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Externally sponsored contention: the channelling of environmental movement organisations in the Czech Republic after the fall of Communism

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Externally sponsored contention: the channelling of environmental movement organisations in the Czech Republic after the fall of Communism

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From an examination of the impact of international civil-society-building programmes on Czech environmental movement organisations (EMOs), it is clear that international influence left a deep imprint on eastern European civil societies. It did not however curb opportunities for environmental political activism, as supposed by an important part of the traditional scholarship, but instead helped create a particular form of activism based on advocacy organisations capable of staging political protest when necessary. While international donors have clearly channelled activist organisations towards professionalisation, this process has not necessarily been accompanied by de-politicisation and de-radicalisation of activist organisations. In fact, drawing on quantitative as well as qualitative data, employing protest event analysis and the small-N comparative method, it appears that activists dependent on foreign funding have often displayed a more assertive stance in political conflicts than their domestically embedded counterparts.

Keywords: environmental movement; Czech Republic; international assistance; political activism; cooptation; channelling

Introduction¹

The political mobilisations that marked the end of the Communist regimes in many Central-East European countries raised high expectations, especially among Western observers, regarding the future of democratic citizenship in the region. When reading reflections on the Central-East European ‘revolutions’, one cannot help but conclude that there was a widely held belief in the possibility of reinvigorated active political participation and vibrant civic life in the post-Communist countries. However, after a short period of optimism it became clear that these hopes would not materialise in the foreseeable future.

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Many reasons for this perceived failure on the part of Central-East Europeans have been offered. The legacy of Communism, post-Communist disillusionment and inappropriate strategies on the part of West European promoters of democracy stand out among them (Sztompka 1997, Mishler and Rose 1998, Wedel 1998, McMahan 2001, Howard 2003, Frič 2008, Vrábliková 2009).

Drawing on data from the Czech Republic, I take issue especially with the latter argument. Asking what the impact of civil society building programmes was on Czech environmental movement organisations (EMOs), I show that international influence did indeed leave a deep imprint on East European civil societies. It not only 'professionalised' environmental political activism (Fagin and Jehlička 1998, Fagin 2000, Jehlička 2001, Fagan and Jehlička 2003, Fagan 2004, 2005) but also helped create what Petrova and Tarrow (2007) refer to as *transactional activism*, a particular form of activism based on advocacy organisations capable of staging political protest.

I first present the orthodox view on the effects of foreign funding on the Czech EMOs. According to this interpretation, international donors – Western foundations and states in the beginning of the 1990s and the EU later on – shaped environmental activist organisations in a way rather different from the popular contention model (Fagan and Jehlička 2003, Fagan 2004, 2005). In general, this patronage by international donors supposedly created grant-seeking professional agencies instead of the contentious civil society actors it was originally intended to support (McMahon 2001, Henderson 2002, 2003, Narozhna 2004).² In order to qualify for external backing, activist organisations moderated their strategies, professionalised their management and were co-opted by the local political elite. According to this view, while these pressures had been present since the early 1990s, they were further intensified by as a consequence of EU enlargement (see Carmin and Vandever 2004, Vandever and Carmin 2004, Hicks 2004, Fagan 2005, Börzel and Buzogány in this issue).

Drawing on Jenkins' (1998) analysis of the effects of international patronage, the paper moves from the narrow cooptation thesis to a somewhat broader *channelling thesis*. To put it simply, while international donors have clearly channelled activist organisations towards professionalisation, as pointed out by the existing scholarship, this process has not necessarily been accompanied by de-politicisation and de-radicalisation on the part of activist organisations and their predicted cooptation. I show that activists dependent on foreign funding have often displayed a more assertive stance in political conflicts than generally expected. This argument is supported by both protest event data and a comparative study of two important Czech EMOs – Greenpeace Czech Republic and the Rainbow Movement (RM), the Czech member of Friends of the Earth International.

Thus I propose to examine the effects of international assistance in terms of channelling rather than cooptation. In addition, my analysis of Europeanisation focuses not only on the effects of changing funding patterns, as is usually the case in the available literature (Hicks 2004, Fagan 2004, 2005) but also

explore the Europeanisation process on the level of intra-organisational capacity-building mechanisms in the two above mentioned EMOs. This organisational view further supports the channelling argument presented throughout.

The impact of foreign funding on Czech EMOs

After the fall of Communism, Czech environmental activists received significant government and external funding. The first post-Communist government established a 'State Fund for the Environment' that was to collect money from polluters' fines and licenses; however, this money was not made available to advocacy-oriented EMOs, but was channelled towards 'apolitical conservation projects pursued by the older EMOs' (Fagan 2004, p. 91). The newly established organisations had as a result to apply for support from various foreign funding agencies; in fact, they 'became favourites of various US and West European backed funders [. . .] who arrived in Czechoslovakia to help to build civil society as an antithesis of the authoritarian and interventionist state . . .' (Sarre and Jehlička 2007, p. 353; see also Jehlička 2001, Mendelson and Glenn 2002, Henderson 2002, 2003, Fagan 2004, Císar 2008). By the late 1990s, when the country was already firmly on its way to EU membership, these donors started to withdraw. The pre-accession funding distributed through the PHARE program, the money from the UNDP, and the continuing Soros Foundation programmes filled the vacuum (Fagan 2004, p. 105). Although some of the more established EMOs have recently employed active strategies to mobilise individual supporters, with the exception of Greenpeace Czech Republic, external funding continues to be their single most important source of money (Carmin *et al.* 2008).

