

FB Politik- und Sozialwissenschaften

Otto-Suhr-Institut für Politikwissenschaft

Winter term 2011/2012

First Examiner: Prof. Dr. Miranda Schreurs

Second Examiner: Dr. Helge Jörgens

Master thesis in the degree programme

Public and Private Environmental Management (Master of Arts)

Trade-offs within ENGOs in the field of wind energy

The nature conservation vs. climate protection conflicts and
their handling by ENGOs



Katharina Klein

Dieffenbachstr.29

10967 Berlin

kk1784@googlemail.com

Register Number: 4104165

Table of Content

Introduction	1
Research question.....	3
Relevance	3
Background: Wind energy in Germany.....	3
Scientific Background	5
Presumptions and Theoretical Approach.....	6
Presumptions	6
Theoretical Approach and Relevant Terms	7
Conceptual framework and propositions.....	12
Conceptual framework	12
Propositions	14
Methodological approach.....	17
Expected Results	18
Definition of key terms.....	18
Types of Conflict.....	18
Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOS).....	20
Concept specification	21
Case studies	22
BUND.....	23
Development of the BUND wind energy position	23
BUND Factor 1: Decision Procedures	27
BUND Factor 2: Communication Opportunities.....	30
BUND Factor 3: Orientation	34
BUND Factor 4: Degree of Institutionalisation of Nature Conservation and Climate Protection	37
NABU.....	40
Development of the NABU wind energy position	41
NABU Factor 1: Decision Making Procedures	44
NABU Factor 2: Communication Opportunities.....	49

NABU Factor 3: Orientation	52
NABU Factor 4: Degree of Institutionalisation of Nature Conservation and Climate Protection	57
Greenpeace Germany (GP)	61
Development of the GP wind energy position	61
GP Factor 1: Decision Making Procedures	65
GP Factor 2: Communication Opportunities.....	68
GP Factor 3: Orientation	72
GP Factor 4: Degree of Institutionalisation of Nature Conservation and Climate Protection.....	75
Conclusions	77
Outlook.....	82
Annex 1 Variables and their assumed variations (Accumulated in table).....	86
Annex 2 Decision structure and processes- Charts	88
Annex 3 Accumulated Impact Assessments.....	91
Annex 4 Questionnaire ENGO experts	94
Annex 5 Questionnaire Experts (External).....	99
Bibliography.....	103

List of Abbreviations

AC	The Association Council ("Verbandsrat")
ACV	Advisory Council of Volunteers
AK	Working Committee (Arbeitskreis)
AoD	The Assembly of Delegates ("Delegiertenversammlung")
BLK	Meeting of the heads of all departments "Bereichsleitungskonferenz"
BfL	Federal Association for nature conservation (Bundesverband für Landschaftsschutz)
BMU	Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety
BUND	Friends of the Earth Germany (Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz Deutschland e.V.)
BWE	Federal Wind Energy Association (Bundesverband für WindEnergie)
DNR	"Deutscher Naturschutzring"
EDM	Executive Directors Meeting
EEG	Renewable Energy law (Erneuerbare Energien Gesetz)
ENGO	Environmental Non-Governmental Organisation
FEB	Federal Executive Board
FFSC	Federal-/Federal States-Council
FSAC	Federal State Advisory Council
FSAoD	Federal State Assembly of Delegates
FSEB	Federal State Executive Board
FSMB	Federal State Management Board
FSSC	Federal State Special Committees
GC	General Council ("Gesamtrat").
GIS	Geographical Information System
GMFA	General Meeting of the Federal Association
GMFSA	General Meeting of the Federal State Association
GP	Greenpeace Germany
GPI	Greenpeace International
IAGM	International Annual General Meeting
IBoD	International Board of Directors
IPCC	International Panel on Climate Change
KV	County group ("Kreisverband")
MB	Managing Board ("Vorstand")
NABU	Federal Association of Naturschutzbund Deutschland e.V.
NAJU	NABU youth organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIMBY	Not In My Backyard effect
OG	Local groups ("Ortsgruppen")

PM	Program Meetings
REs	Renewable Energies
RV	Regional groups „Regionalverbände"
SAC	Working committee for specific questions (“Thematische Arbeitsgruppe”)
TAKs	Distance criteria for wind energy plants due to species and ecological systems (Tier-ökologische Abstandskriterien)
UBA	Federal Environment Agency "Umweltbundesamt"
VSC	Voluntary Specialist Council
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

List of Figures

Figure I: Usable areas in km ² for the German federal states	4
Figure II: Regional Land Use Plans in Brandenburg.....	5

Introduction

The German federal government deems wind energy as climate friendly and names it as one of the pillars in the energy transition plans of Germany. Is this a story with a happy end for the environmental community, which fought so hard for the energy transition away from coal and nuclear energy towards Renewable Energies (REs)? Despite the fast expansion of wind energy, critics have emerged. Since The Spiegel in 2004 launched a title story "Der Windmühlenwahn" harshly criticising wind energy plans no one in Germany could deny that this form of RE was specifically prone to societal conflicts. (Musiol, NABU 2004, p. 15) Increasingly, tensions have emerged between nature conservation and human health concerns and the imperative of climate protection, which go beyond conflict lines between large-scale energy companies and supporters of a decentralised renewable energy system.

Underlining these tensions, the 'Berliner Morgenpost' reports about several cases of "anti-wind energy" citizen groups in the affected regions in Brandenburg, such as Wiesenhagen (Teltow-Fläming), Lübben (Dahme-Spreewald), Uckermark, Prignitz, Märkisch-Oderland and Potsdam-Mittelmark. According to studies conducted by the BWE, Brandenburg is with 4,400 MW total installed capacities, the second largest wind energy producer among the German federal states. The energy strategy of the government in Brandenburg strives to expand wind energy to 15,300 GWh in 2020. (Bundesverband Windenergie e.V. (BWE))

However, local citizen groups complain about negative impacts on human health -through noise levels- and on bird life in the region. In attempt to speak in a strong, common voice, 30 of the citizen groups united in an initiative against wind energy plants- harnessing environmental arguments. (Berliner Morgenpost 2011) Quite often among the local citizen groups opposing wind energy projects one finds activists from ENGOs such as the Federal Association of Naturschutzbund Deutschland e.V. (NABU) or Friends of the Earth Germany (Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz Deutschland e.V., BUND). (Musiol, NABU 2004, p. 15) Thereby, questions about the role of ENGOs in this context arise. On the one hand they have endeavoured to persuade decision makers from the advantages of energy supply through RE; on the other hand they are obliged, according to the *Bundesnaturschutzgesetz* to "vorwiegend die Ziele des Naturschutzes und der Landschaftspflege vertreten"¹ and represent their local constituencies.

This shows the dilemma in which ENGOs find themselves regarding the definition of a position to wind energy projects. While ENGOs define their position on wind energy, two of their equally important principles come into conflict with each other: The nature conservation paradigm and the

¹ In this thesis German proper nouns, literal quotations or established expression are not translated into English, due to concerns that the meaning would be distorted by it. Furthermore, this thesis disclaims gender specific wording. Yet, the masculine terms self evidently incorporate persons with female gender equally.

climate protection² paradigm. Both have hitherto quite peacefully existed under the roof of the individual ENGOs, however, the expansion of REs triggers more and more tensions between nature conservation concerns and the necessity for measures to protect the climate. As most ENGOs committed to both principles they face the dilemma to compromise on either one of them under the pressure to determine a coherent public position. Some authors claim ENGOs to either be indifferent and equivocal, or to betray either nature conservation or climate protection concerns. (Mock 2000) These tensions have been an issue not only in Germany but in the European context as well. So states Szarka in the "European Environment" journal: "Meanwhile nature conservation organizations are challenged by the need to balance immediate disruptions to sensitive ecosystems against long-term sustainability issues. Opposition from local residents groups has increased as planning applications for wind farms have multiplied." (Szarka 2004, p. 317)

This thesis explores the handling of inner- ecological conflicts within ENGOs harnessing three ENGO cases -BUND, NABU and Greenpeace Germany e.V. (GP). Focus for the analysis of the local organisational levels are wind energy projects in Brandenburg.

REs offer opportunities for environmental and climate friendly energy production, however, Hirschl et al emphasize that REs are not invisible and use land, create noise and sometimes smells. Hence, REs, notwithstanding their positive aspects, can impair the local landscape as well as human and animal health. The authors point out that fissures between climate protection supporter and local nature conservation activists arise, which are also reflected within ENGOS. In case of actual, local projects cleavages between supporters of bird life protection and supporters of wind energy within ENGOs emerge explicitly. The authors suggest that ENGOs in their dilemma anticipate a broader societal conflict and that the conflict situation which they find themselves in holds the potential for learning effects which can be used to facilitate conflict management strategies. (Hirschl et al. 2004, p. 10) The undoubtedly vital benefits of REs are only justified if their risks and disadvantages are transparently discussed and strategies for their mitigation in local conflict situations developed.

To begin with, the thesis will lay out the research question, its background and relevance, the methodological approach and a clarification of key terms. After these initial sections, the empirical part begins, which scrutinizes how the factors that comprise the independent variable affect the handling of the internal tensions between nature conservation and climate protection. This involves a document analysis as well as guided interviews with wind energy experts and ENGO staff from the national and local level. Concluding, the impacts of the organisational factors are assessed particularly with regard to which facilitated or impeded an effective and efficient conflict management.

² In the following climate changes means anthropogenic climate change. If we speak of natural climate change, a specific differentiation will be made.

Research question

This thesis notices a research deficit on the above described ENGO dilemma and its handling. Therefore, this thesis will focus on the following questions:

A descriptive one: What are the organisational factors that affect how ENGOs handle their internal tensions between nature conservation and climate protection, resulting from the expansion of onshore wind energy in Germany? And an analytical one: How do ENGOs handle these conflicts?

The handling of their internal fractional divides between nature conservation and climate protection is the dependent variable. This paper analyses four factors- selected by a literature review and pilot interviews as being the most relevant factors affecting the variation of the dependent variable. The following theory section elaborates on this selection. The four factors composing the independent variable are:

1. Prevailing decision making structure within the organization
2. Communication opportunities between the different levels and sections of the organisation
3. Orientation of ENGOs
4. Degree of institutionalisation of nature conservation and climate change issues within the ENGO (i.g. Own departments etc.)

Those are outlined in greater detail in the following chapter “Theoretical approach”.

Relevance

In the following section the general and scientific relevance of the research topic is outlined.

Background: Wind energy in Germany

Germany has ambitious targets for increasing the quantity of energy that is supplied through REs. An increased share of REs in the overall energy supply is a function of the government’s ambitious emissions reduction targets agreed on as part of the German strategy to mitigate climate change (RE targets: 30% of the energy supply in form of RE in 2030, 45% in 2040 and 60% in 2050). (Bundesregierung CDU/CSU/FDP 2010, p. 4)

The phasing out of nuclear energy has even increased the pressure to implement RE projects as soon as possible. The federal government states that wind energy in 2050 will play a pivotal role in the electricity production and demands a substantial expansion of on-and offshore wind energy capacities. (Ibid: 6) Overall, investments to achieve those climate protection targets amount to about 50 billion Euro per year, including energy saving measures and reduction of energy imports.

Wind energy is found to be the most promising RE source in Germany. The *Energiekonzept 2010* (Energy Concept 2010) issued by the federal government indicates that onshore wind energy offers the greatest cost-efficient potential for expansion in the short- and medium term. Thus, measures for re-powering old wind energy plants are planned, which is the substitution of old plants with modern,

more efficient and taller wind energy plants. (Ibid: 10) A study conducted by the Fraunhofer Institute for Wind Energy and Energy System Technologies on behalf of the Federal Wind Energy Association (Bundesverband für WindEnergie, BWE) declares 2% of Germany's surface eligible for wind energy projects, building on an analysis of Geographical Information System (GIS) data. Thus the Fraunhofer Institute concludes that unused onshore wind energy potential still remains. (Bofinger et al. 2011, pp. 5ff)

Additionally, huge offshore wind parks are currently planned and in part already under construction. Most off-shore/on-shore projects have so far been met with protest from the local population. Echoing these difficulties, the *Energiekonzept 2010* issued by the federal government states that ENGOs and other interested civil society groups shall be involved in the process of acceptance and consensus building about future energy politics. (Bundesregierung CDU/CSU/FDP 2010, p. 40) Despite a general commitment acknowledging ENGOs as an important actor in the wind energy sector, the *Energiekonzept 2010*, however, remains opaque regarding concrete forms of involvement for ENGOs.

This thesis focuses on wind energy in Brandenburg. Following the federal states Niedersachsen and Bayern, Brandenburg provides the third largest area (in km²) for wind energy use in Germany.

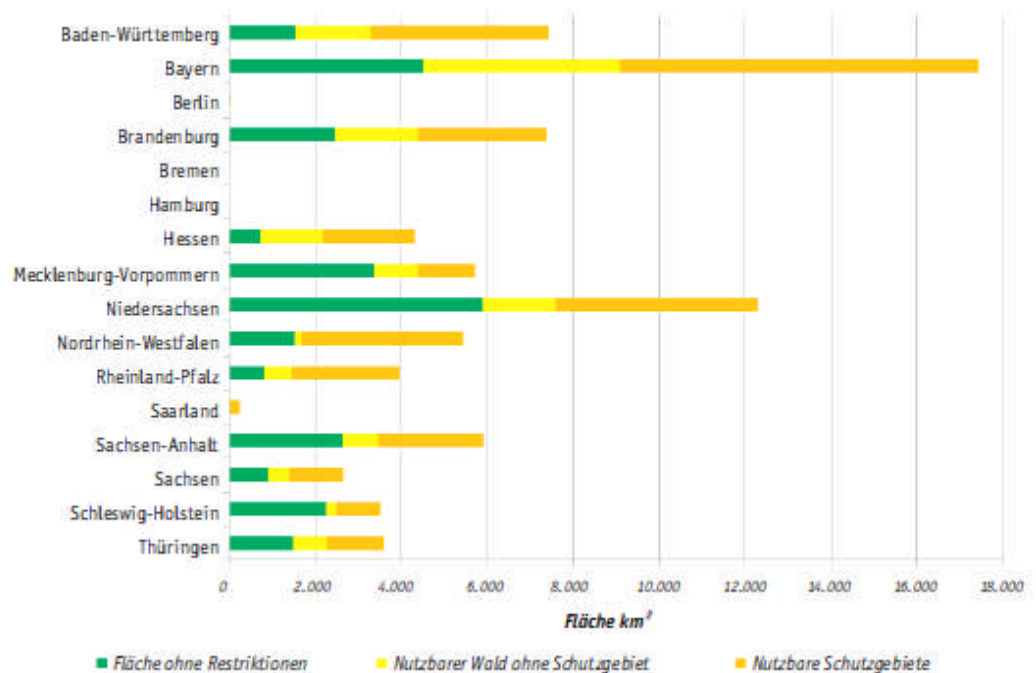


ABBILDUNG 8: Nutzbare Fläche in km² nach Bundesland

Figure I: Usable areas in km² for the German federal states Source: (Bundesverband Windenergie e.V. (BWE) 2011, p. 10)

The energy strategy of Brandenburg states that REs are supposed to become a vital pillar of the regional energy supply in order to reduce CO₂ emission by 35% until 2030 compared to emissions in

the year 1990. REs should be extended to 20% of the primary energy demand by 2020. Particularly, the development and installation of wind energy plants should be supported. Wind energy capacities should be expanded to 7.500 MW until 2020. In order to achieve this target the strategy recommends re-powering, new "Eignungsgebiete" and a spatial concentration of wind energy plants in larger clusters. The strategy calls for an overhaul of existing restricting criteria regarding nature conservation regulations for wind energy. (Ministerium für Wirtschaft des Landes Brandenburg 2008, p. 45)

The federal state of Brandenburg has commissioned a work group consisting of members from different ministries with a strategy project- „Umsetzung der Energie- und Klimaschutzstrategie, (IMAG)“- in order to develop a proposal for an energy strategy 2030. This report indicates that a further expansion of wind energy is vital, but faces barriers such as the competition of different uses for available land areas. (A.T. Kearney/ Decision Institute 2011, p. 88)

All counties are currently adjusting their regional land use plans. In three of five counties there exists a land use plan for wind energy:



Region	Inkrafttreten	Fläche der Eignungsgebiete
Uckermark-Barnim 	30.08.2001	rd. 6.790 ha
Prignitz-Oberhavel  I	11.09.2003	rd. 11.480 ha
Oderland-Spree  	22.04.2004	rd. 4.040 ha

Figure II: Regional Land Use Plans in Brandenburg (Land Brandenburg/Berlin 2011)

Scientific Background

The scientific studies on wind energy range from technical questions, such as the BWE potential assessment, to the questions of acceptance, as explored by the research project Social Dynamics of the Energy Change (*Soziale Dynamik der Energiewende*) undertaken by the “Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft” (DFG). The PhD. thesis “Windenergie in Deutschland. Konstellationen, Dynamiken und Regulierungspotentiale im Innovationsprozess” (Wind Energy in Germany. Constellations, dynamics and regulation potentials in the innovation process) written by Dr. Dörte Olhorst elaborates on the actor constellation and processes of wind energy in Germany from 1970-2008. During her analysis, Olhorst’s findings indicate the role of ENGOS in the development of the new technology. (Olhorst 2009) Scientific literature on civil society actors and governance structures also assume that civil society actors are a vital part of policy formulation and implementation processes. (Edwards 2009, Van Roy 2001, Lester et al 2003) Following those authors, this thesis applies these assumptions to the policy field of REs and specifically wind energy.

However, studies dealing explicitly with the role of ENGOS in the planning and implementation of wind energy projects and the inner-ecological conflicts they face are lacking. Research across these

strands is characterised by an external perspective on ENGOs as part of constellations of a multitude of actors. Furthermore, research is fragmented and has failed to adequately describe, much less explain how the trade-offs in the field of wind energy are handled within ENGOs. In this respect, this thesis strives to fill this gap in the research area of wind energy. In the wake of an increasing number of environmental conflicts since the 1970s a wide range of literature has been produced. Researchers have explored various alternative forms of how conflicts between different individual actors and organisations from civil society, the political and economic sphere can be solved. Mediation processes have received particular attention in Germany during the discussion of large infrastructure projects, such as the expansion of Frankfurt airport or recently the new train station in Stuttgart (S21). Fietkau and Weidner have published a book comprising various mediation approaches and applying them in the German context. In the international realm Goldberg and Sander are known as having published a benchmark on "Dispute Resolutions". However, literature on ecological norms conflicting within organisations is rare. (Goldberg et al. 1992) The research from an economic perspective on organisational learning or conflicts has focused on organizations as more or less homogeneous entities. In this regard, this thesis augments the research with an inner-organisational perspective that acknowledges the sometimes heterogeneous character of organisations. (Fietkau, Weidner 1998)

Particular interest is directed at how certain organisational factors affect ENGO's handling of their inner conflicts regarding ecological concerns and the resulting wind energy position. What kind of challenges and opportunities does the handling of the inner conflicts entail, and what are the learning processes within the organization?

Presumptions and Theoretical Approach

This chapter first identifies central, generic assumptions underlying this analysis. Secondly it introduces the theoretical framework in which the research question is embedded. From these theoretical thoughts that reflect the academic discourse, the specifications for the independent and dependent variable are derived. Therefore, organisational factors, which, according to the epistemic community, affect the handling of conflicts within organisations, are identified.

Presumptions

Plans of the German government to extend the use of REs and build new high-voltage transmission lines pose new challenges to how ENGOs develop their strategies. The expansion of high-voltage lines and of future offshore wind energy parks is expected to generate similar types of conflicts between nature conservation and climate protection concerns within ENGOs, tensions between actors from the energy supply sector and problems of public acceptance. This study contributes to a better understanding of how ENGOs can deal with those tensions, and what 'lessons learned' can be identified.

The ENGO's credibility and legitimacy to a major degree depends on their relations with their constituencies. However, ENGOs with different organizational levels have a diverse range of constituencies with different beliefs, interests, education and backgrounds. Hence, it becomes clear that ENGOs face the challenge of balancing the diverse interests amongst their constituencies. Only if the tension between the expectations of nature conservation supporters and climate change protection promoters are transparently discussed, and only if their concerns are incorporated into the development of strategies, can ENGOs remain a credible actor in the planning and implementation processes of wind energy projects.

The conflicts could have a beneficial character (learning effects) for the ENGOs as well as for the other actors involved. Hirschl et al instigate that ENGOs in their dilemma anticipate a broader societal conflict and that the conflict situation which they find themselves in holds the potential for learning effects that can facilitate conflict management strategies. The undoubtedly vital benefits of REs are only justified if their risks and disadvantages are transparently discussed, and if strategies for their anticipated in local conflict situations are developed. In this context, ENGOs -with the experiences from having handled these conflicts within their own organisation- can play an important role. (Hirschl et al. 2004, p. 10) In this respect, Olhorst's PhD. thesis indicates that the debate on nature conservation issues initiated by ENGOs lead to a range of planning principles and criteria, which facilitated the management of arising conflicts. (Olhorst 2009, p. 190) The ENGO's internal conflicts between nature conservation and climate protection concerns have triggered learning processes within the ENGOs. These learning processes have helped to prepare ENGOs for similar kinds of conflicts resulting from the expansion of REs and high-voltage transmission lines.

Theoretical Approach and Relevant Terms

In the following section the four factors- (1) "Communication opportunities", (2) "Prevailing decision structure within the organization", (3) "Orientation of ENGOs", (4) "Degree of institutionalisation of nature conservation and climate change issues"- which determine the independent variable and affect the handling of the inner-ecological conflicts within ENGOs, will be derived from the theoretical framework delineated in the following.

The thesis assumes that the handling of the inner-ecological conflicts has involved certain learning processes within the ENGOs. The concept of organisational learning has remained a long time a rather unpopular area of research. In the mid 1990s a burgeoning interest became apparent and organisational learning was acknowledged as serious field of research even in economic discourse. Agyris and Schön "recognize an overarching sense of organizational learning that refers broadly to an organization's acquisition of understandings, know-how, techniques, and practices of any kind." (Agyris, Schön 1996, p. xxii) The authors deploy a normative and practice-oriented approach towards the concept of organizational learning. Further specified, organisational learning involves either a product-something

learned- or the process that generates such a product. (Argyris, Schön 1996, p. 3) The literature on learning processes within organisations (“Organisationstheorie”) treats organisations as rather homogenous entities consisting of individuals which strive to create better ways to achieve *external* targets such as profit or production increase. This thesis, however, applies the concept of learning processes to the inner organisational tensions (trade-offs) between nature conservation and climate protection. The assessment of these learning processes -and whether they are beneficial- depends on the point of view of the researcher. Either he assumes improved results through learning processes as beneficial or he deems learning processes itself as advancement. (Bandelow 2003, p. 310)

This thesis explores learning process on the organisational level that enabled ENGOs to cope with their internal conflicts. These learning processes are indicated by (1) new decision making procedures, (2) the use of new structures or means of communication or (3) the creation of new institutional bodies such as departments, work groups etc.. Moreover, this thesis analyses whether and in what form there have been learning processes on the normative level of strategic targets and how these affected the handling of internal conflicts. This entails the question: Has there been a mainstreaming of climate protection targets or have climate protection and nature conservation be treated as opposed objectives during the handling of internal conflicts regarding wind energy?

Hence, in order to identify these potential learning processes the analytical framework is spelled out in a first step:

Factor (1): “Decision Making Procedures”

According to Burkard Eberlein and Edgar Grande, three types of decision making procedures for conflicts in modern democracies can be distinguished: 1. hierarchical decision, 2. majority decision or 3. negotiation/ consensus decisions. The authors focus on the policy level of national states. Nevertheless, the concept of decision making procedures can be applied to organisations, when some modifications are taken into account. This thesis will first explore which decision making procedures were chosen by the ENGOs and secondly will apply the following criteria for analysis.

According to Eberlein and Grande, decision making procedures have to fulfil three conditions: (1) They have to be effective and produce reliable results, (2) they have to be functional and appropriate with regard to the content of the problem, and (3) they have to be legitimate, which means the participants of the decision must be enabled to identify not only with the content of the decisions but commit to the process of the decision as fair. These conditions will be harnessed as criteria to assess the handling of the inner-ecological conflicts within ENGOs.

This thesis assumes that most of the decision processes dealing with inner-ecological conflicts are classified in the negotiation/consensus decision category. The preference for negotiation/consensus decisions is due to the organizational governance structure of the ENGOs in question.³ However, one often finds a mix of decision making procedures. In this case, the interviews need to clarify which are

³ (GP) with its rather hierarchical structure deserves a closer examination..

the prevailing decision making procedures for the inner-ecological conflicts. The literature analysis indicates that one of the factors affecting the handling of inner-ecological conflicts is the type of decision making structure. The respective first factor “Decision Making Procedures” has three variations which are derived from Burkard and Grande:

1. *The hierarchical approach* displays good results in respect to the quality of the decision content (functional) and the effectiveness. Furthermore, it is less time intensive and reduces the costs of decisions. However, this kind of decisions making depends on the conditions, that the decision is made on a rational basis and that the decision can be implemented efficiently. Reality has proven these conditions are only seldom existent in conflict situations. The major problem is the lack of information or the access to it. The legitimacy of hierarchical decisions is often doubted, since it assumes a huge trust in the righteousness of the decision maker on top. (Eberlein, Grande 2003, pp. 180f)

2. *The majority decision making procedures* do well on the criteria of effectiveness, since they can be made in a short amount of time and are reliably available. Assumed that there is no absolute measure for the rightness of a decision; decision making procedures along majority rules in plural societies promise quite a high quality of content for the decisions. However, this form of decision making procedures faces the danger of manipulation through populism. Majority decision making procedures are in particular felt to be fair and legitimate, since they are based on the equal rights of all participants (one man one vote). They do not, however, take into account the differing intensities of interests from affected minorities. Thus, a majority decision making structure does not self evidently generate a higher acceptance of the decisions. Taking this into account, prerequisites for majority decisions are that they are reversible in certain time intervals and the minority has the opportunity to become a majority. (Eberlein, Grande 2003, pp. 182–184)

3. *The consensus decision making procedures* equate most closely the idea of self-determination and individual freedom. In a consensus decision no one is forced to agree to the decision. This creates a high legitimacy of decisions and emanates an integrative and pacifying effect. (Eberlein, Grande 2003, p. 186) On the other hand the consensus decision making procedures entail high decision costs due to the veto rights of each participant and are highly time consuming. In respect to the quality of the decision content doubts were raised that the least common denominator is able to sufficiently contribute to the problem solution. The importance of negotiations in the decision making procedures have significantly increased with the complexity of plural societies. (Ibid: 187)

Eberlein and Grande point out that consensus decisions entail several prerequisites and are time consuming, but promise the highest compliance with the results. (Ibid: 193) Their findings also indicate that the effectiveness and legitimacy of a decision making structure depends on the context

and the problem structure. The linkage of the different types of decision making procedures is widely practiced in modern democracies.

Factor (2): “Communication Opportunities between the different levels of the organisation”

Argote explores the question of why some organisations learn at faster rates than others and how knowledge within organisations is transferred. She proposed the question whether organisational learning can be measured in changes of knowledge or changes in behaviour as a result of experiences. (Argote 1999, pp. 15ff) This thesis deploys the latter dimension of organisational learning. Hence, the analysis explores whether the experiences with inner-ecological tensions have triggered any changes in the handling of wind energy issues within the ENGOs. The following paragraphs delineate the theoretical background of the remaining two organisational factors. They, in total, will provide the analytical tools to compare the differing conflict management methods of ENGOs.

The concept of organisational learning, as described by Argote, includes "building faster and more effective connections" for producing results. These learning processes vary significantly among organisations, which is caused mainly by "differences in ability to retain and transfer knowledge". (Argote 1999, p. 25) The access to knowledge on wind energy issues among ENGOs does not show any pivotal differences. However, one might find that staff and members within ENGOs do not have equal access to information. Volunteers in particular lack the time to conduct extensive research on the topic. Knowledge sharing has been identified by the research community as having a relevant impact on learning processes, thus the conditions that hinder or enable knowledge sharing affect the handling of internal tensions within ENGOs. The epistemic community working on the organisational learning process has, according to Argote, agreed on communication opportunities (meetings, face-to-face discussions) as a pivotal condition for knowledge sharing and successful learning processes. (Argote 1999, p. 107) Additionally, Argyris and Schön emphasized that in order to foster learning processes regarding the handling of conflicts all stakeholder need to be "encouraged and helped to surface their questions about the design and their worries about implementation, rather than withhold their contributions and concerns." (Argyris, Schön 1996, p. 259) The first factor “Communication opportunities between the different levels of the organisation” corresponds with these findings.

In conclusion, the concept of learning processes is harnessed to explain the differing ways of handling internal conflict within ENGOs and its effects on the organizations in question.

Factor (3) “Orientation of ENGOs“

The orientation of ENGOs deals with the differences in ENGO's strategies and their implementation. The orientation of actors can take egocentric, competitive or cooperative forms, which correspond with respective negotiation strategies. This paper uses the terms cooperative and confrontational to describe the differing orientations in negotiation strategies. Eberlein and Grande specify three types of negotiation strategies: (1) Position focused which means agreement by exchange. Unfortunately many

actors cannot offer anything in exchange and the negotiations become confusing. Finally exchange agreements are often not seen as being legitimate; (2) process/problem focused solution which involves the splitting of conflicts in less contested parts and (3) communication focused negotiation strategy: 'Arguing', the authors stated referring to Habermas⁴, is a discursive process in which the different interests, beliefs, and the causal linkages between them are transparently discussed. This works only under the condition of a common "Lebensrealität" and the acknowledgement of actors as peers in a non-hierarchical relation.

The authors imply that cooperative negotiation strategies namely (2) and (3) generate space for discussion oriented towards problem solutions, whereas confrontational strategies leave less leeway for negotiations within the involved organisations/actors. (Ibid: 192) This corresponds with the third factor "Orientation of ENGOs" and its respective proposition.

Factor (4) "Degree of Institutionalisation of nature conservation and climate change issues within the ENGO"

The *constellations of interests* affect the handling of inner-ecological conflicts within ENGOs. The more apparently diverging interests are compatible, the higher is the willingness for cooperation, whereas in antagonistic interest constellations, compromises become difficult. The convergence or dissimilarity of interests becomes particularly relevant the more actors or interest groups are involved. Hence, this thesis explores whether there is a plurality of individual actors advocating nature conservation or climate protection issues or whether there are institutionalised coalitions of interests within ENGOs with a limited number of experts in form of departments or the like. Eberlein and Grande assume that the higher the number of participants in decision processes, the more direct communication is exacerbated. This corresponds with the fourth factor "Degree of institutionalisation of nature conservation and climate change issues within the ENGO" and its proposition. Moreover, it could also be assumed that vested interests of institutionalised coalitions exacerbate the conflict lines within the organisation. This is endorsed by Katz, who delineates three types of organisational conflicts. The first he describes is (1) functional conflicts which are induced by differing norms and values of subsystems within the organisation. A strong hierarchic compartmentalisation generates vested interests in each group's position in the organisation. (2) Secondly, he emphasizes struggle between functional units with similar functions competing with each other. (Katz 1964, p. 106) However, Argote points out the relevance of structures of expertise, because information to conflict issues obtains more credibility when communicated by an acknowledged expert. (Argote 1999, p. 108) The analysis has to proof which of these two assumptions -either expertise in institutionalised structures exacerbates or alleviates internal conflicts- apply for this thesis. Certainly agreed on in the

⁴ For additional information see Habermas, Jürgen (1981): *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns*, Bd. 2, p. 203

literature is that expert roles generated by an institutionalisation of nature conservancy and climate protection issues within ENGOs increase the importance of the national level on decision making processes.

Finally the power division within the negotiation system -that is within ENGOs- plays an important role. Arguing and discursive negotiation processes are particularly susceptible to asymmetries in the power relations. In general, cooperation becomes more likely when there is a power balance. In this respect, particular attention is directed at the power division among different levels of the organisation and other organisational units, such as departments. This thesis understands the concept of “power” as the competence to decide on the ENGO’s strategy formulation.

In a pilot interview, Thomas Duveau from the Renewable Energies and Infrastructure department at the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) in Germany has endorsed this selection of relevant organisational factors. Having derived the organisational factors comprising the independent variable from a literature review, the following section outlines the concrete conceptual framework and substantiates the research question.

Conceptual framework and propositions

Conceptual framework

The timeframe: The development of wind energy technology in Germany can be distinguished in different phases. According to Olhorst, the inner-ecological conflicts within ENGOs first had a significant public outbreak during the “Set Back” phase from 1995 until 1998. (Olhorst 2009, p. 48)

The increasing number and size of wind energy plants in the “wind energy boom phase” from 1998-2002 started to attract amplified attention by civil society.⁵ The ENGOs faced internal conflicts and many ENGOs were not able to determine a clear position towards wind energy. The internal discrepancies between different ecological objectives were framed in “as well as” (“sowohl als auch”) terms. (Ibid: 189)

However, the data situation for the first two phases provides only little material for analysis. Most of the online archives start to provide material from 2001 onwards. Having said that, this paper will focus on a time frame beginning in 2001 until summer 2011 to analyse how ENGOs handled the inner-ecological conflicts and the impact this had on the role they play in the actor constellation. This time frame partially encompasses what Olhorst calls the ‘wind energy boom phase’ where the inner-ecological conflicts occurred in the public discourse and within ENGOS. The time span of ten years

⁵ The industrialization of the wind energy sector attracted criticism from ENGOs. However, in 1997 an unprecedented alliance of different actors formed ‘pro wind energy’ coalition. This alliance included ENGOs such as NABU and other civil society actors. The world of science fostered collaboration with actors who were experienced in the practical implementation of REs. In this time civil society organization strengthened their networks with political and economic actors.

the analysis of how the ENGOS handled these internal conflicts and how they developed their wind energy strategies in a comprehensive manner.

