The Influence of Environmental NGOs in the Global Society

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Abstract

This paper assesses the overall impact and influence of environmental non-governmental organization (NGO) networks from the local to the global setting. Networks of various types of NGOs have developed and emerged in recent decades as significant actors in global politics. This paper looks at the impact these networks have in political and societal arenas, such as the business practices of large multinational corporations. A qualitative analysis of several cases involving NGOs is conducted, assessing what actions or strategies were most effective, particularly in promoting environmentally sustainable policies and practices and establishing a Culture of Peace. Research combines a review of existing literature along with personal observations from working with a grassroots environmental NGO in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Over recent decades, the number of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) has increased substantially, a phenomenon which has attracted much scholarly attention, with particular focus on their participation in domestic and international political processes. At the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, representatives from over 250 NGOs were in attendance. These representatives provided technical expertise, helped to establish the rules for NGO participation, participated in plenary sessions and committee meetings, and worked in forums to build connections between one another. Scholars identify this event as one of the major turning points in the liberalization of the NGO system that followed as the number of NGOs accredited to subsequent conferences has continued to grow. (Betsill and Corell 1-2) In regards to achieving sustainable development, the U.N. acknowledged NGOs as partners who can contribute significantly to these efforts with its Agenda 21. Point 27.3 of the non-binding action plan reads:

> [n]on-governmental organizations, including those non-profit organizations representing groups addressed in the present section of Agenda 21, possess well-established and diverse experience, expertise, and

capacity in fields which will be of particular importance to the implementation and review of environmentally sound and socially responsible sustainable development, as envisaged throughout Agenda 21. The community of non-governmental organizations, therefore, offers a global network that should be tapped, enabled and strengthened in support of efforts to achieve these common goals. (UN Conference on Environ. & Devel. 282)

While NGO is a term that encompasses of a wide variety of organizations of various magnitudes that participate at all levels of society, this research is focused on the role and influence of networks of environmental NGOs (ENGOs). However, the term ENGO is still a rather general classification, as significant distinctions can be made between different organizations that fall into this category. ENGOs and other NGOs have developed extensive networks between independent organizations that work in cooperation at the international, national, regional, and local levels. The development of various NGO networks is one of the many political, economic, social, and cultural processes that are attributed by many scholars to what is called globalization, or the expanding and strengthening interconnectedness between nations around the world. (McGrew 16)

Globalization and the Global Society

While many scholars agree that globalization is indeed happening, there are a variety of perspectives used to understand globalization, some of which view it as a beneficial development and others arguing that it is contributing to an increase in global inequality. This paper adopts what Anthony McGrew calls the transformationalist perspective of world politics. Contrary to the belief that globalization has led to a weakening or deconstruction of the sovereignty of nation-states within the global system, transformationalists view this not as the nation-state's demise, but rather a globalization of politics, where "the traditional distinction between domestic and international affairs is not terribly meaningful" (McGrew 16). McGrew identifies this system of global politics as a global governance complex, describing the interplay of "states, international institutions, transnational networks and agencies [as they act to] promote, regulate, or intervene in the common affairs of humanity" (McGrew 25). Within this global governance complex, "private and non-governmental agencies have become increasingly influential in the formulation and implementation of global public policy" (McGrew 26). These organi-

zations contribute to a portion of this complex that McGrew calls the transnational/global civil society. This term encompasses actors such as NGO and advocacy networks, transnational organizations, and citizens' groups, all of whom are playing "a significant role in mobilizing, organizing, and exercising political power across national boundaries" (McGrew 27). This process has been facilitated by developments in information and communication technologies (ICTs) and a growing awareness of common interests amongst different groups in separate nations across the world.

Another important set of powerful actors within the global society are the transnational networks of corporate power, which consist of multinational corporations (MNCs) and smaller business enterprises. McGrew argues that the nature of these MNC global operations creates democratic deficits in the existing global political system due to the system's territorial roots, hindering its ability to observe and regulate the business practices of MNCs. This contributes to the existence of "distorted global politics" where "power asymmetries and global institutions more often than not enhance the interests of global elites at the expense of the wider world community" (McGrew 29-30). In the following sections, the influence of ENGO networks in reducing these distortions throughout the global society through their policy work and other sociocultural factors will be assessed. While this analysis focuses on the influence of ENGOS, it may also have implications for the influence of other transnational NGO and advocacy networks.

