

The Circulation of IPBES non-state actors between Biodiversity and Climate Regimes.¹

Mohamed Oubenal (CERIC, CNRS / UMR ART-DEV, CIRAD), Marie Hrabanski (UMR ART-DEV, CIRAD), Denis Pesche (UMR ART-DEV, CIRAD)

Abstract:

The International Platform for Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES) has been established together with a process of non-state actors (NSAs) involvement. Studies that do recognize the diversity of NSAs use only broad categories: business NGOs, environmental NGOs, etc. Here we attempt to calibrate more finely the rich diversity of NSAs. This article conducts a network analysis of the non-state organizations involved in IPBES. It develops a typology of NSAs and identifies characteristics that potentially affect the effectiveness of these actors in influencing policymaking. We suggest that the influence of NSAs relies not only on three interlinked resources: power (organizational, material and ideational), combined with access, and centrality but also on actor's relational capacities, and particularly their capacity to circulate within the institutional complexity of global environmental governance. The resulting typology has considerable policy implications. Most importantly, some of the NSAs characteristics could affect their ability to position themselves and the extent to which they could influence global policymaking processes.

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International organizations and regimes have developed mechanisms to engage a wide range of non-state actors in their activities: Major United Nations (UN) Groups, observers to the Intergovernmental Platform on Climate Change (IPCC), important side events in the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), the constituencies of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and so on.² The participation of NSAs is often perceived as a good measure of regime effectiveness.³ The literature exploring the multiple intersections at the interface between science and policy paves the way to better understand the participation of a large diversity of actors in the production and diffusion of knowledge within policy-making processes.⁴

The International Platform for Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES) objective is to strengthen the science-policy interface for biodiversity and ecosystem services for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity, long-term human well-being and sustainable development with the following functions: (1) The Platform identifies and prioritizes key scientific information needed for policymakers and to catalyze efforts to generate new knowledge, (2) The Platform performs regular and timely assessments of knowledge on biodiversity and ecosystem services, (3) The Platform supports policy formulation and implementation and (4) prioritizes key capacity-building needs to improve the science-policy interface.⁵

The emergence of IPBES began with the first meeting in November 2008 in Putrajaya (Malaysia). Three more intergovernmental meetings would mark the process (Busan, 2010; Nairobi, 2011; and Panama, 2012) before the January 2013 creation of the formal Platform in Bonn, Germany. IPBES is a good example of the science-policy interface (SPI), in the sense of “institutional arrangements that reflect cognitive models and provide normative structures, rights, rules and procedures that define and enable the social practice of linking scientific and policy-making processes”.⁶ For these authors, IPBES could be considered a collaborative model of the SPI linked to the specificity of biodiversity issues where a wide range of actors produce relevant knowledge. Firmly entrenched in intergovernmental logic, this process looks to draw non-state actors (NSAs) as Stakeholders into the IPBES process.⁷ Since 2009, the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU)-Diversitas and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) have participated with the platform’s interim Secretariat to guide the process of involving stakeholders.

Since 2011, “Stakeholder days” and other informal meetings have been organized to encourage NSAs to develop suggestions such as the drafting of their own engagement strategy. These informal mechanisms have gradually created a “community” of NSAs of close to 200 organizations that meet regularly.

These IPBES NSAs are not appearing out of nowhere. Most of them are also participating in other environmental regimes (CBD, IPCC, The Ramsar Convention on Wetlands, etc.) within the fragmented institutional context of global environmental governance.⁸ We will attempt to address the central question posed in this paper: What type of non-state actors are involved in IPBES and how do their features potentially affect their effectiveness? Through social network analysis and in-depth interviews we aim to better understand the diversity and specific characteristics of the IPBES’s NSAs, and analyze their capacity to participate in

² Bäckstrand 2006; Gemmill and Bamidele-Izu 2002.

³ Wettestad 2001.

⁴ van den Hove 2007.

⁵ UNEP 2012, 10.

⁶ Goerg et al. 2010; Koetz et al. 2012, 2.

⁷ The concepts of non-state actors (NSAs) and stakeholders within IPBES are not equivalent. IPBES organizers consider that the stakeholders can also be governmental or intergovernmental. But in general, most IPBES stakeholders are NSAs.

⁸ Biermann et al. 2009.

multiple forums and environmental regimes. From this specific case study on NSAs' involvement within IPBES, the broader question of NSAs' influence in the institutional complexity of global environmental governance is discussed and will permit us to further develop our central research question. In our response we have used a methodology based primarily on a Social Network Analysis. Then we exhibit the analyses of IPBES NSAs' participation which allow us to propose a typology for these actors. Finally, we present the most significant results of the study.

Conceptual Framework

The Institutional Complexity of Global Environmental Governance

The proliferation of agreements, regimes, and institutions as well as the interventions of an increasing number of different actors leads certain studies to a more comprehensive understanding of the complicated dynamics of interdependence in international regime.⁹ Fragmentation is fully recognized as a recurrent feature of global environmental governance¹⁰ and one of the research challenges is to better understand its causes, consequences, and responses.¹¹

The concept of a regime complex has been developed to characterize situations where questions at the international level bring into play several "regime elements". Raustiala and Victor describe a regime complex as "an array of partially overlapping and nonhierarchical institutions governing a particular issue-area".¹² Keohane and Victor fine-tune this idea of a regime complex to highlight the connection between regimes and to emphasize that there is no architecture to define the structure of a complete set of regimes.¹³ More recently, Orsini, Morin and Young discuss the definition of Raustiala and Victor and suggest the following definition: "a network of three or more international regimes that relate to a common subject matter; exhibit overlapping membership; and generate substantive, normative, or operative interactions recognized as potentially problematic whether or not they are managed effectively".¹⁴

The complexity and fragmentation of global environmental governance has consequences on actors' strategies and behaviors. The institutional complexity has multiple and contradictory effects on the actors involved in international regimes.¹⁵ This complexity can translate into multiple strategies for participation in the different forums. At the institutional level, complexity enhances the role of smaller groups of actors, and at the same time offers new opportunities for experts and NGOs that come in to help States manage this complexity. Some of the NSAs involved in the IPBES processes are also implicated in other environmental forums on science and/or policy. We make the hypothesis that this participation in several forums is an advantage for the NSAs.

