements have been practiced accordingly.

When it is looked at Figure 1, it can be seen that annual CO₂ emissions have gone up almost with no setbacks. In contrast to the criteria's in the Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement, a necessary reduction in the emission of CO₂ could not be achieved. The reason for the increase in CO₂ emissions relies on multiple reasons. One reason is that both in the Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement, there is a problem with the countries that pledged to reduce CO₂ emissions. Since the pledges are working voluntarily, loopholes, and technical conditions, besides technical problems delaying the proper implication of reducing CO₂ emissions (Universal Ecological Fund, 2019). The ENGO's role in creating awareness and involving in international environmental negotiations with necessary strategies is facing a setback when the case is being influential on the agreements' practices.

Another reason is the countries themselves, in terms of reducing their CO₂ emission rates willingly. The most powerful countries that emit most of the CO₂ are hesitating to contribute to the effort against climate change.

Figure 2

Annual CO₂ emission rates of China and the United States between 1997-2018

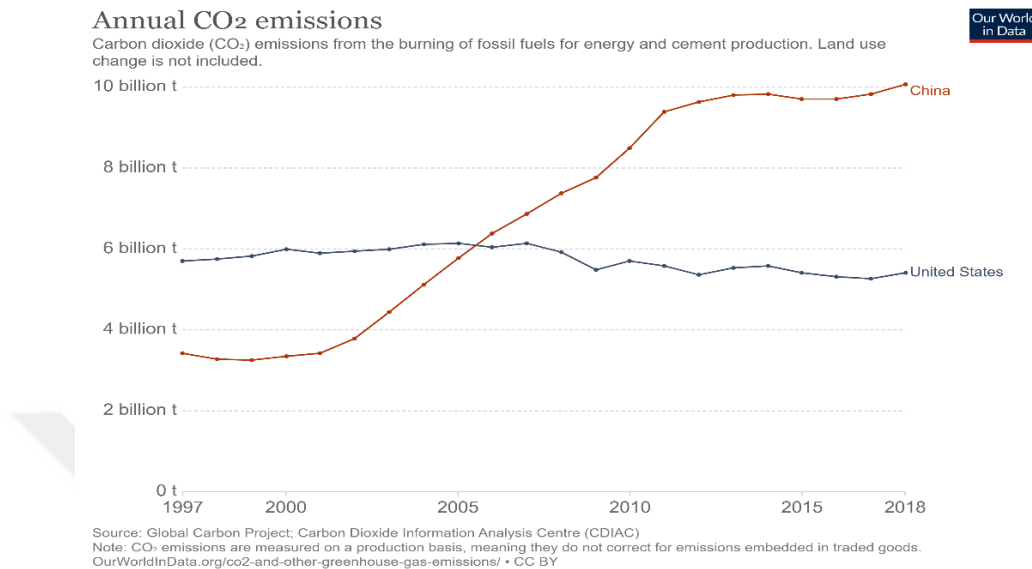


Figure 2 Annual CO₂ emission rates of China and the United States between 1997-2018

Figure 2 shows the annual CO₂ emissions of China and the United States between the years 1997-2018. The reason for bringing up this figure is the emphasis on the industrial countries' CO₂ emission rates. U.S. and China are two of the countries that release the most GHG gases in the world. Moreover, the rate of their CO₂ emissions has not been decreased; instead, there is a significant increase in China in terms of CO₂ emissions. While there is a significant increase in CO₂ emissions by one of the world's largest industrial countries, climate change aims to reduce GHG emissions faces a major setback.

6.4 What is understood from the analysis?

Analysis of the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement has shown us that there is a significant improvement in understanding the adverse effects of climate change, and there is an attempt to revert the harmful effects of it by implementing reductions of

CO₂ emissions and other greenhouse gases. In that sense, the appearance of concepts such as climate change, reducing CO₂ emissions, greenhouse gases, and global annual temperature is the collective product of the long process that consists of states and non-state actors. The ENGOS' involvement in international environmental negotiations with the strategies mentioned can be considered part of the mentioned collective action. The impact created by ENGOS can be seen as channeling the public and media's attention to climate change while raising questions and awareness of the issue. While ENGOS could not be part of the policy-making processes as a policy-maker, the acknowledgment of the non-governmental organizations on the official documents of both the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement is a sign of acceptance as an actor that has a role to a degree in negotiation processes for climate change.

One of the most significant hardships that ENGO's face, in this sense, is influencing the states to take necessary action. In the documents, what will be done in the event of failure about the targeted emission levels is blurred since there is no definite control mechanism to give a penalty to the state. In the case of ENGOS, in both the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement, these organizations' status as an observer cannot make any demands from the states. That is one of the main reasons why ENGOS cannot influence the reduction of CO₂ emissions. For example, when the United States president, Donald Trump, withdrew from the Paris Agreement in 2017, saying that he will protect America and its citizens (White House, 2017), in the coming years, CO₂ emissions increased (Berny & Rootes, 2018). Domestic and global many ENGOS protested this decision with media and activism. However, until today the situation is the same, and according to the Paris Agreement, this withdrawal took effect in 2020.

It is understood that ENGOs use various approaches to impact in international environmental negotiations, and on some level, they are considered effective when it comes to creating awareness and pushing people and countries to take action. Using their activism and lobbyism expertise as global ENGO's, Greenpeace and WWF used their resources in both the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement to impact the negotiations' outcome. While there can not be any physical evidence on the terms, in light of Betsill's (2002) work, ENGO's influence in international environmental negotiations assessed by their involvement in the policy-making processes. According to Gulbrandsen & Andresen (2004), ENGO's like Greenpeace and WWF were present during the negotiations of the Kyoto Protocol and faced hardships to ensure that governments are collaborating with the aims of the ENGOs in the climate change problems. Moreover, CO₂ emission rates show that goals are not reached for the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement. Emission rates of the parties to the deals are not helpful to reduce the global temperature. Even ENGOs were, at some level, influential in the policy-making processes, reducing the emission rates are depending on the states to implement necessary precautions. At this point, ENGO's could rely on the activism and support of the people to pressure the governments to take necessary steps, but until today the CO₂ emission rates show us that it is not that easy since the aim of developing and daily politics are interrupting the governments to see the big picture.