ENGO Networks in Indianapolis

Sustainable Indiana 2016 serves as an example of a local ENGO network for this research. It began as an initiative by a partner ENGO, Earth Charter Indiana (ECI), a group associated with but not formally tied to Earth Charter International. Statements concerning ECI in this analysis are drawn from personal observations made while working with the Sustainable Indiana 2016 initiative as a research intern. Sustainable Indiana 2016 works to raise awareness of local, bottom-up initiatives throughout the state that focus on solutions to climate change and promote environmental sustainability. Part of this awareness campaign also involves cataloging grassroots initiatives, which number over 200 in the state. Sustainable Indiana 2016 also works with Earth Charter Indiana and other associated ENGOs to exert influence over a variety of political and social actors in Indianapolis. The network is currently documenting and reporting on local Indiana residents and businesses engaged in climate solution initiatives, a comprehensive list of which

is displayed on their website. The organization also coordinates its own campaigns, including the Tree of Hope initiative, which seeks to inspire Indiana residents to plant trees throughout the state. They also support the national Meatless Monday campaign, which seeks to reduce the negative environmental impacts of the meat industry by encouraging people to refrain from eating meat at least one day per week. ("Meatless Monday") Sustainable Indiana 2016 helps Indiana residents pledge to the campaign and signs them up to receive email updates, which include meat-free recipes and information about how going meatless promotes environmental sustainability.

Sustainable Indiana 2016, ECI, and other associated ENGOs form a local, grassroots ENGO network in the Indianapolis region. To promote environmental sustainability through influencing local politics, this local ENGO network was part of the diverse group of "agricultural, consumer, environmental, libertarian, religious, and social groups" and solar entrepreneurs who were prepared to testify against Indiana House Bill (HB) 1320 at the bill's hearing before the House Utilities Committee on February 18th, 2015. HB 1320 was a bill that would add financial roadblocks for customers seeking to install solar and wind energy systems in their homes or businesses. State policy allows net metering, or the reimbursement of customers who feed energy back into the grid, paid by utility providers at retail rate. HB 1320 would enable utility companies to reduce net metering credits to customer-generators and impose new fees and other costs. These costs would slow the growth of Indiana's fledgling solar and wind industry and deter clean energy manufacturers and installers from the state of Indiana.

Representatives from most of the groups seeking to testify were barred from the hearing by the Chairman of the House Utilities Committee. The Hoosier Environmental Council, associated with the Earth Charter Indiana ENGO network, was permitted to testify and ECI representatives were present in the chamber. The bill passed through the committee with a 9-4 vote, but did not make it to a House floor vote due to the widespread opposition to the bill. (Hoosier Environmental Council) This event raises the question of whether this local ENGO network managed to influence the Indiana House of Representatives' decision to reject HB 1320. There are few consistent methodologies in the field to guide qualitative analysis of global or local ENGO networks, which makes this question difficult to answer. The following discussion seeks to find a methodology that can be applied to this and future analyses.

Evaluating NGO Influence

Despite the considerable amount of research on the influence of NGOs in global society, there are few consistent methodologies that can be effectively utilized in analyses of this influence. Literature concerning NGO influence also tends to use inconsistent definitions for influence. Authors Michele M. Betsill and Elisabeth Corell sought to reduce such inconsistencies and deficits in their book, *NGO Diplomacy: The Influence of Nongovernmental Organizations in International Environmental Negotiations*, in which they propose an analytical framework for quantitatively assessing the level of influence of NGOs. While the methodology in this book is intended for case studies within the political arena of international environmental negotiations, it offers several insights that could prove useful to more general studies of NGO influence.

The authors build their definition of influence from existing literature by distinguishing between the concepts of power, as traditionally understood in the field of international relations, and influence. In international relations, power is generally associated with the ability of one nation-state to control the behavior of other nation-states in order to achieve its desired outcomes. Betsill and Corell list "gross national product, population, military capability or prestige" as indicators of a state's power. (21) Since the central political actors in this analysis are not states but NGOs, power must be understood through different indicators than those used for nation-states. To overcome this difference, the authors defined power for this context as all political resources an actor has at its disposal. The authors distinguish between power and influence by identifying the latter as a change in behavior of one actor due to the actions of another "from what would have occurred otherwise" (Betsill and Corell 24).

Indicators of NGO Influence

In their analytics framework, Betsill and Corell produced a set of indicators for NGO influence based on the above definition. Though developed for use in analyzing international negotiations and agreements, aspects of these indicators are applicable to ENGOs throughout the global society.