The research question is conceptualised as follows. The variables and their variations can be found in an accumulated table in Annex 3.

Dependent variable: The handling of inner-ecological conflicts by ENGOS, which can have the following specification:

Formal: 1. No attention; 2. Mentioning, but no strategic incorporation; 3. Incorporation in strategy, open discourse and integrative solution

Content: 1. Nature conservation is dominant communication strategy; 2. Integrated approach, balancing of differing targets and expectations; 3. Climate protection is dominant communication strategy

Independent variable consists of the following factors:

1. Prevailing **decision making structure** within the organization: hierarchical, majority or negotiation
2. **Communication opportunities** between the different levels of the organisation
3. **Orientation** of ENGOS
4. **Degree of institutionalisation** of nature conservation and climate change issues within the ENGO (i.g. separate departments etc.)

This paper analyses factors impeding or fostering organizational learning processes which enabled ENGOS to handle their internal conflicts. There is no normative absolute ideal of handling those internal conflicts applicable for all ENGOS. Nevertheless, the desired results to which the learning processes are ideally supposed to contribute include a positioning of ENGOS with the agreement of members on their various organizational levels as well as a position that allows the ENGOS to speak up publicly in a strong voice and retain their credibility amongst their constituencies. Regarding the content of the position there is no ideal, normative output from the learning processes either. The expansion of wind energy increases the encroachments on nature and landscape and renders it unlikely that a full-hearted support of wind energy and the commitment to preserve nature can be represented by ENGOS without raising internal tensions and allegations of incoherence. Thus, compromises regarding the content variation of the dependent variable are likely. These compromises can either prioritise nature conservation or climate protection issues; or incorporate both equally.

This paper scrutinizes how the factors comprised in the independent variable affect the variations of the dependent variable. A thorough literature review has lead to the following proposition regarding these nexus.

Propositions

The propositions are derived from a review of state of the art literature to inner-ecological conflicts and the management of organisational conflicts. The expansion of REs in Germany has triggered conflicts between nature conservation and climate protection concerns. Those concerns have been integrated as part of the objectives of ENGOs since the 80s and have been able to co-exist peacefully within ENGOs until 2000s. (Byzio 2005, p. 170) It was found that the handling of these inner-ecological conflicts differs among ENGOs.

Hence, this paper assumes that the ENGO's handling of their internal, inner-ecological conflicts depends on the respective organizational structure. In Annex 1 a table showing the variables and their assumed variations in concise form is provided.

Proposition Factor 1: Prevailing decision making procedures within the organization

When an ENGO deploys primarily hierarchical decision making procedures, one expects a position that is dominated by the national level and its rather pro-wind energy statements. In this case the internal conflicts do not appear in public. Eberlein et al ascertain that this form of decision making procedures often lacks legitimacy. This leads to the assumption that local levels which were not involved in the decision might lack identification with it.

When an ENGO deploys primarily majority decision making procedures, the position is dependent on whether the climate protection supporter or the nature conservation fraction was able to mobilise more support. In this case the internal conflicts occur publicly in the process of decision. However, they are not permanently integrated in the strategy but rather dependent on the cycle of majority decisions, with the volatility that in between majority stakes can shift.

When an ENGO deploys primarily negotiation/consensus decision making procedures, one can expect a position that includes climate protection arguments as well as nature conservation concerns. This paper expects that negotiation strategies facilitate an incorporation of conflict aspects in the ENGO's strategy in form of an open discourse.

Proposition Factor 2: Communication opportunities between the different levels of the organisation

This factor looks at different communication opportunities between organisational levels such as volunteers on the local level and national offices and specialized national departments with full-time staff. The tensions between these different levels have been also indicated in a pilot interview with Anne Lepinski from the BWE.

Preliminary research has found that in all ENGOs analysed as case studies there has been some sort of communication. Hence, the variation use of no communication opportunities does not need to be explicated.

When there is some communication between the local and the national levels -although only occasionally and not institutionalised- one expects that the conflict is publicly mentioned, however without any systematic integration in the decision making process. In this case it is likely that a pro wind energy/ climate protection position prevails.

When there is an institutionalised communication between the local and the national levels (such as in form of regular meetings, discussion groups or the like) one can expect a position reflecting a compromise. The conflict is transparently discussed and nature conservation concerns integrated in the ENGO's wind energy strategy.

Proposition Factor 3: Orientation of ENGOs

This factor also includes the tools deployed to achieve the strategic aims. Among the NGO community there exist the ones that polarise and others that act as "cooperative integrators" avoiding confrontation and fostering "win-win" strategies. (Volker 2002, p. 130)

When ENGOs pursue primarily confrontational strategies, it is highly likely that they take on wind energy a position with a rather clear line of argument. A confrontational strategy requires a clear position to advocate the respective issue; in this case one can expect that the ENGO unequivocally follows either nature conservation or climate protection arguments.

When an ENGO pursues a cooperative⁶ approach, one expects that they strive to solve the inner-ecological conflicts in negotiations with the relevant stakeholders involved in wind energy projects. Nature conservation concerns find significant attention, however, those ENGOs are neither expected to rigorously promote wind energy nor fight loudly for nature conservation concerns in public. In fact, the ENGOs aspire to find a compromise on the topic. With a cooperative strategy the internal conflicts do not occur as severe, because they are translated into negotiations outside the organization. Members and staff can maintain their loyalty to the ENGO while finding their respective concerns reflected in the negotiations with other actors.

When an ENGO follows a balanced approach incorporating confrontational and cooperative tools equally, one can expect a differentiated strategy to the conflict. Aspects of both nature conservation and climate protection are included. The ENGO can use confrontational tools to promote the respective issues and yet allow cooperative tools, such as participating in negotiations, developing

⁶ A co-operative approach involves pre-dominantly co-operational tools in order to achieve compromise. A balanced approach means that both confrontational and co-operative tools are deployed. However, not necessarily with the objective to achieve compromise.

joint statements with other actors and the like. This fosters the development of a strategy that allows open discourse and integrative solutions. Nevertheless, ENGOs need to provide transparent information about their differentiated position and potential compromises in order to maintain credibility amongst their constituency.

Proposition Factor 4: Degree of institutionalisation of nature conservation and climate change issues within the ENGO

When there is no institutionalisation of nature conservation and climate change issues within the ENGO, one can expect that the confrontation between both principles is less severe, since there are no vested interests -in form of department authorities, careers, etc.-tied to them. Yet, there could be a lack of specialised knowledge on the issues regarding wind energy that vouchsafes more leeway to radical individual sentiments/fractions within the ENGO.

When there is an institutionalisation of either nature conservation or climate change issues within the ENGO, one can expect a rather stringent strategy development in favour of the institutionalised line of arguments. The professional information and staff of the institutionalised line of argument can dominate the discussion within ENGOs, thus the conflict does not emerge that severely.

When there is a high degree of institutionalisation of nature conservation and climate change issues within the ENGO, one can expect a conflict between vested interests of established departments or alike. However, there exists a complex knowledge on the conflict issues that enables the conflicting fractions to find compromises to specific questions. The conflict is embedded in the ENGO structure and cannot be overlooked. Hence the institutionalisation of both nature conservation and climate protection issues is assumed to foster the development of sustainable conflict management structures which allow the ENGO to handle future similar conflicts effectively and transparently.

Without doubt, intervening context variables also exist such as the federal and local government policies and public opinion on wind energy/RE. These variables will be critically reflected. As far as possible, these variables will be kept constant for this analysis. The federal policies by the government, even though the governing parties changed in the timeframe of analysis, maintain an orientation that promotes wind energy. In order to limit the impact of variations in local government policies, the case study selection focuses on Brandenburg. Public opinion, as surveys show, generally remains quite supportive of REs. The trend even shows an increase in acceptance of REs.⁷ In interviews with the ENGO experts the role of the public opinion for their strategy development will be briefly discussed.

⁷ FORSA for the BMU conducted a survey in 2004 which showed that 66% of the population in Germany is supporting wind energy and 30% is opposing it. FORSA. In 2002 90% of the population living in the former east of Germany supported wind as a climate friendly technology. In Brandenburg 87% were supportive. TNS Emnid 2002 The survey conducted by the Helmholtz Zentrum für Umweltforschung (UZF) and the Technische Universität Berlin (TU) in 2008 also found results that support this trend in opinions concerning

Another potential impact factor was raised in an interview with the Jan Teut, executive director of an engineering company for wind energy. He emphasized the significance of ENGO leaders and their active support or criticism of wind energy on the overall position of the respective ENGO. As an example he points out the rather progressive stance taken by Tom Kirschey from the NABU and resulting from it the constructive approach of the NABU Brandenburg regarding wind energy. (Klein 24/10/2011) The questionnaire includes open questions asking interviewees to describe the handling of the tensions, but also questions asking them to assess the impact of the respective factor on the handling of the tensions. The interviews were conducted in person or by telephone.

Methodological approach

This thesis will deploy a mixed method approach, which includes secondary literature research, primary documents and online sources (archives from ENGOs) as well as expert interviews with relevant stakeholders on national, regional, and local levels of the organizations.

Accordingly the first factor- prevailing **decision making procedures** within the organization- will be analysed by looking at available organisation charts and online information and substantiated in the interviews with ENGO staff. The second factor- **Communication opportunities between the different levels** of the organisation- is assessed through online research of institutionalised forms of communications within the ENGOs (regular meetings, etc.). Despite this information, the interviews are supposed to generate experiences from different organizational levels, of how these opportunities are used and/or if informal communication opportunities exist. Exploring the third factor- **Cooperative or confrontational orientation of ENGOs**- this paper harnesses secondary literature, which delineates the prevailing choice of strategy of the respective ENGOs. This will be related to the strategy choice in case of wind energy in Germany and how the kind of strategy affects the internal conflict between nature conservation and climate protection. Additionally, interviewees from the national and local level will be asked how they experience the impact of this factor. The research on the fourth factor- **Degree of institutionalisation** of nature conservation and climate change issues- also starts with available online information, particularly looking for statements issued by different departments or focal points. If there are specialized organizational units, both respective responsible staff members are requested for an interview.

Interviews are also conducted with experts or volunteers on the federal state or local levels of ENGOs. Overall, the interview participants will be asked to assess the relevance and specific impact of each factor on the handling of the ENGO internal conflict. These self-assessments complement the previously conducted analysis of documents. However, the interview participants are often part of the internal conflict; theretofore this paper takes into account their respective backgrounds (i.g. The

interviewee is a nature conservation or RE spokesperson). Interviews with wind energy planners and members of the BWE highlight another perspective on the role of ENGOs in wind energy projects.

Expected Results

The thesis anticipates the following results:

There are differences in the handling of the inner-ecological conflicts on the organizational levels of ENGOs, which lead to tensions within the ENGOs.

The ENGOs experienced learning processes on the normative level, in which their objectives were enhanced beyond mere nature conservation issues. Most ENGOs developed a balanced strategy to incorporate nature conservation and climate protection concerns. Particularly, science-focused, cooperative ENGOs have set up information strategies and platforms for discussions, where the previously internally discussed tensions were debated publicly. Action-focused, confrontational ENGO's handling of the internal conflicts is determined by the national level, where the ENGOs promote wind energy under certain conditions.

However, the coherent implementation of these strategies depends on the decision making procedures, and communication opportunities that were harnessed. The role of ENGOs in the local implementation processes of wind energy projects remains a constant negotiation process.

Definition of key terms

In this section key terms are clarified in order to facilitate a better understanding in the following analysis.

Types of Conflict

Initially, wind energy was understood as a counter -concept to the fossil and nuclear energy usage and the normative orientation within the wind energy supporters was largely homogeneous. Increasingly, however, the coalition of wind energy supporters and the involved actors became more diverse in their normative orientations. In particular, since the beginning of the 1990s and the incipient boom of wind energy, the controversies intensified. Regionally the conflicts were concentrated in areas with a high density of wind energy plants. Nevertheless, conflicts also arose when plans for wind energy plants in sensitive natural areas were published. The motivations for those conflicts range from allocation of costs and benefits, nature conservancy concerns and competing forms of usage to core beliefs, which focus on the problem solving potential of a centralised and highly complex technology such as wind energy. (Ohlhorst, Schön 2010, p. 200)

Rüdiger Mautz described the wind energy development as characterised by interest- and norm conflicts. However, other conflicts of interests and inner-ecological normative conflicts have emerged, namely between ecological targets of involved actors and nature conservancy targets, which are sometimes used to legitimize wind energy opposing positions. (Mautz 2010, pp. 181–182) These new

conflicts are characterised by an assessment of risks for nature and human beings arising from the different energy sources. In this regard constellations of actors in the wind energy sector have significantly changed. The opposing coalitions of large energy companies and small individual wind energy plant operators with a background in the environmental movement existing until 1980 have shifted. Wind energy has become a business with quite high profit margins, which leads to allegations of egoistic profit maximisation at the expenses of nature. Thus, wind energy operators increasingly are criticised by nature conservation supporters and local citizen groups. This has created tensions within the environmental community, which generically support climate protection measures but concurrently pay attention to nature conservation issues. (Mautz 2010, pp. 185–186)

Concluding, in the area of wind energy three different types of conflicts have emerged: 1. Technology and Strategy conflicts⁸; 2. Interests- and Power conflicts⁹; 3. Trade-offs: Trade-offs occur when diverging objectives of the involved actors compete with each other. The inner-ecological conflicts trigger competition between the objective to protect the climate and the objective to conserve nature and landscape. Regional Trade-offs also emerge between ecological objectives, such as to protect bird life and the creation of jobs through wind energy. This thesis focuses on the third type of conflict namely trade-offs

Different types of conflicts emerge concomitantly and have reciprocal effects on each other. (Ohlhorst, Schön 2010, p. 201) The conflict which is analysed in this paper can be categorised as a trade-off conflict. The public debate around wind energy is occupied by the conflicts between climate protection and nature conservation/ biodiversity. REs can provide environmental and climate friendly energy production, however, Hirschl et al emphasize that REs are not invisible and use land, create noise and sometimes smell. Weber from the wind energy planning office Petrick in Brandenburg names the following main areas of conflicts: 1. landscape and nature conservation, 2. noise and shadow, 3. birds and bats. (Weber 21/06/2008) Hence, REs, notwithstanding their positive aspects, can impair the local landscape as well as human and animal health. Hirsch et al point out that tensions - which are also reflected within ENGOS- between climate protection supporters and local nature conservation activists arise. (Hirschl et al. 2004, p. 10) At the conference “Windenergietage” Tengg-Kobligk¹⁰ ascertains that it often seems hard to define the limit between protection of species and protection of individual affected animals. It remains to be answered case by case, whether there is a significant impact on bird or bat life. (Tengg-Kobligk 26/10/2011) Since 2005, concerns regarding the protection of species have increasingly emerged in the planning and implementation of wind energy

⁸ These conflicts deal with the choice of strategy to solve the problem of finite fossil fuels with. In these conflicts means involving the best cost-benefit relation are considered. The benefits for climate protection are weighted against the cost- effectiveness of wind energy competing with other technologies.

⁹ Typical Interest- and Poser disputes are usage conflicts between wind energy and other forms of land use. Amongst others interests, the NIMBY effects⁹ (Not In My Backyard) are weighted against the benefits of the technology. Power conflicts arise when established energy suppliers undermine the access of wind energy to the electricity grid.

¹⁰ Dietrich von Tengg-Kobligk is a representative of the “Forum Umwelt”.

plants. According to Rolhoven, who is an attorney well versed in wind energy issues, this was triggered by conflicts with red kites and bats. The right of ENGOS such as NABU and BUND to file an action has further impaired wind energy projects. (Dr. Rolshoven 26/10/2011)

A partial conflict, such as the one explored in this paper, includes on the one hand interest divergence and on the other hand interest convergence between different actors. Compromise and negotiation/bargaining solutions in this kind of conflict have a greater chance. The common interest of wind energy producers and ENGOS consists of the aspiration to be acknowledged by the public as a positive actor in the energy transition and to be associated with the respective ecological targets of climate protection. It is not in the interest of ENGOS to be considered a footdragger of RE. With a strictly confrontational strategy, ENGOS would face the risk of allegedly to impeding climate protection measures. However, a position that strictly promotes wind energy would invite criticism from their own members for having sacrificed nature conservation concerns. These options generate a dilemma for ENGOS, which are targeted by conflict moderation, internal intermediation or learning effects from previous conflicts. (Mautz 2010, pp. 190–191) To date, most ENGOS have displayed a rather inconsistent/heterogeneous picture regarding their role in the planning and implementation of wind energy projects. Trade-offs within the ENGOS have created tensions between staff members and volunteers that belong to either the nature conservation fraction or the climate protection fraction. The distinction in opposed fractions is primarily an analytical differentiation; however, within most ENGOS staff and members represent both principles. This paper, nevertheless, assumes that there is a prioritisation of the one or the other principle amongst the ENGO staff and members and looks at how these conflicts are handled by the ENGOS.

Instead of laying out the complex background of the nature conservation and climate protection paradigms in this section, this thesis will delineate the relevant normative reference points for ENGOS in the analysis part.

Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOS)

In this section the term ENGOS is clarified in order to delineate characteristics, which shape the organisations analysed in this thesis. The "John Hopkins Non-profit Sector Project 1999" conducted the first comprehensive, comparative study about the non-profit sector in about 40 countries. Salamon et al. imply five characteristics determining Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs): First, there needs to be a form of organizational structure, e.g. procedures for decision making, or routine gatherings. Secondly, NGOs have to be "private", meaning that they are independent from governmental structures, although they may receive government funding. Thirdly the NGO is not working "for-profit". This implies that producing financial gain is not the predominant purpose and any financial excesses have to be reinvested to the NGO's mission. NGOs do not generate profits; hence they are reliant on fundraising and donations, membership fees, foundations, churches or the sale of products and services to cover their overhead costs. (Buchner et al. 2005, p. 34) Fourthly,

according to this definition NGOs are “self-governing” and able to decide autonomously. Finally, the involvement in NGOs has to be “voluntary” and not coerced. (Salamon et al. 2003, pp. 7–8)

NGOs emphasize their role in society during times of a shrinking relevance of nation states. They strive to respond to the demands of politically active populations for more participation opportunities and to necessities of effective problem solutions. Others, however, deem NGOs as just one actor more contributing to the chaos of the political world and exacerbating the work of governments. Although NGOs are appreciated as a democratic element in decision processes which grew beyond the focus on nation state as sole actor, many criticise the lack of democratic legitimacy and transparency of NGOs (Heins 2002, pp. 9–10) Governmental actors incorporate civil society organizations in policy processes when their competences or veto potentials are relevant for the implementation of the programme, and in order to make cooperative behaviour of NGOs likelier. (Schneider 2003, p. 130) According to Heins, NGOs qualify as political organisations because they (1) influence the power distribution among collective actors; (2) NGOs associate individuals in a more or less organised structure; (3) NGOs mobilise knowledge about the processes they intervene with and finally (3) they call on or generate norms in order to justify their actions. (Heins 2002, p. 14)

The non-profit sector in Germany has provided more than 1.4 million fulltime jobs since 1995. The number of volunteers working in the sectors exceeds this number by far. According to the `Statistisches Bundesamt` in 2003, 18 % of the adult population engage in volunteer work for 4 3/4 h per week. (Buchner et al. 2005, p. 27)

After having given a generic overview over the terms NGO and ENGOS, in the following section the criteria for the selection of ENGO cases that will be analysed in this paper are delineated.

Concept specification

The **case study selection** is conducted along the following **criteria**:

1. ENGOS of which a large part of their work deals with nature **conservation issues**. This has to be analytically distinguished from an environmental protection perspective. The latter one rather addresses the environmentally harmful human behaviour. The environmental protection focuses on the protection of the global climate. The nature conservation in contrasts sees the nature system as a whole and targets the negative, local impacts of human behaviour. They consider climate to be mainly important as part of local ecological systems. However, there are several interlinkages and nature conservation supporters in general acknowledge the importance of climate protection measures. Conflicts arise in particular cases of REs, such as wind energy projects or energy from biomass. The following analysis will show which aspects of the different belief systems are emphasized by the ENGOS and where they are in conflict.
2. ENGOS that have a multi level organizational structure. This paper will **include the national, regional, and local levels** of the inner-ecological conflicts within ENGOS. For the regional and local

levels the analyses will be limited to Brandenburg, where a significant number of wind energy projects already have been implemented, and as the BWE potential analysis indicates, there exists a significant potential for future expansion. This thesis is going to interview 2-3 ENGO members from local and/or regional ENGO groups to explore the differences between the other levels of the organization and to analyse how the local levels are incorporated in the strategy development. The local/regional groups will be selected after desk research and pilot interviews with the coordinating offices of the organizations in Brandenburg.

3. The **data availability** limits the time frame of the analysis as well as the ENGOs that come into question.

Case studies

The analysis of NABU and BUND are appropriate case study choices for the research question because they, specifically among the ENGOs, face inner-ecological problems. According to the federal nature conservation law (“Bundesnaturschutzgesetz”), nature conservation organisations such as NABU and BUND are obliged to predominantly represent objectives of nature conservation and landscape conservation. (Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und Reaktorsicherheit (BMU) 28/07/2011, pp. 43–45) On the other hand they generally support the development of REs.

'Big 4' is a name that the four major ENGOs -GP, WWF, NABU and BUND- have given themselves for occasional cooperation. The four ENGOs are comparable in size and are nevertheless quite disparate in their self-conception and structure of organisation. Overall, the four largely represent the plurality in the range of ENGOs. (Reiß 2007, p. 40) However, for this analysis the WWF has been excluded due to its lack of a multilevel structure including regional and local organisational levels. GP, although it has a focus on environmental protection like climate change, is also engaged in areas of forest, ocean, and species protection. The strategies and themes of GP are developed yearly, so the focus on environmental protection and/or nature conservation issues can change on an annual basis. Strategies and organisational structure differ significantly from those of NABU and BUND and hence provide the necessary variation for the independent variable. Thus, even though GP does not qualify as an explicit nature conservation organisation similar to BUND or NABU it makes an interesting case for this analysis.

The NABU and BUND are part of an umbrella network: The “Deutscher Naturschutz Ring” (DNR) is an umbrella organization for ENGOs with nature conservation or environmental protection focus. Part of the national strategy development of BUND and NABU regarding wind energy happened in coordination with the DNR. ¹¹The cases for this analysis are NABU, BUND and GP. All cases have a

¹¹ The DNR has developed a campaign to incorporate the inner-ecological conflicts regarding wind energy in a public discourse among civil society actors and affected population, as well as scientific and public actors. In this context the DNR run a project from September 2009 until September 2011 called environmental and nature friendly wind energy usage. Deutscher Naturschutzring (DNR) Previously, the DNR started an information campaign in 2005 “Environmental- and nature friendly wind energy usage (onshore)”. Deutscher

multi level organizational structure and provide a data availability, which allows an analysis from 2001 until today.

In Annex 2 charts that visualize the respective decision structures and processes for each ENGO can be found. In Annex 1 tables with the accumulated results of the impact assessment of the respective factors by the interviewees are provided.

BUND

In 1975 the "Gruppe Ökologie" (Group Ecology) and several other nature conservation associations merged into the "Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz, BUND" (Federation for environment and nature protection). The BUND originates mutually in the nature conservation work of its founder organizations as well as in the protest movement from 1970, which aimed to establish an ecologically oriented economic system. This still affects the self-conception of the BUND nowadays. Reiß underlines a normative orientation of the BUND based on the values promoted by the environmental movements. (Reiß 2007, pp. 40–41)

The BUND is a multilevel organization with structures and activities on international, national, regional, and local levels. This paper excludes the international level. (BUND d) The BUND provides an online press archive from 1999 until today. The data available on the website includes an archive which goes back until 1998 and hence is sufficient for the timeframe of this thesis.

Development of the BUND wind energy position

The early position of the BUND was characterised by a rather careful approach to wind energy. Wind energy was rarely explicitly mentioned, when talking about RE in general, whilst nature conservation issues were emphasized as core objective of the BUND. In the years from 2000-2005, the BUND did rarely support wind energy vociferously.

In 2003, the BUND assessed that wind energy in Germany had advanced rapidly, however not always in favour of nature conservation and landscape. In this regard the BUND emphasized that the expansion of RE mustn't lead to the negligence of nature conservation and energy efficiency. (BUND 2003, p. 12) In 2003, Professor Dr. Traube¹² acknowledged that a sustainable energy system in Germany required a supply exclusively from REs. The BUND even hosted regional climate summits to promote wind energy as well as energy efficiency. However, the author pointed out, that particularly in the wind energy sector conflicts between the expansion of REs and nature conservation concerns had been increasing. The author also admitted that there had been objections within the BUND against its own rather positive position on wind energy. The two main arguments in these

Naturschutzring (DNR) The results from the DNR information project are supposed to contribute to more objective discussion about wind energy. The responsibility of the DNR within these discussions is to provide general support for REs without neglecting the potential negative impacts on nature and local species. (Ibid.)

¹² Professor Dr. Traube was the BUND spokesman for energy policies in 2003.

discussions had been the insufficient contribution of wind energy to the total energy supply and the priority of energy efficiency measures. Professor Dr. Traube predicted that the formulated compromises between nature conservancy and the expansion of REs would have to be discussed continuously. In this statement from 2003 the ambivalence of the BUND position became clear. On the one hand the BUND officially supported the expansion of wind energy and on the other hand they had to juxtapose this with the demand to expand nature conservation areas excluding wind energy plants. The BUND still claimed to represent nature conservation concerns and tied its pro-wind energy position to sustainability criteria. The statement also showed that the process of negotiating compromises had not been concluded yet in 2003. (Prof. Dr. Traube 2003)

In a publication from 2005 the BUND referred to the trade-off between wind energy and nature conservation emphasizing the careful choice of location for plants in the further expansion of wind energy. However, according to the BUND, climate change would threaten every nature conservation effort, thus climate protection through REs was inevitable. In an effort to reconcile wind energy with nature conservation concerns, the BUND wished to preclude areas with specific ecological value from the installation of wind energy plants. (BUND 2005, p. 2) The argument of potential threats through climate change had also been highlighted in the publication "Naturschutz in Zeiten des Klimawandels. Positionen 50" from 2009. In this paper the BUND analysed the dangers resulting from climate change for species and eco-systems. (BUND 2009)

In the following years a more candidly promoting approach towards wind energy is discernible. In a list of demands addressing the German government in 2006 the BUND emphasized the efficiency of wind energy. (BUND 2006) In 2007 the BUND even stated:

"Der Ausbau der Windkraft an Land muss weitergehen. Es gibt noch ausreichend ungenutzte ökologisch verträgliche Potentiale.[...] Die Windenergie ist auf längere Sicht die wichtigste Säule des Ausbaus der Erneuerbaren Energien in Deutschland.[...] Neben einer angepassten EEG-Förderung geht es darum, Planungsbeschränkungen wie etwa in NRW oder in den südlichen Bundesländern aufzuheben."

This demand was again endorsed one year later in a statement to the amendment of the RE law. (BUND 2007)

It has become clear that the differentiated position to wind energy today is the result of a long process of balancing nature conservation and climate protection arguments. In June 2011 the BUND published an elaborate position paper specifically on wind energy. Wind energy is highlighted among REs as the most important alternative to nuclear energy and fossil fuels. Nevertheless, the BUND strictly insists on the exclusion of wind energy plants from nature conservation and Natura 2000 areas from wind energy plants. Hence, it supports re-powering which mitigates the number of plants necessary to cover the energy demand. The BUND even agrees with the re-powering of plants that already exist in protected nature conservation areas. However, it strongly emphasizes the need to primarily reduce the energy demand. (BUND 2011 b, pp. 5, 7) Citing scientific research the BUND makes a strong

argument for strict exclusion areas.¹³ The plans should prefer areas where infrastructure such as roads, commerce and industries already exist. Even areas where only a diminished energy production is possible are preferable when they imply less negative impacts on nature and species. (BUND 2011 b, p. 7) The BUND intends to continue and expands its Public Relation efforts that are promoting and explaining wind energy in civil society. (BUND 2011 b, p. 11) The BUND also found that issues concerning bird protection are very infrequent, apart from a few select locations and rare bird species. (BUND b) This trend towards an approach that more openly promotes wind energy has had its latest peak with the concerted press statement (June 23th, 2011) of the BUND and BWE championing a further expansion of onshore wind energy. (Bundesverband Windenergie (BWE), BUND 2011) Dr. Werner Neumann¹⁴ ascertains that the previous position of the BUND had been generally positive on wind energy but partially more restrictive regarding suitable areas. Additionally the recent position paper from 2010 does not completely exclude wind plants in forests. According to Neumann, the BUND has developed in this position paper a clearer and more positive position on wind energy with specific criteria for suitable and not-suitable areas. The BUND has been involved with REs for quite a long time, which a position paper from the federal level in 2002/2003 indicates. Some federal state BUND organisations had started to develop their own positions during 2008/2009, Neumann points out. These position papers reflected a discrepancy between federal state branches that objected to wind energy and others that took a more positive stance on it. Neumann had then initiated a discussion process within the BUND in order to create a coherent position for the entire organisation. Another factor that triggered the need for an up-dated position had also been the anti-wind energy protest and media reports. In this regard the official position paper ought to be not only a guideline for the federal state organisations but also educational information for BUND members in general. (Klein 23/11/2011) Neumann points out that there had been sentiments within the BUND which wanted to completely exclude areas in a Natura 2000¹⁵ network from wind energy. Thus, the BUND made a differentiation between areas which ought to be strictly excluded and others where wind energy is possible after an examination of potential negative impacts on birds and bats. (Klein 23/11/2011) Herbert Barthel¹⁶ describes the energy policy discussion within the BUND as determined by the objective to phase out nuclear energy and fossil fuels and substitute those with REs. Nevertheless, nature conservation and landscape concerns have been historically strong and 5 or 6 years ago the opposition to wind energy was even stronger. Barthel states that "gegen den Artenschutz wollen wir

¹³ : The "IWES Fraunhofer Institut Kassel" found that -even without protected areas- there would remain 8% of Germany available for wind energy. In this regard, the BUND demands a targeted and comprehensive regional and local planning to choose eligible areas.

¹⁴ Dr. Werner Neumann is the spokesperson of the "Arbeitskreis (AK) Energie" and member of the Scientific Advisory Council, SAC.

¹⁵ The Natura 2000 establishes a network of protected areas in Europe. The legislative framework is determined by the Habitat and Bird directives issued by the European Commission in 1992.

¹⁶ Herbert Barthel is in charge of the department "energy and climate protection of BN Bayern and a member of the "BUND Arbeitskreis Energie".

im BUND nicht stimmen". However, in a consideration process the BUND acknowledged the existence of wind energy and its important and prevalent role in a future energy mix. Thus, it promotes a centralisation in assigned areas for wind energy parks. Barthel also emphasizes the decisive role that Fukushima played in increasing the pressure within the BUND, particularly in Bayern, to promote REs. Discussions prioritising nature conservation concerns over wind energy have been tailing off since the nuclear accident in Japan. (Klein 26/10/2010)

BUND Brandenburg

Axel Kruschat¹⁷ emphasizes the generally positive position of its federal state organisation on wind energy. However, he also points out nature conservation concerns regarding wind energy. From the year 2000 onward there had been quite a lot of conflicts until the "Tier-ökologische Abstandskriterien, TAKs" were implemented by the federal state administration. These regulations regarding distances to ecological sensitive areas and animal habitats alleviated some of the tensions, thus the BUND Brandenburg today faces less conflicts with wind energy. The BUND Brandenburg developed its position according to the federal state position on wind energy and adapted it for concrete local planning processes. (Klein 14/11/2011) In cooperation with the NABU Brandenburg, the BUND Brandenburg also published a differentiated list of criteria for wind energy in the region in 2010. (BUND Brandenburg, NABU Brandenburg 2010)

Axel Heinz-Berndt¹⁸ describes the involvement of the BUND in wind energy planning processes since the mid 1990s.¹⁹ The BUND Brandenburg was and still is often requested to contribute with its expertise regarding nature conservation aspects. An increasing amount of requests for BUND expertise during a time of "Wildwuchs"-suitable and not suitable areas ("Eignungsgebiete, Ausschlussgebiete") had not been assigned yet- had triggered the need to formulate a differentiated position on wind energy. (Klein 14/11/2011) Thomas Volpers²⁰ endorses Heinz-Berndt's statements. He points out that the BUND started to contribute to local planning processes when wind energy plants were expanding increasingly into ecological sensitive areas such as the Uckermark. During these planning processes the "Kreisverband, KV" Uckermark expressed its misgivings regarding potential negative impacts on nature conservation. However, in general the re-powering and technological advancement of wind energy are deemed positive on local levels, he said, complying with the official BUND Brandenburg position. (Klein 17/11/2011)

¹⁷ Axel Kruschat is the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the BUND Brandenburg since 2003.

¹⁸ Axel Heinz-Berndt is the spokesperson for the "Ortsgruppe, OG" Eberswalde and spokesperson for nature conservation issues within the BUND Brandenburg, has been a member of the BUND since 1991.

¹⁹ Hitherto there have been five regional planning communities ("Planungsgemeinschaften") in Brandenburg".