⁹ Hasenclever et al. 1997.

¹⁰ Biermann et al. 2009; Biermann and Siebenhüner 2009.

¹¹ Zelli and van Asselt 2013.

¹² Raustiala and Victor 2004, 279.

¹³ Keohane and Victor 2011.

¹⁴ Orsini, Morin and Young 2013, 29.

¹⁵ Alter and Meunier 2009; Drezner 2009.

Non-state actors Facing Institutional Complexity

NSAs are recognized as key players in international relations¹⁶, and their role has grown in importance over the past twenty years.¹⁷ They work to influence the development of regime structures, and establish policies.¹⁸ They also participate in the application of mechanisms and their monitoring. This complex, multifaceted, and evolving group of NSAs involved in global environmental governance includes transnational corporations¹⁹, indigenous people, Environmental Nongovernmental Organizations (ENGO) and other experts or civil society groups.²⁰

One of the major challenges in global governance research is to better understand the dynamics of power and influence among this diversity of NSAs. The power of material and organizational assets of large firms gives them a strong capacity for influence while NGOs rely mainly on information and expertise, activism, and a claim of legitimacy.²¹ Bestill and Corell think that the influence of NGOs on global environmental governance rests on their ability to affect the behavior of other actors through the intentional transmission of information.²² Building on studies of lobbying, Orsini suggests that the influence of NSAs within one single forum relies on three interlinked resources: power (organizational, material, and ideational), combined with access, and centrality.²³ In this increasingly complex international framework, it seems interesting to complement the structure by including an assessment of actor's relational capacities, and particularly their capacity to circulate and evolve within this complexity as well as enhance the circulation of ideas, standards and knowledge.

Research Question

IPBES is very much part of the biodiversity regime and represents the logical continuation of the Millennium Assessment. The central question of our article deals with the type of non-state actors which are involved in IPBES and their effectiveness. More precisely, is the engagement of IPBES NSAs part of this continuity of a biodiversity regime? Does the mobilization of NSAs primarily concern organizations which are specialized in biodiversity questions, or is it an opportunity for actors from various regimes to participate in the formation of a new platform?

In this paper, we analyze the engagement of NSAs in the IPBES in order to better determine which organizations play the predominant roles in the exchange that occurs at the interface between two regimes, namely biodiversity and climate. We start with the hypothesis that the organizations participating in both climate and biodiversity regimes are well positioned to circulate ideas and norms between the two regimes.

¹⁶ Betsill and Corell 2008; Reinalda 2001.

¹⁷ Bäckstrand and Lövbrand 2006; Bernstein and Cashore 2007; Pattberg and Stripple 2008.

¹⁸ Arts 2005; Betsill and Corell 2008; Keck and Sikkink 1998.

¹⁹ Clapp 2005.

²⁰ Alcock 2008; Conca 1995.

²¹ Haufler 2009.

²² Betsill and Corell 2001; Corell and Betsill 2001.

²³ Orsini 2013.

Using a Social Network Analysis²⁴, we further characterize the organizations that play an active role between biodiversity and climate regime. The first distinction establishes the difference between “*single-regime*” NSAs and “*multi-regime*” ones that are present in both biodiversity and climate regimes. Among the multi-regime actors, we distinguish between those who are engaged almost exclusively in the policy forums, and those who are engaged primarily in science forums. This first stage of analysis allow for the creation of four large categories among IPBES NSAs.

In each of these categories we examine the degree of participation in the “IPBES stakeholders’ engagement process” in an effort to reveal profiles of the organizations.

IPBES: the empirical case

Construction of the Analysis Universe: the IPBES non-state actors

The first stage of our study consisted of identifying the NSAs involved in the “IPBES stakeholders’ engagement process”. A total of 6 global meetings were organized subsequent to the first appearance of the IPBES. Since the plenary meeting in Bonn (January 2013), a more formal process of developing the “stakeholder engagement strategy” was initiated and delegated to two organizations: IUCN and ICSU-Diversitas. Regional consultations with stakeholders were organized during 2013 as well as a global meeting in Paris (June, 2013). Different types of NSAs participated at each of these meetings (scientific, NGO, private sector, etc.). In total, we have identified 170 non-state actors. 142 participated in at least one of the global meetings between 2008 and 2013 and 28 were specifically involved in the consultation of European stakeholders that took place in Leipzig in August 2013.²⁵

Once the organizations were identified, we constructed a database to establish profiles based on one attribute: the type of organization. This entailed first analyzing the degree of involvement of each of the 170 organizations in biodiversity and climate regimes to establish an image of their co-participation and capacity to advance the circulation of standards between regimes and within their own regime. In the following section we detail the elements of the methodology used.