The first indicator is observable change in procedural issues attributed to the actions of NGOs in final agreements. Procedural issues impact future decision-making processes and NGOs wish to increase opportunities for participation for their organizations and others working toward similar goals.

(Bestill and Corell 36) This indicator could be applied to the global governance complex by expanding its scope to include opportunities for NGO participation in political processes at all levels of society. It could also be used as a social indicator if public constituencies perceive NGOs as legitimate actors in policy creation and implementation, creating more opportunities for NGOs to participate in global politics.

The other indicator for final agreements concerns substantive issues, or the specific demands an agreement places on member states, and whether they reflect the initial positions or ideas of participating NGOs. (Betsill and Corell 36-7) The scope of this indicator could be expanded to include demands placed on states in international environmental agreements, as well as those placed on domestic governing bodies within states. Social environmental demands placed on governments by their constituencies could also serve as an indicator for substantive issues.

For indicators concerning the negotiation process, Betsill and Corell positioned key actors throughout the stages of a negotiation amongst those listed. They identify the initial positions of these actors, any changes in their position during negotiation, and whether that change can be attributed to the actions of participating NGOs. (2008, 36) In applying this indicator outside international negotiations, the term "actors" could be broadly understood to include all significant political and social actors throughout the global society, such as politicians, prominent members of MNCs and other corporations, and activists within social movements.

The final indicator adopted in this analysis is concerned with issue framing, which relates to how an issue was understood prior to and during negotiations. This understanding involves what the driving causes of the issue are and who exactly has the responsibility to act in order to solve the issue. (Betsill and Corell 33) The authors recognize the cultural aspects of this indicator, as frames can significantly enable and constrain the ability of NGOs to influence the outcomes of negotiations. For example, NGOs find themselves to be less influential when environmental issues are tied to economic concerns that may lead decision makers to prioritize short-term economic costs over longer-term environmental ones. (Betsill and Corell 41) This recognition supports the argument that this indicator can apply to issue framing throughout the entire global society, as the ways in which the involved actors understand environmental issues affects their perceptions of what caused these issues and what actions need to be taken to solve them, as well as whether or not these actors perceive that there is an issue in the first place. In order to apply these indicators outside of international environmental ne-

gotiations, a clear way to recognize what specific changes observed should count as successes for ENGOs.

Defining Success

It is not particularly controversial to assert that a common and overarching goal of ENGO networks is to achieve environmental sustainability throughout the global society. While each ENGO's specific conceptualization of what environmental sustainability is and how to achieve it may differ from others, environmental sustainability is still the ideal. While most analyses concerning NGO influence focus on whether they have an impact on government policies, it can be argued that this goal is inherently linked to the larger and more encompassing goal of establishing a global Culture of Peace. In conceptualizing a Culture of Peace, Johan Galtung defines culture as a "representation through symbols, usually visual or acoustic, organized diachronically or synchronically." (75) Galtung defines culture as a sort of natural phenomenon; something continuously and automatically programmed and reproduced "like a virus." (76) A Culture of Peace is one with inherent mechanisms allows for the creative and nonviolent transformations of conflicts. (75-77) Use of the word creative implies that such a culture is constantly readjusting its visions of the future. Lisa Reber-Rider echoes the important role imagination plays in promoting peace, describing images of the future as a sort of "temporary scaffolding" that is "inherently flexible." (83) She also describes extensive and deliberate awareness raising as a tool that can be effective in promoting peaceableness within cultures. (Reber-Rider 80)

While many view peace as simply the absence of violence, Linda Groff presents a more extensive vision for peace that includes promoting environmental sustainability. She presents seven aspects of peace grouped in to three broad categories. first category is titled War Prevention and involves aspects of peace such as the absence of war and violence (Galtung's negative peace) and balancing forces within the international system. The second category is named Structural Conditions for Peace, and involves the "social-structural dimensions of peace" with true social justice throughout all of the Micro and Macro levels of society (Galtung's positive peace). The third category of peace is called Holistic: Complex Systems Models and Views of Peace. Groff includes the Holistic Gaia Peace model within this category, which recognizes that human exist within their environment. This views all life on Earth as valuable, and asserts that sustainable development is necessary in order to achieve a lasting Culture of Peace. (Groff 2-10)