²⁰ Thomas Volpers is the spokesperson of the KV Uckermark since 15 years and deputy chairman of the BUND Brandenburg since ten years.

BUND Factor 1: Decision Procedures

In this section the decision procedures of the BUND will be delineated. Harnessing the interviews with BUND members, the impact of the prevailing decision procedures on the process of finding a position on wind energy is analysed. There is some overlap with the factor Communication Opportunities examined above, however this part focuses on the actual process of decision making within the BUND.

The BUND is structured into five bodies: 1. The Assembly of Delegates, AoD ("Delegiertenversammlung"), 2. The Managing Board, MB ("Vorstand"), 3. The Association Council, AC ("Verbandsrat"), 4. The Scientific Advisory Council, SAC ("Wissenschaftlicher Beirat") and 5. The General Council, GC ("Gesamtrat"). The Executive Board (EB)- "Bundes-Geschäftsführung"- runs the daily BUND business (BUND 2010, p. 5)

In the following the responsibilities of the bodies which were relevant for the positioning process on wind energy will be delineated. According to the BUND interview participant and BUND statutes these are the AoD, the Scientific Advisory Council (SAC) and the Management Board (MB). The federal position on wind energy is quite broad in order to allow the federal state branches to apply it to the specific regional and local contexts. Neumann names the SAC, the "Arbeitskreise, AKs" and the MB as the most important decision making bodies for the wind energy position. (Klein 23/11/2011) The role of the SAC and AKs is explicated in the section on 'Degree of Institutionalisation...'.

The **MB** consists of a speaker and two deputies, the treasurer, two additional members, the speaker of the AC, the speaker of the SAC and the speaker of the "BUNDjugend". The MB determines the work guidelines within the organisation and represents the BUND in public. The MB prepares the AoD and implements its decisions. (BUND 2010, pp. 8–9)

The **AoD** consists of the members of the EB, speaker and deputy of the SAC, speaker and deputy of Association Council (AC), speaker and three additional members of "BUNDjugend" and elected delegates from federal BUND branches. The number of delegates from the federal state branches of the BUND is allocated according to the respective amount of member fees but includes the caveat that it has to include at least four delegates. The AoD decides on BUND's general guidelines and national work programmes. It is supposed to establish up to 20 "Arbeitskreise (AKs)" covering the whole range of nature conservation and environmental protection issues. The AoD elects experienced experts as speaker for the AKs. It also elects the members of the MB and General Council (GC). The AoD takes place once a year and allows the delegates to file proposals, even ones initiated during the AoD as long as they gather support from 10 from 100 of the present delegates.

At its AoD in 2008 the BUND adopted a paper demanding an energy transition that includes the phasing out of nuclear energy and the incremental expansion of REs. (BUND 2008) A BUND interviewee, Barthel, emphasizes the decisive role of the AoD in adopting the wind energy position paper in June 2011. Although, the position paper had been the result of the co-operation between the

different AKs, the delegates had the opportunity to propose amendments before and during the AoD. (BUND 2010, pp. 5–8) Barthel classifies the decision making procedures as a mix of hierarchical and negotiation decision elements. Initially a suggestion for a position on wind energy by the AK Energy was launched and had been subsequently debated among different AKs. In a next step the results of this discourse were introduced to the federal state branches of the BUND, which were asked to comment on the proposal. Finally the position derived from previous steps was discussed within the MB and the SAC and adopted by the national AoD. (Klein 26/10/2010)

In conclusion, the AoD can be formally deemed the most powerful organ within the BUND. It works according to democratic rules and represents the regional and local levels. Input from the SAC guarantees the link to the work done in the AKs. The AoD has had the final decision making power on the wind energy position of the BUND. It shows a high level of representativeness and allows representatives from each organisational level to participate in the final decision process. This means that the resulting positions have a high degree of legitimacy within the BUND.

BUND Brandenburg

An affiliation with the BUND on national level automatically implies the BUND membership in one's respective federal state. (BUND 2010, p. 3) Barthel mentions that individual radical members who were opposing wind energy and demanding the aesthetical protection of landscape have left the BUND. This has been, however, the exception. (Klein 26/10/2010) For each federal state there exists the possibility to admit one organisation whose aims and activities coincide with those of the BUND, as a federal state organisation of the BUND ("BUND Landesverbände"). The BUND statutes indicate that the organisations from different levels are called upon to show solidarity towards each other. The federal state organisations are supposed to implement decisions by the AC. The BUND is only allowed to take action on the federal state level in agreement with the respective federal state BUND organisation and vice versa. (BUND 2010, pp. 14–16) Aims and decision procedures as determined by the BUND on the federal level are almost entirely reflected in the statutes of the BUND Brandenburg. Hence, this thesis will focus only on relevant differences.

First some bodies are not replicated on the federal state levels whereas others are. For Brandenburg a Federal State Management Board (FSMB) and a Federal State Assembly of Delegates (FSAoD) has been established. (BUND Brandenburg a) The FSAoD in Brandenburg consists of members of the FSMB, a delegate for each regional group ("Kreisverband, KV"), a delegate for each local group ("Ortsgruppen, OG") and three delegates from BUNDjugend. According to the number of members per KG they are allotted additional delegates. The FSAoD meets once a year and is the most powerful organ in the BUND Brandenburg because it determines the guidelines for activities. The FSMB reflects the same configuration of members and responsibilities as on the federal level. (BUND Brandenburg a., p. 2) Barthel stresses that the BUND has a strong volunteer base on the regional and local levels which cannot be overlooked in decision making processes. (Klein 26/10/2010)

In fact, the BUND Brandenburg has initiated its own publication on wind energy. Reacting to the "Energiesstrategie 2020" by the federal government in Brandenburg, the BUND Brandenburg published a list of criteria for areas suitable for wind energy and the respective permission processes. Wind energy and other REs are deemed necessary to allow a phasing out of nuclear energy. However, BUND and NABU state that the acceptability of the magnitude of negative impacts of wind energy on nature and species must be assessed. They demand compliance with the following criteria: 1. Protected areas under nature conservation law remain untouched, 2. No wind parks in forests, 3. Binding distance regulations to bird and bat habitats with individual amendments and the option to temporarily shut-off wind energy plants, and finally 4. A diligent monitoring of the impacts on birds and bats caused by wind energy plants. (BUND Brandenburg, NABU Brandenburg 2010) In Brandenburg there are still enough sites for wind energy outside forest areas, theretofore the BUND Brandenburg opposes wind plants in forests, Kruschat says. This deviates from the federal position paper but does not require additional reconciliation. Further changes, however, would need the coordination with the federal BUND level. Kruschat adds that initially someone within the FSMB of the BUND Brandenburg was appointed to work out a draft position on wind energy. Additionally, a joint conference with the NABU on "Probleme durch Windkraft" was organised in 2009 in order to coalesce the knowledge on wind energy and its impacts on nature conservation. In this process the FSMB and the respective federal state office were involved. (Klein 14/11/2011) The resulting list of criteria was finalised by the FSMB of the BUND Brandenburg after coordination with the local groups. This position paper was then introduced at the FSAoD although there wasn't a particular vote on it, Volpers says. (Klein 17/11/2011) When the wind energy position was discussed at a FSAoD delegates -from OGs and KVs- were able to express criticism. However KGs or OGs have not been explicitly active in the decision on a federal position because the AoD on the federal level, dealing mainly with organisational issues, is to a lesser extent interesting for local groups, Cajar says²¹. When expressing critique regarding the wind projects plans in Schöneiche, the OG acted consistently with the BUND Brandenburg position. (Klein 29/11/2011)

In sum, the guiding framework within the BUND on wind energy was decided on the federal level. The federal BUND level prepared a comprehensive position incorporating disparate perspectives. On the federal state level the FSMB in Brandenburg was the decisive actor. The FSAoDs most often endorse the proposed position drafts. For the wind energy position there has been no vociferous opposition against the proposed position. These simple decision making procedures on the federal state level allow a flexible and swift development of statements and positions. Kruschat points out that it is vital to create guidelines on public issues for OGs and KVs on short notice. (Klein 14/11/2011)

In conclusion, the wind energy position evolved out of a multi-phase decision approach, which lead to an incorporation of nature conservation as well as climate protection concerns. Each phase

²¹ Dr. Wolfgang Cajar is the spokesperson BUND Ortgruppe Schöneiche; „Naturschutzaktiv Schöneiche e.V.“.

required a compromise of involved actors to reach the next step. This approach of ‘decisions in small steps’ has prepared a position draft which was widely acknowledged by the AoD on the federal and federal state levels. This has resulted into a position promoting wind energy, which nevertheless emphasizes the necessity of strict ecological criteria. The BUND position on the federal level leaves its federal state organisations enough leeway to adapt the position to the regional contexts. Due to past experiences with the handling of such a sort of "Glaubenskriege" there was no need to establish new decision procedures. Barthel, however, ascertains that in order to find compromises in past situations the BUND had previously overhauled some of its units. (Klein 26/10/2010) The interviewees identified the decision making procedures as characterised by negotiations and said this had a strong impact on the handling of tensions within the BUND.

BUND Factor 2: Communication Opportunities

In this section the communication opportunities between organisational units and levels of the BUND are delineated. Harnessing the interviews with BUND members and staff the impact of the process of finding a position on wind energy is analysed.

The BUND position on wind energy from 2011 was the result of a broad consultation process within the organisation. The position was developed in a co-operation between

"...[D]er Arbeitskreise Energie (federführend), Naturschutz, Zukunftsfähige Raumnutzung, Immissionsschutz, Wald und Meer & Küste im Wissenschaftlichen Beirat des BUND erarbeitet. Sie kann und soll ein Beitrag sein, um den Rahmen für besondere Positionen der Landesverbände des BUND zu bieten und dient als Grundlage für die Mitwirkung des BUND in örtlichen Genehmigungsverfahren."
(BUND 2011 b, p. 5)

This statement shows that different specialised units -“Arbeitskreise (AKs)”²²- have been involved in the process. Communication opportunities can be used within the different AKs but also amongst them when the respective representatives meet at the SAC (“Wissenschaftlicher Beirat”).

As outlined above, the experts in AKs and the SAC played an important role in the process of finding a position on wind energy. Contrary to the analysis of decision making procedures this section focuses not on the distribution of decision powers. Thus, in the following, it is analysed how and where local levels had the opportunity to participate in the communication regarding the development of a position on wind energy. Barthel points out that the KVs have the right to appoint an energy expert who is then, after having received approval from the federal state organisation, sent into an AK on the federal level. These AKs meet about three times a year to identify topics on which statements are worked out. These specialised experts also develop position drafts for decisions of the MB on the federal level. Thus, as Barthel assesses, the AKs on the federal level are the intermediaries between the local level and the national level. Additionally, the BUND organises workshops where face-to-face

²² The composition and role of the AKs will be delineated in detail in the section on „Degree of institutionalisation...”.

communication between BUND members and staff is possible. (Klein 26/10/2010) Volpers agrees that through AKs there are direct communication opportunities between the local and the national BUND level. (Klein 17/11/2011) Kruschat describes the communication opportunities for the BUND Brandenburg with the AKs as follows: Twice a year there is the opportunity to participate in the AKs on the federal level. However, to be appointed as a delegate requires a high expertise on the issue. The AK delegates are appointed by the FSMB and receive travel and accommodation funding. The BUND Brandenburg sends one expert each to the AK energy and the AK nature conservation. (Klein 14/11/2011)

Initially, when the process of defining an up-to-date position on wind energy started, the BUND harnessed the BUND Intranet in order to provide the opportunity for the concerned AK members to comment on and amend the proposal. Neumann reports that this tool had not been efficient because the comments showed high divergence from each other. Even though this feedback did not immediately generate a coherent position, it did enable the BUND to identify the main points of conflict. However, the further development of the position needed face-to-face meetings and phone conferences. Neumann states that the time availability of most volunteers does not suffice to continually discuss issues online. Face-to-Face meetings and phone conferences have proven to be more efficient, because compromises could be achieved faster in personal conversations. The communication between the different AKs further helped to identify critical conflict issues, exchange information, and discuss possibilities for compromise. Most often -as in the case of a wind energy position- the federal state branches are contacted for feedback on the position draft. Neumann points out that this implies the risk of a rehashed discussion on conflicts issues, that had been settled before. Local BUND groups got involved in the communication process of defining a position on wind energy if one of their members was an expert in one of the AKs. Additionally, at the AoD in 2010 a work group was founded, which discussed the conflict points regarding wind energy. In this work group not only members of AKs, but also all delegates of the federal AoD were able to participate. Neumann assures that the results of this discussion were incorporated in the further coordination process. A few years ago, this form of work groups was established by the BUND in order to discuss specific questions and render the AoD more attractive for potential participants. (Klein 23/11/2011) Finally, in a telephone conference between the AKs Energy and Nature Conservation, the position paper was edited and agreed on. The resulting draft coincides -except for minor changes- with the final position paper. The final position paper was passed by the SAC and subsequently by the federal MB. (Klein 23/11/2011)

Besides these communication opportunities between different units and experts there is the **Association Council (AC)**²³, in which face-to face communication between the federal state and the national level takes place. (BUND 2010, p. 9) The Chairman of the BUND Brandenburg participates in the AC, in which the position draft from the AKs was discussed. Here the individual federal states can voice their concerns, Kruschat says. (Klein 14/11/2011)

In sum, the federal level has provide face- to-face communication opportunities for a limited number of local experts and federal state delegates within existing organisational structures. The additional work group during an AoD had been an effective way to include perspectives of other BUND members in the communication process. During the face-to-face meetings communication opportunities via phone and email were harnessed. The interviewees endorsed that the extensive use of communication opportunities on the federal level had facilitated the decision process.

BUND Brandenburg

The federal states encompass not only the federal state BUND organisation, but also several local groups. For Brandenburg the local level and its communication opportunities are described in the following paragraph.

Each county in Brandenburg is allowed to found a “**Kreisgruppe (KG)**” which is legally dependent on the BUND Brandenburg. The KGs and the BUND Brandenburg commit to reciprocal solidarity. The KGs are obliged to regularly report to the BUND Brandenburg about their activities. Similar to the AoD on the federal level the highest organ of the KGs is the Assembly of KG members, which usually meets once a year. Here local BUND members have the opportunity to discuss contested issues.

The “**Ortsgruppen (OG)**”- local groups- meet once a year in an Assembly of OG members and also establish a management board. The speakers of the local groups are co-opted in the management board of the KGs. The OGs implement nature conservation and environmental protection projects that are the OGs own responsibility. The OGs are, however, obliged to report to the KGs and the BUND Brandenburg about their activities. (BUND Brandenburg a., pp. 4–5) This shows communication opportunities amongst OGs and between KG and OG members. Barthel reports from his experiences that the outcomes of internal discussions in KGs and OGs are incorporated in the communication processes during AoDs on the federal state level and the national level. (Klein 26/10/2010) Moreover, there can be further direct links to the federal state level: Barthel says that the role of a speaker for energy and climate protection or members of the office with respective expertise on the federal state level involves holding workshops with the local volunteer groups on wind energy. Here local volunteers have the opportunity to express their opinion on contested issues. (Klein 26/10/2010)

²³ The AC is constituted for three years and consists of elected members from each federal states BUND branch, one member elected by the "BUNDjugend", a member from the Management Board (MB) and two consulting members from the Executive Board. Comprehensive structural reforms of the BUND can only be initiated and implemented through a co-operation between the MB and the AC

However, in Brandenburg, there have been no workshops on wind energy organised from federal or federal state BUND experts. In fact, the Chief Executive Director of the BUND Brandenburg has sought to convince the local groups to follow the federal state organisation's position on wind energy through communication via phone, email or in person. This was only possible due to manageable numbers of BUND members -about 2000 members- in Brandenburg. Nevertheless, Kruschat stresses that this sort of personal communication is limited by time and staff resources. Dr. Cajar reports accordingly that, as OG spokesperson, he is in regular email exchange with the BUND Brandenburg and participates with 1-2 further delegates from his OG at the annual FSAoD. At one past FSAoD wind energy was discussed when a contested project, which had been installed in a bird protection area in the north of Berlin, was planned ("Windkraft Vorhaben Linum"). (Klein 29/11/2011)

KVs and OGs can continuously participate in the development of the federal state position by contacting the branch office or the MB via phone, email or in person. The BUND federal state office or the federal state MB informs the KGs about the national BUND position. In case there are sustained and substantiated criticism from the KVs and OGs an AK on the federal state level is founded, where local experts can participate. This ad hoc AK usually seeks external expertise to formulate a position. Often, however, the OGs and KVs are concerned with local nature conservation projects and do not show strong interests in the communication processes of defining a position on the federal and federal state levels. Nevertheless, local expertise and statements are explicitly welcomed by Kruschat and the BUND Brandenburg seeks to incorporate this diversity of experiences. (Klein 14/11/2011) Volpers adds that when a problem occurs, which cannot be solved by a local group on its own, the communication with other KVs or OGs with similar experiences is sought. Additionally, local groups can approach the BUND Brandenburg with their questions. Vice versa, the BUND Brandenburg seeks feedback for its position drafts from OGs and KVs. Theretofore, REs had been discussed at an FsAoD in the context of energy from coal. Though climate protection had been the focus of the BUND Brandenburg, through exchange with local groups caveats regarding nature conservation and protection of species have also been included in the federal state position. (Klein 17/11/2011)

In sum, there are three forms of communication within the BUND: (1) face-to-face communication in KGs, AKs and workshops; (2) information distribution by the board via post or email, homepage and press statements; (3) meetings of local volunteers with respective, full time BUND experts. The interview participant suggested that in regard to wind energy these communication opportunities have been used extensively. The involvement of a great deal of stakeholders in communication processes within the BUND has generated a balanced statement that includes different perspectives on wind energy. Barthels stresses that the extensive use of communication opportunities has increased the acceptance for the resulting wind energy position on all organisational levels and in particular for local volunteers. However, before Fukushima there had been a consideration whether to set up additional local discussion arenas in order to increase the acceptance for wind energy. After Fukushima the

general attitude to wind energy transformed into a more positive perception, so that this wasn't necessary anymore. (Klein 26/10/2010) Although the communication process during the definition of a position might seem slightly ponderous and slow, Kruschat deems it necessary, because the perspectives of different volunteers need to be incorporated in a coherent position. (Klein 14/11/2011)

The bottom line is that there are extensive opportunities to communicate not only amongst the members of the local or district level, but also between the different organisational levels. The local, district and federal levels meet at their respective annual assemblies in order to exchange ideas, decide on activities and sort out other BUND matters. A constant information exchange between OGs and KGs provides that they can organise their interests within the BUND in an integrative manner. Additional direct communication opportunities originate from the participation in specialised AKs. The personal relationship between the FSMB and OGs/ KGs has turned out to be of particular importance. The influence of local groups on the federal position is rather low to medium, however they are actively involved in communication processes regarding its adaptation at the federal state level. Finally, the use of its extensive communication opportunities in order to determine a position on wind energy has enabled the BUND to incorporate both nature conservation and climate change concerns. BUND members on all levels were able to participate in the processes; hence they can identify themselves with the resulting position paper. This factor has been rated by the interview participants of the BUND to be the only factor to have had a decisive impact on the handling of conflicts between nature conservation and wind energy issues.

BUND Factor 3: Orientation

In this section the orientation of the BUND strategies and its impact on the development of a wind energy position are analysed.

The BUND works with the object of (1) Putting the knowledge of ecological interrelations into the focus of land and landscape development; (2) Informing the public on environmental and nature conservation questions and alerting the public in case of environmental hazard; (3) Protecting animal life and natural environment, (4) Consulting consumers on environmental and health impacts of products. In order to achieve these objectives the BUND harnesses different tools. Tools that are partially confrontational are used. Thus, the BUND commits to a vehement and public opposition particularly against "lebens- oder umweltfeindlichen Planungen oder Maßnahmen". Potential polluters are under constant surveillance by the BUND. (BUND 2010, pp. 1–2) Professor Dr. Traube stressed the role of the BUND as watchdog in charge of demanding environmental sustainability of the expansion of REs and, if necessary, offering resistance. (Prof. Dr. Traube 2003, p. 17) The BUND organises its own events and co-operates with all sorts of like-minded actors. Heinzl-Berndt points out that local BUND branches participate in the "Landesbüro anerkannter Naturschutzverbände" and publish joint statements on concrete wind energy projects. (Klein 14/11/2011) Dr. Cajar says that most

OGs are in regular communication with responsible members of local parties and administration. However, he points out that the BUND Brandenburg does not eschew confrontation with local administration if nature conservation concerns regarding wind energy make this necessary. (Klein 29/11/2011) Moreover, the BUND also participates in legislative projects in order to incorporate its aims. Overall, the statutes of the BUND indicate a rather confrontational orientation. It does, however, not exclude co-operative tools. (BUND 2010, pp. 1–2)

Volpers compares the structure of members within the NABU and the BUND and describes the local NABU branches as more widespread with a higher number of members that have a strong focus on nature conservation; whereas members of the BUND are more interested in technological solution for environmental protection issues. Hence, the average member of the BUND does not perceive wind energy as a divisive technology. (Klein 17/11/2011) Nevertheless, local BUND groups are sometimes approached by citizen groups opposing wind energy projects. (Klein 17/11/2011)

Neumann classifies the BUND as predominantly cooperative. In the case of wind energy the BUND sought to find a compromise that suffices nature conservation demands as well as the need for alternative energy sources. In recent years, the BUND and its local group have been increasingly asked to position themselves on wind energy projects. This added pressure to the internal initiative by Neumann to define a coherent position. This position was supposed to enable the BUND to present themselves as "Der Verband, der nicht immer sagt, wo etwas nicht geht; sondern der Verband, der sagt wo Windenergie möglich ist". Thus, the BUND calls on its local groups to identify areas, where wind plants could be installed. (Klein 23/11/2011)

The BUND develops annual guidelines for action, which are implemented through tangible working programs. This allows -if necessary- the adaptation of the aims of the BUND to recent developments. The BUND branches in the federal states are provided with resources from the national level, in order to implement aims compliant with the BUND statutes. (BUND 2010, p. 2) This shows that the BUND seeks to develop coherent strategies across different organisational levels. However, Dr. Bischoff²⁴ describes the BUND position as determined by its regional branches and their criticism on wind energy. This made cooperation rather difficult. (Klein 4/11/2011) This perception is shared by an employee in the planning department of a European renewable energy supplier with a focus on wind energy. The interview participants reports that the BUND on the federal state and federal level acknowledges the necessity of wind energy and promotes measures against climate change. Nevertheless, the interview participants encounters protests against wind energy plants from local groups. (Klein 21/11/2011) Tengg-Kobligk criticises compromises in the ENGO position papers on wind energy, which would trigger false hopes and finally lead to conflicts in the implementation processes. However he concludes the ENGO position papers on wind energy offer possibilities for dialogue. (Tengg-Kobligk 26/10/2011) These statements imply a discrepancy between the self-

²⁴ Dr. Torsten Bischoff works at the Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety in the Department "„Wasserkraft, Windenergie und Netzintegration der Erneuerbaren Energien"

perception and assessment from Non-BUND members. Within the BUND the role of local groups as critical “watchdog” in planning processes is not felt to be inconsistent with the overall positive stance on wind energy.

BUND Brandenburg

Kruschat delineates the orientation of the BUND Brandenburg as follows:

The BUND has gathered a lot of expertise on wind energy and its impact on nature conservation. This expertise is welcomed by other actors from the wind energy sector. Kruschat invites the dialogue with wind energy planners early on. The BUND members are no "Fundamentalisten" and the organisation is able to assist in improving the wind energy project so that legal permission processes including nature conservation criteria could be passed. (Klein 14/11/2011) This description is supported by the interview with an employee of a RE energy supplier, in which the BUND Brandenburg is classified as cooperative. (Klein 21/11/2011) Local groups in particular cooperated in several wind energy planning processes with other stakeholders such as wind energy planners, local administration etc. This is in line with the usual cooperative strategies of the BUND in Brandenburg. Due to the main strategy opposing the use of coal plants wind energy seemed a viable alternative. Volpers emphasizes that the aim to phase out coal plants had generated a positive stance on wind energy within the BUND.

Efforts were made to align the position with the positive attitude towards wind energy from a majority of BUND members as well as with the federal position paper. Critique from the local level regarding some concrete wind energy projects had to be well justified and coordinated with the BUND Brandenburg. The cooperation with the NABU to create a list of criteria for wind energy in the region, however, had been contributing to a stronger focus on nature conservation criteria within the wind energy position of the BUND Brandenburg. The KVs monitor whether there are wind energy projects which trespass the criteria defined in the position of the BUND Brandenburg such as no wind energy plants in forests. (Klein 17/11/2011) The BUND-OG²⁵ Schöneiche does support wind energy as an alternative to nuclear and coal energy. However, when a wind energy project (2-3 wind plants) was considered in the region, the BUND OG Schöneiche opposed the plans. Concerns regarding birds of prey and a nearby high transmission line had lead to a critical view on the wind energy project. Cajar points out that the implementation of REs requires the consideration of nature conservation criteria and a sensible compromise. (Klein 29/11/2011)

Even though the BUND Brandenburg has not filed a law suits against local wind plants yet, some OGs or KGs have sent letters to responsible majors criticising the location of wind energy plants. Kruschats expects an increase in local protests, because Brandenburg's energy strategy pushes the expansion of wind energy even in forest areas, which the BUND Brandenburg opposes. (Klein 14/11/2011) The

²⁵ Dr. Cajar, emphasizes that the county "Oder-Spree" and in particular Schöneiche had have a focus on environmental protection and won several environmental protection awards. In 1997 the county administration published a "Planungsorientierter Klimaatlas", which included an assessment of wind potential in the region.

orientation of OGs is most often dependent on their surrounding local political and societal context. Heinzl-Berndt points out that the individual stance of some OGs or KVs on wind energy depends on whether they are directly affected by wind energy plants or threatened by land need for coal exploitation. (Klein 14/11/2011) This shows that the NIMBY effect occurs on the local level of ENGOs, because members of OGs and KVs find themselves in the double role of on the one hand being a member of the local community of the affected population and on the other hand being a member of an ENGO committed to its aims.

In conclusion, the overall strategy to phase out energy from coal plants has generated a rather positive attitude towards wind energy. However, local groups affected by wind energy projects often oppose them on nature conservation grounds. Thus, a list of nature conservation criteria was developed substantiating the federal position on wind energy. The factor 'orientation' was deemed by the BUND interview participant to have had a strong impact on the handling of internal conflicts.

BUND Factor 4: Degree of Institutionalisation of Nature Conservation and Climate Protection

In this chapter the degree of specialisation in form of institutionalised structures such as departments, committees, etc is delineated. Then the impact of those on the handling of the internal tensions is analysed.

There are four specialised units within the BUND -Energy and Climate Protection, Protection of Species, Forest and Agriculture- of which the Protection of Species employs most full time staff members. However, the BUND depends highly on volunteer work. Dr. Röscheisen²⁶ states that the BUND had already been dealing with topics including energy when the conflicts between wind energy and nature conservation emerged. (Klein 22/11/2011)

Barthel describes parallel discussion processes within the BUND: Firstly the debates within the KGs, secondly the debates within the MB and thirdly the contribution by the SAC, which consists of representatives from the AKs. This section focuses on the expert body SAC and AKs. According to Barthel, the SAC has played a significant role in the determination of a position on wind energy. (Klein 26/10/2010) The BUND provides opportunities for volunteers and full-time staff with respective expertise to come together and discuss specific topics in so-called "Arbeitskreisen (AKs)"²⁷. (BUND a) On the federal level, there are -amongst others- AKs for the Protection of Species (25 members), Nature Conservation, and Energy. Initially the AK Nature Conservation (25 members) dealt primarily with projects regarding the protection of species. Later it turned to more general

²⁶ Dr. Helmut Röscheisen is the Secretary General of the "Deutscher Naturschutzring (DNR)".

²⁷ The AKs meet quarterly to discuss one specific or current theme and consolidate over 1000 experts in 20 AKs. Each federal state BUND organisation and the "BUNDjugend" can send one member to each AK. All the rest is appointed by the speaker of the AKs or by suggestion from the AK members. BUND 2010, p. 11

questions of modern nature conservation and trade-offs between nature conservation and wind energy. (BUND a) The AK Energy (40 members) nowadays emphasizes measures to reduce the energy demand and a transition towards REs, including wind energy (BUND a) The BUND AKs on the federal level continuously co-operate in order to develop common position papers. These are submitted as draft resolutions to the SAC. (BUND a) A study by the AK Protection of Species established that there is no significant impact by wind energy on endangered species, thus no threat to the population of species and plants in general. This has been a decisive argument to alleviate concerns regarding wind energy within the BUND. Furthermore, the process has been characterised by a factual comparison between different RE technologies and their respective ecological impact. In this process the AK Energy came to the conclusion that wind energy has the best input-output relation. Neumann explains that often "Thematische Arbeitsgruppe (TAG)" are temporarily established in order to alleviate the discussion of specific questions between different AKs. The TAGs consist of one or two members of each relevant AK. The TAG on wind energy created the draft of a position paper and coordinated the further development process of the position paper. According to Neumann, the incorporation of different perspectives has lead to a balanced position, which can be accepted by nature conservation as well as wind energy supporters (Klein 23/11/2011) In the development of the position paper from 2011 the following AKs were involved: AK energy and AK nature conservation (leading role), AK forest, AK emission protection, AK ocean and coasts and AK "Zukunftsfähige Raumnutzung". (BUND 2011 b)

In sum, the analysis shows, that gathering of facts in surveys conducted by its specialised organisational units has allowed the BUND to take a wind energy promoting stance. The discourse was based on facts and facilitated by the specialised units in the organisation. The specialisation on national level and the close communication among the units have proven to be essential for the determination of a common position. (Klein 26/10/2010) The structure of specialised units such as AKs is reflected on the different organisational levels, which enables a discourse enriched with specialised expertise. Nevertheless, in the public perception, local groups and the MB from the federal level are the dominating units, while the specialised units rather work in the background, Barthel says. The initial suggestions, however, are created by the specialised units. (Klein 26/10/2010)

The umbrella body for all AKs is the **SAC**, in which the knowledge of different AKs is coalesced. (Klein 14/11/2011) The SAC has the responsibility to develop and publish nature conservation and environmental specific programs and axioms. Additionally, it is supposed to initiate the development of a position on certain issues or create proposals on request from the MB. The SAC consults the EB on expert matters and sets up proposals for the AoD. Particularly relevant for this thesis is its role as "Schlichtungsstelle für Fachfragen" within the BUND. (BUND 2010, pp. 11, 17) The SAC had developed guidelines with ecological criteria for the expansion of REs, which could be harnessed in the implementation and planning processes for wind energy plants. (Prof. Dr. Traube 2003, pp. 16–17)

The SAC allows a discussion on wind energy in which all perspectives are included²⁸. Although this may initially exacerbate the process, finally the compromise found is one with which everyone within the BUND AKs can identify, the SAC states on its homepage. (BUND f) In February 2010, Neumann had introduced a proposal to develop a new BUND position on wind energy in the SAC. The need for a coherent position had been endorsed by the SAC and subsequently the relevant "AKs" cooperated in order to develop a new position paper.

In conclusion, the degree of institutionalisation of climate protection and nature conservation can be deemed medium to high on the federal level. On the federal state and local level there is a slight bias on nature conservation issues. The setting up of an interdisciplinary working group (TAG) has helped to overcome vested interests in order to find compromises on a wind energy position. The incorporation of scientific studies alleviated the conflicts within the BUND and opened the window for a more positive stance on wind energy. (Klein 23/11/2011)

BUND Brandenburg

The BUND Brandenburg neither has specialists for each topic nor institutionalised departments for themes. Kruschat stresses that on the federal level nature conservation is not only institutionalised in a specific department but also provides opportunities for concrete actions of volunteers. The BUND local groups strive to offer easy join-in opportunities for people interested in nature conservation projects. Hence, the local BUND Groups are more familiar with nature conservation arguments than they are with REs. (Klein 14/11/2011)

The statutes of the BUND Brandenburg allow the establishment of AKs in agreement with the federal state MB. (BUND Brandenburg a., p. 5) In Brandenburg AKs are founded ad hoc in case a pressing issue is raised or proposals for the AoD need to be prepared. This enables the BUND Brandenburg with more speed and flexibility when publishing public responses or statements to current laws. Thus, Kruschat deems the greater flexibility of ad hoc AKs an advantage compared to the often understaffed regular AKs from other ENGOS on federal state level. Moreover, the BUND Brandenburg harnesses the expertise from AKs on the federal level of the BUND. The BUND Brandenburg is able to access the entire BUND expertise through personal communication between the federal state MB or the branch office and full-time experts or AK members from the federal level. Subsequently, this information is again distributed to the local groups through personal communication. Kruschat reports that this flow of expertise sometimes is limited by scarce staff capacities of the federal state office. (Klein 14/11/2011) Moreover, the BUND Brandenburg closely follows the findings of the "wissenschaftliche Begleitforschung" on wind energy plants and adapts its position. (Klein

²⁸ The discussion in the SAC and the AoD was affected by a study published by the "Fraunhofer-Institut für Windenergie und Energiesystemtechnik IWES". This study had found that even when protected nature conservation areas were excluded and distances to settlements included, 8% (according to the BWE only 2% are needed) of Germany were still suitable and available for wind energy.