Construction of the Attribute: Organization Type

The IPBES publications speak uniformly about stakeholders. Our first work was to deconstruct this apparent homogeneousness of the 170 NSAs involved. To do this we constructed the attribute designated as the type of organization. Numerous categories exist in the literature with the intention of distinguishing between types of organizations. Some authors take into account the categories of the Constituencies of the UNFCCC²⁶ while others try to construct new categories through comparisons with the Major Groups classifications of the United Nations system.²⁷ Starting with these works that analyze NSAs diversity in global environmental governance, we construct a classification adapted to our sample and to the concerns of our research (Table 1) with the category: “University/research” (88 organizations), the NGOs oriented towards development (17 organizations), environmental NGOs (33 organizations which we distinguish either as an NGO concentrated on conservation

²⁴ Hafner-Burton et al. 2009; Kim 2013.

²⁵ We have not been able to acquire lists of organizations participating in consultation in other regions of the world.

²⁶ Lisowski 2005; Vormedal 2008.

²⁷ Cabré 2011.

issues, or as a more polyvalent NGO engaged in multiple issues such as climate and biodiversity), organizations composed of indigenous or local communities that hold a specific place in the IPBES structure, but also participate globally in environmental forums on biodiversity and climate, business category (8 organizations) and finally, in an effort to avoid categories too small for the study, we regrouped seven organizations as “others” which includes specific professional sectors (forests, agriculture, engineering, legal) or emerging actors representing local authorities or urban areas.

To complete our categories we chose to identify platforms (5 organizations) that may not be numerous, but play a very specific role in the process of mobilizing NSAs in the IPBES and in the biodiversity and climate regimes.

Table 1: Distribution of NSAs between Different Categories

	Number of Organizations
University/research	88
Environmental NGO	33
Development NGO	17
Indigenous People	12
Business	8
Others	7
Platform	5
Total	170

Analyzing Co-Participation in the Forums of Biodiversity and Climate Regimes

The analysis of co-participation among the 170 organizations identified in the environmental regimes studied required a precise definition of scope. Since our interests revolve around the circulation of norms between biodiversity and climate regimes, we select the Conference of the Parties (COP) of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) as the axis of the climate regime. We also chose to center the analysis on the Conference of Parties (COP) of the Convention of Biological Diversity CBD as the axis for the biodiversity regime. The biodiversity regime comprises other COPs but the CBD was conceived as a convention permitting the global treatment of the question of biodiversity. We also examined the organizations’ participation in science forums that make up the science policy interface (SPI) of the two regimes: the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) for climate and the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA) for biodiversity. We acknowledge the different structure of these two SPIs, and clearly, IPBES wants to be the biodiversity counterpart of the IPCC’s role in climate change. But even though the MA represents a single event in the global evaluation of the environment rather than a permanent process like the IPCC, we felt it was legitimate to take into account the important role it played in establishing the basis for the emergence of the IPBES.

To confirm the presence of our 170 organizations in the COPs studied, and their involvement in the evaluations of the MA and the IPCC, we developed a formula of internet research that allowed the systematic identification of documents that contained the name of the organization, and in particular those appearing in the lists of participants in the forums designated for our investigation. In random comparisons of these results to interviews and research conducted directly with organizations, the results obtained by the formula appear to

be reliable. The coding used allows the determination of the presence of an organization or not (coding 1/0) in one or more policy (CBD, UNFCCC) and/or scientific forums (MA/IPCC). The matrix of results allowed the graphic treatments using Pajek software (Batagelj and Mrvar 1998). We used these analyses to categorize the NSAs according to their degree of multi-positionality, and indicate if this characteristic was policy related, scientific, or as in some cases, a combination of the two.

Evaluating the Intensity and Temporality of the Organizations' Engagement in the IPBES

This analysis of IPBES non-state actors' co-participation in the science and policy forums of the biodiversity and climate regimes was accomplished through the coding of their participation during different stages of the emergence of IPBES. The degree of participation was first measured approximately by determining the number of global meetings attended by an organization. We established a participation threshold of two global meetings to separate organizations that have shown significant involvement as IPBES NSAs from those that, up to now, have not (only one or no global meeting attended).

Analysis

IPBES non-state actors' Co-Participation in Policy and Science Forums of Biodiversity and Climate

Among the 170 organizations, we identify one group of actors involved in all 4 forums (MA, IPCC, CBD, and UNFCCC). Consequently this group of actors (17 organizations) exhibit strong multi-positionality, and are described under the label “*multi-regime, multi-realm NSAs*” in the following analysis. At the other end of the spectrum, there is also a much larger group that is not connected to any of the four forums and will be labeled as “*Nonparticipating NSAs*” (53 organizations). This first perspective through the co-participation in policy and science forums can be overlaid with the large categories of IPBES actors.

Table 2: IPBES NSAs' Participation to Policy and Science Forums

	MA	IPCC	MA+IPCC*	MA+CBD	CBD	UNFCCC	UNFCCC+IPCC	CBD+UNFCCC**	Multi-regime, multi-realm	Nonparticipating	Total
University/research	2	5	10	2	11	2	4	17	11	24	88
Environmental NGO					6	5	1	7	5	9	33
Development NGO						5				12	17
Indigenous People Organization				1	3			4		4	12
Business	1			1	2			2	1	1	8
Platform					2	1		1		1	5
Others						3		2		2	7
Total	3	5	10	4	24	16	5	33	17	53	170

*This sub-category of organizations concentrated in the scientific forums (MA and IPCC) includes several organizations also linked to policy forums (CBD or UNFCCC).