With this vision of peace in mind, the goals of ENGOs can be seen as promoting not only government policies that allow for sustainable development, but also promoting sustainability throughout the entire global society through educational awareness-raising campaigns and other activities. The goals of ENGOs often coincide with those of other NGOs who are also working to move the global society towards a Culture of Peace, so instances where ENGOs successfully promoted such changes through working in solidarity with other NGOs should not be viewed as irrelevant or as failures. This vision of peace as well as the definition of influence and the indicators for NGO success provided by Betsill and Corell allow for a better understanding with which to assess the overall influence of ENGOs and other NGOs in promoting environmental sustainability. In addition to policymakers and delegates of member states in intergovernmental bodies, NGOs and actors involved in an analysis can include but are not limited to "environmental, social, scientific, and business/industry organizations." Focusing on these actors and applying the relevant aspects of Betsill and Corell's methodology proves useful in producing a general understanding the role of NGOs in promoting sustainable development and the conditions under which they matter. (3-9) In the following sections, a modified version of this framework will be presented that will then be applied to cases throughout all levels of the global society.

Methods for Assessing NGO Influence

In order to overcome the difficulties in drawing general conclusions from cross-case analysis of the role of NGOs, Betsill and Corell apply a tactic called triangulation, or the "use of multiple data types, sources and methodologies to analyze NGO influence." (25) This tactic improves the qualitative value of analysis through correcting for researcher bias, as indicators developed through this technique allow for the identification of cases in which NGOs not only succeeded in achieving their goals, but of the cases in which they failed as well. (Betsill and Correll 25-26) The indicators discussed previously that will be targeted in this analysis are changes concerning: the procedural and substantive issues within final outcomes and agreements, the positions of key political and social actors, and those concerning the ways in which the issue is framed by policymakers and constituencies. Utilizing aspects of Betsill and Corell's framework, the data used in this analysis concerning NGOs focuses on the actions they have taken, their level of political and social access, and the resources they applied. The data used concerns changes in the behavior of other actors, which displays the outcomes of each specific case, as

well as changes in the procedure of negotiations or ways of dealing with issues of environmental sustainability. The data in this analysis comes from a variety of sources. The primary documents consist of official decisions and statements from government bodies, intergovernmental institutions, businesses, NGOs, and related organizations and institutions. Primary documents also include scholarly articles and case studies concerning the influence of NGOs. Secondary documents utilized come from various publications and other media sources. (Betsill and Correll 26-30) Additionally, first-hand observations made by the author while working for Earth Charter Indiana, a grassroots ENGO not directly linked but associated with Earth Charter International, will be applied in this analysis.

The methods for finding causal linkages that display NGO influence applied from Betsill and Corell's framework are process tracing and counterfactual analysis. Process tracing involves building logical chains of evidence that link the actions of NGOs to the responses (or lack thereof) of involved actors. Counterfactual analysis involves considering what might have happened in a particular case if the NGOs or other actors that participated had been absent. As this is an imaginative construct, it is used as merely one component within a more general analysis. (Betsill and Correll 28-32) These authors also distinguished three general levels with which NGO influence can be assessed. Low influence is characterized by NGO participation with no affects on the process or the outcome. Moderate influence consists in participation resulting in changes in the process but not the outcome. High influence applies to cases in which NGOs participated and experienced some success in shaping the processes and the outcome in regards to how environmental issues are handled within the global society. (Betsill and Correll 37-38) Eight useful conditioning factors that can be useful for cross-case analysis identified by the authors are variances in NGO coordination, the rules of access for NGOs, the specific stage of negotiations or debates, the political stakes of the case, the institutional overlap between involved bodies, competition from other NGOs, alliances with key actors, and the levels of contention the observed NGOs experienced. These factors deal with the actions of actors and differing structural factors that may empower or limit NGO influence. The authors assert that structural factors can be used to identify what social movement scholars call political opportunity structure. Building from the wide range of literature concerning political opportunity structures, they assert that they are generally concerned with formal organizational/legal structures as well as power relations within a political system at a certain time. Although there is debate over whether political opportunity structures apply to the international political arena due to the fact that they were developed within the domestic con-

text, Betsill and Correll assert that such structures exist within international institutions that may have an effect on NGO influence. (37-41) Considering the connections drawn throughout the previous discussion that argue for significant linkages between the global governance complex and the global society, it is tenable that similar opportunity structures may exist throughout the global society outside of the governance complex.