The general result of dependency on foreign funding was, according to the traditional reading, the immediate de-radicalisation of the movement (Fagin and Jehlička 1998, Fagin 2000, Jehlička 2001, Fagan and Jehlička 2003, Fagan 2004, 2005). This understanding suggests that by providing funds external donors were actually contributing to the cooptation of social movements. In this view, the external dependency of social movement organisations results in their professionalisation, which 'siphons movement activists from grassroots organising, thereby diverting them from their original goals and demobilising the movements' (Jenkins 1998, p. 212). In the Czech case, the progressive ideological moderation of originally contentious EMOs was observed (Fagin 2000, Fagan 2004, 2005). As Fagan and Jehlička (2003, p. 54) argue, 'the dependency of Czech EMOs on the state and on foreign donors for funding acts as a constraint on their political adventure and mediates their interaction with the political process'.

From this perspective, the process of cooptation began in the early 1990s. However, as EU funding gained momentum in the second half of the decade, the pressure towards further moderation and 'institutional procedures – lobbying, consulting on draft legislation, researching and writing reports and

opinions, attending public meetings' – increased (Hicks 2004, p. 225). According to critics, EU funding only reinforced the already-established relations of donor dependency. Although the EU's funding strategy differed considerably from the earlier funding by emphasising the long-term sustainability of NGOs, it nevertheless perpetuated the old pattern by continuing to distribute assistance through project-based mechanisms. Thus, Fagan (2005, p. 539) concludes:

On one hand the EU was, and still is, pushing local fund-raising and independence from donors, whilst on the other it offers direct funding for projects, mostly concerning conservation and eco-education that require NGOs to produce reports, liaise with business and government, and increasingly become involved with implementation and monitoring of environmental-policy initiatives – in other words, the type of funding context that NGOs were used to and arguably needed to move beyond.

According to this perspective, instead of presenting an alternative to the mainstream liberal market-based view of environmental protection, the environmental movement embraced the liberal view and strove to become a recognised voice in the public debate. These organisations 'were keen to demonstrate their professionalism as well as their proximity to the policy process and the media' (Fagan 2004, p. 99). But there was a price to be paid for their increasing influence. They had to abandon protest in favour of policymaking and lobbying, which in turn demanded increasing professionalisation on their part. They lost the ability to determine their agendas independently. To become eligible for funding, campaign goals had to fit the donors' preferences (Bell 2004, Hallstrom 2004, Hicks 2004).

In terms of organisational development, Western funding resulted in Czech civil society becoming populated by formalised and professionalised advocacy organisations. In other words, they had to adapt to the organisational model that was recognised by donors as the legitimate manifestation of civic associations – that of the advocacy NGO. According to the critics, the variability of potential civil society organisations was thus reduced to the narrow conception of professionalised advocacy organisations unable to engage citizens in genuine contestation and political contention (Carmin and Jehlička 2005). Instead of social movements, public interest groups mushroomed in the country. These organisations preferred cooperation with political elites to more contentious forms of protest and action. Hence, the popular mobilisations that accompanied the regime's collapse at the end of the 1980s soon gave way to a more institutionalised and moderated form of 'interest politics'.

Cooptation scholars argue that to facilitate the emergence of more autonomous and contentious social movement actors in the Czech Republic, EMOs need to change the revenue structure of their budgets in favour of individual contributions generated from within the country. It is argued that such a change would allow for a more independent agenda on the part of the local EMOs than is presently the case. This agenda would mirror the needs of

communities instead of the agendas of donors. In addition, as they would be freed from the reporting obligations towards donors, they would also be free to engage in more contentious collective action. This according to Fagan would lead to a shift 'from elite-level "problem-solving" organisations that operate on the periphery of the elite, towards grass-roots movements and organisations that view civil society as a vehicle for articulating alternative perspectives and opinions and for contesting power ...' (2005, p. 533). To approximate this ideal, 'Czech environmental NGOs need to follow the West European example and acquire a larger membership base that would provide them with sustainable income' (2005, p. 530). In other words, they would need to mobilise citizens.

Even though this traditional view seems to suggest a somewhat pessimistic evaluation of Czech EMOs, there are some positive findings recorded by the scholars: a relatively robust organisational infrastructure of environmental activism has developed in many Central-East European countries, the Czech Republic included (Jehlička 2001, Toepler and Salamon 2003, Fagan 2004). Second, data suggest that this infrastructure has provided the basis for a specific type of relatively high-capacity political activism to emerge in the region. Petrova and Tarrow (2007, p. 79) refer to this activity as *transactional activism*, by which they mean 'the ties – enduring and temporary – among organised nonstate actors and between them and political parties, power holders, and other institutions'. In other words, the concept captures the ability of social movement organisations to engage other relevant collective actors in the national democratic process through various types of interactions. What is distinct about transactional activism?