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The category “University/Research” is by far the largest: 88 organizations or 51% of the group of NSAs. This is also the category with the broadest configuration of forums as illustrated in the table above. Among this group, 46 universities (52%) are involved in at least one science forum: 25 in the MA, 41 in the IPCC, and 21 participate in both of the science forums. With respect to the other categories of actors, universities are unsurprisingly almost the only category with some members that are involved exclusively in the science forums (2 in the MA, 5 in the IPCC, 10 in both). The other universities are involved in these science forums in addition to their implication in one or two policy forums. These data highlight the importance of the climate regime in the IPBES even though it is a biodiversity forum. The IPCC appears to be an important forum of knowledge socialization for global environmental expertise, underlining the major role that the interface between policy and science plays in the learning process of global environmental governance. The other lesson taken from the data suggests that there is relatively little continuity between the Millennium Assessment and the IPBES in terms of NSAs participation.

NGOs make up the second largest group with 62 organizations. We think it is important to distinguish between at least three very different categories of NGOs: development NGOs, environmental NGOs, and NGOs representing indigenous peoples. There are relatively few development NGOs (17) in the sample, and they are largely unconnected in the forums of global environmental governance (12 Nonparticipating NSAs). The co-participation of 5 development NGOs is found only in the UNFCCC forum. Most of these NGOs are African and national in scope, which is probably a reflection of the mobilization of NSAs during the two meetings held in Nairobi (2009 and 2011). There are also relatively few NGOs representing indigenous peoples in the sample (12), but a healthy majority of them are present in the international forums (8 of the 12 or 66%). Among these 8, half are focused on biodiversity (4) and half are engaged in both the CBD and the UNFCCC. The representatives of indigenous peoples are principally active in the policy forums (COP) and are rarely seen at the interfaces between science and policy.

The environmental NGOs are the most numerous (33), and three quarters of them (24) are engaged in the global forums. All of these NGOs participate in at least one policy forum (6 uniquely in CBD and 5 uniquely in UNFCCC), and many of them in two policy forums (13 in both CBD and UNFCCC). Among environmental NGOs we can describe 5 organizations as strongly multi-positioned (participating in CBD, UNFCCC, MA, and IPCC). A group of 9 environmental NGOs is in the *Nonparticipating* category: all of these are national NGOs from southern countries.

Finally, there are still very few private sector organizations in the IPBES (8 organization or barely 5% of the whole). In this small group, only one organization participates in enough forums to show strong multi-positionality, three others are focused on biodiversity and two are engaged in the policy forums of both biodiversity and climate regimes.

Differentiated Circulation and Degrees of NSAs Engagement

In the previous section we characterized the co-participation of NSAs in the two regimes, biodiversity and climate, differentiating between the policy and science forums. One way to analyze the circulation of NSAs between different forums and regimes is to construct a typology based on relational proximity²⁸. Starting with our population of NSAs, we classify organizations depending on their profile of forum’s participation. We call organizations that participate uniquely in one regime, “*Single-regime NSAs*”, and those that are found in both the

²⁸ Lazega 2007; White 1992.

biodiversity regime and the climate regime, “*multi-regimes*” actors. Finally, those actors that are not involved in any international forum are labeled as “*Nonparticipating NSAs*”.

To perform a more in-depth analysis of the dynamics of NSAs’ engagement, we also take into account the degree of participation in the IPBES process. This evaluation of degree is first based approximately on the number of global meetings attended by an organization.

We have established four large categories of NSAs by combining these variables (multi-positioned or specialized degree of participation, and science or policy arenas). (See table 3 below.)

1. *Multi-regime, multi-realm NSAs*. This first category contains multi-positioned organizations that straddle the climate and biodiversity regimes and are found in both the political (CBD and UNFCCC) and scientific (MA and IPCC) arenas. This includes 17 organizations well placed to facilitate the inter-regime circulation of ideas and norms.
2. *Multi-regime, single-realm NSAs*. This second category includes multi-positioned organizations found either in the policy forums (CBD and UNFCCC) or in the science forums (MA and IPCC). There are 47 organizations in this category that are well placed to circulate ideas and norms between the two regimes, but more specifically limited to either the policy or scientific arena.
3. *Single-regime NSAs*. This third category consists of the specialized organizations engaged within a single regime, either biodiversity or climate. There are 53 organizations classified in this category of actors with the capacity for intra-regime circulation of norms.
4. *Nonparticipating NSAs*. This fourth large category consists of 53 organizations that are not implicated in either of the two regimes. This is not to say that they are not active or relevant to the themes of these regimes.

Now we will examine these four categories in more detail, along with the dynamics respective to their participation in IPBES.

Multi-regime, multi-realm NSAs

This category groups 17 organizations that are implicated in each of the 4 forums studied: CBD, UNFCCC, IPCC, and the MA. Among the 17 there are 11 research organizations, 5 environmental NGOs, and one business group. These organizations hold a particularly central position in the forums studied because they are at the interface between the policy forums and the science forums of the two regimes.

Five of these organizations are strongly implicated in IPBES (participation in at least 2 meetings) whereas the other 12 are classified with a more limited participation (only one meeting).

The ICSU-Diversitas, CI, IUCN, the World Resources Institute (WRI), and the Chinese Academy of Sciences, are the five organizations belonging to this sub-group of strong participation. The IUCN and the ICSU-Diversitas have a very particular status: these two organizations joined the process very early, to participate in the development of the platform during its emergence and more specifically to contribute ideas for bringing other NSAs into the process²⁹. In addition, three members of the MEP of the IPBES (Sandra Diaz, Carlos Joly and Mark Lonsdale) are part of the scientific advisory of Diversitas and another (Paul Leadley) directs one of the principal programs of Diversitas bioDISCOVERY. The IUCN is a conservationist NGO with the additional standing of multi-stakeholder as it includes States, NGOs and international conservation experts. IUCN holds a staff responsible for the

²⁹ UNEP 2009, 27.

mobilization of the stakeholder community in the IPBES. In addition, the interim secretary during the entire construction process of the IPBES was a member of the IUCN secretariat and in charge of the MA program. Also notable, the two other managers implicated in the construction of the IPBES were both previously at the IUCN: Ibrahim Thiaw, current deputy director of the UNEP was deputy director of the IUCN, and Achim Steiner, previously general director of the IUCN is now director of the UNEP. These elements illustrate another important form of circulation in global environmental governance: the circulation of personnel between large international organizations.