14/11/2011) Heinzl-Berndt points out that the position of the BUND and NABU has incorporated new findings on the behaviour of birds regarding wind energy plants. On some birds, such as the cranes, demands were retracted and on others new distance regulations were thought necessary. (Klein 14/11/2011)

Dr. Cajar states that at the local level there are individual experts for ornithology and forests, while there are no members specialised in REs. The OG Schönevide partially harnesses expertise from the BUND Brandenburg, but most often accesses local experts and businesses. (Klein 29/11/2011)

Volpers endorses the assessment of Heinzl-Bernd, that different KVs and OGs have differing expertise and experiences. There is, however, no institutionalisation of nature conservation and RE issues in form of AKs or similar committees on the local level. However, the local KVs and OGs members have the opportunity to participate in the AKs on the federal level. Volpers notes that an obstacle for this is the expenditure of time on travels to meetings and the requirements regarding necessary expertise. Local groups communicate directly with the responsible experts on the federal level when they have specific questions or need additional information. The degree of institutionalisation on local levels is deemed quite low. Nevertheless, a high degree of expertise on nature conservation issues within the BUND stems from individual members of local groups. (Klein 17/11/2011)

In conclusion, specialised units from the federal level can only consult the local groups but have no authority to give directives. Thus it becomes vital for the federal state level to establish a close dialogue with local volunteers based on factual information during the process of defining the wind energy position so that local groups can also identify with the results. Barthel states that the institutionalisation of nature conservation and climate protection on federal level allowed a more effective incorporation of a diversity of opinions in the process. (Klein 26/10/2010) The analysis has shown the high significance of AKs and interdisciplinary working groups to overcome vested interests. However, there is a lack of expertise on REs in some local groups. When developing the criteria on wind energy at the federal state level, individual local nature conservation experts played an important role. Thus, it is a priority to enable some of those local experts to participate in the federal AKs and TAG on wind energy through financial support for travel expenses or the like. The degree of institutionalisation has had a strong impact on the handling of internal conflicts regarding wind energy.

NABU

The NABU was founded in 1899 as "Bund für Vogelschutz, BfV" (Federation for Bird Protection). It changed its name to 'Deutscher Bund für Vogelschutz (DBV) e.V.' (German Society for the Protection of Birds) in 1966, and since 1990 carries the name 'Naturschutzbund Deutschland (NABU)

e.V.. The NABU is the oldest ENGO in Germany. It strongly focuses on nature conservation and the inclusion of environmental policies was not initiated until the mid 1980. Reiß ascertains that the NABU is considered a rather "moderate acting organisation". The organisation is structured at the municipality level, federal state level and federal level. The international level is represented by BirdLife International. (Reiß 2007, p. 41) This paper focuses on the national, regional, and local levels. The NABU runs an office in Brandenburg and organizes 27 local NABU groups in Brandenburg, with respective online presences. The NABU provides a press archive from 2002-2011. The NABU Brandenburg has evolved from the "Gesellschaft für Natur und Umwelt (GNU)", which existed until 1980/90 and encompassed several nature conservation groups. The "Naturschutzbund der DDR" was founded March 10th, 1990. Subsequently, the "gesamtdeutsche Naturschutzbund Deutschland" was founded in November 1990.

Development of the NABU wind energy position

In this chapter the development of the position on wind energy within the NABU is outlined. This will facilitate the further analysis of impact factors.

Although Hauschild²⁹ remembers that wind energy had been discussed within the NABU since the 1990s, this thesis starts its analysis in the early 2000s. In the first years of 2000 there was no separate position on wind energy but one finds several statements related to RE. The NABU championed the idea to allow a natural development of ecosystems without or with the minimum amount of possible infringement by humans. (NABU Germany 2001, p. 11) In 2000, Mock stated in an article in the "Jahrbuch Ökologie" that ENGOs, such as the NABU took a rather indifferent position on wind energy. A report commissioned by the NABU concluded, however, that many wind energy plants are built in defiance of nature conservation laws. In a statement on energy politics the NABU criticises the original naive enthusiasm for wind energy and takes a rather sceptical position. The NABU points out that the detrimental effects on nature, birds, and humans were consciously ignored or unconsciously neglected during the expansion of wind energy. (Mock 2000, pp. 160–162)

From the mid 2000s onward the NABU addresses wind energy explicitly and in a more differentiated manner. In 2006, a study conducted by the Michael-Otto-Institute -NABU's research institute, reviewed past studies on the impact of existing wind energy plants and found that "wind turbines have only a relatively small disturbance effect on breeding birds, although many potentially sensitive species have not yet been analysed." However, at certain sites wind energy plants pose risks in particular to birds of prey and bats. The study concluded: "The extent to which wind turbines have a harmful impact on the natural environment is mainly determined by their location." (NABU Germany (Michael-Otto-Institute) 2006, p. 3) The study further explored the impact of re-powering measures on birds and bats. In sum, the NABU concluded, the impact of repowered wind energy plants showed

²⁹ Torsten Hauschild is Chairman of the NABU Berlin, Chairman of the "Berliner Landesarbeitsgemeinschaft Naturschutz e.V" and member of the "Stiftungsrat Stiftung Naturschutz Berlin".

only minor differences to existing plants. (NABU Germany (Michael-Otto-Institute) 2006, p. 27) The NABU hopes that increases in efficiency and a resulting reduction and concentration of repowered wind energy plants in designated areas alleviates conflicts with nature conservation concerns. (NABU Germany 2007 b, p. 2)

The NABU contributed to an increase of scientific knowledge on impacts of wind energy plants on birds and bats. In doing so it built the acceptance for a fact oriented perspective on wind energy within its organisation. Increasingly, attention was paid to tension between nature conservation and REs. The NABU developed suggestions for solutions and shifted to a more positive approach to wind energy.

In its guidelines for REs, the NABU stated "Zur verstärkten Nutzung der Erneuerbaren Energien gibt es vor dem Hintergrund des notwendigen Klimaschutzes keine Alternative." However, in its argumentation the NABU takes up not only nature conservation concerns but also concerns of affected human populations regarding shadows, noise and decreasing tourism. (NABU Germany 2006, p. 3) The NABU further recommended concrete measures to avoid potential conflicts with wind plants. It stressed the importance of identifying "Eignungsgebiete" for wind plants in order to avoid "Wildwuchs". According to the NABU a generic rejection of wind plants has been due to false presentation of data or the misuse of it. Hence the NABU anticipated that early and matter-of-fact information could prevent the formation of obdurate sentiments. Implementing this approach, a publication from 2006 -„Was Sie schon immer über Vogelschutz und Windenergie wissen wollten“- indicated the most important findings on wind energy and suggested solutions for potential conflicts. (NABU Germany 2006, pp. 7–8) In co-operation with the "Umweltbundesamt (UBA)" and the "Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz und Reaktorsicherheit (BMU)" the NABU developed strategies for conflict solution regarding REs. (NABU Germany 2007 b, p. 1) In order to translate the public and internal discourse on wind energy into rationalised, substantiated arguments, the NABU commissioned a scientific study to the actual impacts on birds and bats. (NABU Germany 2007 b)

In 2008, this incremental convergence of traditional nature conservation themes and REs issues resulted in the development of a "Grundsatzprogramm Energie". The "Grundsatzprogramm Energie" indicated the potential of wind energy, which should be tapped by re-powering rather than by building completely new wind plants. The NABU assumed that

"... ein Großteil der Windkraftanlagen bzw. Windparks aus naturschutzfachlicher Sicht unproblematisch [ist]. Die existierenden Probleme beziehen sich lediglich auf einzelne Standorte der Anlagen, [...]Außerhalb von ausgewiesenen Vorranggebieten lehnt der NABU die Privilegierung von Windenergieanlagen gemäß Baugesetzbuch ab." (NABU Germany 2008 a, p. 26)

In August 2008 the NABU published a guidebook of communication about the expansion of REs in order to address the lack of communication between participants in wind energy project and interest groups. The NABU recommends to ENGOs the participation in mediation processes regarding RE projects if these provide more chances that their interests are taken into account than public and political protest or legal action. (NABU Germany 2008 b, pp. 2ff) The NABU further strove to

augment acceptance for wind energy in the population through dispersion of information material and local workshops, such as the "Bürgerwerkstatt: Energietechnologien für die Zukunft" on the 4th August 2011.

Eventually in 2011 a separate position paper on wind energy was published. The position paper on wind energy acknowledges the vital role of wind energy in the future energy supply of Germany. In regions where wind energy already supplies 50% of the energy supply -particularly in eastern federal states- a diligent examination of additional dedications of areas for wind plants is required and investments in research of storage technologies and such should have priority. Priority areas for nature conservation- such as protected areas under the NATURA 2000 network- should be precluded for wind plants. The NABU stresses that without climate protection measures, biodiversity and the protection of species might be seriously threatened. The NABU states that the "Tier-ökologische Abstandskriterien (TAKs)", which were developed by the federal state government of Brandenburg, should be replicated in other regions as best practice example. These distance regulations should be the object of constant adaptation to new scientific findings. (NABU Germany 2011 b, pp. 1–2)

Carsten Wachholz³⁰ delineates the development of a position on wind energy within the NABU: A new report of the International Panel for Climate Change (IPCC) and the accelerated expansion of REs had posed new challenges for the NABU. Thus, in 2007 the NABU up-dated its general position on energy ("Grundsatzprogramm Energie"), which originated from 1998. Different "Special Committees" and the General Meeting of the Federal Association (GMFA) were involved in this process. Although this position only set a general normative framework, it became evident that the NABU deemed wind energy the most efficient RE. Observing the heterogeneity of policies with attention to wind energy across German federal states as well as the accumulation of conflicts with nature conservation concerns, the NABU decided to determine a separate position on the relation of wind energy and nature conservation. During the meetings of the work group on "Windenergie und Naturschutz", set up in order to develop the position, findings of NABU's own research were discussed. On certain demands for the protection of birds and bats as well as regarding spatial planning no compromise could be found. Therefore, sub-work groups were set up for dealing with the specific issues and drafting proposals for compromise. These proposals had to be co-ordinated with all federal state branches of the NABU. From these processes a position paper resulted which set a general framework for the expansion of wind energy in an ecologically compatible manner. The position leaves leeway for federal state branches to adapt it to its respective regional context. In some federal state branches such as Schleswig-Holstein, an older position on wind energy -prior to the negotiation process on federal level- had existed. Others had had to develop a position, because of regional political developments such as the decision to accelerate the expansion of wind energy. Brandenburg, Baden-

³⁰ Carsten Wachholz is Deputy Head of the department "Naturschutz und Umweltpolitik" and Policy Officer for Energy within the NABU. He works for the NABU since about five years

Württemberg, Hessen, Nordrhein-Westfalen and the Saarland developed specific separate positions on wind energy for their respective federal states, Wachholz says. (Klein 9/12/2011)

NABU Brandenburg

In June 2009 -triggered by the publication of "Energie und Klimaschutzstrategie 2020" issued by the government of Brandenburg- the NABU Brandenburg and the BWE jointly organised a symposium on "Windenergie im Spannungsfeld zwischen Klima- und Naturschutz".³¹ In April 2010, the NABU Brandenburg and the BUND Brandenburg published a concerted position paper called "Naturschutzfachliche Kriterien für Windeignungsgebiete und für Genehmigungsverfahren von Windkraftanlagen", which specifies nature conservation criteria for wind energy projects as delineated in the BUND section above. (NABU Brandenburg, Bundesverband Windenergie e.V. (BWE) 2009)

During the expansion of wind energy the NABU Brandenburg dealt with several individual wind energy projects, Weinberg³² reports. In some of those projects the NABU was involved in planning processes, whereas in others it wasn't. In this context the NABU Brandenburg had to conceive a RE strategy -and in particular a position on wind energy- in order to shape an ecologically sound development of REs in Brandenburg. The position of the NABU Brandenburg is based on the federal position of the NABU, Weinberg said. The NABU Brandenburg stands by wind energy, however emphasizes the necessity to incorporate ecological criteria in the choice of suitable areas and concrete choice of location. Thus, the BUND Brandenburg did substantiate some criteria based on regional experiences. These criteria go beyond the requirements formulated in the federal position paper, such as the exclusion of wind plants in Brandenburg's forests (because there are enough alternative areas for wind energy. The NABU Brandenburg strove to conceive a straight, but nevertheless intermediary position on wind energy). Weinberg emphasizes that the communication to NABU members and the public about why the NABU Brandenburg opposes or supports specific wind energy projects is crucial for the acceptance of the NABU position within the organisation as well as beyond it.

The underlying principle of the NABU positions is the understanding of reciprocal effects between eco-systems, humans and climate. Weinberg points out that this assessment is a perpetual consideration process. (Klein 7/12/2011)

NABU Factor 1: Decision Making Procedures

In this section the decision procedures of the NABU will be delineated. Harnessing the interviews with NABU members, the impact of the prevailing decision making procedures on the process of finding a position on wind energy is analysed.

³¹ The "Ministeriums für Umwelt, Gesundheit und Verbraucherschutz Brandenburg, MLUV" suggested setting up a joint working team to further discuss the issues. This work group exists until now and deals with the overhaul of the "Tier-ökologische Abstandskriterien, TAKs".

³² Katharina Weinberg is the Executive Director of NABU Brandenburg since September 2010.

The NABU members are organised in federal state branches, district branches and local groups. District branches and local groups have to be admitted by the Executive Board of the Federal State organisation and all NABU organisations as well as groups are bound by the resolutions and orders of the NABU. Nevertheless, they set up their own statutes and are autonomous in their affairs. Their statutes, however, have to be conciliated with the statutes of subordinate organisational levels. (NABU Germany 2008 c, p. 4)

The main bodies of the NABU are 1. The General Meeting of the Federal Association (GMFA); 2. The Federal Executive Board (FEB); 3. The Federal-/Federal States-Council (FFSC).

The GMFA consists of the members of the Executive Board from the federal level, the members of the NABU youth organisation (NAJU) and the delegates of the federal state branches. For each 2000 members in a federal state one vote is allocated. Each federal state is entitled to at least three votes. The GMFA approves the budget, elects the FEB and decides on the direction of the organisation's strategies and work. It reviews proposals and can establish Volunteer Specialist Groups. It meets at least every two years and constitutes the highest body within the NABU. (NABU Germany 2008 c, p. 5)

The FEB consists of a) the President, b) three Vice-Presidents, c) the Treasurer, d) no more than five members and the spokesperson of the Federal Youth Association (NAJU). The president is employed full-time, the rest are usually unpaid volunteers. It implements the decisions of the GMFA and of the FFSC and manages the business matters of the organisation. (NABU Germany 2008 c, p. 6)

The FFSC consists of the members of the FEB, one representative of the Federal Youth Association of NABU (NAJU) and the chairpersons of the Federal State Branches or appointed delegates. It passes resolution regarding joint tasks of the federal and the federal states levels. It convenes at least twice a year and once a year the FFSC and the chairpersons of the Voluntary Specialist Groups meet to deliberate specific issues. (NABU Germany 2008 c, p. 6)

After having outlined the main decision bodies, the decision making procedures namely for the definition of a position on wind energy are explored.

Wachholz says that the department "Naturschutz und Umweltpolitik" initiated the process of defining a specific position on wind energy and nature conservation because the "Grundsatzprogramm Energie" provided only insufficient details on this matter, and several federal state branches had requested a better orientation on wind energy. (Klein 9/12/2011) After an initial proposal had been introduced to the federal states but was swiftly declined by them, the FEB and the FSSC were assigned to set up a work group in order to determine a position on the relation of wind energy and nature conservation. This work group prepared a proposal; however, had no decision powers. The role of the work group is delineated more in detail in the section on "Degree of institutionalisation...". During the process sub-work groups with experts were set up in order to deal with the most contested issues. Subsequently,

the proposals had to be coordinated with FFSC and its 16 federal state branches. Amongst those a high discrepancy of expectation existed, Wacholz says. Some federal state branches, namely Baden-Württemberg, wished to maintain the opportunity of wind energy in forests, because otherwise the expansion of wind energy in Baden-Württemberg would be limited to a minimum. A majority of federal states was required to support of the position proposal on order to adopt it. Finally, 15 federal state branches pretty much agreed with the position proposal. Subsequently, the FEB adopted the paper as the official position on wind energy. The entire process, which was completed when the position paper was finalised, lasted about 1 1/2 years. The position paper sets a general framework, but allows the federal state branches to customise it to the regional environmental and political context. Since the process of developing a federal position on wind energy had taken so long, some federal state organisations had concurrently developed their own position papers. However, those positions fit into the framework that was finally issued by the federal level, Wachholz emphasizes. The position paper can be understood as a manual on the expansion of wind energy in an ecologically compatible manner. The GMFA had played a rather minor role in the decision process. (Klein 9/12/2011)

The procedures described are complemented by the interview with Torsten Hauschild. The result of the coordination between the federal states was introduced at the GMFA. The federal state delegations during the GMFA were headed by their respective chairmen, who had been involved in the previous coordination process of the wind energy position. In theory, there is the opportunity to suggest amendments at the GMFA. However, most often the agreement is a formal step because the better the position papers have been previously prepared the higher are the changes for an agreement to them in the GMFA. Hauschild criticises, that the negotiation process on compromises in the position paper on wind energy for the entire organisation took so long that in the meantime some federal states already had developed their own position papers. (Klein 22/11/2011)

In sum, the formal decision procedures on federal level have not played an essential role; in fact the process implied an open outcome. Wacholz says that sometimes it lacked orientation for the work group which position the elected chairmen of the federal state branches and the FEB took on certain aspects. The formal decision bodies within the NABU gave guidance regarding the procedures but to a far less degree for the content. (Klein 9/12/2011) This kind of open process with negotiation character implies a high responsibility for the coordinator who moderates the process. This person has to keep track of the different strands or arguments and concurrently maintain an overview of the key aims of the organisation and how everything fits into them.

NABU Brandenburg

Having adopted a federal position on wind energy did not mean that there were no other parallel processes in the respective states or that federal state organisation adopted the position identically. Quite contrary to this assumption, the NABU even calls on its federal state branches to substantiate the

position paper on wind energy according to their respective circumstances for wind energy. (NABU Germany 2011 b, p. 1)

Each federal state branch of the NABU is at least organised in a Federal State Executive Board (FSEB) and the General Meeting of the Federal State Association (GMFSA). They reflect the responsibilities of the respective bodies from the federal level. The county groups ("Kreisverband, KV") appoint delegates in order to elect the FSEB. (NABU Germany 2008 c) The NABU Brandenburg is organised in county and regional groups. If necessary, local groups are founded. The foundation of one of those groups and its respective statutes require the permission of the NABU Brandenburg.

The NABU Brandenburg has a Federal State Executive Board (FSEB) and a Federal State Advisory Council (FSAC). The FSEB consists of one spokesperson and two deputies, the treasurer and five additional assessors including the spokesperson of the youth branch (NAJU). They are elected for three years by the GMFSA. The FSEB implements the decision of the GMFSA and deals with the business matters. The FSAC consults the FSEB for questions concerning the attainment of organisational aims. The FSAC consists of representatives of the Federal State Special Committees. In its advisory role to the FSEB, the FSAC highlights the perspectives of the Federal State Special Committees. Finally, there is the GMFSA, which consists of the members of the FSEB, the members of the FSAC, and representatives of county and regional groups. The county and regional groups appoint at least two delegates and, if necessary, additional delegates according to their respective member size. The annual GMFSA is the highest body at the federal state level. (NABU Brandenburg 1991, pp. 1–4)

The federal position can be influenced as long as it is in the development process, but as soon as it is adopted the federal state organisations comply with it, Weinberg says. She describes the decision procedures regarding the wind energy position within the NABU Brandenburg as follows:

The FSEB and the FSAC, which are entitled to vote on all decisions, develop and adopt a draft position which is then distributed to the regional and local groups. If the position receives substantial criticism from those groups the position is again discussed within the FSEB. If there are positions focusing on a certain limited region within Brandenburg the respective regional/ local groups are contacted in order to incorporate their opinion in the decision process. Finally, the position is introduced at a GMFSA, where the delegates have the opportunity to propose amendments. These opportunities for amendments are only used in case of contested positions or petitions. In extreme cases the GMFSA has the right to raise a motion of non-confidence against the FSEB. Weinberg stresses, that it is not possible to implement a position against the will of regional/ local groups. In the case of wind energy this process was coordinated with the BUND Brandenburg in order to develop nature conservation criteria for a wind energy expansion in Brandenburg. During this process, the federal state Special Committees with their expertise on issues such as birds of prey, bats etc., have played an important role. (Klein 7/12/2011)

On the local level there are "Regionalverbände, RV", "Kreisverbände, KV" and "Ortsgruppen, OG". Most of them are "eingetragene Vereine, e.V.", thus have their own statutes, management board etc.. Some have specific groups ("Fachgruppen") on nature conservation issues. Full-time staff is only employed at the federal state executive office while volunteers fill all other positions. (Klein 7/12/2011) Jürgen Jentsch³³ and Bernd Elsner³⁴ point out that the "KV Calau" does issue statements regarding planning processes of concrete wind energy project in the region -there are about ten wind energy projects in the region. Here the KV strives to enshrine nature conservation criteria in the choice of location and the surrounding conditions. Elsner and Jentsch deem it not conducive to indulge in a discussion on whether climate protection or nature conservation arguments should be prioritised but decide on a factual basis of concrete wind energy projects. In case the local NABU group wants to bring an action against a wind energy project the federal or federal state level is involved, whereas most statements on wind energy project are issued by the KV themselves or by the "Landesbüro für eingetragene Naturschutzvereine". (Klein 2/12/2011)

In sum, the federal state level was actively involved in the decision making procedures. The position on wind energy was discussed and adopted –except one opposing vote- by the Delegates in the FFSC. When the federal state organisation in Brandenburg customized this position to its regional context, the FSEB exercised its decision power. Local levels were not directly involved in the decision process but represented by the elected delegates in the FEB. However, the local groups enjoy an extensive autonomy in implementing the developed criteria and in deciding on their position to concrete wind energy projects.

In conclusion, the tedious decision process of the federal level taking over 1 ½ years has lead to a situation in which concurrently parallel processes on the federal state level took place. Although, as the NABU itself states, this is necessary to substantiate the rather general framework set by the federal level, it does sometimes cause irritation and create a public perception of incoherence. It becomes clear that firstly the decision to define a position came too late, and secondly that the effort of developing a position on wind energy and nature conservation was underestimated. The constant coordination with the FFSEC was vital to find compromises acceptable for -almost- all federal state branches. In this regard it has shown that a body, namely the FEB, which has the final say on the adoption of the position paper, is needed if after such an elaborate process there still is no unanimous consensus among federal state branches. For the NABU in particular it was important to convince the federal state branches, because they are the ones implementing the positions and communicating the position to the quite autonomous regional and local NABU groups.

³³ Jürgen Jentsch is the Chairman of the KV Calau since 5 years.

³⁴ Bernd Elsner is the Executive Director of the KV Calau since 3 years.

NABU Factor 2: Communication Opportunities

Dr. Musiol³⁵ emphasized the importance of communication processes and the involvement of relevant stakeholders in the planning process of wind energy projects early on. The NABU claims to be a pioneer in establishing workshops to exchange perspectives on potential conflict management structures, he wrote. In case of local conflict situations a team within the NABU federal office was established in order to conciliate conflicts as a sort of "Clearingstelle". (Musiol, NABU 2004, p. 16)

There are several organisational bodies, where communication opportunities within the NABU can be harnessed. The FFSC provides opportunities for face-to face communication among federal state organisations. The FFSC also includes the FEB members, thus there are also communication opportunities between federal level and federal state delegates. These opportunities were extensively harnessed during the development of a position on wind energy. In fact, as stressed by all interview participants from the NABU, the communication between the federal states facilitated the development of a position paper, to which almost every federal state organisation could agree. Moreover, the repeated feedback between the work group "Wind energy and nature Conservation" and the FFSC had coined the resulting compromise.

The work group "Wind energy and nature Conservation" coordinated by Wachholz was in the centre of the communication process on wind energy within the NABU. Many delegates in the work group fulfilled multiple roles namely being concurrently the member of a local NABU group or a certain local work group for special issues such as birds of prey or the like. However, Wachholz points out that Schleswig-Holstein had decided to send no representative to the work group. The interim results of the discussion process in the work group were sent via email to the speakers of the federal state branches and to the Specialist Committees on federal level. At every FFSC meeting the intermediate results were then discussed and contested issues addressed. This resulted in an overhaul of the position by the work group twice. In March 2011 the work group submitted a proposal to the FFSC and FEB, which had been agreed on in consensus within the work group. However, there remained objections within the FFSC from one federal state organisation namely Schleswig-Holstein. Schleswig-Holstein demanded that the NABU should take a stronger position as advocate of nature opposed to wind energy lobbyists. The federal level, however, did not want to be perceived as a strong opponent of wind energy, because the NABU had always demanded an energy transition towards REs combined with effective reductions in energy demand and efficient energy use. Thus, nature conservation and climate change were considered complementary elements with reciprocal effects. (Klein 9/12/2011) This shows that the lacking participation of a federal state organisation in the established communication processes in the work group increases the likelihood that this organisation takes an opposing stance on the proposal.

³⁵ Dr. Frank Musiol had been a climate expert at the NABU in the early 2000s.

These elaborate communication procedures including the establishment of a work group was an exception that is only practised for specific contested issues. Wachholz explains that due to the large number of volunteers and local groups and the difficulties to decide who would be eligible to participate in such a work group the participation was limited to the federal state level. However, additional workshops with further communication opportunities, either at GMFSA or in a separate form, were conducted when the federal state branches substantiated their positions. (Klein 9/12/2011)

The content of the final position paper of the NABU was already well known within the organisation through the extensive origination process, but was nevertheless published on the homepage, in NABU newsletters, and sent out via mailing lists. In the following time, federal state branches often asked Wachholz or one of his colleagues to attend events- such as a GMFSA- in order to answer questions from present members of the NABU regarding wind energy and nature conservation. During these exchanges the concern was expressed to no longer discuss the position but rather the actual experiences with its application to local and regional situations. (Klein 9/12/2011)

During this process different means of communication were harnessed. In order to disperse information and gather feedback from diverse organisational levels position papers were sent via email, Hauschild says. Additionally there is an internal network for NABU members called “Verbandsnetz”, in which every member is able to comment on current NABU topics. Hauschild, points out that during the meetings of the work group it had been more difficult than usual to find a compromise on the remaining conflict aspects between wind energy and nature conservation. However, the likelihood for the identification of members with the position on wind energy has been increased through the extensive use of communication. Nevertheless, the heterogeneity of members within the NABU leads to individual deviating opinions. Hauschild assesses that the use of communication opportunities had not so much affected the general direction of the position, but specific questions such as distance regulations. (Klein 22/11/2011)

In sum, the extensive use of communication opportunities had led to a bulky paper encompassing very differentiated and comprehensive content. Hence, in the final phase of the process, the paper was split into a background paper giving all relevant details, and a position paper comprising the statements and associated demands. The duration of the communication process to find a common position had also contributed to the development of parallel processes in the federal states, which substantiated positions according to their context. The creation of the work group "Wind energy and Nature Conservation" had been an experiment within the NABU and once more proved that face-to-face communication is essential to finding a compromise on contested subjects, Wachholz stresses. He concludes that a critical point is the composition of the work group regarding a balance between progressive and sceptical representatives as well as a wide range of expertise. The federal level had no influence on this selection, because the federal states organisations decided who they sent to attend the work group. Wacholz suggests that additional work groups complementary to the FSSC might have

facilitated the participation of more federal state representatives in the communication process in order to avoid that one might feel left out. It remains, however, a challenge not to raise exaggerated expectations, such as that every point of view can be realised, he admits. (Klein 9/12/2011)

The NABU offices on federal and federal state levels are predominantly run by full-time staff. Even the district or local offices increasingly command paid staff. However, all posts -except the presidency- within the NABU are staffed with unpaid volunteers. (NABU Germany 2008 c) It becomes clear that there is a discrepancy between full-time staff and volunteers within the NABU in regard to time resources at disposal for communication processes. The challenge here remains to strike a balance between the need for communication on the one hand and the limited time resources available for volunteers. Thus, it has to be kept in mind that setting up elaborate and time-intensive communication process could deter volunteers from participating.

NABU Brandenburg

The NABU Brandenburg determines its policies in compliance with the framework set by the federal level of the organisation. The draft for a federal position is distributed to the federal states and they are asked to comment on the draft.

Most of the communication with regional/ local groups takes place via email and phone as well as occasional visits from the Executive Director or the Chairman of the federal state organisation. The Chairman of the NABU Brandenburg, Kirschey, had been travelling through Brandenburg in order to meet local NABU groups and explain and promote the federal state position on wind energy. In some OGs and KVs he had been confronted with harsh criticism. Certain caveats regarding distance regulations for birds of prey were incorporated into the position paper, because of protests from local NABU groups. (Klein 21/11/2011)

Information is primarily distributed via the NABU Brandenburg homepage and for additional background the Intranet "Verbandsnetz" can be harnessed. The latter is currently being re-constructed in order to improve its user-friendliness and stimulate discussion on certain nature conservation topics. The aim is to enable the federal states to publish their position drafts on the intranet in order to exchange experiences with other federal state branches. Weinberg points out that there is a need to allow extensive communication during the development of NABU positions. The NABU Brandenburg made the federal position on wind energy known to the regional/ local groups. Therefore, the wind energy position of the NABU Brandenburg was distributed via the relevant mailing lists to regional/ local groups. The Executive Director, as intermediary between FSEB and local volunteers, deals directly with most of the concerns expressed by regional/ local groups. The Executive Director introduces those concerns to the FSEB. The participation in the GMFSA as delegates of regional or local groups provides additional communication opportunities for as many NABU volunteers as possible. (Klein 7/12/2011) Jentsch and Elsner point out that the KVs have the opportunity to discuss relevant matters at the FSAoD, the meeting of Executive Directors and the "Wintertreffen", which all

convene once a year. However, there was no communication of their KV with the federal level on the topic of wind energy. Elsner and Jentsch emphasize that financial resources are an important factor which restrict the participation of the KVs and OGs at events organised by the federal level of the organisation. (Klein 2/12/2011)

Weinberg concludes that the use of communication opportunities has not changed the overall line of argument; however, it did substantiate and enhance the position on wind energy. This corresponds with the assessment of Hauschild. Face-to-face communication has proven to be essential in order to convince obdurate opponents to accept the position. However, this is not always successful and possible, because the number of NABU members is too high. Therefore, some heterogeneity in opinions on certain issues and few individual resignations will always have to be accepted in the NABU, Weinberg states. (Klein 7/12/2011)

In conclusion, the extensive use of communication opportunities within the NABU has resulted in a general framework with which a large majority of members can identify. The communication between the most relevant stakeholders namely the FEB and the FSSC was essential in this process. The work group has acted as an intermediary and has facilitated compromise and provided a platform where different perspectives could be exchanged in a constructive manner. Additional sub-working groups can be set up, if this turns out to be insufficient. It is an essential task of the federal state level-FEB or full-time experts- to convince all relevant federal states to participate in the work group. If one federal state declines this opportunity there is the risk of it remaining excluded from the discussion processes, and as a result, developing or reinforcing its opposition to the resulting position. However, it has to be acknowledged that such a high communication effort takes time and overburdens the positions with details. In this regard, it is a sensible approach to leave leeway for regional specifications developed by each federal state organisation. Local groups have not been explicitly involved in the process of developing the federal position. However, when substantiating the position on the federal state level, local group were more involved in the communication process. Finally, face-to-face communication has been vital in order to find compromise. Thus, it is recommended that federal state organisation identify critical local groups or volunteers and seek a direct exchange with them on contested aspects.

NABU Factor 3: Orientation

In this section the orientation of NABU strategies with particular regard to wind energy is analysed. In harnessing the interviews its impact on the development of a wind energy position is explored.

In its statutes the NABU states that the purpose of NABU

"[...] is the promotion of the conservation of nature, of landscape maintenance, of species protection with special consideration of wild birds, and the advocating of the concerns of nature conservation, including education and research in the aforementioned fields."

Therefore the NABU initiates and conducts scientific research, advocates nature conservation issues in public and seeks influence on political processes through lobbying activities. They cooperate in planning processes on local levels and implement local nature conservation projects together with its local volunteers. (NABU Germany 2008 c, p. 1)

In 2004/2005 the NABU approached the DNR with the issue of wind energy and nature conservation concerns. Dr. Helmut Röscheisen points out that the NABU had been dealing with tension between the federal level of the organisation and its local groups. He concludes that the more an ENGO is focused on nature conservation and the stronger the local groups, the more tension regarding wind energy occur. The DNR and the NABU subsequently organised events and workshops and set up the information campaign "Wind ist Kraft" in order to gather and publish data on the ecological impact of wind plants. (Klein 22/11/2011) This shows that the NABU had sought a cooperative approach. Under the umbrella of the DNR it was easier for the NABU to follow a rather progressive approach towards wind energy.

Moreover, the NABU always has been involved in local planning processes such as planning processes for wind energy plants. The NABU is aware that concurrently many local groups publicly oppose wind energy plants. In its publication about conflict prevention from 2007 the NABU states:

"Örtliche Naturschützer sind häufig die heftigsten Kritiker von geplanten Windkraftanlagen. Sie haben aber in der Regel auch den besten Sachverstand bezüglich der örtlichen Vogellebensräume und ihrer konkreten Gefährdung durch das Projekt." (NABU Germany 2006, p. 9)

This shows that the NABU advocated the incorporation of local expertise in planning processes, although local groups concurrently use more confrontational forms of expressing their opposition.