Transactional activism is not primarily concerned with mobilising individuals, but is instead focused on the development of capacities that would enable organisations to shape public debates and influence various publics via the media. Thus the number of media-attractive events organised becomes more important than the number of people mobilised: 'protest assumes the form of dry statistics, shocking and distressing photographs, eye-witness accounts, fliers, posters, graffiti, protest e-mail, lobbying or scientific expertise. Protest becomes expressed in publications, legal challenges, film festivals, art exhibits, training-programmes, conferences, national and international networking efforts' (Flam 2001, p. 5; see also Petrova and Tarrow 2007). Therefore transactional activists typically opt for professional methods of public relations and activist 'marketing'; they work on framing their issues and trying to maximise their access to the mainstream media. As the Director of the Greenpeace European Unit contended, 'we are less interested in having tens of thousands of people in Brussels, although we have also participated in mass demonstrations, but it is much more about creating an image ... that can catch people's attention and that can illustrate the problem'.³

As agents of transactional activism are no longer primarily concerned with mobilising numbers their ability to aggregate individual contributions to support their activities remains rather limited. Consequently, although there

are exceptions such as Greenpeace International, externally mobilised resources play an important role in the budgets of this type of organisations worldwide (Walker 1991, Skocpol 1999, Edwards and McCarthy 2004). Transactional activists, Czech environmental EMOs included, are largely dependent on external patronage. Whilst, according to the traditional interpretation, the result of this dependency has been the de-radicalisation and de-politicisation of environmental activism, such professionalisation has not necessarily coincided with strategic moderation.

In the following discussion, I seek therefore to move the debate from the cooptation argument to a channelling thesis. Jenkins (1998, p. 212) argues first and foremost that donors' 'goals are complex' and it is too simplistic to see their intervention only as tools of social control. However, whilst he concedes that 'the main impact of movement philanthropy has been professionalisation', he also contends that 'professionalisation has frequently created greater mobilisation and social movement success'. In other words, even if social movement organisations are channelled towards professionalisation by their external donors, they can still function as a platform for effective and contentious political activism. I examine this claim below after a brief explanation of the methodology employed.

Data collection and methodology

To overcome the limitations of relying upon a single method, my research is based on the triangulation of several data sources and methods. The analysis draws on an original data set of protest events, a survey of Czech EMOs, semi-structured interviews with selected representatives of EMOs, and secondary information. To map out the general situation of movement organisations in the Czech Republic, this article employs the tools of protest event analysis (see Tarrow 1989, Tilly 1995, Imig and Tarrow 2001, Koopmans and Rucht 2002, Koopmans 2007, Tilly and Tarrow 2007). The *protest event* is defined here as either an actual gathering of at least three people convened in a public space making claims that bear on interests of an institution/collective actor, or a petition addressed to an institution/collective actor.

The electronic archive of the Czech News Agency (CNA) was selected as the basis for the research. The CNA is the most established institution of this kind in the Czech Republic; it works not only at the central level but also has a network of 16 regional chapters. Its archive includes information on all the important events that have taken place in the Czech Republic since 1988. With no explicit political bias in favour of or against a particular type of events or actors it presents the single most important source of event data in the country. First, using the CNA electronic archive, a catalogue of the protest events that took place in the Czech Republic between 1993 and 2005 was created. For the project, five years out of the 13 studied were selected for actual coding: 1993, 1996, 1999, 2002 and 2005. All the events in the selected years were coded.

The total of 1043 events coded is unevenly distributed across the years. News reports were selected by online search, using 13 search words commonly used in reports on protest events: protest, demonstration, petition, boycott, strike, march, blockade, rally, barricade, parade (*průvod*), performance, happening and confrontation (see also Imig 2001). All selected events were subsequently manually coded for the following variables: date, location, organiser (subject), number of organisers, action repertoire, claim, target (the object of claim) and the number of participants (see also Ekiert and Kubik 2001, pp. 116–139).

Second, an organisational survey of political activism in the Czech Republic conducted during the period October 2007–December 2008 highlighted information on more than 200 Czech social movement organisations. The present analysis includes 41 organisations in the environmental activist sector. The representatives of the selected activist organisations were asked by interviewers to fill in a questionnaire focusing on many aspects of their EMO, including its mission, funding sources, organisational structure and strategies. The sample of organisations was created via the combination of the snow-ball method and expert opinion. The representatives of 42 nationally important EMOs mentioned at least twice were included in the original sample and 27 of them were actually interviewed. Since the snow-ball method brought only limited results with regard to small and locally oriented organisations, 14 of them were selected on the basis of expert opinion and included in the survey.