The World Resources Institute (WRI) has a separate status, but for other reasons. It is a powerful environmental think tank on the international scale and in the United States, it was implicated in the meetings launching the IPBES until the meeting in Busan in 2012 (3 meetings total). Since then, the WRI is no longer invested in the “stakeholder’s engagement process”, but no doubt has access to other more informal channels of mobilization to weigh in on the plenary agenda. For instance, one WRI member participated in the November 14th round table organized by the French Embassy in Washington in 2013. This was an informal exchange intended to make suggestions for the second plenary meeting held in Antalya.

Conservation International (CI) is part of the oligopoly of conservation, and has long participated in the global environmental governance.³⁰ It holds organizational capabilities and consequential financing. At the beginning of the 2000s CI took up the cause of Ecosystem Services (ES), in so far as the idea that ES and Payments for ES could enable the renewal of financing for conservation.³¹ The last of the five most engaged organizations is the Chinese Academy of Sciences. This organization was, above all, present during the beginning of the IPBES process, but hasn’t participated since the 2010 meeting in Busan. One of its members, Bojie Fu, was named to first half of the mandate of the IPBES Multidisciplinary Experts Panel (MEP).

Among the 17 “*multi-regime, multi-realm NSAs*”, 12 are classified as weaker participants at the IPBES meetings (participation in only one). In this sub-group are 2 conservation NGOs (World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and The Nature Conservancy (TNC), one business NGO, and 9 University/research actors. We observe that many of these organizations arrive in the process during the official launch of the IPBES platform at the January 2013 plenary meeting in Bonn. Two of the “late arrivals” are the international conservation NGOs, WWF and TNC. These two organizations are part of the conservation oligopoly and often collaborate with the private sector in contrast to the radical environmental organizations (See below). The only organization representing the private sector in this group, is the WBCSD: an organization with an international structure focused mostly on general environmental questions, that tries to reconcile environmental objectives with the economic objectives of private enterprise.

The 9 remaining actors in the group of “*multi-regime, multi-realm NSAs*” are primarily national organizations. These research institutions are present in all 4 forums studied, however, they did not participate to a large degree in the IPBES, most likely because they have other mobilization strategies through the MEP or future call for experts.

Multi-regime, single-realm NSAs

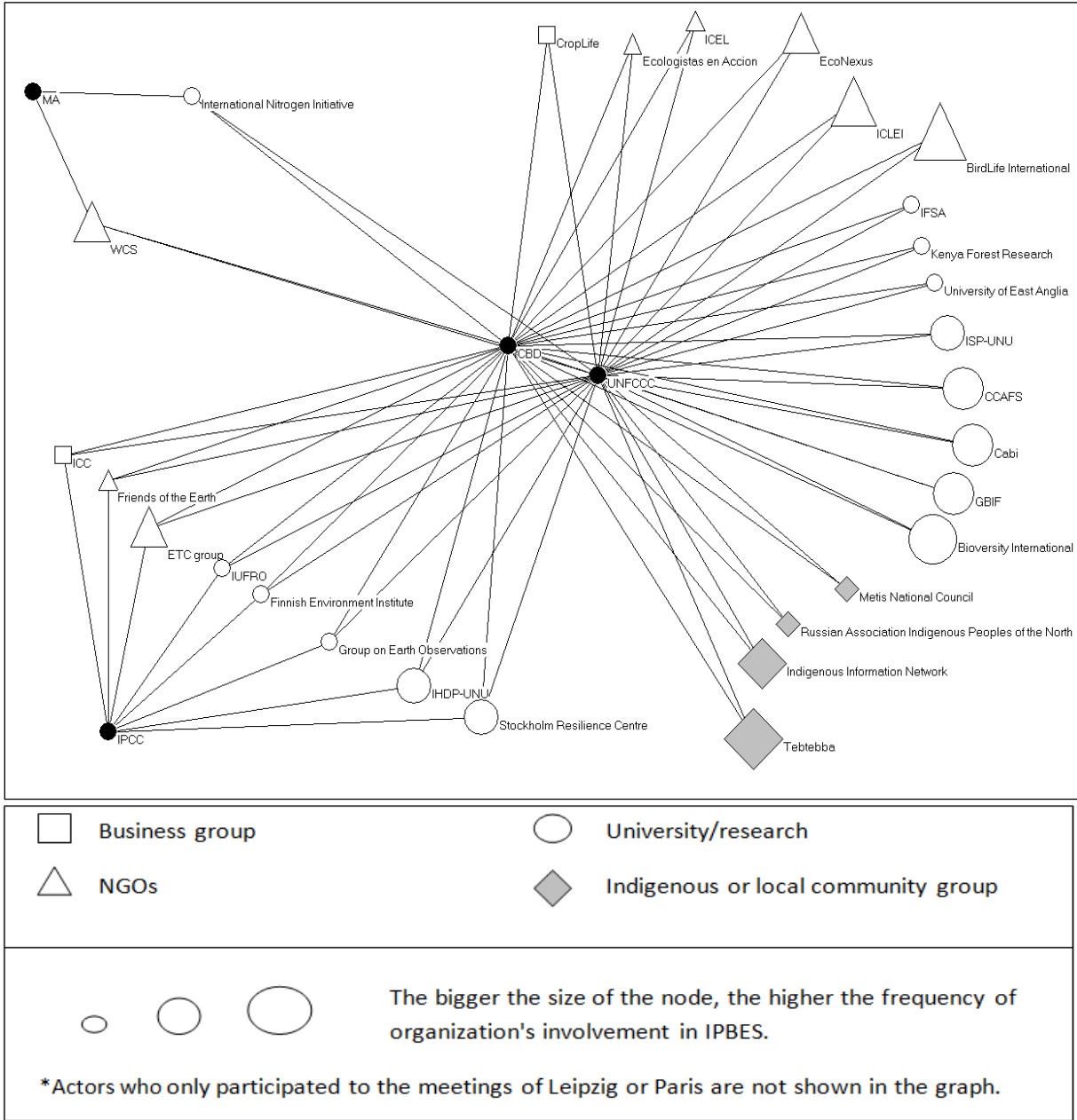
This second category groups 47 multi-positioned organizations found in both regimes, but exclusively in either the policy forums (CBD and UNFCCC) or the science forums (MA and IPCC).