Determining the Levels of Observation and Time Frames

Due to the fact that the methodology adopted was originally developed for analysis of international environmental negotiations that have clearly identifiable actors and time frames allowing them to be traced relatively easily from beginning to end, modifications to the framework are needed for observing NGO influence throughout the global society. In order to do this, this analysis will apply insights found within John Paul Lederach's book *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. As the title suggests, the societies Lederach discusses experience deep divisions from protracted conflicts. Nonetheless, the insights from this book can be applied within this analysis due to the fact that the book identifies various actors involved in peace-building efforts, and provides a framework for suggesting time frames for specific actions to be taken in efforts to establish Cultures of Peace.

Lederach places key actors into three categories for differing levels of leadership throughout the society. For conceptualization, Lederach presents a pyramid model for observing societies, with a very small number of actors at its peak and a large range of different actors at its base. Top-level leadership consists highly visible political, military, and religious leaders who hold a significant amount of power and influence, but are often locked into the positions they have taken on various issues due to their high public profiles. Certain NGOs are placed in the Middle-range category alongside other respected leaders within societal sectors such as ethnic, religious, or intellectual leaders. These leaders can be considered to be individuals with formal positions within their respective societal sectors or the networks of groups and institutions present within that sector. Middle-range leaders are likely to know or have existing relationship with leaders at both the top and bottom categories of the period, and it is from these relationships that they gain their status and influence. The bottom, or grassroots level of leadership are found within the masses. These leaders are involved in their local communities and include those who work with grassroots NGOs. While they do not hold the power or influence enjoyed by the other categories of leadership, they have a bet-

ter understanding of the local conditions specific to their respective communities. (Lederach 38-43)

In this analysis, grassroots NGOs are placed within the grassroots level of leadership. National and international NGOs as well as the networks through which they operate are understood as actors within the middle-range level. Lederach then advocates certain approaches to peace-building that can be utilized by leadership within each category. Lederach asserts that grassroots leaders have the ability to generate significant political and social pressure for change through programmatic initiatives at the local level, which he calls the bottom-up approach to peace-building. The effectiveness of this approach can then be enhanced if middle-range leaders are simultaneously applying the middle-out approach to peace-building. This involves working towards greater levels of integration through use of access that the actors at this level have to both the top and grassroots levels of leaderships. (Lederach 46-53) This conceptualization applied to the global society shows that even though they are a multitude of separate organizations, coordinated efforts between grassroots NGOs and larger NGOs with access to NGO networks hold potential for promoting environmental sustainability and a Culture of Peace.

Lederach also presents a nested paradigm for time frames with which to consider peace-building efforts as a part of his Integrated Framework for Peace-building. The shared cultural visions of a certain society's future discussed in a previous section are named here as the society's "desired future" or the "generational vision." Actions taken to alter a society's desired future are placed within a time frame of twenty years or more. Actions concerned with designing social change are placed within the time frame titled "decade thinking" which occurs within five to ten years. In order to improve the effectiveness of their responses, the concerned actors engage in preparation and training actions in order to prepare themselves, actions that occur within a time frame of one to two years called "short-range planning." The "immediate action" timeframe involves the emergency relief provided by humanitarian aid and development agencies spans over two to six months. Lederach states that all of the peace-building efforts taken within the shorter time frames should be guided by the desired future of a culture of peace. (Lederach 74-78) In his integrated framework, Lederach asserts that the actions of the middle-range guided by the decade thinking time frame of five to ten years hold the most potential for the peaceful transformation of a society. (Lederach 79-85)

In the following section, this time frame will be incorporated into the methodology of this analysis, observing the effectiveness of NGOs at the mid-

dle-range and grassroots level of the global society as they coordinate their efforts to cover both short-range planning and decade thinking time frames, engaging in actions involving preparation and training as well as designing societal change in order to work towards the desired future of a Culture of Peace that is environmentally sustainable. The following cases observe the influence of ENGOs at various levels of societal leadership, starting at the local level and then zooming out to the global level. The following analysis is by no means exhaustive due to the sheer scope associated with analyzing the global society, but is meant to identify general trends that warrant further research.

ENGO Networks in the Local Arena

In a previous section of this analysis, networks of grassroots ENGOs in Indianapolis were discussed who, quite similarly to the networks of their larger counterparts, attempt to influence the arenas of state policies, business practices, and public awareness. This section introduced the grassroots ENGO network containing organizations including Earth Charter Indiana (ECI) and Sustainable Indiana 2016 and discussed Indiana House Bill (HB) 1320's hearing before the House Utilities Committee. Since a useful methodology for observing the influence of ENGO networks has now been introduced in the preceding discussion of this analysis, it will be applied to this particular event in order to find out whether or not Indianapolis' ENGO network was influential in this political event.