In addition, I draw on qualitative sources and official documents. First, key informant interviewing was employed: eight semi-structured interviews with representatives of the selected organisations were carried out for the most part in spring and summer 2006 in the Czech Republic and Brussels. The respondents were selected on the basis of their formal position in the organisation (usually the leader was interviewed). Second, publicly available information (governmental documents, documents of social movement organisations) was analysed.⁴

Czech EMOs and political contention

Based on the results of protest event analysis, environmental activists have been the single most visible activist group in the post-communist Czech Republic since the beginning of the 1990s. They are the organisers of nearly a quarter of all events; only self-organised popular protest, which accounts for a third of all events, surpasses them.⁵ Moreover, as regards organised political activism, environmentalists fared the best in terms of the frequency of collective action: Figures 1 and 2 show the distribution of all protest events sponsored by environmentalists over time compared to events organised by the trade unions and radical Left organisations. In addition, environmentalists substantially contributed to the prevalence of post-materialist claims in the pattern of political demands in the Czech Republic in the period under study. Czechs have concentrated much more on

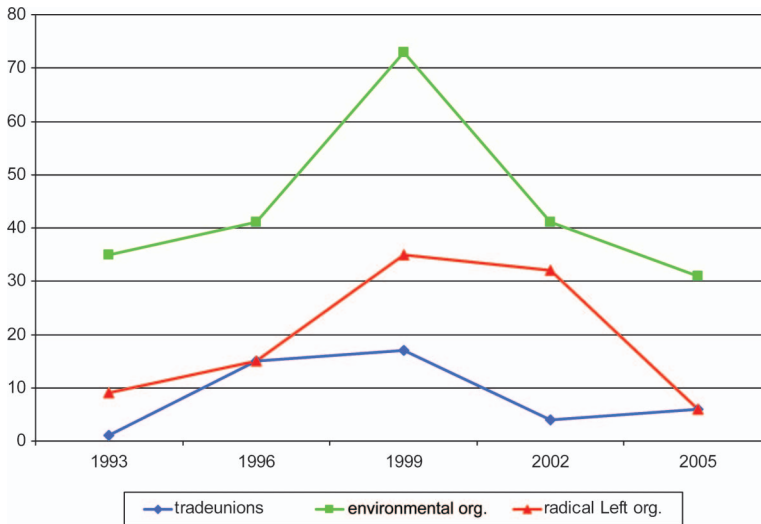


Figure 1. The frequency of protest events, 1993–2005. *Source:* PEA, Czech Republic.

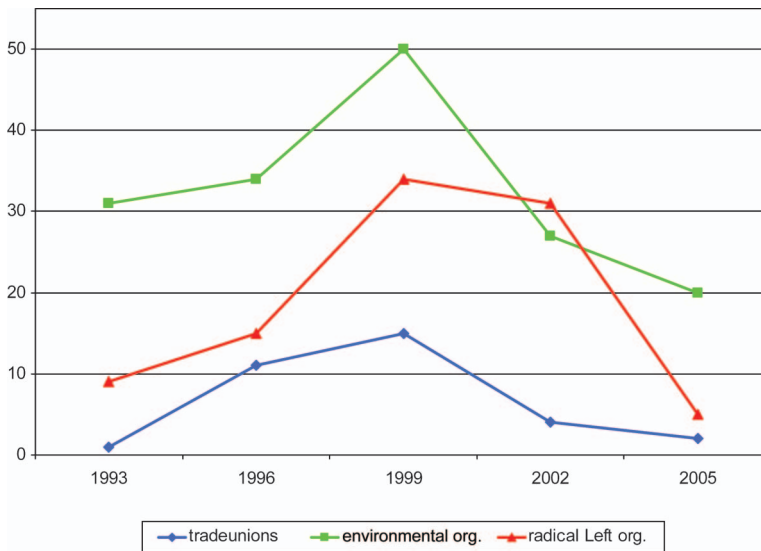


Figure 2. The frequency of protest events, 1993–2005 (petitions excluded). *Source:* PEA, Czech Republic.

the environment (and human rights) than on economic and social welfare issues. Ecological demands formed the single most represented category of political claims in Czech public discourse (23% of all publicly expressed demands).

As post-materialist issues were never expected to feature prominently in the portfolios of public demands in post-communist countries (see, for example, Ekiert and Kubik 2001), this finding is surprising. It provides important evidence of the prominence of local EMOs and their capacity to shape public discourse and advocate environmental interests (75% of all environmental claims have been expressed by them; self-organised protests account for the rest).⁶

Figures 1 and 2 not only demonstrate the consistent prevalence of environmental activists throughout the whole period under study, but importantly, they also question the commonly accepted belief in the de-radicalisation of Czech environmentalists in the mid-1990s. According to the mainstream interpretation, the Czech environmentalists were effectively de-radicalised after 1992, when the centre-Right coalition government of Václav Klaus assumed power. As a result, the closed domestic opportunity structure of the mid-1990s 'prompted a de-radicalisation of EMOs' (Fagan and Jehlička 2003, p. 54) and made them shift 'to professionalism and expert knowledge' (Fagan 2004, p. 100). However, this evaluation draws only on qualitative interviews and organisational case studies. Protest event data persuasively demonstrate that even if EMOs have embarked on the road of professionalisation in the 1990s, as assumed by Fagan and Jehlička's studies, this trend was not immediately accompanied by a decrease in the number of organised protest events.⁷ On the contrary, environmental protest peaked at the end of the decade and decreased only at the beginning of the new millennium. Yet, if compared to Left-wing radicals, who are commonly regarded as engaging in contentious politics, environmentalists have continued to form a contentious activist sector even after 2000 (see especially Figure 2, which excludes petitions). Not only are Czech EMOs the most visible *political* activists in the country, but they have also formed an activist sector that has regularly relied on explicitly contentious strategies. They sponsored 16% of all demonstrations organised in the country in the period under study, which is the same proportion as Left radicals and four times more events than the trade unionists.