³⁰ Aubertin 2005; Betsill and Corell 2001; Corell and Betsill 2001.

³¹ Hrabanski et al. 2013.

Among them, a majority are positioned in the policy forums (33). Only 10 organizations are principally involved in the science forums of the IPCC and the MA. And within that sub-category, only 2 organizations with a purely scientific profile are involved exclusively in the MA and IPCC. Nevertheless, almost all of 10 multi-positioned actors in the science forums are organizations connected with the scientific community. With the exception of the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea (ICES), they are all universities or national research centers. Their work in both the MA and the IPCC however, did not translate into a strong presence in the IPBES. Half of these scientific organizations are involved in the “stakeholders’ engagement process” by way of the 2013 Leipzig European consultation, but for the moment, these organizations can be considered as peripheral to the IPBES process.

Figure 1: the Multi-Positionality in the Policy Forums for Organizations Participating to IPBES



Within this group of 33 organizations positioned in the policy forums, we note the presence of heterogeneous organizations whose interests are sometimes in conflict. There are 4 indigenous peoples associations, 4 radical environmental NGOs (EcoNexus, ETC Group,

Friends of the Earth, Ecologistas in Accion), and business groups like CropLife and the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) that lobby to defend their business activities.³² These organizations have already expressed diverging positions at both the CBD and the UNFCCC. But some of the radical organizations like Econexus, Friends of Earth and the indigenous peoples groups have used these interactions to develop alliances. These organizations' representatives know each other, and their common interests, and were able to play a role in circulating norms, along with their existing controversies, while participating in the policy forums of the IPBES.