Giving an outlook for the future strategy on wind energy, the cooperative elements on local levels are strongly emphasized. The NABU demands that ENGOs ought to "bei Planerstellung aktiv einzubeziehen [seien], um die sachlichen und verfahrensmäßigen Entscheidungen für eine differenzierte Standortprüfung wirksam beeinflussen zu können." (NABU Germany 2011 a, p. 7)

In its background paper on wind energy the NABU further points out that on the federal level -and in Brandenburg as well- the majority of NABU energy strategies are dominated by the phasing out of nuclear energy and coal plants (NABU Germany 2011 a, p. 2) These strategies generate a context in which a strong opposition to REs, namely wind energy does not seem cohesive and sound. The employee of a RE energy supplier assesses the position paper of the NABU at the federal and federal state levels as a constructive approach, which acknowledges the importance of wind energy and its expansion. It was pointed out that the opposition of the NABU Brandenburg towards coal plants in Brandenburg in 2008/2009 had increased the inner organisational pressure to promote wind energy as alternative. (Klein 21/11/2011) Accordingly, Wacholz describes NABU's strategies as predominantly cooperative regarding REs. However, there are, as in other issue areas, confrontational elements available which can be harnessed if necessary. (Klein 9/12/2011)

Manuel Reiß assumes in the science journal “Neue Soziale Bewegungen” that the NABU deploys a wide range of instruments in its campaigns. Unlike GP, the NABU emphasizes its contribution through nature conservation projects on the ground. The campaigns have a rather moderate character with a focus on information instead of provocation. The NABU strives to translate complex environmental issues for a wider public. Therefore, NABU's topics are deemed less suitable for confrontational protest actions, which are also not very much appreciated by their rather conservative constituencies. The self-conception of the NABU underlines the strengths to influence political processes derived from networks of trust and reliable expertise. (Reiß 2007, pp. 44–45)

The public expectation towards the federal level of the NABU is that the NABU focuses on expertise and balances different aspects, Wachholz says. Although the statutes of the NABU determine a clear prioritisation of nature conservation and species protection, in the near future climate change is going to become one of the focal topics for the NABU. (Klein 9/12/2011) The co-operative approach to wind energy has triggered astonishment within the public, because often the NABU is perceived as a "Bremsen" regarding technologies which interfere with nature. Thus, Hauschild stresses the importance to handle the tension between nature conservation and wind energy transparently in order not to leave the public impression of a "Neinsager und Verhinderer". In order to avoid this, it is, also necessary that wind energy planner and politicians facilitate an open discourse in wind energy planning processes including an early participation of ENGOs, Hauschild recommends. (Klein 22/11/2011)

In January 2011 the NABU counted 500,000 members. The NABU stresses that those members determine in which direction the organisation develops. (NABU Germany 2008 c) Expectations within the membership are split: On the one hand there is a large part of members that expects the NABU to take a stance against attempts to devalue nature conservation concerns in order to foster the energy transition towards REs; on the other hand there are also members that demand a role more actively promoting REs. (Klein 9/12/2011) The interview participant who is an employee in the planning department of a European renewable energy supplier with a focus on wind energy points out that the cooperation with ENGOs works well regarding the federal state level. However, the experiences with NABU are that on the regional and local levels a negative attitude towards wind energy and misgivings are prevailing, thus actual facts are neglected. This is due to the conception of nature conservation which focuses on conserving protection of species and which deems every intervention in nature as detrimental. There are, however, NABU members appreciating the expansion of wind energy. Thus, the interviewee concludes, the willingness for factual dialogue depends on the respective individuals on local level. (Klein 21/11/2011)

The full-time staff from the federal level with support of some federal state branches promoted a more progressive stance on REs and prevented a position biased only in favour of the strongest application of the precautionary principle regarding nature conservation concerns, Wachholz says. (Klein

9/12/2011) Hauschild emphasizes the discrepancy of operation speed between a full-time staffed federal office and the primarily volunteer structures on local and federal state levels. Moreover, the increasing public demand on ENGOs to generate a position on complex issues on short notice challenges in particular an organisation such as the NABU, whose legitimacy depends on its strong federal state and local levels. The need for rapid responses has elevated the role of the professionalised, full-time staffed federal office. Hauschild points out that this discrepancy creates tension between the need of professionalism and the participation and identification of volunteers. (Klein 22/11/2011)

In sum, during the negotiation process within the work group on “Naturschutz und Windenergie” the FSSC and the FEB have contributed to breaking up obdurate and vested discussion cultures within the NABU. Nature conservation and climate protection are less than previously considered two incompatible approaches. It has become clear that compromise can be found which does not, however, prevent local NABU groups from opposing wind energy plants. Local NABU groups are autonomous and when they are involved in the planning process for wind energy, they have the duty to point out legitimate nature conservation concerns. In fact, some citizen groups don’t even feel represented by the NABU anymore because they claim it to be a “traitor”. However, Wachholz points out that scepticism towards wind energy clearly dwindled after Fukushima. So called ‘Hardliner’ do not appear at local workshops anymore, where a constructive and open-minded approach prevails among participants. The latest NABU magazine “Naturschutz heute” from winter 2011 (4/2011) opens with a rather progressive cover story on the expansion of REs. Wachholz says the reaction from members and the public to this have been rather positive hitherto.

NABU Brandenburg

The NABU Brandenburg strives to “durch kritische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit einerseits und Kontakten zu verantwortlichen Politikern andererseits Einfluss auf die Naturschutzpolitik zu gewinnen.” In 2008/2009 the NABU Brandenburg started to engage with energy issues and participated in the referendum “Keine neuen [Kohle-]Tagebaue“. The opposition to coal plants dominated the energy strategy of the NABU Brandenburg and increased the chances for a positive stance on REs. (NABU Brandenburg a)

In 2009, Tom Kirschey, the chairman of the NABU Brandenburg, stated during the conference “Global Wind Day: Naturschutz und Windenergie im Gespräch“:

“Wir müssen aktiv an der Gestaltung von Windvorrangflächen mitwirken. Nur dadurch können wir einerseits störungsfreie Lebensräume für die uns wichtigen Arten erhalten und andererseits dem Klimaschutz gerecht werden. Ohne Klimaschutz gibt es auch keine Perspektive für den Naturschutz.“

(NABU Brandenburg 15/06/2009)

The NABU Brandenburg endorses its cooperative principle that climate protection and nature conservation strategies can only achieve success if they are discussed in a dialogue. (NABU Brandenburg 15/06/2009) Thus, the NABU Brandenburg sought dialogue with other stakeholders

from the wind energy sector, namely local politicians and administrative staff, energy companies and wind energy planners as well as other ENGOs and citizen groups. In cooperation with the DNR it organized or participated in several events facilitating dialogue between those stakeholders. Moreover, the NABU Brandenburg played a part in a work group which originated in the aftermath of the "Windenergie im Spannungsfeld" event in 2009. This work group was supposed to overhaul the "Tier-Ökologische Abstandskriterien, TAKs". Although the NABU Brandenburg is not entirely satisfied with the negotiation result, he continues his participation in the group in order to maintain influence on the political process. (Klein 7/12/2011)

Weinberg describes the orientation of the NABU Brandenburg as rather balanced between cooperative and confrontational strategies. The NABU Brandenburg predominantly strives to influence through communication with stakeholders, participation in planning processes, work groups etc. However, it does not eschew confrontation, if necessary. The exclusion of wind energy in forests, which is demanded in the NABU Brandenburg position on wind energy, oppose the political regulations regarding wind energy in forests and underlines the willingness to take a confrontational approach. Weinberg implies that this confrontational position is based on reliable facts and not on public expectations. There is, however, a strong public expectation that the NABU targets environmental grievances and takes a clear position on them. Central to NABU's approach is the effort to explain why it takes exactly this position and no other. (Klein 7/12/2011) Thus, only a transparent handling of the tensions between nature conservation and wind energy assuages the different expectations among its membership and assures public credibility.

Elsner and Jentsch emphasize that most KVs are not concerned with the "big policies" but deal with concrete wind energy projects on a factual basis. Moreover, occasionally they are commissioned to conduct expert reports on specific wind energy projects and their impact on bird species, such as a study conducted by the KV Calau in 2003. Jentsch and Elsner describe the orientation of the KV as rather cooperative and interested in solutions for local problems. NABU's efforts to increase transparency and enhance the discussion with factual information have been appreciated publicly. Whether local NABU groups are directly affected by wind energy projects does have a decisive impact on their position, Elsner and Jentsch state. However, the KV is keen to remain independent and make their decision based on ecological assessments. Thus, the KV has declined requests from 'anti-wind energy' citizen groups. (Klein 2/12/2011)

The NABU Brandenburg and the interviewees from local groups emphasize the importance of cooperative elements such as transparency and dialogue throughout the development of wind energy policies and wind energy planning processes. Priority is to be involved in relevant decision processes and hence be able to influence decisions in favour of the NABU position. Therefore the NABU Brandenburg does not intentionally provoke conflict with other wind energy stakeholders. However, the orientation of the local groups depends highly on whether they are directly affected by wind energy plants. If a local group opposes a specific wind energy project it seeks to base its decision on a

factual basis. The involvement in studies on the impact of wind energy on certain species ought to increase the likelihood for a cooperative approach. Considering the interviews with external experts the perception is another one: Although there is a level of expertise on the local level, many local ENGO groups tend to oppose wind energy projects obdurately and are not willing to negotiate contested aspects. This suggests a discrepancy in public perception and self-perception which could be bridged, when the federal state encourages local groups -in particular the ones, where they anticipate tensions- to participate in dialogue opportunities. Moreover it seems important to rigorously communicate the nature conservation criteria on which the decision is based in order to avoid the impression of arbitrariness or dependency on expectations of loyalty from the local population. Those expectations can only be fulfilled when nature conservation concerns do justify it. There are examples of an anticipatory approach among NABU' regional organisations such as in Hessen, which shaped the selection of suitable areas for wind energy in a constructive way. Wachholz stated that the NABU strives to increasingly develop or participate in the development of standards and nature conservation thresholds for wind energy plants. (Klein 9/12/2011)

In conclusion, the biggest challenges in this development is to take along the local NABU groups when further following the path of a more progressive and constructive approach to wind energy. Moreover, it seems vital that the NABU communicates its strategies and approaches to wind energy in a transparent manner. Otherwise a progressive approach on wind energy could cause members and the public to turn away in disappointment that the NABU is not anymore a true "Naturmacher". A sensitive overhaul of the prevailing public image is essential. However, the increasingly positive societal climate for REs encourages even rather traditional ENGOs, such as the NABU to openly seek compromises between nature conservation and climate protection issues.

NABU Factor 4: Degree of Institutionalisation of Nature Conservation and Climate Protection

In the following chapter the degree of specialisation within the NABU in the form of more or less institutionalised structures and their impact on the handling of internal conflicts regarding wind energy is analysed. The NABU has established several forms of specialisation.

Firstly, there is the Michael-Otto-Institute which was founded by the NABU in order to foster scientific research and knowledge on ecological systems. This institute was commissioned by the BMU to conduct a study on the impact of wind energy plants on birds of prey "Greifvögel und Windkraftanlagen: Problemanalyse und Lösungsvorschläge". Those findings were presented in November 2010. (Michael-Otto-Institute) In order to translate the discourse on wind energy into rationalised, substantiated arguments, the NABU had already conducted a scientific study on the actual causes of collisions between birds and bats and wind energy plants in the first project phase with the BMU and other partners from the science sector from April 2007 until April 2009. (NABU

Germany 2007 b) These studies were utilized by the NABU in its process of finding a position on wind energy. NABU's own research findings, which had been conducted by the Michael-Otto-Institute, indicated exactly which bird and bat species are to what degree affected by wind energy. A detrimental effect on the population of birds and bats on the whole could not be ascertained until 2007. Wachholz points out that these findings triggered deprecatory reactions from bird experts within the work group drafting NABU's position on wind energy, who doubted the assumption in the study regarding thresholds for the assessment of negative impacts on species (e.g. how many killed birds do harm the population as a whole?). Most of the members of the work group individually represented expertise on a specific topic. Those were, however, mainly nature conservation or species protection experts. Therefore sub-work groups were set up, whose experts drafted new text proposals on bird and bat protection and spatial planning. (Klein 9/12/2011)

Besides the Michael-Otto-Institute the NABU deploys a Voluntary Specialist Council (VSC) which focuses on specific questions regarding nature conservation and environmental protection. Additionally, the GMFA is allowed to set up Special Committees ("Bundesfachausschüsse"). The Special Committee's spokespersons exercise a consulting role in the FFSC and support the FEB in the development of NABU strategies and positions. (NABU Germany 2008 c, p. 8) The Special Committees, which consist only of volunteers, are highly differentiated with a range of topics from mycology to energy. For even more specific questions "Bundesarbeitsgruppen" are established.

The Special Committee on Energy meets twice a year with about 8-10 members. Wachholz mentions that the Special Committee's resources are scarce so that it requires the expertise of full-time staff. Hitherto the Special Committee on Energy defined its function as keeping a critical eye on the work of the full-time staff expert and expressing its opinion on it. Moreover, the Special Committee on Energy decisively shaped the "Grundsatzprogramm Energie". For the future the Special Committee on Energy considers shifting its responsibilities partially to the task of translating the expertise and positions of the federal level full-time staff into messages palpable for regional and local levels of the NABU. Thus, the Special Committee on Energy intends to offer face-to-face communication and information opportunities for regional and local NABU groups in form of workshops or during GMFSAs. Wachholz welcomes this development towards a role of a proponent and intermediary within the organisation, which facilitates the communication of NABU aims and expertise throughout different organisational levels and provides the full-time staff with vital feedback from volunteers. (Klein 9/12/2011)

In addition to its specialised structures run by volunteers, the NABU also deploys an elaborate, institutionalised, full-time structure based in the federal office. The "Naturschutz und Energiepolitik" department encompasses all specific departments on the federal level. The nature conservation themes are highly differentiated and more strongly represented compared to the one Energy and Climate Change department with three staff members only at the federal level. However, energy and climate

protection issues have been more and more mainstreamed within almost all NABU departments, Wachholz insinuates. (Klein 9/12/2011)

In Conclusion, the NABU has acquired expertise on REs and their impact on nature conservation during the development of wind energy. This has been accompanied by an increase in staff on the federal level, who are dealing with those issues. Nevertheless, nature conservation issues are much more strongly institutionalised. Moreover, the Specialist Committees on the federal level have picked up REs as a topic and discussed it extensively. The NABU has made efforts to take an interdisciplinary approach to wind energy. However, scientific findings were contested which made it necessary to set up sub-work groups. This shows that it is essential in the negotiation process to agree on a common factual basis on which the position ought to be built. A mix of experts including REs experts is responsible to preclude a bias in the selection of scientific studies. Establishing a constant working group would provide the opportunity to clarify these questions in advance so that the process of drafting the position could be accelerated.

NABU Brandenburg

In Brandenburg the NABU provides the opportunity for volunteers to participate in Federal State Special Committees (FSSC).³⁶ One spokesperson and one delegate from each FSSC are elected to attend the Federal State Advisory Council (FSAC). (NABU Brandenburg 1991, p. 7) This FSAC has voting rights in the FSEB and thus a high influence on the decision processes within the NABU Brandenburg.

Climate protection or REs are not institutionalised as specific topics within the NABU Brandenburg, Weinberg says. However, some members acquire knowledge on REs through private research or through information events organised by the federal level. In contrast, a wide range of tangible nature conservation issues are institutionalised in form of FSSCs. These are contacted by the NABU office in Brandenburg or the FSEB when specific questions turn up. Full-time staff is not allowed to participate in Special Committees. However this is possible in "Bundesarbeitsgruppen", which deal with even more specialised matters, such as certain species. The expertise of members on regional/ local level is organised in form of "Fachgruppen". Those "Fachgruppen" are dealing with local matters and are rather not involved in federal state policies. The specialisation within the NABU Brandenburg reflects the complexity of nature conservation problems caused by the expansion of wind energy and has resulted in a substantiated and in-depth position. (Klein 7/12/2011)

Often the NABU groups are asked to conduct studies on the effects of wind energy plants in a certain area. However, the NABU does not carry out all requests for survey reports. Theretofore, requests by sponsors where it is obvious that there might be a conflict of interests are declined, Weinberg states.

³⁶ The FSSCs are established by the GMFSA in order to deal with specific subjects. The FSSCs work independently and consist of NABU members with respective expertise and participants from outside the NABU but the latter are not allowed to exercise voting rights.

(Klein 7/12/2011) Elsner and Jentsch point out that there is no institutionalisation of nature conservation and climate protection themes on local level. There are, however, individual specialists on nature conservation issues. Those experts are involved in the development of the wind energy position on the federal state level because either they are members of a FSSC or they are directly asked for input by the federal state office. The 'NABU Verbandsnetz' is harnessed in order to access background information on specific topics. However, Elsner and Jentsch deem it inappropriate for debates of contested issues. (Klein 2/12/2011)

In sum, the federal state level shows a high degree of institutionalised expertise on nature conservation issues, which was harnessed when developing the position on wind energy. The FSAC members are part of the FSEB and introduced their expertise on nature conservation aspects regarding wind energy. Although the expertise is not institutionalised at local level, there is still a high potential of individual expertise. The high degree of expertise has led to the development of a differentiated and comprehensive list of criteria for wind energy. However, expertise on REs is significantly underrepresented on federal state and local level.

In conclusion, on the federal level there is a high degree of institutionalisation of nature conservation and climate protection topics. (Klein 22/11/2011) The interview participants of the NABU conclude that this differentiated structure of experts alleviated the process of finding compromises on a factual basis. It also contributed to the depth of the resulting position, so that it needed to be separated in a background paper and a position with demand character. Full-time staff played an important role in moderating the exchange of expertise. The mainstreaming of climate protection issues among full-time staff enables those staff members to link the different contributions and remind the discussion participants of the overall picture of NABU aims. All interview participants highly appreciated the expertise introduced by volunteers, in fact it was indicated that this is a vital pillar of NABU's work. The Special Committees also link different organisational levels and provide even local volunteers with the opportunity to identify with the discussion results. In this regard the new role considered by the Special Committee on Energy is a vital step. As an intermediary between full-time staff on the federal level and the volunteers (and full-time staff) on federal state and local levels they could facilitate the exchange of expertise and increase the cohesiveness of policies within the organisation.

Local groups that conduct surveys on the actual impacts of wind energy plants on certain species are assumed to base their position on wind energy on a factual basis. The federal state office has to make sure that scientific standards during the interpretation of results are kept. By enriching the local discussion with facts NABU groups can assuage irrational misgivings and sow the seed for compromise.

Greenpeace Germany (GP)

GP was founded in 1980 as part of GP International (GPI), which emerged from the global social and environmental protest movements in 1968. GP's work is highly norm oriented and strives to translate complex environmental issues so that they are accessible for all citizens. With 550,000 financial supporters it is the largest ENGO in Germany. The organisation is structured in a 'top-down model', in which GPI delineates the framework for actions and GP implements them independently. (Reiß 2007)

GP is a multilevel organization with structures and activities on international, national, regional, and local levels. This analysis will only focus on GP and its national, regional, and local levels. GP is based on about 90 local or regional groups with about 3300 people voluntarily engaged in them. Although the size and structure of the groups differ, they wish to realize the GP objectives and understand themselves as part of GP. (Greenpeace Germany c)

GP has three local/regional groups in Brandenburg, one in Cottbus, and one in Eberswalde and another in Potsdam. (Greenpeace Germany a) The interview requests were answered by GP Potsdam and GP Cottbus. The latter declined the request because they were just newly founded and did not have much experience yet. However the GP interview participant stated that the structures and themes of GP groups in Brandenburg are quite similar. Additionally, GP provides a press archive from 2001-2011. (Greenpeace Germany b)

Although GP considers nature conservation aspects in its position, the prevailing message is one strongly supporting the expansion of wind energy.

Development of the GP wind energy position

In this chapter the development of the position on wind energy within GP is outlined. Since for GP the international level plays a decisive role in developing its policies GPI statements are mentioned where relevant.

In its statement from 2004 "Globaler Klimaschutz –ohne Wind nicht machbar" GP built an argument for the necessity to expand REs -in particular wind energy- and concurrently reduce the energy demand. Citing monitoring results from existing wind parks, GP assessed that there are no negative impacts on birds through rotation, shadow or noise from wind energy plants. Further GP emphasizes the risks for birds resulting from steadily continuing climate change. However, it demanded an accompanying scientific monitoring for wind energy projects. (Greenpeace Germany 2004, pp. 1–2)

Although GP took stance promoting wind energy, it addressed concerns regarding effects related to nature conservation concerns. Therefore national parks, nature conservation areas and areas under specific protection should be precluded from wind energy plants, whereas landscape protection areas cannot be generally precluded from wind energy plants. On wind energy in forests GP takes a more progressive stance than the NABU and the BUND. In 2004 GP focused on the argument that there is a choice between nuclear energy and fossil fuels -triggering climate change- vs. the expansion of REs, particularly wind energy. (Greenpeace Germany 2004, pp. 3, 4) GP did not only passively support

wind energy but listed several GP activities to promote REs in a publication from 2006. (Greenpeace Germany 2006, p. 2)

The Global Wind Energy Outlook 2006 published by GPI and the Global Wind Energy Council (GWEC) depicts wind energy as avoiding environmental hazards resulting from climate change. (Greenpeace International (GPI), Global Wind Energy Council (GWEC) 2006, p. 10) Not only GP on the national level but GPI as well set a framework which clearly promoted wind energy. The report also addressed visual impacts of wind energy plants: "Whether this has a detrimental effect is a highly subjective issue. Being visible is not the same as being intrusive." While in 2004 there had been no explicit comment on negative side effects of wind energy, this report addressed other concerns besides visual impacts such as noise and the impact on wildlife. According to GPI, technical improvement had reduced noise levels to a comparatively low level. Although the report admits that birds can be affected "through loss of habitat, disturbance to their breeding and foraging areas and by death or injury caused by the rotating turbine blades", these impacts are deemed only a minor reasons for bird mortality. A careful choice of site and technical adaptation -slower turning blades- had contributed to a mitigation of negative impacts. Collisions with bats were, according to the report, not backed by scientific evidence, which is why GPI demanded further monitoring efforts to obtain comprehensive data on the actual effects of wind energy on birds and bats. For all those potential or actual negative effects, wind energy was, according to GP, the most sensible way of producing energy. (Greenpeace International (GPI), Global Wind Energy Council (GWEC) 2006, p. 29)

GP seeks to assess wind energy and its impacts in comparison to other available energy sources such as fossil fuels or nuclear energy. It excludes visual impacts from this assessment and deals primarily with 'hard facts' of bird and bat mortalities. GP's answer to concerns that wind energy plants might destroy the landscape, is that nuclear plants weren't beautiful either and wind energy at least mitigates hazards for sensitive ecological systems such as floods and droughts. GP emphasizes "entscheidende Kriterien sind Gesundheits- und Umweltschutz". (Greenpeace Germany 2008, p. 13)

In its energy concept for Germany from 2007 GP expected a slowdown in the wind energy development, but there remained unused potential, such as re-powering old plants. GP demanded that wind energy planners should be allowed to "unabhängig von der Widmung der Flächen durch Städte und Gemeinden, zu erwartende Erträge oberhalb von 60% des Referenzertrages nachzuweisen und ein Genehmigungsverfahren für solche Standorte einzuleiten." Nature conservation concerns regarding wind energy found no explicit mention. (Greenpeace Germany, Eutech Energie und Management GmbH 2007, p. 65) Faced with a decrease in available sites for wind energy GP advocates a strategy which trumps municipal planning decisions in case wind energy planners can prove a high energy production potential. In an article on wind energy from 2007, GP addresses the debates on wind energy and nature conservation more explicitly. GP acknowledged that for some species of birds there was a risk of collision with wind energy plants, however the negative impact was less significant than previously had been expected because flight routes of birds were higher and birds avoid potential

obstacles. GP stated: "Klar ist, dass der Ausbau von Windenergie nicht auf Kosten der Natur oder der Vögel erfolgen darf." Hence, nature conservation concerns should be examined during the permission process of wind energy plants and, when indicated by the results, necessary requirements for wind energy operators should be enacted. According to GP, the identification of "Vorrang- und Ausschlussgebiete" had already catered to concerns of affected populations. (Greenpeace Germany 2007)

Andrée Böhling³⁷ stresses that the tensions between nature conservation and wind energy have not been as severe within Greenpeace as in other ENGOs. The expansion of onshore wind energy is absolutely supported and constitutes a central pillar of the future energy supply in all energy scenarios developed by GP. However, the expansion is limited by the considerations of sensitive ecological areas and interests of affected populations. Though spelling out these limits, GP has resigned from developing a public list of specific criteria for wind energy projects and trusts in well-thought-out planning processes. Most recently GP has faced the discussion on wind energy in forests, Böhling says. A general exchange amongst the responsible experts has resulted in a position, which does not oppose wind energy in monoculture or common, mixed forests unless it affects sensitive and valuable ecological systems. Nevertheless, Böhling stresses that GP does not have the resources to develop position papers for each specific conflict issue regarding wind energy. Independent research on the negative effects of onshore wind energy has not been initiated due to other campaign foci. Böhling stresses that there are ongoing discussions within GP addressing offshore wind energy and nature conservation concerns. Thus, GP strives to declare nature conservation areas for oceans. After reconciliation between the responsible experts within GP, a position paper has been developed in co-operation with other ENGOs such as BUND and NABU. This position paper defines sustainability criteria for offshore wind energy. (Klein 7/11/2011)

Sven Teske³⁸ states that GP initially had taken a positive stance on onshore wind energy without any caveats. With the expansion of wind energy GP incrementally started to deal with specific question when they became apparent in the scientific discourse. The individual criticism regarding wind energy were analysed within GP and a concerted position was agreed on. Thus, GP developed criteria regarding specific problematic areas such as infra-sound and shadow. These criteria were not published though, because they were merely for the internal orientation of GP staff. GP considers the wind energy technology as necessary to protect a higher good- the avoidance of anthropogenic climate change and its detrimental effects on human kind and nature. (Klein 28/11/2011)

GP Brandenburg

³⁷ Andrée Böhling is the energy expert for GP since 2006.

³⁸ Sven Teske was head of the Energy and Climate team from 1994 until 2004 in Germany and is currently responsible as REs Director within GPI for all matters regarding REs.

GP Potsdam promotes a 100% energy supply from REs contrasting them with harmful effects for the environment from coal and nuclear energy. GP Potsdam in particular focuses on ending the use of brown coal and foreclosing the use of Carbon Capture Storage (CCS), which is supposed to capture and store the CO² produced in coal plants. (Greenpeace Brandenburg-Potsdam c) In May 2011, GP Potsdam organised the event "Greenpeace Potsdam baut Windpark im Kleinformaat auf der Freundschaftsinsel" and actively promoted wind energy in Potsdam. Wind energy is presented as the preferred way to substitute nuclear energy and create jobs. The position on wind energy of GP Potsdam is derived from the energy scenario "Der Plan" published by the GP headquarters in Hamburg. (Greenpeace Brandenburg-Potsdam a)

Discussing the negative effects on birds and bats, GP Potsdam concluded that climate change might be even more detrimental for bird species, Stefan Bunde³⁹ states. Moreover, GP Potsdam assumed that wind plants produce energy more efficiently and with less negative effects on nature conservation than other REs, such as large hydro power plants. Hence, wind energy is promoted by GP Potsdam. Bunde points out that within the group a perspective focused on global effects of climate change is dominating. About 1 1/2 years ago a group member came across a television report introducing a study which described negative impacts of wind plants on bird and bat species, Nico Blume⁴⁰ says. This triggered a discussion within GP Potsdam about the relation of wind energy and nature conservation issues. After some research by members of GP Potsdam the group found that in relation to other risks for birds such as traffic, the lethal rates at wind plants were of minor relevance. (Klein 8/12/2011) However, the tensions between nature conservation and wind energy were no central theme within GP Potsdam, but were sporadically picked up when it came up in discussions, Bunde says. Although the group does not distribute flyers or information material on wind energy, the members are widely united on a position promoting wind energy. (Klein 5/12/2011)

Blume endorses Bunde's statement that the framework for the position on wind energy has always been the energy concept developed by GP called "Plan B", which was updated in 2011. In the context of its release and the start of the nuclear energy campaign a kick off meeting was set up in April 2011. During this meeting questions emerged such as how volunteers were supposed to handle concerns from populations regarding wind energy and its potential negative effects on human health and bird or bat species. (Klein 8/12/2011)

In sum GP Potsdam neither has a separate, written position on wind nor did it deal extensively with tensions between wind energy and nature conservation concerns. It has, however, occasionally discussed the issues. The position on wind energy discussed within the group is strictly oriented on the publications by the national level.

³⁹ Stefan Bunde is a member of Greenpeace Potsdam since about a year. It was emphasized that the statements represent the opinion of the individual member and do not speak for the entire organisation.

⁴⁰ Nico Blume is a member of GP Potsdam since about two years with expertise on energy topics.

GP Factor 1: Decision Making Procedures

In this section GP decision making procedures and their impact on the process of defining a position on wind energy are analysed.

This thesis does not describe the structure of GPI in detail; however GP's policies are strongly influenced by the international level of the organisation. Thus elements which are relevant for the national process of defining a position on certain issues will be indicated. The International Programme Director and Deputy Programme Director are in charge of the campaign areas: C&E (Climate & Energy), Oceans, Forests, SAGE (Sustainable Agriculture, Genetic Engineering) & Toxics; and the Actions, Science, Political & Business and Legal units." (Greenpeace International (GPI) b) Additional meetings convene in order to discuss and decide international campaign management issues: (1) The Executive Directors Meeting (EDM) which consists of the Executive Directors of each national/regional office, the International Executive Director and the Senior Management team. It meets twice a year and has an advisory function while the final decision is made by the International Executive Director, Kumi Naido. At these meetings they discuss campaign priorities and the relation between GPI and the national offices. (2) During the annual Program Meetings (PM) the Campaigns Directors of all national/regional offices convene to identify priorities within issue areas and coordinate campaign plans. (3) During the year different Issue Meetings can take place, where different national campaign experts convene to decide detailed campaign plans and strategies. (Greenpeace International (GPI) a)

The organs of GP in Germany are (1) the Assembly of Members with voting powers; (2) the Board of Directors and (3) the Executive Board. (Greenpeace Germany 2011 a, pp. 3ff) The interviews have shown that in the process of defining a position on wind energy none of those bodies has been involved.

GP's work is based on the development of campaigns addressing certain environmental problems. The different decision phases in the development of campaigns will be concisely delineated in order to examine at which points potential conflicts can be discussed.

(1) The framework is set by the themes and international campaigns, which are communicated to the national offices. (2) An annual national programme plan is set up. Here the results from the annual survey "Blitzlicht" among volunteers are incorporated. The "Blitzlicht" survey asks for feedback for past campaigns. However, no specific questions dealing with tensions between nature conservation and wind energy have been asked. (3) Each GP division can introduce a proposal to the Campaign Council, whose head is the Campaign Director Roland Hipp.. Here the discussion and decision on campaigns take place, in which several staff member can participate. The final decisions on campaigns, however, are made by the Campaign Director. The "AktionsNetz", responsible for the communication with volunteers, organizes the formation of a Campaign Team of Volunteers

("Ehrenamtliche Kampagnenteam"). Therefore they harness the Intranet "Ehrport". (4) Finally the campaigns are introduced and discussed in the Plenum consisting of all full-time staff members.

If volunteers are persistently demanding that GP addresses a specific topic during the development of campaigns, it is quite likely to be dealt with. (Schimrigk 25/11/2011) During the development of the RE strategy, neither in the Campaign Council, nor in the Plenum conflicts between nature conservation and wind energy had been an issue; whereas biomass has been highly contested within GP. (Klein 28/11/2011)

Decisions within GP are made in a system of conferences. This thesis explores whether and how the position on wind energy was picked up in this system.

(1) The "Bereichsleitungskonferenz (BLK)" consists of the Executive Board, the "Kampagnengeschäftsführung" and the Heads of all divisions. It meets every two weeks and is amongst other things responsible for solving conflicts between different divisions. (Greenpeace Germany October) The BLK has never needed to conciliate between different divisions regarding onshore wind energy, whereas this has been necessary in the case of offshore wind energy, Teske says. (Klein 28/11/2011)

(2) The Campaign Council ("Kampagnenrat") consists of several staff members and the Campaign Director, Roland Hipp.. Amongst other things it discusses proposals for campaigns, picks up ideas by staff members, evaluates campaigns and discusses the annual plans of different divisions.

(3) The Plenum consists of all staff members, who are at least 1/2 employed at GP, and discusses campaign proposals introduced by the Campaign Council. If 2/3 of the members reject the campaign the proposal can only be discussed again once in the Campaign Council. (Greenpeace Germany October) Campaigns related to energy issues had been discussed in the Plenum, but onshore wind energy had never been an explicit topic in the Plenum, Teske recalls. (Klein 28/11/2011)

In the following it is outlined how the described bodies interacted in the decision making process on wind energy.