Protest event data persuasively demonstrate that Czech environmentalists regularly engaged in contentious strategies. They did so even though they rely overwhelmingly on foreign patronage. In the sample of 41 organisations, more than 40% had received start-up funding from a foreign foundation and 20% from a domestic foundation. Almost three-quarters of the organisations continue to receive some type of foundation financial support. Interestingly, the same percentage of organisations does not mobilise regular contributions from individuals. Presently, the largest part of their budgets is formed by domestic and foreign patronage: not only foundations but also state and EU institutions constitute significant sources of their funding (see also Carmin *et al.* 2008). Two-thirds of the organisations receive money from the EU, which on average makes up nearly 40% of their budgets; three-quarters of the organisations receive funds from Czech state institutions, which as a source of funding on average amounts to almost 30% of budgets. Less than

10% of the organisations receive no funding either from the EU or the Czech state.

What was the perceived impact of foreign patronage on the organisations studied? When asked whether there has been any major change in their organisations' funding sources within the last 10 years, the increasing availability of EU funds was the most frequent answer (more than one-third of the organisations), followed by fundraising focused on individual contributors and state funding, which were mentioned by 17% and 12% of the organisations, respectively. The impact of EU and state funding was unanimously interpreted by the activists in terms of professionalisation, organisational capacity-building, bureaucratisation and human resources development. Some mentioned a shift in the issue agenda of their organisations towards those of the EU and state institutions. Whilst almost all of the organisations that have Europeanised their budgets professionalised and bureaucratised their activities, only some of them consciously Europeanised their agendas as well.

Contention and external funding

Czech environmentalists engaged in far more frequent protests than other activist sectors in the country. Since they have been dependent on external sources of funding, mostly foreign patronage, their frequent protest activity might seem to be rather puzzling. How can external funding relate to the contentiousness by civil society organisations? To investigate this question I undertook a qualitative comparative study of two prominent Czech EMOs, Greenpeace and the Rainbow Movement (RM), using the most similar systems design (Gerring 2007, pp. 131–139; see also Przeworski and Teune 1970).⁸ Although the two organisations are very similar, they fundamentally differ in how they attract and mobilise resources. Whilst Greenpeace has managed to become independent of external funding, the Rainbow Movement has continually accepted grants.⁹ At the same time, they are both members of transnational organisations, active in the same political system, and were engaged in the same campaign against the second Czech nuclear power plant Temelín (TNPP).

Greenpeace Czech Republic encountered severe financial problems in the second half of the 1990s that resulted in a decision by Greenpeace International to help devise a plan that would make the Czech organisation fully self-sustainable. Greenpeace Czech Republic embarked on this reform plan in 1998 and planned to achieve financial sustainability by 2001. To meet the plan's objectives, the organisation hired more professional fundraisers, and a former business manager was appointed as director. Hence the ambitious goals of the financial self-sustainability plan actually contributed to the increasing professionalisation of the organisation, and introduced more formalised management techniques.

This strategy also affected the organisation's campaign agenda. Although there was a relatively robust campaign against the power plant in the 1990s,

public opinion consistently supported completing the plant (Public Opinion Research Centre 2001). As Greenpeace sought to find resonance with broader public opinion, it refrained from some controversial campaigns that were taking place at that time in the Czech Republic, such as the campaign against the completion of construction work on TNPP. Although Greenpeace International pressed the Czech group to become actively engaged in the issue as it had done in the early 1990s, the local organisation deemed such activity unwise because it could discourage potential contributors. Thus, the local Greenpeace office resisted the pressure of its international office to take a potentially controversial stance.¹⁰

The campaign against the plant also involved the Rainbow Movement (the Czech member of Friends of the Earth International). A comparison of RM with Greenpeace is instructive. RM was the dominant actor early in the campaign (starting in 1993). It engaged in both contained and contentious action against the plant (Císar 2003, 2004, Fagan and Jehlička 2003, Fagan 2004) and its active protest activities helped keep the issue high on the political agenda throughout the first decade of post-Communism. Annual camps at Temelín were organised by RM which sought to address the local population near the power plant and to promote energy saving as an alternative to nuclear power. In addition, regular attempts were made to block the power plant construction site, with the first blockade occurring as early as 1993. The regular blockades organised by RM involved a number of people blocking the gates to the construction site in such a way that they could not be easily dislodged by the police emergency squad. The blockades played an important role not only in the anti-Temelín campaign but also in the formation of RM's overall media image in the 1990s. The last blockade took place in 1997. The number of participants rose every year, and the organisation rated the entire event as successful.