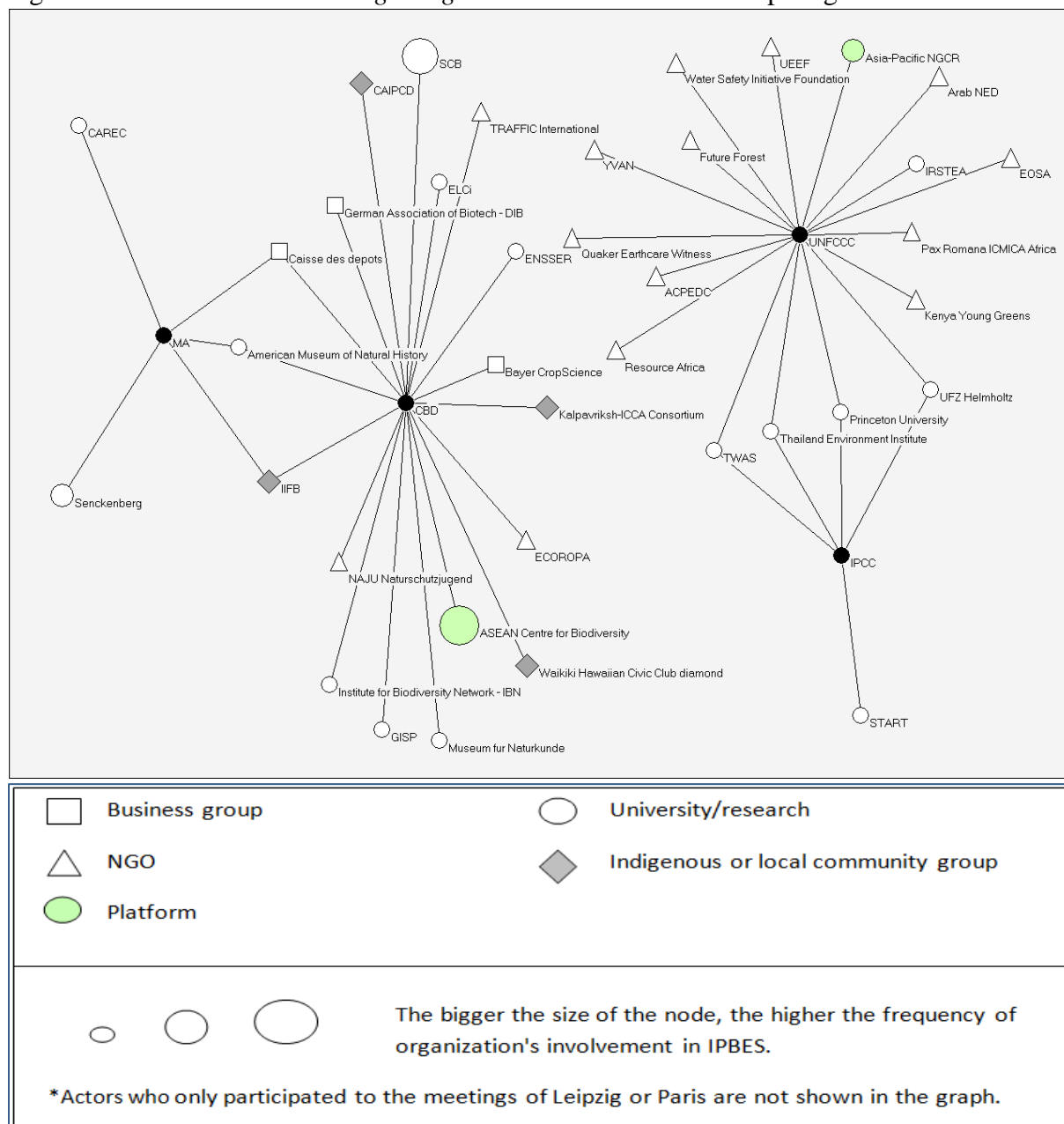
Single-regime NSAs

The “*single-regime*” group is made up of 53 organizations implicated in only one of the two regimes: biodiversity or climate. These “specialized” actors comprise nearly 31% of our sample and are found equally distributed between biodiversity (27 organizations) and climate (26 organizations). This distribution is somewhat surprising. Since the IPBES was fully engaged in the biodiversity regime, it would seem logical to find a larger proportion of organizations participating exclusively in the biodiversity regime. Nevertheless, the IPBES clearly attracts organizations specialized solely in the climate regime as well as those in biodiversity.

In both the biodiversity and climate regimes, the majority of organizations of this category are connected in the policy forums: in the biodiversity regime 21 organizations are exclusively implicated in the CBD, and 4 are present in the CBD and at the MA; the climate regime count includes 21 out of the 26 organizations implicated in the UNFCCC or in the UNFCCC and the IPCC. There are fewer organizations engaged in the science forums, and most of them are also engaged in policy (4 organizations in the MA and the CBD compared to 2 found exclusively in the MA; 10 organizations in the IPCC, 5 of which are also engaged in the negotiations of the UNFCCC). In this group of 53 organizations, only 6 are exclusively tied to the science forums. These data underline the orientation towards policy issues expressed by the engagement of these NSAs.

³² Levy and Newell 2005; Orsini 2010.

Figure 2: the *Single-regime* NSAs Participating to IPBES



Among the 26 organizations specialized in the climate, and notably on the UNFCCC, 5 are development NGOs. On the biodiversity side, our total sample's 12 indigenous NGOs contribute 4 organizations uniquely specialized in biodiversity, and 4 others mobilized in both the UNFCCC and the CBD. The final 4 of the total sample are not mobilized in any of the forums analyzed. It is among the organizations specialized uniquely on the climate that we find almost one third of the development organizations engaged in the IPBES, while one third of the indigenous organizations are found among those specialized in biodiversity. The 3 business organizations in this group are specialized in biodiversity.

Finally, in terms of the dynamic surrounding the participation of NSAs to the IPBES process, the large majority of this group are not implicated to any substantial degree in IPBES: 34 of these organizations participated in only one global meeting and 15 have been only been engaged since the most recent 2013 meetings in Paris or Leipzig.

Only a very small number of these organizations (4) have participated strongly in the IPBES: three actors specialized in the questions of biodiversity (the ASEAN Center for Biodiversity, the Society for Conservation Biology (SCB) and the German Senckenberg Museum) and one organization specialized in climate issues (the Asia-Pacific Network for Global Change Research).

The participant observations and interviews conducted at Antalya confirm the importance of these organizations and their strong participation. For example, the representative of the Asia-Pacific Network for Global Change Research relies directly on the experience acquired during the IPCC to lend strength to his organization's voice, and to their position and concerns about the primordial importance that must be accorded to science in the IPBES. It is worth noting that this representative has relationships with several members of the MEP and the Board. Similarly, numerous representatives of the SCB are directly implicated in the plenary discussions and "stakeholder meetings" to try and influence the positions on the status of NSAs in the process. The two other organizations, the Senckenberg Museum and the ASEAN Center for Biodiversity, seem to have opted for more discreet strategies.

Nonparticipating NSAs

There are 53 organizations in the sample that are considered as isolated and have no connections to the international forums since they did not participate in any of the forums analyzed (MA and CDB, IPCC and UNFCCC). Most of these organizations are linked to the scientific community (24) (universities, research centers) or NGOs at the national scale (25). Proportionally, the development NGOs found in the IPBES show the least participation in international environmental forums. Of the 17 organizations in our sample, 12 have never participated in any of the forums in our study. This subject echoes one of the criticisms made of the IPBES and a basic issue - the difficulty of associating development concerns and environmental concerns, which is after all, proving to be a central issue in the negotiations, at least for developing countries. The numbers for the indigenous organizations is not as striking, but even so, nearly a third have never participated in the environmental forums.

We note that there are no North American organizations among the 53 *Nonparticipating NSAs*, perhaps reflecting the degree of their integration in the IPBES. By contrast, 19 of the 53 *Nonparticipating NSA* are European organizations that seem to have taken advantage of the window of opportunity opened by the IPBES and the consultation work initiated in Europe at the Leipzig meeting to advance their presence in the international arenas. At the heart of the *Nonparticipating* group, we find an over-representation of African organizations (18). Although there are 28 African organizations in the full sample, only 10 of them are present in the environmental forums, pointing towards the marginal position of nearly two thirds of the African actors. When we consider the degree of participation in the IPBES meetings of the 53 organizations in this category, only 7 of them have assisted in two or more IPBES meetings. This shows that almost 86% of these *Nonparticipating NSAs* have been relatively weak participants in the meetings.