The first decision processes are described by Teske, who was the REs expert within GP from 1994-2004. The campaign director for REs -Sven Teske- drafted a proposal and introduced this proposal in his division. During this discussion volunteers with expertise on this topic were asked for feedback. If they agree on it which they did, the proposal according to its relevance also has to be agreed on by the Executive Director. This was, however, not necessary in the case of wind energy. Finally, the position was sent to the GP groups. If there is no response the position paper is usually deemed accepted. However, if there are vehement criticisms from GP groups, the position is overhauled. For the position on wind energy this has not been the case. The "Fachbeirat" -consisting of volunteers with expertise on energy and climate questions- was involved in this process from the very first draft onwards. (Klein 28/11/2011)

Böhling delineates the process from the mid 2000s onwards. Initially experts of the responsible departments were supposed to find a common position on wind energy, he recalls. In the case of wind energy this involved two responsible departments and experts. If they are not able to agree on a common position the respective team leaders take over and if they still cannot find a compromise the executive campaign director, who has the final say, gets involved. Neither of this had been necessary when a position on wind energy was delineated. Böhling points out that during the process of agreeing on a common position on wind energy, the respective team leaders of the energy and climate protection team and the biodiversity team had been involved. He describes them as initiators of a discussion but as rather less important during the ongoing process. None of the above organs came into play, because a compromise had already been agreed upon between the responsible experts. Böhling describes the process as a mix between elements of negotiation and hierarchical initiatives. On the one hand all relevant experts -not generally all members- had been involved and the different aspects of climate protection and nature conservation had been weighted; on the other hand the final result had been decided on the national level and had been forwarded to the regional groups. (Klein 7/11/2011)

In sum, the decision-making procedures within GP regarding its position on wind energy were limited to a small number of responsible full-time staff experts and some volunteers ("Fachbeirat"). Thus the process was very time efficient. Nature conservation issues were discussed and weighted against the benefits of wind energy, however it was easy to find a compromise between the responsible staff members. This might be due to the fact that they already knew each other quite well and were eager to comply with overall GP aims to protect the climate. Although the position originated in a top-down process, there was no opposition from local groups.

GP Brandenburg

Local GP groups are "unselbständige funktionale Untergliederungen des Vereins" and bound by decisions based on the statutes. They are, however, independent to develop their own activities as long as the resources that are made available are used in compliance with GP's interests. (Greenpeace Germany 2011 a, pp. 1–2)

Although GP Potsdam does not deploy an elaborate organisational structure such as the regional branches of the BUND or NABU, it still provides a contact person for each topic and a coordination position for the group. All of those are volunteers. (Greenpeace Brandenburg-Potsdam b) The coordinator is responsible for the responses to requests directed to GP Potsdam and most of the communication with the GP headquarters. However, the coordinator has neither the power to decide on the group's position, nor does the coordinator play a vital role in the discussion on wind energy.

Krause states that within GP Potsdam, decisions are made by majority vote in its plenum. In this weekly plenum, about 8-10 active group members participate. Tension between wind energy and nature conservation have only been discussed occasionally. There has not been a decision on a specific

position on wind energy. If there is an uncertainty which position the group should adopt, GP Potsdam contacts the headquarters in order to learn about the federal position on the issue. (Klein 5/12/2011) The major part of this information is sufficient and adapted by GP Potsdam, Blume states. (Klein 8/12/2011)

In sum, wind energy and nature conservation concerns had been part of an official discussion in the plenum and the group agreed on an informal position, which supports wind energy strongly. However this has not resulted in an official position document or specific criteria for wind energy. In fact, GP Potsdam strongly aligns its positions with the positions of the federal state level. In regard to wind energy there was no need felt to go beyond the position delineated in the energy concept "Der Plan".

In conclusion, the tensions between nature conservation and wind energy have not required the use of GPs entire decision making procedures. Accordingly interview participants from GP have categorised the decision making processes to have a rather low impact. Within the framework of a RE campaign, wind energy and nature conservation were discussed between the two responsible full-time staff members, who swiftly found a compromise and delineated internal criteria for wind energy. In case similar questions cannot be solved, the next higher level namely the team leaders resume the discussion. The resulting positions were distributed to the GP groups and adopted without criticism. Thus, the decision structure on a position to wind energy within GP can be described as rather hierarchical. The adaption without criticism from the full time-staff or the local level indicates a broad consensus among GP staff and volunteers on the overall REs strategy. However, the contested sustainability of biomass and offshore wind energy has triggered a heated debate among GP staff and its volunteers. This indicates that there still exists a threshold when nature conservation concerns become too important to decide in minimal efficient decision making procedures.

GP Factor 2: Communication Opportunities

In this chapter the communication opportunities within GP and their impact on the handling of tension between wind energy and nature conservation are analysed.

Schubert analyses the "Brent Spar" case and delineates the organisational structure of GPI and GP. As early as 1981 there had been voices from within GP criticising the hierarchical organisational structure and the dependency on GPI. In the following years, attempts were made to improve the participation and communication between the headquarters in Hamburg and the local groups. (Schubert 2000) An information magazine "Intern-Info" was initiated which regularly describes recent organisational developments. Additionally, the GP groups were asked to frequently report to the headquarters about their activities. Since 1991 an extensive further education program is offered to the volunteers. The "Greenpeace Magazine" has been in publication since 1989. Every two months it addresses the members (financial contributors) of GP. (Schubert 2000, p. 204) Additionally, in 1992 a "Beirat der Gruppen" was founded which had to be heard to in important matters. The "Gruppenvertrag" from

1994 acknowledges the competences of GP groups and the trust of the GP headquarters in them. Nowadays, there is the "Ehrenamtlicher Beirat" where volunteers can get involved in the work processes among full-time staff. (Schubert 2000, pp. 188–205) Schubert points out that on the one hand the public expectation directed at GP focus on effective action against environmental villains; on the other hand the demand for transparency of ENGOs work processes increases. (Schubert 2000) This creates a dilemma in which the use of communication among volunteers and full-time staff seems pivotal.

Greenpeace provides different opportunities for communication for volunteers. (1) The annual "Blitzlicht" survey asks for feedback on past campaigns and suggestions for future themes. It was sent to about 3,900 volunteers and was answered and returned by about 1,500 volunteers in 2011. The feedback on the RE campaign was generally positive except some criticism regarding the organisation of activities. (2) Since 2008/2009 the "Aktionsnetz" organises Campaign Teams of Volunteers ("Ehrenamtliche Kampagnenteams"), who consult the full-time staff on the development of campaigns. (3) The Intranet "Ehrport" provides a platform for volunteers and staff- members to communicate and discuss certain issues. The "Ehrport" counts about 3,000 members with numbers growing. (Schimrigk 25/11/2011)

The GP volunteer policies indicate the importance of communication with volunteers:

"Durch die Nähe zu den Bürgerinnen, durch die direkte Kommunikation in der lokalen Öffentlichkeit und durch ihre Ideen und Kritik bieten Ehrenamtliche ein wichtiges Erneuerungs- und Entwicklungspotenzial für die Organisation." (Greenpeace Germany 2010, p. 1)

There are several communication opportunities for volunteers within GP which are delineated in the following paragraphs, subsequently it there use regarding the definition of a position on wind energy is analysed:

The organisational division "AktionsNetz" is responsible for coordinating the relation between full-time staff and volunteers in order to implement the GP targets. Within the division "Themenpool" there are individual staff members as contact persons for volunteers if there are specific questions. Both distribute necessary information via the intranet "Ehrport", newsletters or the like. The "AktionsNetz" and the "Themenpool" develop 'Join in' opportunities for volunteers. Volunteers participate in GP's communication processes through "Fachgruppentreffen, Projektteams, Kampagnentreffen, Online-Abstimmungen etc.". If a campaign is conceived, planned and evaluated a team of volunteers, which is coordinated by the "AktionsNetz", participates in the entire process. This volunteer team for a specific campaign has been a relatively new idea (since 2009). Finally, the evaluation and results of campaigns are communicated to the volunteers. Strategically important and active groups are particularly supported with training programmes and visits of experts from the headquarters. There is the opportunity for volunteers -it needs at least two from different groups- to place their own proposals for topics or projects in the campaign council. (Greenpeace Germany 2010, p. 3)

The GP volunteers elect an Advisory Council of Volunteers, ACV ("Ehrenamtlichen Beirat") via "Ehrport", which represents their interests to the full-time staff. The ACV participates in debates regarding future organisational developments, large-scale campaigns and conflicts within the organisation. Despite these communication opportunities, the final decisions are made by full-time staff -with consideration of volunteer positions- and the responsible organisational bodies. (Greenpeace Germany 2010)

The use of technological means of communication rapidly spread within the daily work life of GP, Teske says. Face-to-Face communication is, however, still deemed more efficient and effective. For wind energy the involved staff members with the achieved a common position on onshore wind energy quite easily, thus it was not necessary to use more communication tools. The Acv has been informed about the development of the position and no criticism had been expressed. During Teske's time as employee at GP, wind energy had not been discussed at one of the "Greenpcamps"- annual meetings of volunteers-, whereas offshore wind energy had been a topic about ten years ago. This had been in the course of an offshore campaign, where GP had organised information and discussion events in the affected coast areas. (Klein 28/11/2011)

In sum, during the development of a position on wind energy GP Germany was in close contact with international experts of GPI and the Political Business Unit of GP. The above described communication opportunities have been often used, but not all constantly during the development of the RE campaign. Face-to-face communication among responsible staff members has alleviated the process of finding a common position. Most of the communication with volunteers has taken place via email and phone. During those communication processes and regular meetings with volunteers such as the "Greencamp" or "Fachgruppentreffen" no relevant criticism regarding the position on wind energy was expressed. The communication opportunities have been often used, but not necessarily consistently during the development of the RE campaign. Nevertheless, Böhling assesses that for offshore wind energy the communication opportunities had helped to improve the position paper. Due to the small number of GP experts involved it was not necessary to set up new communication structures to find a position on onshore wind energy. Nevertheless, for biomass as source of energy, a task-force had been set up to overcome differences within GP. (Klein 7/11/2011)

In conclusion, Böhling deems the communication opportunities to have an important impact on the position process to wind energy. Nevertheless, Teske concludes that the involvement of participants to discuss such conflicting issues has to be limited in order to facilitate an efficient and effective negotiation process. Compared to the previous cases of BUND and NABU the communication effort within GP during the definition of a position on wind energy has been minimal.

GP Brandenburg

The active members of GP Potsdam communicate quite regularly with the GP headquarters in Hamburg. Matters regarding finances or the like are coordinated with the "Netzwerk" and specific

questions are clarified with the responsible contact person in the "Themenpool". Activities of minor scale are planned and implemented autonomously by GP Potsdam; whereas complex, public and long-term matters, such as the 'Anti- Brown Coal strategy' are planned and conducted in close communication with the GP headquarters. Bunde states that wind energy has not played a significant role in the communication with the headquarters. During campaigns, staff members from the headquarters organise meetings with local GP groups, as it has been the case during the 'Anti-Brown Coal' Campaign. On these occasions there is the opportunity to discuss problems, open questions or potential activities. Although REs have been discussed as an alternative to fossil fuels, wind energy and nature conservation concerns have not been a major issue at these meetings. The development of national campaigns is felt to be conceived mainly from full-time staff in Hamburg. Thus, the involvement of local groups in those communication processes is rather low, Bunde states. It is known within GP Potsdam that there is an "Ehrenamtlicher Beirat", however they have not been in touch with him yet. Members of the "Ehrenamtlichen Beirat" have been met only coincidentally at works shops or seminars organised by GP. The Volunteer Campaign team is not known to Bunde, whereas, the annual "Greencamp" is usually visited by some volunteers from the group, said Bunde. (Klein 5/12/2011)

There is no institutionalised form of communication between GP Potsdam and other GP groups; nevertheless it happens that members participate in the specific sub groups of GP Berlin. Sometimes local GP groups coordinate activities regarding specific themes. During the "Anti- Brown Coal" campaign a network between GP groups called "Region Ost" was set up. In several meetings the different groups coordinated their activities and discussed specific issues.

It was once it was planned that a staff member from the "Netzwerk" would visit GP Potsdam to discuss RE matters. This did not happen though, because of scheduling difficulties. In general, however, it is possible for GP Potsdam to request staff from the headquarters to visit and inform them on a current campaign or relevant topic.

Active volunteers and members of GP Potsdam quite regularly use the newsletter "infortern" to keep informed about GP activities. The intranet "Ehrport" is harnessed to find information material that can be used for local activities on specific issues. At an "Energiefachgruppentreffen" the "Ehrenamtliche Kampagnenteam" was introduced. However, Blume recounts that reports of former members of the "Ehrenamtlicher Kampagnenteam" had not clarified what benefits this body offered for the empowerment of volunteers and how it was supposed to fulfil its purpose. The "Energiefachfruppentreffen" from September 2011 was attended by two members of GP Potsdam and other energy experts from GP groups all over Germany. (Klein 8/12/2011) This occasion was used to debate questions regarding wind energy and nature conservation posed by some volunteers. For more on that, look at the following chapter on "Degree of Institutionalisation...".

In sum GP Potsdam has not utilized the communication opportunities to influence the development of the REs campaign specifically the ACV or the Campaign Teams of Volunteers. It did not see the necessity to address their contact persons in the "Netzwerk" or "Themenpool" with

concerns regarding wind energy and nature conservation. Instead GP Potsdam's energy experts attended a discussion at an "Energiefachgruppentreffen" where those questions were raised.

In conclusion, wind energy and nature conservation issues have only been discussed with a limited number of responsible full-time experts. Opportunities for volunteers or staff to pick up the topic up during the planning and evaluation of energy related campaigns such as the "REs campaign" have not been utilized. GP did not explicitly put the issue of wind energy and nature conservation on the agenda and assumed a tacit consent if no one opposed the position on wind energy. Apparently this worked fairly well since neither the evaluation surveys among volunteers, nor the feedback from local GP groups and the ACV nor the discussions in the Plenum showed any signs of discontent with GP's position on wind energy. Concerns regarding wind energy and nature conservation were only discussed once among volunteers during an "Energiefachgruppentreffen". Local groups in Brandenburg did not feel there was a necessity to use other communication opportunities to define their position on wind energy.

GP Factor 3: Orientation

In this section the orientation of GP strategies -in particular for wind energy- is analysed.

GP declares itself a campaign organisation. It does not conduct nature conservation projects but invests its resources in its campaigns, which include confrontational and cooperative tools. However, Reiß stated that the public account focuses on confrontational tools and emphasizes spectacular protest actions as defining GP's identity. Cooperative tools do not fit into GP's self-conception. (Reiß 2007, pp. 43–44) Regarding the cooperation with other civil society organisations the Greenpeace Code of Conduct indicates "Greenpeace forges alliances with other civil society organizations if this substantially contributes to achieving important campaign goals or strengthens its reputation in civil society." (Greenpeace Germany 2011 c, p. 7) This shows a more sceptical approach towards co-operations than the one which NABU follows. In fact, GP- according to its Code of Conduct- "...seeks open confrontation with politicians, corporation managers, and those who destroy the environment." (Greenpeace Germany 2011 c, p. 7) Although GP did not seek any cooperation with other stakeholders or ENGOs for onshore wind energy, it has established a co-operation with other ENGOs in order to address offshore wind energy and nature conservation concerns. (Klein 7/11/2011)

The purpose of GP is outlined in its statutes: "[...] als international tätige ökologische Organisation die Probleme der Umwelt, insbesondere die globalen, bewusst zu machen und die Beeinträchtigung oder Zerstörung der natürlichen Lebensgrundlagen von Menschen, Tieren und Pflanzen zu verhindern". For this purpose it deploys non-violent means ("gewaltfreie Aktionen"), public relations and lobbying as well as awareness raising and consulting tools. (Greenpeace Germany 2011 a, p. 1) Although the focus on campaigns requires a certain concentration on and reduction of themes, Dr. Bernhard Drumel -

Executive Director GP in Central& Eastern Europe- stated that the linkage and integration of different social, ecological, societal and political interests is one of the major challenges for international and national campaigns (Buchner et al. 2005, p. 252) This means that theoretically a RE strategy should also take into account nature conservation concerns and criticism from the local population. Schubert, however, assumed that the public identification of GP with its spectacular actions on the one hand generates a dilemma for the organisation, because on the other hand GP is increasingly in demand to be an "Umweltschutz-Dienstleister" providing palpable solutions. (Schubert 2000, pp. 205f)

Heins wrote that GP's incorporation of new themes is dependent on whether the theme has the potential to be translated into the language of pictures. (Heins 2002, p. 147) In case of the RE strategy GP targeted political stakeholder in order to induce a decision on an energy transformation towards REs. Böhling stresses that GP rarely deals with specific local wind energy projects; it rather focuses on the influencing policies on the federal level. This is mainly due to a lack of resources, which forecloses interventions in regional conflicts. (Klein 7/11/2011) However, local GP groups can develop their own campaigns as long as they are consistent with the overall GP strategies. GP strives to develop campaigns that are coherent with each other. Thus, a campaign advocating nature conservation against wind energy would have contradicted the national GP strategy promoting REs. (Schimrigk 25/11/2011)'

These findings are endorsed by Böhling who describes the overall orientation of GP as rather confrontational. However regarding REs GP has chosen a rather cooperative approach. Notwithstanding that there has been a clear prioritisation of REs for a sustainable energy supply GP has tried to find compromises with nature conservation concerns. However, by presenting itself as a vigorous advocate of REs, GP has provoked a clear expectation from its constituencies and the wider public. (Klein 7/11/2011) Teske stresses that the rather cooperative orientation regarding wind energy does not mean that GP does not criticise wind energy providers. Most often, however, criticism is expressed not because of nature conservation concerns but because wind energy provider demand excessive prices for RE. Once a wind energy planner that had hoped GP would support its wind energy project approached GP, who however declined this request because of concerns regarding some bird species ("Großtrappen"). GP did not oppose the wind project publicly but, if asked for its opinion, expressed its criticism.

In sum, the overall strategies dealing with energy issues are determining GP's handling of wind energy and nature conservation concerns. The campaign against coal and nuclear energy has created a framework in which opposition to wind energy from local GP groups is not deemed coherent. Moreover, there generally has been a positive attitude towards wind energy in the German society. Thus, for GP it was easier to communicate its positive position on wind energy. (Klein 28/11/2011) This conclusion is also endorsed by the other interview participants from GP. The focus on campaigns renders it more difficult to publicly communicate differentiated aspects, but requires a reduction to essential messages and a clear target. GP does not want to be publicly associated with opposition to

wind energy plants. Notwithstanding this reserved attitude, GP will express its disaffirmation of the wind plants in question does, (if justified -because by hard facts on negative impacts and asked for its opinion. Within GP there had been a discussion on nature conservation concerns caused by wind energy plants, which resulted in an internal list of criteria. However, those were neither communicated publicly nor distributed to the GP groups.

GP Brandenburg

Contrary to local BUND or NABU groups GP Potsdam has not been approached from citizen groups opposing wind energy yet. In fact, GP Potsdam explicitly dissociates itself from complaints by affected citizens, specifically negative effects on the landscape. Nevertheless, GP Potsdam cooperates with likeminded organisations in order to achieve its aims. As to political and economic adversaries, GP Potsdam follows a rather confrontational strategy including public protests and spectacular actions. (Klein 8/12/2011) In the recent years GP Potsdam was predominantly dealing with energy issues such as brown coal or nuclear energy. On some occasions experts from GP Potsdam had been invited to participate at events regarding acceptance problems of REs. The majority of members within GP Potsdam deemed those problems as pretend arguments against REs and the minor acceptance problems that exist could be solved, when the affected population was allowed as shareholder of benefits from REs. (Klein 5/12/2011)

The average age of core group of activists at GP Potsdam ranges from 24 to 30. Members belong to the group for 2-10 years. (Klein 8/12/2011) The average age and the size of GP's local group is a significant difference to NABU's local groups. While the NABU and BUND have local groups reaching out in almost every municipality -especially the NABU groups- GP only has local groups in bigger cities. Hence, they identify less with concerns of citizens affected by wind energy plants. GP Potsdam draws a clear line between hard facts such as lethal rates of birds and bats, which were discussed, and soft arguments such as the "subjectively felt infringement of landscape".

In sum, the orientation of local groups is aligned with national GP strategies. Campaigns to phase out nuclear energy and brown coal have dominated the strategy of local groups in Brandenburg. They have tried to convince the prime minister of Brandenburg to expand REs in a rather confrontational manner. Faced with his argument that the expansion was hampered by acceptance problems, the local GP group claimed this statement to be invalid. Due to this context nature conservation concerns caused by the expansion of wind energy were not incorporated into the public messages.

In conclusion, the overall campaigns against nuclear energy and fossil fuels and supporting REs have created a framework within which the national level and the local groups can frame their messages. Nature conservation concerns were discussed only internally and resulting aspects or criteria were not communicated publicly. Having no official guideline for how to handle nature conservation concerns has created some confusion among GP groups when they were challenged by

sceptical citizens on the street who criticised wind energy plants. Contrary to NABU and BUND the strong impact of the orientation of GP strategies has been strongly emphasized by the interview participants.

GP Factor 4: Degree of Institutionalisation of Nature Conservation and Climate Protection

This chapter explores to which degree and in what forms nature conservation and climate protection /energy issues are institutionalised within GP.

Teske points out that most often it had been nature conservation experts within GP who picked up potential negative effects from wind plants when the issue was raised in the scientific discourse. After the issue had been raised within GPI, a small, informal work group consisting of specialised Campaign Directors was temporarily established -between 1996 and 1998- in order to gather facts and find a position on wind energy. This work group included Campaign Directors from Germany, Denmark, Spain and the United Kingdom. GP sought to exchange experiences with national GP offices from other countries that dealt with conflicts resulting from wind energy. The initiative for the work group had come from the GP Energy and Climate department in Germany and the United Kingdom, where wind energy was and still is highly contested in society. (Klein 28/11/2011)

Nature conservation and climate protection are formally institutionalised within the "Themenpool". The "Themenpool" is currently organised in four teams: (1) Energy and Climate, (2) Sustainable Agriculture and Toxics, (4) Biodiversity, (5) Task Force. Each deals with specific environmental problems and develops potential approaches to solutions. Each team also includes a contact person for local GP groups. The teams publish "Fachrundbriefe" which inform about current events and trends, introduce new studies and provide background material. The publications are sometimes supported by input from GP groups. In some teams there are "Fachbeiräte" consisting of representatives from the GP groups. (Greenpeace Germany 2011 d, pp. 9, 14) Teske emphasizes that volunteers or other experts from outside GP are invited to augment GP's knowledge on the specific questions. Within the "Themenpool" divisions, financial and human resources are shifted according to current campaigns. (Klein 28/11/2011) Böhling points out that there are two equal teams within GP representing REs and biodiversity. The latter encompasses protection of forests, species and oceans. Both teams generally have the same resources at their disposal. However, once a year every department is encouraged to submit suggestions for campaigns, from which only a few are chosen. The selection depends on the suggestions' potential for the realisation of GP aims and on current issues debated in the political context. The departments leading the selected campaign are equipped with the additional necessary personal and financial resources. In the last years GP has focused on campaigns related to energy issues such as coal and nuclear energy. This trend indicates a power shift away from the biodiversity department. Böhling underlines this conclusion in naming the RE department as the leading one in the process of finding a position on wind energy. (Klein 7/11/2011)

Böhling further points out that the wind energy position had already been determined back in 2006. In this process the responsible experts for energy and climate protection together with the responsible experts for biodiversity and forest protection discussed the matter of wind energy. However, new scientific or political developments are constantly discussed and changes are incorporated into the position if necessary. During the internal exchange between experts specific questions regarding nature conservation and wind energy were solved; however, they did not challenge the overall position promoting wind energy. (Klein 7/11/2011)

If GP sees a demand for scientific research, such as for offshore wind energy, studies can be commissioned. For onshore wind energy, GP has not commissioned any study dealing with complications arising from nature conservation concerns. In fact, most studies commissioned by GP have focused on the potential for expansion of wind energy in Germany. (Klein 7/11/2011)

In sum, GP has a high level of expertise on energy issues institutionalised in respective full-time teams. They also have expertise on nature conservation issues institutionalised in form of biodiversity teams. It was found that the strategic focus on energy and climate issues has benefitted teams concerned with those themes in terms of resources and influence over the last years. The position on wind energy has been negotiated among a small number of full-time experts on the national level. Expertise from volunteers was incorporated through the “Fachbeiräte” and the contact persons within the “Themenpool”. However, no additional arguments emphasizing nature conservation concerns or criticisms regarding the position on wind energy among full-time or volunteer experts were raised.

GP Brandenburg

GP Potsdam has different contact persons for specific issues such as energy or forests. Those people are, however, not necessarily the ones with the most expertise on the respective issue, because time availability is also an important criterion for their election. Within the group, several people with some expertise on the issues feel responsible for energy themes. However, due to the limited number of members, GP Potsdam does not convene sub-group meetings for those themes. When GP Potsdam deals with a specific topic, everyone is asked to be informed about the topic. Information is either acquired through individual research conducted by all members or someone is appointed to conduct research on it and introduce the information at one of the next meetings.

Meetings organised by the GP headquarters or through local groups themselves provide further opportunities to gain knowledge on REs. During a network meeting for the "Anti-Brown Coal" campaign GP Potsdam and other GP groups in Brandenburg visited solar plants and discussed potential criticism regarding solar energy. Although a visit to a wind energy farm had been also planned, it had to be cancelled because of time restrictions. Moreover, the group discusses specific questions with the respective contact persons in the "Themenpool". Wind energy, however, has not been a subject yet. "Plan B", a study conducted by GP which delineates energy scenarios based on RE for Germany, has been distributed to the local GP groups. GP Potsdam understands this as the

framework for its positions and activities. (Klein 5/12/2011) Further background information on specific themes is either requested as print material from the headquarters or downloaded from the intranet "Ehrport". The expertise within the group generates from the personal interests and backgrounds of the members. Possibilities to request a visit from full-time experts of GP have not been utilized yet (Klein 8/12/2011)

In sum, the expertise within GP Potsdam is not formally institutionalised. Although they name different contact persons for specific themes, expertise is rather based on individual backgrounds of active volunteers. They don't have any full-paid staff and highly depend on the expertise provided by the headquarters. A clear focus on energy related expertise has lead to a position promoting wind energy without clear caveats. The discussion about nature conservation concerns and wind energy was raised by an individual member with expertise in geo-ecology.

In conclusion, the high degree of institutionalised expertise and the power shift towards energy and climate issues within the "Themenpool" has had an important impact on the handling of tensions between nature conservation and wind energy. This was also endorsed by the interview participants from GP. The high influence of institutionalised RE expertise has resulted in a position clearly promoting REs. Additionally, full-time experts within GP also developed a list of nature conservation criteria that were distributed among GP staff. These criteria, however, were not published or distributed to volunteer groups. The local groups completely run by volunteers are highly dependent on the expertise from the GP headquarters. Sometimes the individual backgrounds of volunteers provide knowledge on specific issues. Due to its public focus on energy and climate issues, local GP groups prefer to attract volunteers with an interest in those themes. Thus, nature conservation supporters are not strongly represented on the local level and nor is expertise on nature conservation.

Conclusions

Decision Making Procedures

The ENGOs analysed in this thesis deployed a mix of decision making procedures when determining their position on wind energy. The discussion process was initiated by specific departments dealing with nature conservation and RE issues (NABU & GP) or by respective committees (BUND). However the processes also involved elements of negotiation. The position on wind energy was developed in the first step by a limited number of experts, either in work groups set up for this purpose, or between responsible experts. In case of the NABU and the BUND, the federal state organisations also played an important role in this process since existing bodies (namely the FFSC (NABU)), were consulted, or the federal state organisations were consulted directly. GP did provide opportunities for volunteers to comment on its REs strategy, but volunteers had no active role in shaping the position on wind energy. In GP's case, the federal state organisation adopted the position unequivocally. The BUND and NABU positions on wind energy, however, had been created when

some federal state organisations had already determined a position on wind energy. Thus, the federal level issued a rather broad framework, which could be adapted to the regional context. Although local groups had not been extensively involved in processes on the federal level (only a few local experts as delegates in expert committees), on the federal state level the FSMBs and FSEBs incorporated local expertise in their adaptation of the federal position. In both cases (BUND & NABU) the position was introduced at an AoD, which provided an opportunity for a broad range of delegates to comment on the position. It has to be acknowledged that in all cases the process of finding a position on wind energy was organised and moderated by full-time staff. This has proved particularly important in case a unanimous agreement could not be reached (NABU & BUND). Then either MB or EB had the final say in adopting the position draft. This highlights the importance of transparent and democratically elected bodies within ENGOS with the authority to decide in conflict situations. Endorsing this, Prof. Dr. Nasserli deems a certain degree of hierarchical structure within ENGOS as essential in dealing with the process of finding a position for a contested issue. (Klein 18/10/2011)

Except for GP, these decisions making procedures -lasting at least one year- were described as onerous but essential to generate the identification of a majority of ENGO members with the resulting position. This shows that in order to react to the rising public demand for rapid responses by ENGOS, they have to act in an anticipatory manner. This would be facilitated by the establishment of a permanent interdisciplinary working group dealing with trade-offs between the expansion of REs and nature conservation concerns. Even though a certain degree of regional deviation from federal positions has to be accepted, coherence could be better fostered if federal state delegates were included in this working group. This could generate the needed greater reliability when working with ENGOS, which was demanded by Bischoff. (Klein 4/11/2011) The vital question remains, however: what role do volunteers play in the decision making processes, since a meaningful participation increases the individual's identification with the results, and hence improves the inner-organisational policy coherence. This does not mean that every volunteer has to be involved, but established systems of representatives within ENGOS have to have the opportunity to comment on it and in case of vehement criticism be allowed to send it back for an overhaul by the working groups. For ENGOS with strong local organisations, the challenge remains to link an increasingly professional full-time staff, the public time pressure for rapid responses, and their regional and local constituencies. Dealing with trade-offs between REs and nature conservation concerns may overburden the existing structures or take too long. Thus, a working group consisting of elected representatives from the federal level and other experts within the organisation can alleviate the pressure and prepare compromises by carefully balancing the differing interests.

Communication Opportunities

The interviews with volunteers and full-time staff from NABU and BUND have indicated that the use of communication opportunities had a strong or decisive impact on the process of finding a position on

wind energy. Both ENGOs extensively harnessed the existing communication opportunities within their organisations. The use of the Intranet can help to gather a preliminary feedback and to identify the main conflict areas. It does, however, not suffice to find a compromise. All interviewees -including GP interviewees, emphasized the importance of face-to-face communication when negotiating a coherent position.

An open and participative communication of nature conservation criteria for wind energy developed by ENGOs can increase the credibility of ENGOs and dismantle the public perception of incoherent behaviour. Therefore it seems vital that the criteria are developed in a process including experiences from local ENGO groups or at least allowing a discussion of the proposals. The position on wind energy and respective criteria need to be actively communicated by the federal state offices. For that purpose they can harness their personal relations to local volunteers. Heinzel-Bernd assumes that the closer ENGOs are to landscape or species affected by wind energy, the more difficult it becomes to find compromises. (Klein 14/11/2011) Thus, it is the responsibility of the federal state organisation to identify potential conflict groups, persons or regions, and seek to convince them through face-to-face communication. Ratzbor criticises that the communication between different organisational levels and amongst the different specialised entities such as AKs is not sufficiently linked. However, within ENGOs there is no apparent awareness of an existing deficit in communication. (Klein 10/01/2012) Taking into account the restricted time resources, it is therefore recommended to link the communication on wind energy to already established meeting structures. A workshop or broader discussion during the FSAoDs would be suitable. The delegates could fulfil a multiplier role and introduce the position and criteria to their local group. Involving those "power brokers" increases their identification with the position and criteria and is key to a wider internal acceptance within ENGOs.

Teut describes the ENGOs as cleaved into "Realisten und Fundamentalisten". The discourse within ENGOs, he indicates, is dominated by radical positions. Other perspectives, which take a rather wind energy supporting stance, are deemed as to almost be "traitors". Teut and Ratzbor point out that the use of communication opportunities in this discourse atmosphere appears to be predetermined by nature conservation concerns. (Klein 24/10/2011) This highlights the importance of moderators who coordinate the communication process and consolidate the different threads of the discussion.

Finally, the case of GP has shown that in an ENGO where policies are predominantly determined by full-time staff, the communication effort can be minimized. However there is a need for transparency regarding the results. When being confronted with nature conservation concerns regarding wind energy plants expressed by local populations or politicians, local ENGO groups need to be able to respond adequately. Therefore, it is recommended that even those ENGOs distribute their internal criteria or positions on wind energy amongst their local volunteer groups.

Orientation

All ENGOs have described their overall strategy orientation regarding REs as rather cooperative. For GP this deviates from its often rather confrontational strategies. In fact all three ENGOs support wind energy in general. Interviews with NABU and BUND indicated that the expectation of their constituencies and the public perception of the ENGO had a medium to strong impact on the handling of conflicts between wind energy and nature conservation supporters. In particular the NABU – having strong historical roots in the nature conservation area- faced the challenge of justifying the necessity of transforming their position to support REs while simultaneously satisfying the demands to prioritise nature conservation concerns. For the BUND this has been less difficult because a greater part of their constituencies come from the environmental movement and are more familiar with arguments of climate protection. GP interviewees made clear that a deviation from the supportive position on wind energy would generate a public perception of incoherence and unreliability. Moreover, GP's focus is not on the local level so that its constituencies do not confront the organisation with nature conservation concerns. Hence, GP has not deemed it necessary to publish its internal criteria for wind energy plants. So Teske assumes that the overall higher strategies of ENGOs determine the approach to wind energy. Hence, GP with its overarching climate protection strategy supports wind energy actively, whereas ENGOs with a strategy focused on nature conservation follow a more sceptical approach. (Klein 28/11/2011)

All ENGO organisations in Brandenburg emphasized that since they oppose the use of coal energy, REs were understood as a pivotal alternative. This underlines the overall strategic framework and its impact on the ENGOs on the federal state level. Local BUND and NABU groups are integrated into local communities and represent the ENGOs on the ground. Even though all interview participants from local groups said that they knew their federal state position on wind energy, local groups also demand a certain autonomy deciding on their stance to wind plants in their vicinity. In these cases it is the responsibility of the federal state organisation to monitor whether the agreed on criteria are applied. In these cases the previously suggested consistent working group on RE and nature conservation issues should regularly update a list with planned wind projects and seek an exchange with affected local groups.