Contrary to the prevailing interpretation (Fagan and Jehlička 2003, Fagan 2004), the centre-Right governments of the mid-1990s did not prompt the organisation to de-radicalise in regard to the power plant. As that time coordinator of RM's anti-Temelín campaign put it:

we always employ many methods and combine them – the repertoire is much wider than just blockading Temelín or lobbying in the parliament; we try to use as many strategies as possible. We are very flexible – under the Klaus governments the possibilities were circumscribed, so, we were mostly *using direct action* [italics added] that could help publicize the issue in the media ...¹¹

After 1997 and the collapse of centre-Right governments that had openly supported the TNPP, the domestic opportunity structure opened in the Czech Republic for anti-Temelín activism and RM shifted its action repertoire towards lobbying. The opening of the political opportunity structure rendered the institutional route for pressure more attractive and more effective than the previous non-institutional confrontational strategies.

Although the campaign was ultimately unsuccessful, the RM almost achieved its goal in 1999, when the last governmental decision was to be made

on the finalisation of the plant.¹² By that time the organisation was widely recognised as an important actor in the debate, and was able to directly lobby at the highest echelons of power. In the months preceding the final decision, RM together with its allies intensified the pressure so that once again the future of the power plant seemed to be truly uncertain. A suitable indicator of the significance the problem of the power plant had acquired in public discussion, and of the general uncertainty of the situation in 1999, was that not only did Temelín's opponents mobilise, but its supporters did so as well. Suddenly, TNPP's advocates were no longer certain that the power plant would finally be completed and the anti-Temelín campaign led by RM provoked a wave of counter-activism. At the end of April 1999, 700 trade unionists from Czech nuclear power plants demonstrated in Prague in favour of the completion of TNPP. The protestors also presented to the government a petition with 14,582 signatures supporting the power plant. On the anti-Temelín side, the text of a petition signed by over 150 prominent personalities was made public. A group of Czech senators spoke out against the plant, as did President Havel, whose statement was very scathing. Nevertheless, with 11 votes for and 8 against, the government passed the resolution to complete the power plant (Císař 2004). The government's decision was in line with country's general ideological climate (which, again, played a decisive role in Greenpeace's decision not to engage on the issue of the plant at all).

Since public opinion was generally supportive of the completion of Temelín, it was decided by Greenpeace to create the kind of 'campaign mix' that would be more attractive to potential supporters, and to avoid too-controversial issues, at least until the organisation's goals were achieved. According to Greenpeace's then-director:

Having been in the middle of the reform plan aimed at self-sufficiency ... so, several people in the office just feared going into very controversial issues. And Temelín before completion in 2000 was still a very controversial issue ... Naturally, for forests, whales and for these explicitly green issues, one can get support easier than for smoking power plants. It is generally known and it is related to something, which is called the appropriate campaign mix ...¹³

In other words, in its effort to become independent of foreign funding Greenpeace focused on improving its 'campaign mix', which actually meant moderation and avoiding political controversy that might arouse a negative public response. Therefore the Czech organisation focused on whales, and its campaign helped the country to get into the International Whaling Commission to tip the balance in favour of the so-called anti-whaling states. As a result of professionalisation and a non-controversial stance, Greenpeace won its battle over finance, and managed to recruit a sufficient number of individual contributors by 2002 (Císař 2008).

Whilst in the case of Greenpeace one can observe a tendency towards professionalisation and moderation, independence from grants did not allow the organisation to become an agent challenging the system. In fact, to make

itself 'saleable' on the domestic market, the organisation had to adjust to the demands of domestic public opinion. Comparing RM and Greenpeace, one cannot but conclude that it was the foreign-money dependency that actually *enabled* some organisations to swim against the current of public opinion and voice an agenda that would otherwise never have found its way into the public debate.

The results of this comparative analysis question the conclusions of Fagan and Jehlička, who claim that the Rainbow Movement 'jettisoned radical strategies and ideas in response to their exclusion by the Klaus government' (2003, p. 66). Fagan and Jehlička compare the RM to the South Bohemian Mothers, another important anti-Temelín organisation. However, their comparison is not explanatory, but descriptive, since both organisations studied by them demonstrate the same characteristics in terms of funding. The same applies to the groups' strategic repertoire. In other words, there is no variation to be explained: '... the strategic choices and actions of both organisations can be understood as responses to the underlying dependency of EMOs on external donors for resources. Both have been encouraged by foreign donors to become more professional in their operations and campaigns ...' (2003, p. 66). Employing a comparative research design, I have, by contrast, demonstrated the relationship between a particular funding pattern and an organisation's strategic repertoire. Compared to a very similar organisation in the same national context (Greenpeace), the RM, far from being de-radicalised, was clearly able to engage in contentious campaigning.

Internationalisation/Europeanisation

Internationalisation

Although international drivers (in this case foreign patrons) did indeed *channel* local organisations towards professionalisation, this channelling has not inevitably been accompanied by de-politicisation and moderation. Hence, although local organisations have not mobilised individuals, they have become relatively efficient advocates capable of challenging the prevailing social norms not in spite of their foreign dependency, but rather *thanks to this dependency*. Moreover, a very similar situation has occurred with the issues of human and women's rights (Císař 2008, Císař and Vráblíková 2010). For instance, the issue of domestic violence was 'chosen' for domestic women's groups by their foreign partners, and judging by the way the issue was denigrated and even ridiculed in the country in the beginning of the 1990s (see also Fábíán 2006, Kampichler 2009), it would probably never have made it to the political arena without them. The same applies to the issue of human rights in general.¹⁴