Results and Research Opportunities

The analysis of the co-participation in the science and policy forums of the biodiversity and climate regimes has allowed us to identify four primary types of non-state actors according to their capacity to circulate between forums, within and between the regimes (Table 3). A cross-analysis of this typology with the degree of engagement by NSAs in the process of creating the IPBES, further allows us to develop a general image of this dynamic.

Tables 3: the Four Types of non-state actors According to their Circulation Capacity

		Involvement in IPBES		Total
		Strong	Light	
<i>Multi-regime, multi-realm NSAs</i>	Science + Policy	5	12	17
<i>Multi-regime, single-realm NSAs</i>	Science	0	10	10
	Policy	14	23	37
<i>Single-regime NSAs</i>	Biodiversity	3	24	27
	Climate	1	25	26
<i>Nonparticipating NSAs</i>		7	46	53
Total		30	140	170

A majority of the organizations are implicated in the policy arenas (64%) compared to those implicated in the science arenas (35%). This result draws our attention to the fact that this majority is not particularly socialized in the science forums and its integration in the IPBES process, which is above all an SPI, could prove to be more difficult than expected.

Among the organizations participating in a science forum, a large majority are engaged in the climate (85%), and surprisingly, a smaller proportion in biodiversity (61%). While the presence of scientific organizations known for biodiversity issues would guarantee continuity with the first scientific exercise in this field (MA), the predominance of organizations engaged in climate issues indicates a transfer of experience from the IPCC to the IPBES, which the organizers may very well have expected.

We also recognized a significant number of organizations that are multi-positioned between the biodiversity and climate regimes (38%). These organizations are generally well placed to facilitate the circulation of norms and the transfer of experience between these two regimes. The largest number of organizations strongly implicated as NSAs in the IPBES are found in this category (19 out of 30 or 63%).

The organizations specialized in one sole regime is also significant (31%) but with only a few exceptions, they are much less invested in the IPBES. These organizations are certain to represent a potential for mobilization on more specific subjects as the IPBES matures and the portfolio of work expands.

Our study also underlines the significant number of organizations that we have characterized as *Nonparticipating NSA* and are not present in either the biodiversity or climate forums analyzed (31%). Here again, the potential may reflect a subject discussed in the IPBES: the questions of biodiversity and ecosystem services call for the construction and articulation of knowledge produced and validated at several scales (local, regional, etc.). More local organizations, with little experience in global environmental governance, can play a role in the incorporation of more specific knowledge.

The three dimensions of the power of influence (material resources, organizational resources, and ideas) explain in large part the weight carried by NSAs in global environmental governance. In this study we focused on the importance of the capacity to circulate between forums either within a regime or between two different regimes, and between policy forums and science forums, all in various combinations, with a particular emphasis on navigating

between several forums. Although they may not be numerous, we have identified organizations that manage to take a significant role in this process, without necessarily wielding consequential material or organizational resources. We find this is the case in several of the indigenous peoples' organizations, and in several scientific associations like the SCB. The results encourage us to suggest the idea that a fourth type of resource might merit explication, that of "circulation capacity". We see several characteristics in the organizations analyzed that undeniably facilitate or testify to a circulatory capacity:

1. The organizations multi-stakeholder character: for example, the IUCN is an organization whose members include both NGO representatives and State representatives.
2. The location of organizations in several countries and/or continents, and on multiple scales (local, national, international). This characteristic increases the opportunities for the organization to interact with other actors and participate in meetings in different locations around the world. Beyond the simple capacity for networking, this characteristic highlights the fact that this multi-level structure addresses the issues of scale and facilitates the articulation of knowledge produced and relevant at different levels. The Society for Conservation Biodiversity (SCB) has used this capacity in creating a committee to follow IPBES activities with representatives from different regions of the world.
3. The fact that the organization engages in several fields (biodiversity, climate, etc.) and does so structurally through services and specifically dedicated teams. An example here is the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) that disposes of several task forces on several questions (climate, biodiversity, energy, etc.). The multi-specialization of this institution allows it to mobilize its expertise in commercial negotiations at the WTO or on intellectual property at the WIPO to try and influence the negotiations in the biodiversity regime complex.³³
4. The organization itself takes part in the international network, and is known to be proactive in the circulation of expertise and norms. This is the case for several indigenous peoples associations that often work in networks as a way to compensate for their limited material capacity.³⁴

Our analysis allowed us to deconstruct the apparent homogeneousness of the sample group of NSAs while highlighting the capacity of certain actors to circulate between forums and regimes, and thus contributing to the analysis of the advancing complexity of global environmental governance. However, our study also presents limits, some of which call for the development of other analyses.

The more sophisticated knowledge of circulation logic between regimes or within a regime does not prejudice the contents of what circulates or the effects of the circulation. This research must be complemented with other studies more qualitative aiming to analyze the consequences of circulation occurring between actors involved in global environmental governance.

The study of Alter and Meunier may suggest that fragmentation, and thus the logics of circulation as well, benefit, above all, to the most powerful organizations.³⁵ But our work points out to the fact that less dominant organizations, focused on a specific objective or particular cause (SCB, indigenous organizations), can also take advantage of the circulation between regimes, or within them, to establish their positions.

³³ Orsini 2014.

³⁴ Schroeder 2010; Wallbott 2014.

³⁵ Alter and Meunier 2009.

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