7. CONCLUSION

Climate change is a problem of the 21st century that needs to be addressed as soon as possible to prevent the harmful effects of global warming. The emergency of the situation is so critical that it is even past to take necessary precautions to preserve a safe environment for future generations. In that sense, this thesis is focused on climate change by addressing ENGOs influence on the international environmental negotiations and policy-making processes that present necessary precautions about climate change to the World. It is questioned that to what extent ENGOs can impact the international environmental negotiations and policy-making processes when it comes to encouraging and managing collective action to create awareness. The NGOs' structure is analyzed, and through that, ENGOs are analyzed to understand how global ENGOs work and what strategy they use to negotiate. ENGOs, such as WWF and Greenpeace explained, has been using different strategies over time that aims to impact the international environmental negotiations. By either using activism or lobbyism, ENGOs were trying to make states take necessary precautions for climate change. To do that, an extensive network of offices was established, lobbyism continued, media attendance was sought, and mass mobilization of the people tried to pressure the policy-makers and states.

Conventions, protocols, and agreements are the processes and end-products of international negotiations that aim to establish climate change measurements. Stages that climate agreements negotiated and conventions that problems about climate change have been discussed are where ENGOs can show their influence on the agreements' end-products. The Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement are two of the most important environmental deals resulting from these long negotiation periods.

Moreover, while the ENGO numbers are extensive both in the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris agreement, it can be said that the influence they have could not be seen in the final forms of the agreements. ENGOs' impact on these negotiation processes traced with the thorough analysis of academic literature, and it can be said that while there is a complex process behind international environmental negotiations, the effort made by ENGOs and other non-state actors was noticed. Furthermore, reductions in CO₂ emissions were the subject of both agreements. ENGOs involvement in the international negotiations concerns the CO₂ emission rates were significant in this sense since it can be seen before the Kyoto Protocol that Greenpeace and WWF were already preaching the reduction in CO₂ emissions.

However, when the CO₂ emission rates over the years have been analyzed, it can be seen that there is no significant decrease in CO₂ emissions. The Kyoto Protocol's inefficiency in reducing the CO₂ emissions led to new arrangements for the climate change negotiations, which resulted in the Paris Agreement in 2015. After 2015, CO₂ emission rates are still not decreasing, and we are becoming further away from the aim of limiting global temperature rises. The inefficiency of agreements can be explained as their inability to imply sanctions and make states take necessary precautions. The loopholes in the agreements also are a slowing factor for the implementation of the climate change policies. Necessary responsibility from the developed countries can not be seen. Instead, the U.S.'s withdrawal from the Paris Agreement and increasing CO₂ emissions of China puts the crisis in a much more complicated situation. While time is short for taking necessary measurements, execution of the decisions that set back global effort against climate change is problematic.

While Greenpeace and WWF continue their effort by trying to make certain countries that signed the Paris Agreement are respecting the topics that agreed on, it is significant to understand that other than being present in international environmental negotiations; it is needed to pressure the states' to take measurements. In the international environmental negotiations, ENGOs were using their money, expertise, and network to pressure the policy-makers to agree on critical decisions, such as CO₂ emission reduction. Direct or indirect strategies used by ENGOs are influential to the degree that it is understood that climate change is a critical matter both by public and governments, and needed to take action, but not to a level that makes governments imply necessary precautions which can be seen in the CO₂ emission rates. Of course, there are many factors other than ENGOs that make climate change noticeable and prevent the measurements' implications. Nevertheless, it is important to be aware that ENGOs are significant for climate change, and other factors are not missed out; instead, ENGO influence had been tried to assess with the awareness of other factors involving climate change negotiations. The purpose of explaining ENGO influence let us adopt a strategy that considers the relationship in which ENGOs are taking part and assessing them to optimize these relationships in the future.

Studying ENGO's influence on climate change through international environmental negotiations is significant for evaluating policy-making problems and their execution. This thesis aims to contribute to the area to understand the difficulties ENGOs face in these negotiations to solve climate change's diplomatic and political problems. Understanding the hardships ENGOs face and what flaws are interrupting environmental policies' execution would be easier to optimize environmental issues' policy-making processes. By optimizing the policy-making processes in international environmental negotiations, necessary implications such as reducing CO₂ emission

rates could be much more radical in terms of its decided reduction rates, which will drastically slow down the increase of global temperature. The execution of the measurements taken could also be more efficient since it is critical to executing these policies to fight climate change's side effects. By trying to understand the ENGOs position and influence level in the negotiations, the analysis for what can be done for optimizing how ENGOs can transmit their ideas, knowledge, and expertise about the climate change problem can be done. With the improvement of ENGOs' communication strategy with the policy-makers, assessing the critical points of climate change can be pointed out more efficiently and quickly.

Future research on climate change may be needed to assess the strategies that can improve ENGO's impact on states in influencing the application of the climate change policies that are agreed upon in the international negotiations. The control mechanisms of climate change agreements can be improved to execute better necessary policies, which goes hand to hand with understanding ENGOs and states' relationships. While the future of the World may be blurred in terms of environmental issues, turning the states' face to collective action against climate change will give tremendous support against the fight with climate change.

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