The fact that many Czech social movement organisations have been dependent on foreign sources of funding has not necessarily undermined their relatively contentious attitudes. In addition, thanks to its transnational linkages RM has been receiving a great deal of cultural resources, expertise and activist know-how, from abroad. This mechanism of learning and

capacity-building that has characterised the organisational development of RM since the early 1990s actually intensified with the approach of EU enlargement in May 2004. This capacity-building was primarily facilitated by the EU-wide network of Friends of the Earth, which strove to further solidify its Central-East European nodes. Thus the impact of the enlargement did not consist just in changing funding patterns, as described in the available literature (see above and Carmin and Vandever 2004, Vandever and Carmin 2004, Hicks 2004, Fagan 2005, Börzel and Buzogány in this issue), but was also mediated through the European structure of the organisation itself.

Europeanisation

EU enlargement had a significant impact on both Greenpeace and RM, the Czech member of Friends of the Earth International. FoEI is a global environmental network which also includes regional structures. Friends of the Earth Europe (FoEE) was established in 1985 and maintains its coordination and lobbying office in Brussels, where it participates in the environmental lobbyist platform G-10. FoEE is the largest, and probably the most coherent regional structure within FoEI, consisting of 31 members (see Doherty 2006). The European structure is much more important for RM's activities and mobilisation than the global network. This was manifested in 2003, when a Europe-wide twinning project *Growing Together* was developed, in order to provide a platform for organisational learning within the structure. The goal was to provide member organisations from countries acceding to the EU with information and know-how that would enable them to strengthen their organisational structures and become capable members of the European network post accession. The project was meant to broker relationships amongst various national groups and provide the newcomers with effective organisational models. Moreover, special attention was paid to fundraising strategies aimed at the mobilisation of individual contributors.

In the first phase of the project, a series of workshops was followed by a genuine twinning based on know-how sharing: RM was paired with the Dutch member of FoEI, and concentrated on techniques of office management. At that time the Czech organisation lacked a clear structure and organisational hierarchy, which was regarded by its director as an obstacle to its further development. The general goal of RM's involvement in the project was professionalisation of its activities. At the end of the project, two people from the Amsterdam office spent 3 days in RM's Brno headquarters. Afterward, Czech activists travelled to Amsterdam where they spent 1 week of intensive training in management and fundraising. The whole project was evaluated as a success by RM's director, who underlined the fact that the training was not based on superficial slideshows and short presentations, but on the principles of 'learning by doing' which actually enabled the effective transfer of know-how:

... so it was not a matter of a two-hour presentation; real understanding comes out of real discussions with these people, out of the possibility to ask about specific details. The details often make it [management] effective. So it was really rewarding ... there was money given by the European network ... a so-called change agent worked in our organisation on full-time basis and was paid from this money. This agent was responsible for the realization of changes and new models coming from the West ... It was a real help, because we would not be able to pay for such a project from our sources only ... it was a truly truly noble attitude on the part of Western organisations and, for example, Britons and Hollanders sent their best people to participate in it ...¹⁵

EU enlargement deepened the cooperation among the FoEE member groups. In fact, it was not just a matter of a unidirectional transfer of models from the West to the East, as the above exposition might suggest, the increased organisational capacity of Eastern groups translated into a greater capacity to become active at the European level. For example, RM used its Brussels contacts in order to bring a local controversy over the reconstruction of the Brno railway station to the attention of the European Commission (Císař 2008). In this respect it extended the local issue to the EU level. Moreover, based on the success of the *Growing Together* project, FoEE prepared a modified version that was meant to target Mediterranean network members, who were generally deemed weak by the organisation. In this programme, RM played the role of a transmitter; thus it was no longer in need of learning, but was perceived ready to teach formerly West-European members best management practices. Also, RM cooperated with and provided training to Hungarian and Croatian groups.

Twinning techniques are also used by Greenpeace. However, they are not designed specifically for groups of countries, but are used generally within the organisation. A new employee of an office is sent for 1 week's training to some other Greenpeace group, preferably to the Brussels office, where she or he gets basic overview of how the organisation works. An in-house training program is organised in Brussels:

where national campaigners learn how the EU works, how interest groups influence the EU, how private interest companies with a direct financial interest in the legislation lobby, how public interest groups, such as Greenpeace, work ... given the relatively young age of Greenpeace staff nationally, there is not a big difference in terms of levels of understanding and skill between our colleagues in Poland, Hungary, Slovakia etc. compared to France or Germany ...¹⁶

In addition to this Brussels-based training, there are regular training sessions held directly in Prague and individual campaign coordinators participate in Europe-wide coordination meetings focused on their particular campaigns. Similar to RM, the EU enlargement process deepened the cooperation of national members of Greenpeace, and provided opportunities for Europe-wide coordination of lobbying campaigns, in which the Brussels office concentrates on lobbying respective European institutions and national groups target their national political representatives and members of the

European parliament. In this respect Greenpeace somewhat differs from FoEE which is, compared to Greenpeace, a much more decentralised network. While Greenpeace engages in coordinated multi-level campaigns relatively often, such coordination, although it does exist, is used by FoEE on a less frequent basis.