HB 1320 sought to reduce benefits of net metering available to small-scale solar and wind energy producers throughout the state, reducing the incentives for people and businesses to invest in solar energy. ECI and Sustainable Indiana 2016, along with a multitude of other ENGOs who collectively form a grassroots ENGO network, were present at the hearing. Despite their large presence, only a few representatives from the ENGO network were allowed to attend the hearing. Even though HB 1320 passed through the committee with a 9-4 vote, it was not put to a vote before the house due to widespread opposition. The Hoosier Environmental Council, one of the only ENGOs allowed to attend the committee hearing, stressed in one of its Bill Watch 2015 reports that although HB 1320 was not put to a vote, utility lobbies are seeking opportunities to reintroduce HB 1320's language into other legislative bills. The ENGO is providing continuous updates on this bill in order oppose any similar legislation that may be introduced to the house. (HEC 2015)

Media coverage over HB 1320 was scarce, however a recent report states that the Citizen Action Coalition, Common Cause of Indiana, and the Energy and Policy Institute filed a lawsuit against the House GOP in Marion Superior Court. The plaintiffs have accused the defendants of violating the Indiana Access to Public Records when they refused to release correspondence between the bill's author and utility companies earlier this year. (Russell) Given the relatively scarce amount of media attention given to HB 1320, it can be argued that the bill would have been put to a vote had the wide array of NGOs and other social groups been absent during the committee hearing. Where one individual NGO may not have been very influential, networks of NGOs acting in cooperation can, under the right conditions, hold moderate or high levels of influence in certain cases even when they have low levels of access to political negotiations. Although their influence is not great enough to see the implementation of a wide array of policies throughout Indiana that explicitly promote environmental sustainability, grassroots ENGO networks are able to band together and build coalitions with other types of NGO networks when possible to block policies that could hold negative environmental impacts. Outside of the political arena, grassroots ENGOs are continuously working to promote environmental sustainability and a Culture of Peace through engaging with social leaders and raising public awareness.

There are similar grassroots ENGOs throughout the entire state of Indiana that launch their own bottom-up campaigns and other activities to raise public awareness over environmental issues and climate solutions. These actions, although it is difficult to show within the limited scope of this qualitative analysis, has the potential to alter Indiana's desired future to one that emphasizes environmental sustainability over time. Overall, local ENGO networks are able to coordinate their efforts in order to overcome the structural limitations placed against them and influence the political and social arenas surrounding them in order to promote environmental sustainability and a Culture of Peace. This work occurs on a continuous basis in combination with the initiatives taken by each individual ENGO that occur within a much shorter time frame in order to directly push for more environmentally and socially peaceful government policies and practices of local businesses. With continued attention to this phenomenon and additional analyses, our understanding of the level of influence these ENGO networks hold could be more effectively and articulately explained.

ENGO Networks in the Global Arena

The global arena is quite arguably the most difficult of the global society to effectively analyze due to the vast quantities of information available and the prevalence of multiple issues that experience a nonlinear development. Keeping the aforementioned methodology and time frame in mind, this section is looking for general trends concerning NGO networks as part of the emerging transnational civil society described by McGrew as part of the global governance complex. The process being traced here is the increasing involvement of ENGO and other NGO networks throughout global politics. Most of the existing literature is focused on NGO influence impacting intergovernmental bodies and international environmental agreements, and it is for this reason that the focus of this analysis is on the influence ENGO networks exert on societal actors in addition to that exerted on political actors. Kal Raustalia provides some useful insights with which this process can be traced in this arena using a very broad time frame for international environmental treaties and institutions.

A multitude of examples of international environmental treaties and institutions that allow for NGO participation are provided in order to trace the increasing prevalence of NGOs, such as the International Covenant for the Regulation of Whaling (established in 1946), the Antarctic Treaty (1959), the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands (1971), the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (1973), the Convention for the Preservation of Marine Pollution from Land-based Sources (1974), the Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals (1979), the Montreal Protocol (1987), Agenda 21 (1992), and the environmental side of the North American Free Trade Agreement known as the North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation (1994). Although not all of these treaties and agreements included formal rules for NGO participation at the time they were established, such rules were implemented later, as the International Covenant for the Regulation of Whaling did in 1977. Although formal rules for NGO participation are present in all of these cases, the degrees of NGO involvement vary nonlinearly, with more recent agreements providing less access to NGOs to others that were previously established. (Raustalia 719-724)