This analysis indicates that ENGOs traditionally focused on nature conservation issues- such as the NABU- have been opening up to arguments of climate protection. Nevertheless, some experts pointed out that there might be a re-orientation towards traditional, public images namely “Naturschützer vs. Umweltschützer” in order to sharpen the ENGO's profile and satisfy their respective constituencies. However, on federal state level co-operations between BUND and NABU have been successful in developing common nature conservation criteria. On the federal level a co-operation including GP, the NABU and the BUND has developed criteria for offshore wind energy. These co-operations provide opportunities to coalesce the different expertise of ENGOs and allow different groups to share experiences.

Degree of Institutionalisation of Nature Conservation and Climate Protection

The analysis has showed that in most cases a mixed strategy of (1) harnessing existing institutional structures and (2) setting up structures, particularly working groups dealing with the questions arising from wind energy and nature conservation issues, was applied.⁴¹ The interview results indicate that the degree of institutionalisation had had a strong impact on the handling of internal conflicts within all three ENGOs.

Defining a position on complex matters such as the reciprocal effects of REs and nature conservation requires a high level of expertise which is organised by the full-time staff on the federal level of the ENGOs. All ENGOs deploy full-time staffed, specialised departments on the federal level. Within the NABU, departments with nature conservation are dominant; within the BUND, energy and nature conservation issues are equally institutionalised; and within GP, energy related teams are prevailing. In recent years, energy or climate issues have determined the national strategies of GP, thus there was an increase in full-time staff dealing with those themes. Nevertheless Lüdeke⁴² points out that according to his experiences, the higher the organisational level, the more one finds a strong awareness for the necessity of the expansion of REs. (Klein 24/11/2011) Moreover, the analysis has shown that there is an asymmetry in power between different departments/ teams which corresponds with the respective ENGO's position on wind energy.

In all cases, first proposals for a position were drafted by full time experts on the federal level. In the subsequent negotiation processes, full-time and volunteer experts were part of the discussion in work groups (NABU) or AKs (BUND). This highlights the importance of institutionalised expertise for the handling of tensions between wind energy and nature conservation supporters. However, the interviewees also pointed out that there is certain rigidity in attitudes caused by the differentiation in specialised structures. Volunteers and staff understand themselves as experts for a certain issue, which in the case of local NABU and BUND organisations are predominantly nature conservation issues. In this regard mutual respect for differing perspectives and a regular exchange between them becomes vital. Ratzbor points out that most activities in different sectors within ENGOs -namely dealing with nature conservation and climate protection issues- exist juxtaposed without sufficient communication with each other. There also exists a deficit in exchange on different targets and potential trade-offs. Thus it lacks mainstreaming of climate protection and REs knowledge and perspectives within ENGOs. Ratzbor says that the position is determined by independent sectoral perspectives although in some ENGOs newly established structures are supposed to prevent this. In fact, generally an understanding of nature conservation as protection of individual species and as conserving the status

⁴¹ Katz suggests three approaches to organisational conflicts (1) Persuading/ ordering people to cooperate remaining in existing institutional structures, (2) adding resources to alleviate the conflict and (3) to change the institutional structure in order to diminish "built-in conflict. (Katz 1964, p. 108)

⁴² Jens Lüdeke- research fellow at the BMU and former employee of the "Bundesamt für Naturschutz, BfN"- is responsible for the scientific evaluation of ecological effects from wind plants.

quo is prevailing. These concerns regarding the protection of certain species strike an emotional chord that often trumps factual evidence. (Klein 10/01/2012) The NABU has mainstreamed climate protection arguments into their daily business and all departments in order to this criticism.

Although the degree of institutionalisation of nature conservation and climate protection issues is high on the federal level, on the federal state level it drops and is almost non-existent on the local level. On federal state level in Brandenburg there are no explicit full-time spokespersons for those issues, however the MB or FEB members understand themselves as experts for different questions. There also remain -in the case of NABU- “Landesfachausschüsse” dealing with nature conservation and different species. On local level there is no institutionalisation of expertise but there are individual experts on predominantly nature conservation issues (NABU/BUND). Within GP Potsdam, energy and climate protection related expertise is prevalent. Hence for NABU and BUND it is recommended to conduct workshops on the federal state and local levels, for example during FSAoDs or AoDs in order to increase the knowledge on REs and its ecological impacts. For GP the focus of such workshops would lie on the reciprocal effects of nature conservation issues with REs and potential solutions. This would equip volunteers with knowledge enabling them to weigh different benefits and costs of REs in their local context. However, an increase in information does not automatically lead to a change of attitudes opposing wind energy. The analysis found that it is therefore vital for ENGOs with strong local structures to include local experts in the negotiation process. It is the responsibility of the federal state organisation (FEB or FSMB) to identify potential critical volunteers or local groups and invite them to a meeting/work group where concerns are discussed. The local experiences enhance the position on wind energy and enable ENGOs to use factual criteria to draw a clear line between which cases protest are appropriate for against wind energy plants and which cases are not.

ENGOs have conducted research on wind energy and its effects on nature. Bischoff refers to several surveys and studies produced by ENGOs, which have contributed to an increase in expertise on wind energy within ENGOs. (Klein 4/11/2011) However, as Lüdeke implies, it can happen that ENGOs face an inner organisational conflict when the findings do not correspond with their demands. (Klein 24/11/2011) This highlights the importance to rely on factual evidence derived from monitoring results and to delineate transparent research criteria. It is the responsibility of the full-time experts, AKs and other specialised units to keep track of innovations in the scientific discourse and to distribute this information amongst the members of their ENGOs.

Outlook

This thesis explored which and how organisational factors affect the handling of ENGO internal tensions between nature conservation and climate protection. The organisational factors that have proven to be the most influential were the communication opportunities and the degree of institutionalisation of the conflict themes. It was emphasized that there has been a gain in knowledge on REs and its reciprocal effects with nature conservation in all ENGOs. During the research time

frame, their institutional structures dealing with REs on the federal level have gained weight within the policies of ENGOS. Increasingly ENGOS augmented their arguments with factual evidence and tried to base their positions on wind energy on those facts. ENGOS increased their reliability to a certain degree through transparent criteria for wind energy. This enables them to address claims that the protection of species is exploited by local politicians who use them to justify aesthetic concerns or "Heimatschutz". The statements issued by the ENGOS are supposed to preclude this exploitation of nature conservation arguments. (Tengg-Kobligk 26/10/2011)

The analysis has found that the BUND and the NABU both required extensive communication amongst volunteers and full time staff to find a position on wind energy. For this purpose working groups consisting of representatives from different expert committees negotiated a compromise. Essential in this process was the involvement of experts from the local level and federal state level. Several steps of feedback from the other organisational bodies are necessary to guarantee the involvement of the legitimate decision making bodies. The specific committees (AKs) on the federal level ought to not only discuss specific issues, but increase their efforts to link expertise from the federal and federal state levels to the local groups through workshop on REs or other contested issues. The NABU AK Energy is taking first steps into this direction. Moreover, this thesis recommends establishing a consistent working group on trade-offs between REs and nature conservation within ENGOS in order to facilitate these onerous processes. The working groups gather scientific findings, identify potential conflicts, and prepare drafts for compromises, if necessary. Successful learning processes triggered by the establishment of organisational tools, such as interdisciplinary working groups, have enable ENGOS to handle similar challenges more effectively. Hence the above recommendation to harness this experience in future internal conflicts.

As most of the interviewees admitted, there remain inconsistencies and the possibility of local groups opposing wind energy plants. ENGOS strive to fulfil a "watchdog role" on nature conservation matters which the BUND and the NABU are committed and by law obliged to live up to. This might bother wind energy planners worried about delay of their projects, but is necessary to guarantee a minimal negative ecological impact of REs and to build acceptance for them in society, Kruschat says. (Klein 14/11/2011) In order to not tarnish their public credibility it is, however, necessary to base local opposition on transparent criteria. The federal state organisations and the consistent working group could help to identify potentially affected groups in advance. Thus, experts from the federal state level could seek the dialogue with those volunteers, address their concerns and make sure that the statements on the local project are based on the agreed criteria. This means that in case the assessment has found no or only minor problems, the local group ought to promote the wind energy project. This would be a new definition of local groups as actors that not only foreclose wind energy projects but actively shape the ecological conditions for wind energy and thus contribute to the transformation of the energy system. It is now essential to make use of the experiences in handling the conflicts caused by the expansion of wind energy.

With more and more funds allocated to climate and energy related projects it becomes increasingly important for ENGOs partially dependent on those funds- such as NABU and BUND- to determine coherent positions on REs along criteria based on factual evidence. Besides, the further expansion of REs and the expected tensions with nature conservation concerns urge GP to address these issues publicly and inform its volunteers about them.

Finally, this analysis concludes that the dilemma for ENGOs resulting from the expansion of REs and wind energy in particular cannot be solved entirely. However, it was found that in their struggle to find a coherent position. ENGOs have not only increased their expertise on REs but have also tested organisational arrangements and communication procedures as to whether they can facilitate the process. Some tools such as the use of the Intranet have not been successful in enabling compromise; others, namely face-to-face meetings and an interdisciplinary working group with experts from different organisational levels, did redound to a final position on wind energy. This can be deemed a learning process on the organisational level, where communication strategies regarding wind energy have been tried and tested in order to achieve both climate protection and nature conservation aims.

In constantly negotiating and up-dating these compromises between REs and nature conservation, ENGOs anticipate and reflect the discourses in society. When ENGOs with a mission to protect nature are able to find a compromise that finally supports REs under certain conditions through onerous struggle, even sceptical or opposed populations will be presented with an orientation they find hard to argue with. In planning processes or the assignment of feasible areas, ENGOs can act to pre-emptively prevent conflicts. In this regard, Wacholz emphasizes the exchange of experiences gathered from the implementation of the position on the ground and identification of which tools helped to achieve a greater planned and concentrated expansion of wind energy. (Klein 9/12/2011)

The conception of a traditional nature conservation that focuses on the status quo has been incrementally enhanced by a conception that acknowledges the interlinkages of eco-systems with climate protection. The interviews indicated that through Fukushima there has been an accelerated opening of the discourse for climate protection arguments within ENGOs. This momentum has been strengthened through increased efforts to facilitate an interdisciplinary approach to internal conflicts regarding wind energy. This indicates -in particular for the NABU and partially for the BUND- a learning process on the normative level, in which climate protection has developed as an acknowledged organisational aim equal to nature conservation. This way ENGOs with a focus on nature conservation not only avoid marginalisation in a societal atmosphere shifting towards climate protection and environmental protection themes, but can actively shape an expansion of REs compatible with ecological concerns as a model for many other countries which will need those experiences in future.

This thesis was confined to an analysis of ENGOs and the conflicts arising from the expansion of wind energy. Future scientific research would be necessary asking how ENGO manage to benefit from their

experiences in future conflict scenarios and if or how this altered their role in the constellation of actors in the wind energy sector. Another vital development that needs further research is how ENGOs bridge the gap between increasing professionalization and the legitimacy derived from the participation of their constituencies.

.

Annex 1 Variables and their assumed variations (Accumulated in table)

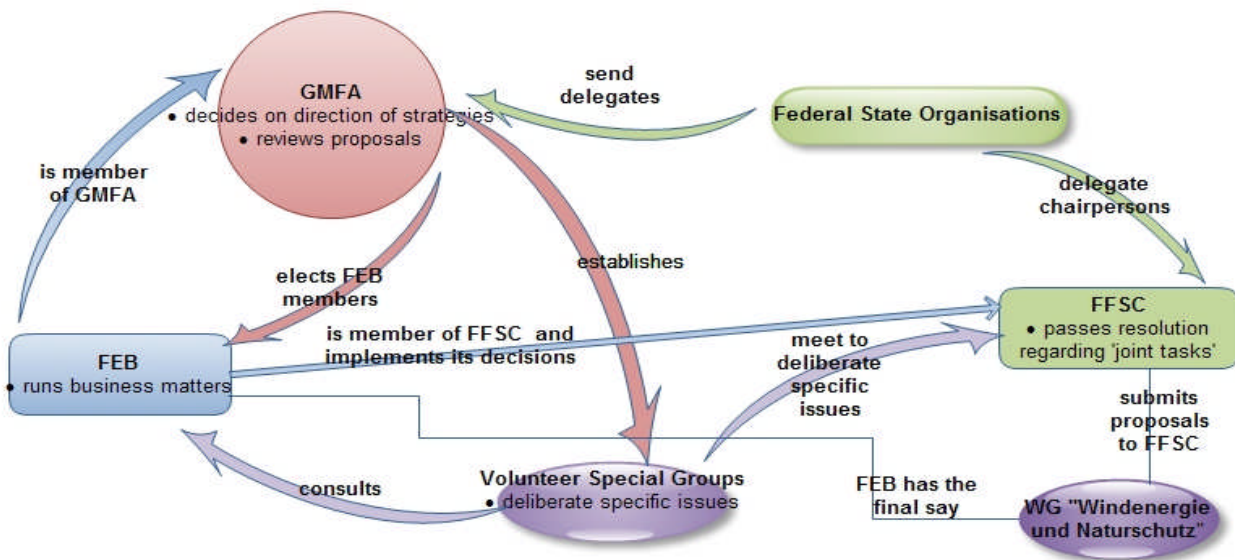
Factors IV		Assumed Variations DV	Formal
			Content
Factor 1: Decision Procedures	(1.1) Hierarchical	(1.1.1) No or not much attention to the conflict	
		(1.1.2) Climate protection is dominating communication strategy	
	(1.2) Majority	(1.2.1) Discussion and decision at general assembly	
		(1.2.2) The position reflects the line of argument supported by the majority of members	
	(1.3) Consensus/negotiation	(1.3.1) Incorporation in strategy, open discourse and integrative solution	
		(1.3.2) Integrated approach, involvement of different bodies and organisational levels, balancing of differing targets and expectations,	
Factor 2: Communication opportunities (CO)	(2.1) No CO	(2.1.1) No or not much attention to the conflict	
		(2.1.2) Climate protection is dominating communication strategy	
	(2.2) Some CO, but not incorporated in strategy development	(2.2.1) Mentioning, but no strategic incorporation	
		(2.2.2) Nature conservation issues are discussed, but the official line is dominated by climate protection arguments	
	(2.3) Extensive CO	(2.3.1) Incorporation in strategy, open discourse and integrative solution	
		(2.3.2) Integrated approach, balancing of differing targets and expectations	

Factor 3: Orientation of ENGOS	(3.1) Predominantly confrontational	(3.1.1) No attention to the conflict, because no clear target
		(3.1.2) One line of argument is consistently followed (presumably the climate change one)
	(3.2) Predominantly Cooperative	(3.2.3) Internal conflicts are alleviated/translated into discussions with wind energy stakeholders in order to achieve a compromise
		(3.2.2) Nature conservation concerns find significant attention, compromise is aspired, no public opposition of wind energy projects
	(3.3) Balanced	(3.3.1) Incorporation in strategy, open discourse and integrative solution
		(3.3.2) Integrated approach, balancing of differing targets and expectations,
Factor 4: Degree of institutionalisation of conflict issues	(4.1) No Institutionalisation	(4.1.1) No formalised expert structures (departments or the like)
		(4.1.2) The majority of individuals determine the strategy
	(4.2) Only one conflict issue is institutionalised	(4.2.1) Conflict does not emerge
		(4.2.2) The respective institutionalised line of arguments dominates the strategy development
	(4.3) Both conflict issues are institutionalised	(4.3.1) Incorporation in strategy, open discourse and integrative solution
		(4.3.2) Integrated approach, balancing of differing targets and expectations

Legend: IV-Independent Variable; DV-Dependent Variable; 0 = no impact, + = some impact, ++= strong impact, +++=decisive impact

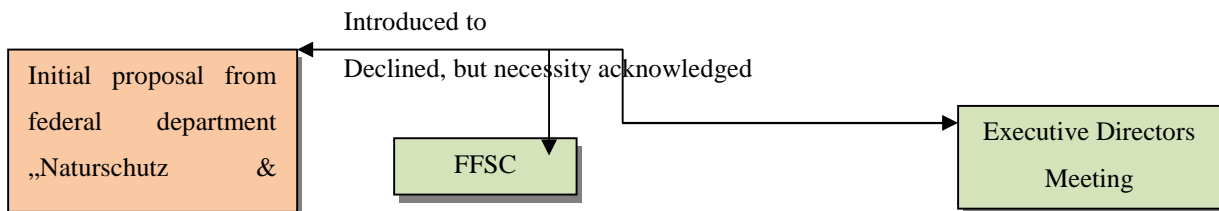
Annex 2 Decision structure and processes- Charts

NABU Decision Structures (Federal level) relevant for the position on wind energy

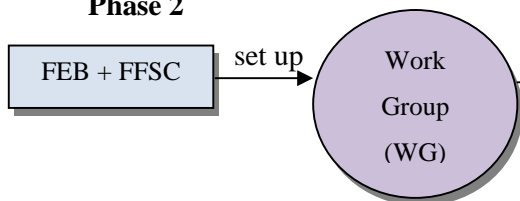


NABU Decision Process (Wind energy position)

Phase 1



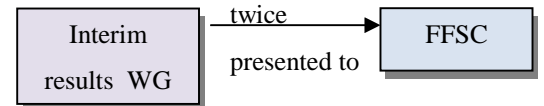
Phase 2



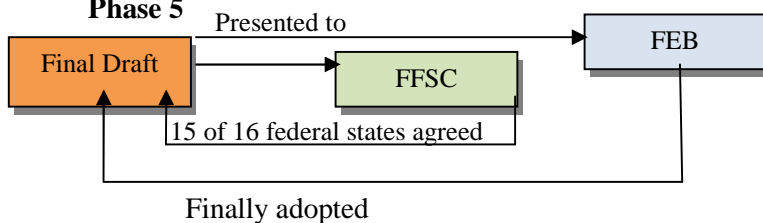
Phase 3



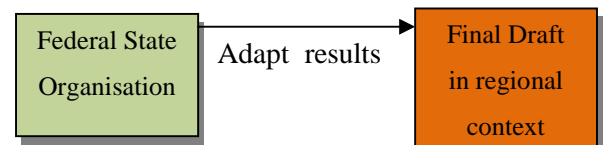
Phase 4



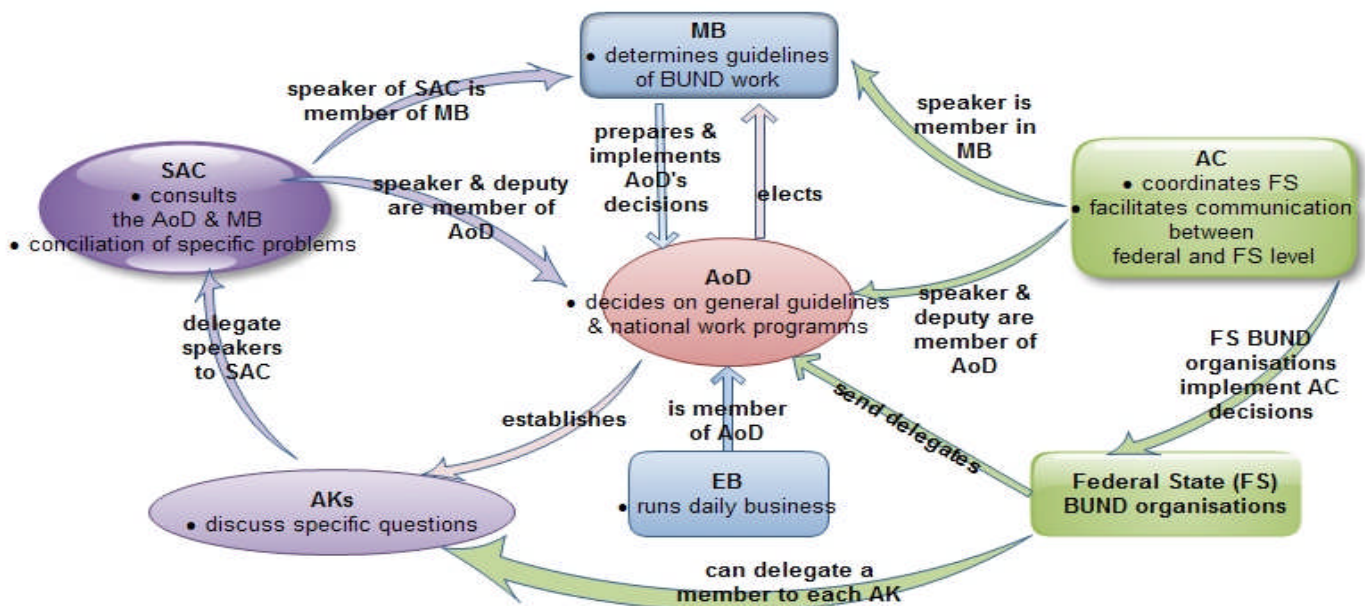
Phase 5



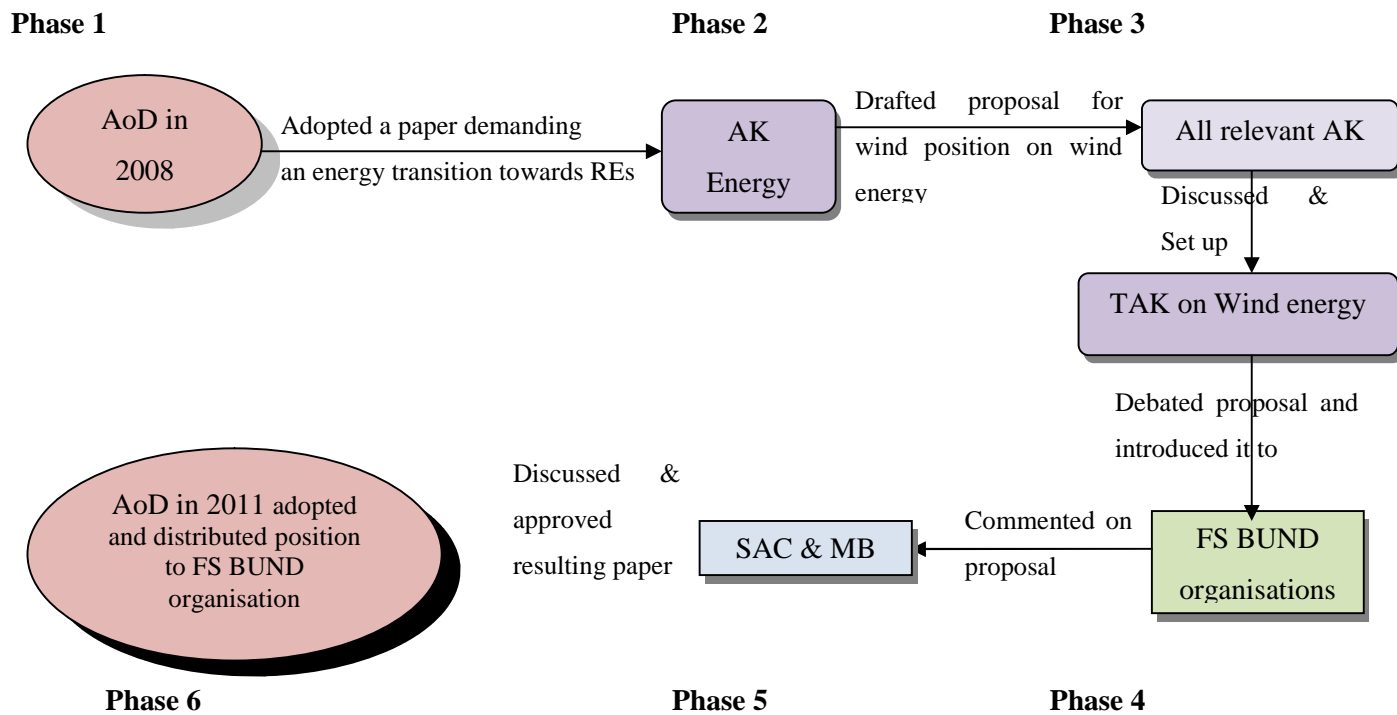
Phase 6



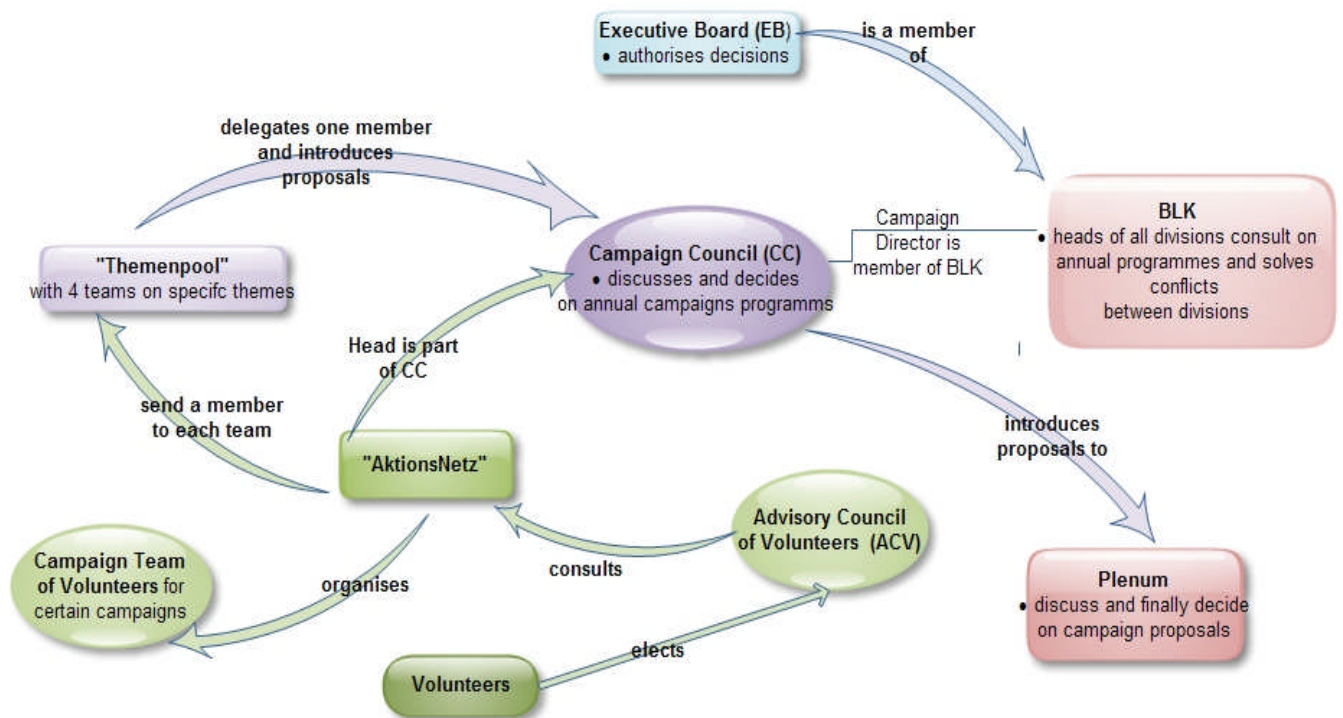
BUND Decision Structures (Federal level) relevant for the position on wind energy



BUND Decision Process (Wind energy position)

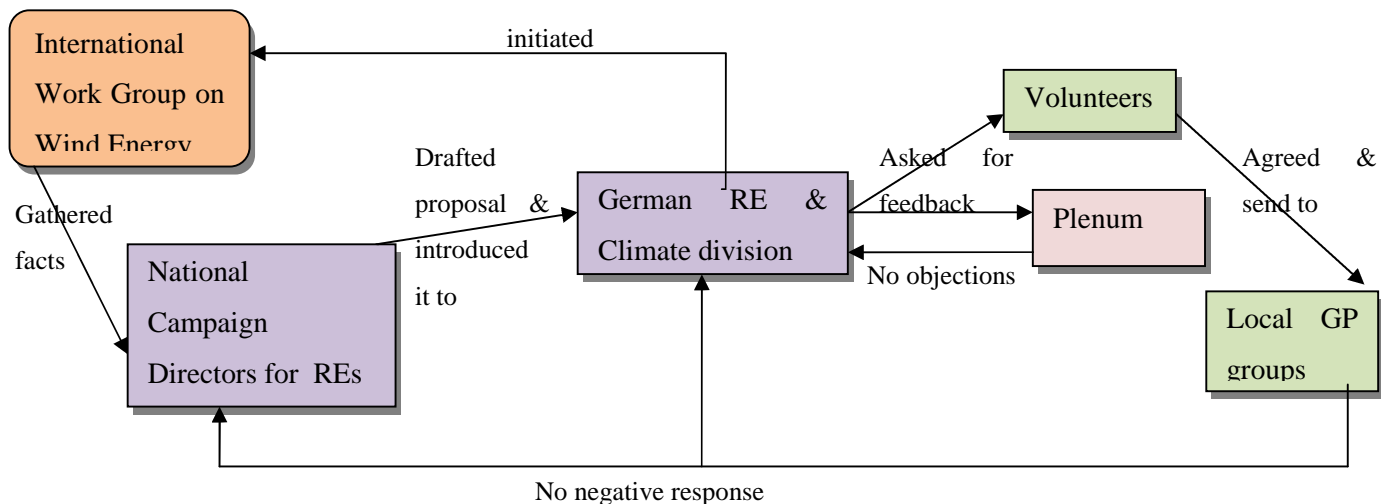


Greenpeace Decision Structures (Federal level) relevant for the position on wind energy



Greenpeace Decision Process (Wind energy position)

Phase 1 (1996-1998)



Phase 2 (2000-2011)



Annex 3 Accumulated Impact Assessments

Accumulated Assessments (AA)

Assessment categories: 0 = no impact, + = some impact, ++ = strong impact, +++ = decisive impact

Maximal score: Number of interview participants X decisive impact (+++)

BUND

MAX Score 16			
1-4	5-8	9-12	13-16
Low impact	Medium impact	Strong impact	Decisive impact

Organisational level	Interview participants	Decisions Procedures	Communication Opportunities	Orientation	Institutionalisation
Federal	Neumann	Negotiation ++	Extensive ++	Cooperative ++	Both ++
Federal	Barthel	Negotiation ++	Extensive +++	0	Both ++
Federal State	Kruschat	Negotiation +++	Extensive +++	Cooperative ++	Both ++
Federal State/ local level	Volpers	Negotiation +	Extensive +	Cooperative ++	Only little ++
Local/county level	Heinzel-Bernd	Negotiation +++	Extensive +++	Cooperative +	Nature Conservation ++
Local/county level	Cajar	Majority +	Extensive ++	Cooperative ++	Only little, but individual experts ++
	AA	12 + →strong	14 + →decisive	9 + →strong	12 + → strong

NABU

MAX Score 12			
1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12
Low impact	Medium impact	Strong impact	Decisive impact

Organisational level	Interview participants	Decisions Procedures	Communication Opportunities	Orientation	Institutionalisation
Federal	Wachholz	Negotiation +	Extensive +++	Cooperative ++	Both +++
Federal State	Weinberg	Negotiation +++	Extensive ++	Balanced ++	Nature Conservation +++
Federal State	Hauschild	Negotiation ++	Extensive +++	Cooperative +	Nature Conservation ++
Local/county level	Elsner and Jentsch	0	Extensive +	Cooperative +	Nature Conservation +
	AA	6 + →medium	9 + →strong	6 + →medium	9 + → strong

Greenpeace

MAX Score 12			
1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12
Low impact	Medium impact	Strong impact	Decisive impact

Organisational level	Interview participants	Decisions Procedures	Communication Opportunities	Orientation	Institutionalisation
Federal	Teske	Hierachical 0	Some ++	Cooperative in regard to RE ++	Both +++
Federal	Böhling	Hierarchical and Negotiation +	Some ++	Cooperative in regard to RE +	Both ++
Federal State	Bunde	Hierarchical ++	None 0	Confrontational ++	Only little; climate change expertsie +
Federal State/ local level	Blume	0	Some +	Confrontational ++	Only little +
	AA	3 + →low	5 + →medium	7 + →strong	7 + → strong

Annex 4 Questionnaire ENGO experts



Freie Universität  Berlin

Leitfaden Masterarbeit Wind Energy & ENGOS - Masterstudiengang
„Betriebliches und Öffentliches Umweltmanagement“ FFU Berlin

Expertenangaben

Name, Vorname:

Organisation/Institution:

Datum:

I. Einstiegsfragen

1.1 Welche Funktion bekleiden Sie zurzeit innerhalb ihrer Organisation und seit wann?

1.2 Bitte beschreiben Sie kurz die Position ihrer Organisation zu Onshore Windenergie.

1.3 Bitte skizzieren Sie kurz den Entstehungsprozess dieser Position.

1.4 Können Sie konkrete Windkraftprojekte in Brandenburg nennen, bei denen Sie involviert waren.

II Spannungsfeld Naturschutz vs. Klimaschutz

2.1 Wurden Spannungen zwischen Naturschutz und Klimaschutzanliegen innerhalb ihrer Organisation im Verlauf der Positionsbestimmung zu Windenergie aufgegriffen? Wenn ja, bitte beschreiben Sie wie.