In general, EU enlargement provided both local organisations with new resources (expertise, know-how), and new opportunities to engage in European policymaking. Whilst these changes were clearly related to the enlargement, they were primarily induced by the European structures of both organisations. Contrary to suggestions in some recent literature (Fagan 2004, 2005, Hicks 2004), the effects of enlargement should not be seen as limited to the direct influence of the EU funding strategies. EU enlargement not only brought pressure towards professionalisation due to the changing funding pattern based on the support for formally registered and bureaucratically managed organisations but also enabled local organisations to profit from training programmes sponsored by the EU platforms of their global networks. All in all, Europeanisation has not only encouraged institutional mainstreaming and the moderation of demands but has also facilitated important intra-organisational transfer of know-how and consequent capacity-building on the part of local EMOs.

Conclusions

The data presented here suggest that Czech EMOs in receipt of donor funding for several years have acquired transactional capacity. Generally, EMOs have been dependent on various sources of external, mainly foreign, funding from the very beginning of the 1990s. In the early 1990s it was mostly foundations from the US and individual European states that distributed money amongst them, but since the second half of the 1990s EU funds have assumed a much more prominent role amongst the resources available. According to the traditional interpretation, external funding significantly contributed to the cooptation of local EMOs by the political elite, de-radicalised their strategies and de-politicised their claims.

Conceptually, the paper moved from the narrowly-understood cooptation thesis to the broader channelling thesis. The evidence presented has demonstrated that foreign patronage is not necessarily a de-politicising force. If the local political context and/or prevailing ideological climate are generally non-conducive to the goals of advocacy organisations, as they were, for example, in the case of anti-Temelín campaign, international patronage may actually lead to the radicalisation of recipient organisations vis-à-vis the domestic conditions.

What are the implications of such findings for our understanding of environmental movements in post-communist states and the impact of donor assistance in particular? Czech EMOs have been dependent on various sources of external, mainly foreign, funding since the early 1990s. As suggested by earlier research, these programmes and funding have not created conditions

conducive to the emergence of vibrant participatory social movements. However, I have here demonstrated the capacity of international patronage to contribute to the development of capable advocacy organisations. As a result, we find in the Czech Republic environmental advocacy without mass mobilisation. That advocacy often makes it possible for environmental organisations to act in a more assertive way than might have been possible were they only dependent on mainstream public opinion.

Notes

1. This work has been prepared as part of the research project Political Parties and Representation of Interests in Contemporary European Democracies funded by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Czech Republic (code MSM0021622407).
2. Patronage describes ‘the bestowal of resources upon an SMO by an individual or an organisation that often specialises in patronage ... Government contracts, foundation grants, and large private donations are the most common forms of financial patronage ...’ (Edwards and McCarthy 2004, p. 135).
3. Interview with the director of the Greenpeace European Unit, Brussels, 19 July 2006.
4. Further details of the methodology applied is available from the author.
5. Self-organisation is based on ‘individual’ organisational effort, i.e. protest in this category is not sponsored by any formal organisation or informal group.
6. This considerable proportion of environmental claims expressed by self-organisations seems to reflect the strategy of localisation as identified by Sarre and Jehlička (2007: p. 354), and even the process of collaboration between local protestors and national EMOs analysed in the same paper. I am indebted to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this to me.
7. In this, the Czech experience was not extraordinary by western European standards. As Rootes (2003) and his collaborators found, during the 1990s – the decade in which the consolidation of western European environmentalism occurred – there was no monotonic decline in environmental protest.
8. Why a small-N comparative study? As regards funding, there is not enough variation within the sector of environmental activism in the Czech Republic, with only one advocacy organisation independent of external funding. Therefore, a small-N comparative study proves to be a better option than statistical analysis in demonstrating the effects funding has had on local EMOs.
9. Greenpeace received 82% of its funding from individual contributions in 2002. The same year, 75% of RM’s revenues were covered by external grants (Greenpeace 2003, RM 2003). Although RM has managed to increase the proportion of individual contributions since that time, external patronage still continues to play a dominant role in its budget (61% in 2008; see RM 2009). Greenpeace was able to generate 92% of its revenues from individuals in 2007 (Greenpeace 2008).
10. Interview with the director of Greenpeace Czech Republic, Prague, 9 May 2006.
11. Interview with the campaign coordinator, Brno, 14 December 2001.
12. The first decision in favour of completing the plant was made as early as 1993.
13. Interview with the director of Greenpeace Czech Republic, Prague, 9 May 2006.
14. Similar to RM’s situation and the Temelín case, the provision of funding and agenda setting by international donors freed certain human rights organisations from the need to abide by the prevailing consensus within the country. For example, the Counselling Centre for Citizenship, Civil and Human Rights

organisation was, through dependency on foreign donors, able to employ strategies that directly challenged the discriminatory practices and attitudes of the majority population regarding the Roma minority. In general, international dependency has not translated into moderation by the human rights organisations. Instead, the opposite trend has defined the development of the human rights sector since the end of the 1990s (Císař 2008).

15. Interview with the director of RM, Brno, 17 March 2006.
16. Interview with the director of the Greenpeace European Unit, Brussels, 19 July 2006.

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