Raustalia argues that formal rules for the participation of NGOs occurs when member states of international environmental institutions are seeking to utilize the various resources or abilities these NGOs have at their disposal. These abilities and resources vary between different NGOs. Member states

allowed NGO participation in the field of policy research and development due to the difficulty of conducting research on the global environment due to the uncertainties and complexities that it entails. NGOs well suited for policy research are utilized by states in "maximizing policy information and research while minimizing expenditures," as these states have usually familiarized themselves with the biases of major NGOs and can therefore use the entire body of NGO-produced research to check for exaggerations and poor data. NGO networks also produce information that is useful in monitoring state commitments, as the information produced by these states tends to be inadequate, even from states that are complying fully. International bodies encounter barriers when attempting to gather such information from member states due to issues of sovereignty, but states are less able to produce barriers against NGO networks due to their decentralized nature. States can then identify other states that are not fulfilling treaty commitments.

In working to ensure that agreements are ratified domestically, NGO networks allow for ways in which important societal actors can be brought into negotiation processes. This is not limited to the involvement of ENGO networks, but networks of NGOs representing business interests as well, helping to bridge the gap between international and domestic arenas, and allowing for supporters to be made out of potential opponents. Even in cases where NGO participation is formally permitted, participation may be limited to certain stages of negotiations. Additionally, while NGOs may be allowed to participate in formal meetings, they can still be excluded from informal meetings between state actors. (Raustalia 726-733) Raustalia concludes by stating that although it cannot yet be said for certain, the limited NGO participation initially allowed by states could eventually transform the global political landscape, diminishing the autonomy and power of individual and corporate actors that states and international environmental agreements are seeking to regulate. (736-737)

An analysis conducted over NGO influence on the Kyoto Protocol's implementation echoes such sentiments, stating that although NGO networks were not successful in establishing legally binding consequences for states that fail to comply, NGOs can work to increase compliance throughout the private sector through raising awareness of businesses choosing not to adhere to international environmental standards, an action referred to here as NGO shaming. Steinar Andresen and Lars Gulbrandsen argue that NGO shaming can be effective in preventing investors from engaging in bad business projects. (69-73) This analysis also provides four global arenas within which ENGOs seek to exert their influence and promote environmental sustainabil-

ity. These arenas are international negotiations and processes, domestic climate policy and ratification, industry's climate policy and behavior, and finally public opinion. (Andresen and Gulbrandsen 57-58) The simultaneous actions of ENGOs throughout their entire respective networks in all of these arenas can arguably allow ENGOs to have a constant influence in promoting environmental sustainability and a Culture of Peace.

While all ENGOs are not inherently identical and do not always share the same specific goals, they can often be unified under the overarching goal of sustainable development. Therefore, where specific ENGOs may find their influence limited in certain political arenas, other ENGOs may be acting in certain social arenas where they can successfully exert their influence over specific actors. In cases where various NGO networks appear to have taken unified efforts to alter the behavior of societal actors through direct communication and raising public awareness, it appears that they hold higher degrees of influence.

Although international agreements over deforestation exist, it is difficult for them to be effective in regulating the behavior of MNCs that operate transnationally, creating issues over which actors should be ensuring that MNCs are complying with international agreements. However, various ENGOs acting alongside with other peace-oriented NGOs have been placing pressure on MNCs, including but not limited to global fast-food corporations, to make commitments not to contribute to deforestation.

McDonalds is generally understood to be a global leader in the fast-food industry, and has therefore been a primary target of NGOs seeking to end deforestation practices. Examples of NGOs communicating directly to these MNCs and raising public awareness of these practices by McDonalds and other fast-food corporations can be seen as early as 2006. The international ENGO Greenpeace launched a public awareness campaign explaining the role that McDonalds and various other corporations are playing in the destruction of the Amazon, which began with the releasing of a report titled *Eating Up The Amazon.* (Greenpeace) Greenpeace additionally sent four of its environmental activists to the Amazon to accompany four of McDonald's corporate leaders in order to show them the deforestation first-hand that goes into their global supply chain. (Kaufman) A Greenpeace news article states that, as a result of this campaign and direct communications from Greenpeace, McDonalds officially stated that it would begin working with their suppliers, Greenpeace, and other NGOs in order to develop zero deforestation plans. ("McVictory") This indicates that large ENGOs such as Greenpeace

have a considerable amount of access to societal actors such as MNC leadership.

The official statement in 2006, however, was not the end of the story. NGOs continued to monitor the corporation in order to pressure it to uphold this commitment. One such NGO was the Union of Concerned Scientists, (UCS) which continued to cover issues such as palm oil deforestation from the fast-food industry. (May-Tobin) UCS has a large array of professional researchers, and utilized them in creating the Palm Oil Scorecard for American corporations. The 2014 edition of this scorecard listed McDonalds as having taken "little commitment" to using sustainably sourced palm oil, which showed that the corporation had not successfully committed to its pledge to cut deforestation. (May-Tobin and Goodman 14)

Other international ENGOs like the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), provided assistance to McDonald's in developing a plan to find responsible and sustainable sources for aspects of its supply chain such as beef, soy, coffee, packaging made of wood fibers, and palm oil. (Mims) The WWF also worked more generally with various other leaders of the beef industry to advance sustainable beef production. (World Wildlife Fund) On April 21, 2015 McDonald's released an eight-point commitment to stop deforestation throughout its entire supply chain. (McDonald's) Although the fast-food corporation stated that this policy would be effective immediately, some speculate that it will take up to 15 years to reach its zero deforestation targets. (Srinivas)

In order to ensure that such commitments are met, ENGOs like the Sierra Club work to maintain continuous public pressure on McDonalds through creating petitions found on its website that could be easily signed by members and visitors which are sent to McDonald's Director for Sustainability. (Sierra Club) This case supports the argument that ENGO and other NGO networks, working in a decentralized fashion, are able to exert a considerable degree of influence over MNCs and perhaps other significant actors throughout the global society. These networks have been continuously applying pressure on, monitoring and raising awareness of the actions of fast-food corporations like McDonalds for at least 10 years in order to pressure them to adopt environmentally sustainable business policies.

This is consistent with findings in international business research over the ways in which NGOs can place checks on MNC behavior as while promoting social welfare and engaging in economic value creation. (Teegen et al. 472-473) Whether ENGOs will be ultimately successful in these efforts is yet to be determined, but the fact that McDonald's has made multiple commit-

ments to environmental sustainability shows that these efforts have not resulted in failure. In the global arena, national and international ENGO networks are able to utilize their connections and relationships with significant political and social actors to enact Lederach's middle-out approach in order to promote environmental sustainability in the global society.

Conclusion

Although it was initially intended for application within the specific context of international environmental negotiations, Betsill and Corell's analytical framework for qualitative analysis can be modified for application in other political and social arenas. In order for the framework to maintain its qualitative value, modifications must be made to the observed actors, what qualifies as a success or failure for the observed NGOs, the social or political arena of analysis, and the time frame if cases do not have clearly identifiable start and end points. Lederach's framework for peace-building was a valid and effective tool for making such modifications, as promoting environmental sustainability is understood to be one of the actions that falls under the category of peace-building activities. Lederach's framework is valuable, because it allows for peace-building to be understood as a continuous process that occurs simultaneously at multiple levels and in multiple timeframes. Through further research and analyses involving cases throughout the global society, the modified framework applied in this project could be further improved and modified to improve its qualitative value.

Despite the fact that the cases observed here did not involve those at the national level, this framework seems quite useful for analyses at all levels of the global society, as it was applied within global and local arenas. The indicators used in this framework are not limited to identifying under what conditions NGOs can successfully exert influence, as they can be used to explain cases in which NGOs failed to achieve their objectives as well. The cases observed showed NGOs exerting significant influence in the global arena in the cases of implementing the Kyoto protocol and pressuring MNCs like McDonald's to adopt more environmentally responsible business practices. In the local arena, grassroots ENGOs like Earth Charter Indiana and Sustainable Indiana 2016 and their associated ENGO networks can exert influence in specific cases such as blocking policies like HB 1320, while simultaneously working in the social arena in a continuous fashion to raise public awareness of environmental issues and promote a Culture of Peace within their communities.

The fact that ENGO networks are present throughout all levels of the global society displays the importance in understanding their influence. This understanding would also contribute to improving the overall understanding of the current role of the transnational civil society within the global governance complex as well as the overarching global society, and understanding the potential for expanding this role in order to assist state actors in developing and implementing policies at all political levels. It is for this reason that the framework applied in this project, as well as other modifications of Betsill and Corell's framework, warrant application in future research of the role and influence of NGOs in the global society.

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