2.2 Welche (organisatorischen) Faktoren haben sich während dieses Prozesses auf den Umgang mit dem Spannungsverhältnis der beiden Themen ausgewirkt?

III. Frageblöcke gemäß Themen (Faktoren)

In der Masterarbeit werden vier organisatorische Faktoren untersucht, von denen angenommen wird, dass sie einen Einfluss auf die Art des Umgangs der Umweltverbände mit dem Spannungsfeld hatten. Dies sind im Folgenden (1) Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten zwischen organisatorischen Ebenen und Einheiten, (2) Entscheidungsstrukturen der Umweltverbände, (3) Ausrichtung der Organisation, bzw. ihrer Strategien und (4) der Institutionalisierungsgrad der Themen Naturschutz und Klimaschutz innerhalb der Organisation

3.1 Faktor 1: Entscheidungsstrukturen

3.1.1 Bitte beschreiben sie die Entscheidungsstrukturen Ihrer Organisation im Zusammenhang der Windenergie Positionierung.

3. 1. 2 In der Positionierungsentscheidung zu Windenergie hat sich welches Muster in Ihrer Organisation abgezeichnet?

- a) Ein initiativer Vorschlag ging von der nationalen Ebene aus, andere Organisationseinheiten oder Ebenen wurden anschließend umfassend informiert.
- b) Diese Position wurde in einer Versammlung aller relevanten Einheiten und Organisationsebenen abgestimmt und das Mehrheitsergebnis übernommen.
- c) Es wurde in einem Verhandlungsprozess, in dem alle relevanten Einheiten und Organisationsebenen teilgenommen haben, ein Kompromiss zum Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Naturschutz und Klimaschutz gefunden. Alle Standpunkte wurden präsentiert und abgewogen.

3. 1. 3 Wie haben sich die in Ihrer Organisation vorwiegende Entscheidungsstrukturen auf den Umgang ihrer Organisation mit dem Spannungsfeld ausgewirkt:

- a) Wie haben sich die Entscheidungsstrukturen inhaltliche auf das Ergebnis (*Naturschutz oder Klimaschutzaspekte priorisierende Position*) ausgewirkt?
- b) Wurde die in Ihrer Organisation Entscheidungsstruktur um neue organisatorischer Element wie Ausschüsse, Arbeitsgruppen etc zu Windenergie erweitert?

3. 2. 4 Hatte die in Ihrer Organisation vorwiegende Entscheidungsstruktur für den Positionierungsprozess

a) keinen Einfluss, b) geringen Einfluss, c) großen Einfluss, d) entscheidenden Einfluss ?

3. 2 Faktor 2: Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten (KM)

Es geht hierbei um KM zwischen verschiedenen Organisationsebenen und -einheiten.

3. 2. 1 Welche Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten gab es im Prozess zwischen den verschiedenen Organisationsebenen und -einheiten?

3. 2. 2 Wie intensiv wurden diese Möglichkeiten bezogen auf den Positionierungsprozess zu Windenergie genutzt?

a) selten, b) gelegentlich, aber nicht alle regelmäßig c) ausgiebig alle KM genutzt

3. 2. 3 Wie haben sich die Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten auf den Umgang ihrer Organisation mit dem Spannungsfeld ausgewirkt:

a) Wie hat sich die Nutzung/ bzw Nicht- Nutzung von Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten inhaltliche auf das Ergebnis (*Naturschutz oder Klimaschutzaspekte priorisierende Position*) ausgewirkt?

b) Wurden aufgrund der Nutzung/oder Nicht- Nutzung von Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten neue organisatorischer Strukturen wie Ausschüsse, Arbeitsgruppen etc zu Windenergie eingerichtet?

3. 1. 4 Hatte der Faktor für den Positionierungsprozess

a) keinen Einfluss, b) geringen Einfluss, c) großen Einfluss, d) entscheidenden Einfluss ?

3. 3 Ausrichtung des Umweltverbands

Es wird hier zwischen überwiegend kooperativ, konfrontativ oder ausgeglichenen Auftreten unterschieden.

3. 3. 1 Wie würden sie die Orientierung ihrer Organisation, bzw. der Mehrheit ihrer Strategien in ihrer Außenwirkung beschreiben?

3. 3. 2 Würden sie die Ausrichtung als überwiegend konfrontativ, kooperativ oder ausgeglichen betrachten?

3. 3. 3 Wie hat sich die überwiegend kooperativ, konfrontative oder ausgeglichene Ausrichtung Ihrer Organisation auf den Umgang mit dem Spannungsfeld ausgewirkt:

a) Hat sich die jeweilige Ausrichtung Ihrer Organisation auf die inhaltliche Positionierung ausgewirkt? (z.B. *konfrontative Ausrichtung priorisiert eher Naturschutz, kooperative Ausrichtung eher kompromissbestrebt etc*)

b) Wurden bei Ihrer Organisation neue Strukturen zu Windenergie eingerichtet, die die Position nach außen vertreten? (z.B. Focal Points etc.)

c) Wurde von gewohnten Strategieorientierungen abgewichen?

3. 3. 4 Hatte die Ausrichtung der Organisation für den Positionierungsprozess

a) keinen Einfluss, b) geringen Einfluss, c) großen Einfluss, d) entscheidenden Einfluss ?

3.4 Institutionalisierungsgrad der Themen Naturschutz und Klimaschutz

Dieser Faktor bezieht sich auf die Institutionalisierung (fachliche Spezialisierung) der Themen, z.B. in Form von Abteilungen, Ausschüssen etc..

3. 4. 1 Gibt es eine Institutionalisierung der Themen, z.B. in Form von Abteilungen, Ausschüssen etc.? In welcher Form sind die Themen Naturschutz und Klimaschutz in Ihrer Organisation institutionalisiert?

3. 4. 2 Würden Sie den Institutionalisierungsgrad als niedrig, mittel oder hoch einschätzen?

3. 4. 3 Wie hat sich der Institutionalisierungsgrad der Themen auf den Umgang ihrer Organisation mit dem Spannungsfeld ausgewirkt:

a) Gab es eine maßgebliche Fachabteilung in dem Positionierungsprozess?

b) Wie hat die (*niedrige, mittlere oder hohe*) Institutionalisierung der Themen sich inhaltlich auf das Ergebnis (*Naturschutz oder Klimaschutzaspekte priorisierende Position*) ausgewirkt?

3. 4. 4 Hatte der Institutionalisierungsgrad für den Positionierungsprozess

a) keinen Einfluss, b) geringen Einfluss, c) großen Einfluss, d) entscheidenden Einfluss ?

IV. Lernprozesse

Wurden Erfahrungen aus dem Umgang mit dem Positionierungsprozess zu Onshore Windenergie auch auf andere Themenbereiche übertragen?

V. Abschluss mit Ausblick/ Rückblick und Dank

Organisatorisches

Können Sie mir Interviewpartner aus Ihrer Organisation (lokale Ebene Brandenburg, Naturschutz/Klimaschutzexperten) oder andere Experten zu dem Themenbereich empfehlen?

Welche Dokumente spiegeln den Positionierungsprozess innerhalb Ihrer Organisation am deutlichsten wieder?

Zum Ende des Gesprächs, möchte ich gerne wissen, ob aus Ihrer Sicht eine wichtige Frage ungestellt oder ein Punkt unbeachtet blieb?

Die Daten werden nur im Rahmen des Forschungsprojekts verwendet. Zitate und Aussagen werde ich nur mit Ihrer ausdrücklichen Genehmigung verwenden. Die Ergebnisse der Arbeit werden ich Ihnen selbstverständlich zukommen lassen und sie haben die Möglichkeit Ihre Zitate zu prüfen. (*Ich gehe davon aus, dass die Zusendung der Arbeit ausreichend ist, sofern Sie nicht explizit ein anderes Vorgehen wünschen.*)

Zum Schluss möchte ich mich ganz herzlich für die Zeit bedanken, die Sie dieser Forschungsarbeit zur Verfügung gestellt haben! Mit freundlichen Grüßen, Katharina Klein

Annex 5 Questionnaire Experts (External)



Freie Universität  Berlin

Leitfaden Masterarbeit Wind Energy & ENGOS - Masterstudiengang „Betriebliches und Öffentliches Umweltmanagement“ FFU Berlin

Expertenangaben

Name, Vorname:

Organisation/Institution:

Datum:

I. Einstiegsfragen

1.1 Welche Funktion bekleiden Sie zurzeit innerhalb ihrer Organisation/Institution und seit wann?

1.3 In welcher Form arbeiten Sie mit Akteuren des Windenergie Sektors zusammen, insbesondere mit Umweltverbänden?

1.3 Welche Erfahrungen haben sie in der Zusammenarbeit mit Umweltverbänden gemacht was deren Positionierungsprozess zu Onshore Windenergie betraf?

1.4 Haben sie mit einem der folgenden Umweltverbände konkrete Erfahrungen im Bereich Windenergie sammeln können: BUND, NABU, Greenpeace?

1.5 Kennen Sie konkrete Windkraftprojekte in Brandenburg, bei denen Umweltverbände involviert waren? Wie sind Ihrer Beobachtung nach Umweltverbände während konkreter Projekte mit den Spannungen zwischen Naturschutz und Klimaschutzansprüchen umgegangen?

II Spannungsfeld Naturschutz vs. Klimaschutz

2.2 Wurden nach Ihrer Einschätzungen diese Spannungen innerhalb der Umweltverbände im Verlauf der Positionsbestimmung aufgegriffen? Wenn ja, bitte beschreiben Sie wie.

2.3 Was sind Ihrer Auffassung die strittigsten Konfliktpunkte?

2.3 Welche (organisatorischen) Faktoren haben den Umgang der Umweltverbände mit den Konflikten im Bereich der Onshore Windenergie bestimmt?

III. Frageblöcke gemäß Themen (Faktoren)

In der Masterarbeit werden vier organisatorische Faktoren untersucht, von denen angenommen wird, dass sie einen Einfluss auf die Art des Umgangs der Umweltverbände mit dem Spannungsfeld hatten. Dies sind im Folgenden (1) Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten zwischen organisatorischen Ebenen und Einheiten, (2) Entscheidungsstrukturen Umweltverbände, (3) die Ausrichtung der Organisation, bzw. ihrer Strategien und (4) der Institutionalisierungsgrad der Themen Naturschutz und Klimaschutz innerhalb der Organisation.

Es geht im Folgenden um Ihre Einschätzung zur Wirkung dieser Faktoren auf den Umgang der Umweltverbände mit dem Spannungsfeld Naturschutz und Klimaschutz.

3. 1 Faktor 1: Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten (KM)

Es geht hierbei um KM zwischen verschiedenen Organisationsebenen und -einheiten.

3.1.1

a) Gibt es Ihrer Erfahrung nach Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten innerhalb der Umweltverbände zum Thema Windenergie und Naturschutz? Wenn ja, in welchen Formen?

b) Wie haben sich die vorhandenen/nicht vorhandenen KM auf den Umgang der Umweltverbände mit den Konflikten zwischen Naturschutz und Windenergie ausgewirkt?

3.2 Faktor 2: Entscheidungsstrukturen

Es wird hierbei unterschieden zwischen hierarchisch, Mehrheitsentscheidungs- oder Verhandlungsregelungen.

3. 2. 1 Wie würden Sie die Entscheidungsstruktur der folgenden Umweltverbände im Falle von Onshore Windenergie bezeichnen?

(1) BUND; (2) NABU, (3) Greenpeace

3. 3.1 Wie haben sich die verschiedenen Entscheidungsstrukturen auf den Umgang der jeweiligen Umweltverbände mit dem Spannungsfeld ausgewirkt?

3.3 Ausrichtung der Umweltverbände

Es wird hier zwischen einer überwiegend kooperativ, konfrontativ oder ausgeglichenen Ausrichtung unterschieden.

3. 3. 1 Wie würden Sie die allgemeine Ausrichtung der folgenden Umweltverbände, bzw. der Mehrheit ihrer Strategien, beschreiben?

(1) BUND; (2) NABU, (3) Greenpeace

3. 3. 2

a) Hat sich die jeweilige Ausrichtung der Umweltverbände auf deren inhaltliche Positionierung ausgewirkt? (z.B. *konfrontative Ausrichtung priorisiert eher Naturschutz, kooperative Ausrichtung eher kompromissbestrebt etc*)

b) Wurde Ihrer Einschätzung nach von gewohnten Strategieorientierungen abgewichen?

c) Wurden bei den Umweltverbänden neue organisatorischer Strukturen zu Windenergie eingerichtet, die die Position nach außen vertreten? (z.B. Focal Points etc)

3.4 Institutionalierungsgrad der Themen Naturschutz und Klimaschutz

Dieser Faktor bezieht sich auf die Institutionalisierung (fachliche Spezialisierung) der Themen, z.B. in Form von Abteilungen, Ausschüssen etc..

3. 4. 1 Gibt es Ihrer Beobachtung nach eine Institutionalisierung der Themen innerhalb der Umweltverbände, z.B. in Form von Abteilungen, Ausschüssen etc.?

3. 4. 2 Wenn ja, würden Sie den Institutionalierungsgrad als niedrig, mittel oder hoch einschätzen?

3. 4. 3 Wie hat sich der Institutionalierungsgrad der Themen auf den Umgang der Umweltverbände mit dem Spannungsfeld ausgewirkt?

3.5 Allgemeine Bewertung der Faktoren

3. 5. 1 Wie würden sie die Relevanz der Faktoren auf den Umgang der Umweltverbände mit dem Spannungsfeld einordnen?

- a) Welche Faktoren haben einen entscheidenden Einfluss?
- b) Welche Faktoren haben einen mittleren bis hohen Einfluss?
- c) Welche Faktoren haben keinen bis einen geringen Einfluss?

3.6 Lernprozesse

3. 6.1 Konnten Sie Lernprozesse bei den Umweltverbänden im Umgang mit den Konflikten zwischen Naturschutz und Windenergie beobachten? Wenn ja, welche?

3.7 Organisatorisches

Können Sie mir Interviewpartner aus Umweltverbänden (lokale Ebene Brandenburg, Naturschutz/Klimaschutzexperten) oder andere Experten zu dem Themenbereich empfehlen?

IV. Abschluss mit Ausblick/ Rückblick und Dank

Zum Ende des Gesprächs, möchte ich gerne wissen, ob aus Ihrer Sicht eine wichtige Frage ungestellt blieb? Ist Ihnen während der Beantwortung der Fragen z.B. ein wichtiger Punkt aufgefallen, den ich beachten sollte?

Die Daten werden nur im Rahmen des Forschungsprojekts verwendet. Zitate und Aussagen werde ich nur mit Ihrer ausdrücklichen Genehmigung verwenden. Die Ergebnisse der Arbeit werden ich Ihnen selbstverständlich zukommen lassen, so dass Sie Ihre Zitate überprüfen können.

Zum Schluss möchte ich mich ganz herzlich für die Zeit bedanken, die Sie dieser Forschungsarbeit zur Verfügung gestellt haben!

Mit freundlichen Grüßen, Katharina Klein

Bibliography

Beitrag

- ALTNER, GÜNTER (2000): Windräder so wie der Kölner Dom? In Günter Altner, Mettler-von Meibom, Barbara, Udo E. Simonis, Ernst U. von Weizsäcker (Eds.): *Jahrbuch Ökologie*. München, pp. 175–179.
- BANDELOW, NILS C. (2003): Policy Lernen und politische Veränderungen. In Nils C. Bandelow, Klaus Schubert (Eds.): *Lehrbuch der Politikfeldanalyse*. München: Oldenbourg, pp. 289–331.
- BANDELOW, NILS C.; SCHUBERT, KLAUS (2003): Politikdimensionen und Fragestellungen der Politikfeldanalyse. In Nils C. Bandelow, Klaus Schubert (Eds.): *Lehrbuch der Politikfeldanalyse*. München: Oldenbourg, pp. 1–22.
- BOULDING, ELISE (1964): Two Principles of Conflict. In Elise Boulding, Robert L. Kahn (Eds.): *Power and Conflict in Organizations*. London, pp. 75–76.
- EBERLEIN, BURKARD; GRANDE, EDGAR (2003): Entscheidungsfindung und Konfliktlösung. In Nils C. Bandelow, Klaus Schubert (Eds.): *Lehrbuch der Politikfeldanalyse*. München: Oldenbourg, pp. 176–201.
- FEINDT, PETER H. (2010): Umwelt- und Technikkonflikte in Deutschland zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts. Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven. In Peter Henning Feindt, Thomas Saretzki (Eds.): *Umwelt- und Technikkonflikte*. Wiesbaden, pp. 1–24.
- FRANKEN, MICHAEL (1998): Einleitung: Landschaftsschutz als Mogelpackung. In Michael Franken (Ed.): *Rauher Wind. Der organisierte Widerstand gegen die Windkraft*. Aachen: Alano Herodot Verlag, pp. 13–17.
- FRANKEN, MICHAEL (1998): Landschaftsschützer machen mobil. In Michael Franken (Ed.): *Rauher Wind. Der organisierte Widerstand gegen die Windkraft*. Aachen: Alano Herodot Verlag, pp. 17–59.
- FRANKEN, MICHAEL (1998): Windpark- Gefahr für Leib und Leben. In Michael Franken (Ed.): *Rauher Wind. Der organisierte Widerstand gegen die Windkraft*. Aachen: Alano Herodot Verlag, pp. 109–117.
- FRANKEN, MICHAEL (1999): Windiger Protest. Kontroversen um die Windenergie. In Günter Altner, Mettler-von Meibom, Barbara, Udo E. Simonis, Ernst U. von Weizsäcker (Eds.): *Jahrbuch Ökologie*. München, pp. 252–260.
- KAHN, ROBERT L. (1964): Introduction. In Elise Boulding, Robert L. Kahn (Eds.): *Power and Conflict in Organizations*. London, pp. 1–7.
- KATZ, DANIEL (1964): Approaches to Managing Conflict. In Elise Boulding, Robert L. Kahn (Eds.): *Power and Conflict in Organizations*. London, pp. 105–114.
- MAUTZ, RÜDIGER (2010): Konflikte um die Offshore-Windkraftnutzung-eine neue Konstellation der gesellschaftlichen Auseinandersetzung. In Peter Henning Feindt, Thomas Saretzki (Eds.): *Umwelt- und Technikkonflikte*. Wiesbaden, pp. 181–197.
- OHLHORST, DÖRTE; SCHÖN, SUSANNE (2010): Windenergienutzung in Deutschland im dynamischen Wandel von Konfliktkonstellationen und Konflikttypen. In Peter Henning Feindt, Thomas Saretzki (Eds.): *Umwelt- und Technikkonflikte*. Wiesbaden, pp. 198–218.
- SCHNEIDER, VOLKER (2003): Akteurskonstellationen und Netzwerke in der Politikentwicklung. In Nils C. Bandelow, Klaus Schubert (Eds.): *Lehrbuch der Politikfeldanalyse*. München: Oldenbourg, pp. 107–146.
- TRAUBE, KLAUS PROF. DR. (2003): Erneuerbare Energien contra Naturschutz. Nicht zum ökologischen Nulltarif. In BUND (Ed.): *Erneuerbare Energien*, pp. 16–17.

Buch (Monographie)

- ARGOTE, LINDA (1999): *Organizational Learning. Creating, Retaining and Transferring Knowledge*: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

- ARGYRIS, CHRIS; SCHÖN, DONALD A. (1996): Organizational Learning II. Theory, Method, and Practice.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- ARGYRIS, CHRIS; SCHÖN, DONALD A. (1996): The learning organisation. Theory, method and practice.
- ARGYRIS, CHRIS; SCHÖN, DONALD. A. (2002): Die Lernende Organisation. Grundlagen, Methode, Praxis.
- BOFINGER, STEFAN; CALLIES, DORON; SCHEIBE, MICHAEL; SAINT-DRENAN, YVES-MARIE; ROHRIG, KURT (2011): Studie zum Potenzial der Windenergienutzung an Land. Kurzfassung.
- BUCHNER, MICHAEL; FRIEDRICH, FABIAN; KUNKEL, DINO (2005): Zielkampagnen für NGO. Strategische Kommunikation und Kampagnenmanagement im Dritten Sektor. Münster.
- BYZIO, ANDREAS; MAUTZ, RÜDIGER (2005): Die soziale Dynamik der regenerativen Energien – am Beispiel der Fotovoltaik, der Biogasverstromung und der Windenergie. Zwischenbericht des DFG-Projekts „Soziale Dynamik der Energiewende“. Göttingen.
- EDWARDS, MICHAEL (2009): Civil Society. Second Edition.
- EUROPEAN WIND ENERGY ASSOCIATION (EWEA); GREENPEACE INTERNATIONAL (GPI) (2005): Wind Force 12. A blueprint to Achieve 12% of the World's Electricity from Wind Power by 2020'.
- FIETKAU, HANS-JOACHIM; WEIDNER, HELMUT (1998): Umweltverhandeln. Konzepte, Praxis und Analysen alternativer Konfliktregelungsverfahren. Berlin: rainer bohn verlag.
- GOLDBERG, S. B.; SANDER, F. E.; ROGERS, N. H. (1992): Dispute Resolutions: Negotiation, Mediation, and other Processes. Boston.
- GREENPEACE GERMANY (2011): Die Greenpeace Gruppenfibel. Was Einsteiger schon immer über Greenpeace-Gruppen wissen wollten!
- GREENPEACE GERMANY; EUTECH ENERGIE UND MANAGEMENT GMBH (2007): Nationales Energiekonzept bis 2020. Klimaschutz: Plan B. With assistance of Eutech Energie und Management GmbH: Katja Barzantny, Sigrid Achner, Greenpeace e.V.: Andree Böhling.
- GREENPEACE INTERNATIONAL (GPI); Global Wind Energy Council (GWEC) (2006): GLOBAL WIND ENERGY OUTLOOK 2006.
- HABERMAS, JÜRGEN (1981): Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns, Bd. 2
- HEINS, VOLKER (2002): Weltbürger und Lokalpatrioten. Eine Einführung in das Thema Nichtregierungsorganisationen. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- LANGNIß, OLE (2003): Governance structures for promoting renewable energy sources. Dissertation.
- MINISTERIUM FÜR WIRTSCHAFT DES LANDES BRANDENBURG (2008): Energiestrategie 2020 des Landes Brandenburg.
- OLHORST, DÖRTE (2009): Windenergie in Deutschland. Konstellationen, Dynamiken und Regulierungspotentiale im Innovationsprozess. Dissertation Freie Universität Berlin, 2008. Wiesbaden.
- SALAMON, LESTER M.; SOKOLOWSKI, S. WOJCIECH; LIST, REGINA (2003): Global Civil Society: An Overview. Baltimore.
- SCHUBERT, BIANCA (2000): Schell in der Krise. Zum Verhältnis von Journalismus und PR in Deutschland dargestellt am Beispiel der "Brent Spar".
- VAN ROY, ALISON (2004): The Global Legitimacy Game. Civil Society, Globalization, and Protest. New York.

Buch (Sammelwerk)

- ALTNER, GÜNTER; METTLER-VON MEIBOM; BARBARA; SIMONIS, UDO E.; WEIZSÄCKER, ERNST U. VON (Eds.) (1999): Jahrbuch Ökologie. München.

- ALTNER, GÜNTER; METTLER-VON MEIBOM; BARBARA; SIMONIS, UDO E.; WEIZSÄCKER, ERNST U. VON (Eds.) (2000): Jahrbuch Ökologie. München.
- BANDELOW, NILS C.; SCHUBERT, KLAUS (Eds.) (2003): Lehrbuch der Politikfeldanalyse. München: Oldenbourg.
- BOULDING, ELISE; KAHN, ROBERT L. (Eds.) (1964): Power and Conflict in Organizations. Foundation for Research on Human Behaviour. London.
- BUND (Ed.) (2003): Erneuerbare Energien.
- FEINDT, PETER HENNING; SARETZKI, THOMAS (Eds.) (2010): Umwelt- und Technikkonflikte. Wiesbaden.
- FRANKEN, MICHAEL (Ed.) (1998): Rauher Wind. Der organisierte Widerstand gegen die Windkraft. Aachen: Alano Herodot Verlag.
- UEKÖTTER, FRANK; HOHENSEE, JENS (Eds.) (2004): Wird Cassandra heiser? Die Geschichte falscher Ökoalarme.

Gesetz / Verordnung

- BUNDESMINISTERIUM FÜR UMWELT, NATURSCHUTZ UND REAKTORSICHERHEIT (BMU) (28/07/2011): Gesetz über Naturschutz und Landschaftspflege (Bundesnaturschutzgesetz - BNatSchG). BNatSchG, checked on 21/09/2011.
- CDU/CSU AND FDP (16/06/2011): Gesetzentwurf der Fraktionen der CDU/CSU und FDP: Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Stärkung der klimagerechten Entwicklung in den Städten und Gemeinden.

Graue Literatur / Bericht / Report

- DEUTSCHES WINDENERGIE-INSTITUT (2006): Status der Windenergienutzung in Deutschland. With assistance of J. P. Molly, checked on 21/09/2011.
- FORSA.: Meinungen zur Windenergie. Gesellschaft für Sozialforschung und statistische Analysen mbH.
- HELMOLTZ ZENTRUM FÜR UMWELTFORSCHUNG (UZF); Technische Universität Berlin (TU): Präferenzen für die Gestaltung der Windkraft in der Landschaft – Ergebnisse einer Online-Befragung in Deutschland. With assistance of Jürgen Dr. Meyerhoff, Cornelia Dr. Ohl.

Internetdokument

- A.T. KEARNEY/ DECISION INSTITUTE (2011): Grundlagen für die Erstellung der Energiestrategie 2030 des Landes Brandenburg. Available online at http://www.energie.brandenburg.de/media_fast/bb1.a.2865.de/Grundlagen_Energiestrategie_2030_Endbericht.pdf, updated on 5/12/2011.
- BERLINER MORGENPOST (2011): Schon 3000 Windräder drehen sich in Brandenburg. Available online at <http://www.morgenpost.de/printarchiv/brandenburg/article1643529/Schon-3000-Windraeder-drehen-sich-in-Brandenburg.html>, checked on 28/10/2011.
- BUND a: BUND Arbeitskreise. Available online at http://www.bund.net/ueber_uns/arbeitskreise/, checked on 1/11/2011.
- BUND b: Erneuerbare Energien ausbauen. Available online at http://www.bund.net/themen_und_projekte/klima_energie/erneuerbare_energien/, checked on 21/09/2011.
- BUND c: Homepage. Available online at <http://www.bund.net/>, checked on 1/11/2011.
- BUND d: Naturschutz zum Anfassen. Available online at http://www.bund.net/service/naturschutz_datenbank/, checked on 21/09/2011.

- BUND e: Windenergie. Available online at http://www.bund.net/themen_und_projekte/klima_energie/erneuerbare_energien/windenergie/, checked on 21/09/2011.
- BUND f: Wissenschaftlicher Beirat. Available online at http://www.bund.net/ueber_uns/wissenschaftlicher_beirat/, checked on 1/11/2011.
- BUND (2004): Umwelt und Beschäftigung. Arbeitsplatz-Potentiale im Umwelt- und Naturschutz, Ökolandbau und nachhaltigen Tourismus. With assistance of Sabine Kühns. Berlin. Available online at http://www.bund.net/lab/reddot2/pdf/umwelt_beschaeftigung.pdf, checked on 28/10/2011.
- BUND (2005): Erneuerbare Energien. Der Weg zu einer zukunftsfähigen Energieversorgung. Available online at http://www.bund.net/fileadmin/bundnet/publikationen/energie/20050800_energie_erneuerbare_energien_beilage.pdf, checked on 31/10/2011.
- BUND (2006): Effizient, sicher und klimaverträglich – Deutschland kann Energieweltmeister werden! Zentrale energiepolitische Forderungen des BUND an die Energiepolitik der Bundesregierung. Edited by BUND. Available online at http://www.bund.net/fileadmin/bundnet/publikationen/energie/20060300_energie_energiepolitik_bundesregierung_forderungen.pdf, checked on 28/10/2011.
- BUND (2007): BUND-Eckpunkte zur Novelle des Erneuerbare-Energien- Gesetzes (EEG). Available online at http://www.bund.net/fileadmin/bundnet/pdfs/klima_und_energie/20071000_energie_eeg_eckpunkte.pdf, checked on 28/10/2011.
- BUND (2008): Beschluss der Bundesdeligiertenversammlung 2008. (A001). Kurswechsel 2009-BUND fordert zur Bundestagswahl 2009 die Agenda Zukunftsfähiges Deutschland. Bad Hersfeld. Available online at http://www.bund.net/fileadmin/bundnet/publikationen/sonstiges/20081122_sonstiges_beschluss_bdv_a001.pdf, checked on 28/10/2011.
- BUND (2009): Naturschutz in Zeiten des Klimawandels. Positionen Nr. 50. Available online at http://www.bund.net/fileadmin/bundnet/publikationen/naturschutz/20090202_naturschutz_klimawandel_position.pdf, checked on 31/10/2011.
- BUND (2010): Satzung des BUND e.V.,. Available online at http://www.bund.net/ueber_uns/satzung/, updated on 21/11/2010, checked on 1/11/2011.
- BUND (2011) a: Für einen naturverträglichen Ausbau der Windenergie. Positionen Nr. 56. Available online at http://www.bund.net/fileadmin/bundnet/publikationen/energie/20110600_energie_position_windenergie.pdf, checked on 31/10/2011.
- BUND (2011) b: Zukunftsfähige Energiepolitik. Positionen Nr.48. Available online at http://www.bund.net/fileadmin/bundnet/publikationen/energie/20110922_energie_position.pdf, checked on 23/11/2011.
- BUND, Friends of the Earth International pro natura (2002): Natur in der Defensive. 22 Fallbeispiele für Interessenkonflikte. Amsterdam. Available online at http://www.bund.net/fileadmin/bundnet/publikationen/naturschutz/20020700_naturschutz_natur_in_der_defensive_fallbeispiele.pdf, checked on 22/11/2011.
- BUND, Landesverband Brandenburg e. V. (BUND Brandenburg) a: Satzung. Available online at <http://www.bund-brandenburg.de/fileadmin/bundgruppen/lvbrandenburg/Verschiedenes/satzung2008.pdf>, checked on 1/11/2011.
- BUND, Landesverband Brandenburg e. V. (BUND Brandenburg) b: Themen und Projekte. Available online at http://www.bund-brandenburg.de/themen_projekte/, checked on 2/11/2011.
- BUND Brandenburg; NABU Brandenburg (2010): Naturschutzfachliche Kriterien für Windeignungsgebiete und für Genehmigungsverfahren von Windkraftanlagen. Available online at http://www.bund-brandenburg.de/fileadmin/bundgruppen/lvbrandenburg/Klimaschutz_Energie/windkraft-kriterien-stellungnahme_-_april_2010.pdf, checked on 31/10/2011.

BUNDESMINISTERIUM FÜR UMWELT, NATURSCHUTZ UND REAKTORSICHERHEIT (2010): Energiekonzept 2050. Meilensteine und Bewertungen. Available online at <http://www.bmu.de/energiekonzept/doc/46501.php>, checked on 30/06/2011.

BUNDESREGIERUNG CDU/CSU/FDP (2010): Energiekonzept für eine umwelt schonende, zuverlässige und bezahlbare Energieversorgung. Available online at http://www.bmu.de/files/pdfs/allgemein/application/pdf/energiekonzept_bundesregierung.pdf, checked on 19/09/2011.

BUNDESVERBAND WINDENERGIE (BWE); BUND (2011): Bundesverband WindEnergie und BUND: Ausbaupotentiale der Windenergie an Land stärker nutzen und Stromverbrauch entscheidend reduzieren. Available online at <http://www.wind-energie.de/presse/pressemitteilungen/2011/bundesverband-windenergie-und-bund-ausbaupotentiale-der-windenergie>, checked on 21/11/2011.

BUNDESVERBAND WINDENERGIE E.V. (BWE): Berlin/Brandenburg. Available online at <http://www.wind-energie.de/verband/landes-und-regionalverbaende/berlin-brandenburg>, checked on 16/09/2011.

BUNDESVERBAND WINDENERGIE E.V. (BWE) (2011): Studie zum Potential der Windenergienutzung an Land. Kurzfassung. Available online at http://www.wind-energie.de/sites/default/files/download/publication/studie-zum-potenzial-der-windenergienutzung-land/bwe-potenzialstudie_final.pdf, checked on 5/12/2011.

BUNDMagazin (2004): Naturschutz im BUND (3). Available online at <http://www.bund.net/publikationen/bundmagazin/archiv/>, checked on 31/10/2011.

DEUTSCHER NATURSCHUTZRING (DNR): Umwelt- und naturverträgliche Windenergienutzung. Available online at <http://www.dnr.de/projekte/umwelt--und-naturvertraegliche-windenergienutzung/index.html>, checked on 21/09/2011.

DEUTSCHER NATURSCHUTZRING (DNR): Wind ist Kraft. Available online at <http://www.wind-ist-kraft.de/>, checked on 21/09/2011.

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH (FoE) (2002): Wind power: your questions answered. London. Available online at http://www.foe.co.uk/resource/factsheets/wind_power.pdf, checked on 28/10/2011.

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH (FoE) UK (2002): Wind power: your questions answered. London. Available online at http://www.foe.co.uk/resource/factsheets/wind_power.pdf, checked on 23/11/2011.

GREENPEACE BRANDENBURG-POTSDAM a: Aktivitäten. Available online at http://gruppen.greenpeace.de/potsdam/activities.html?&no_cache=1, checked on 8/11/2011.

GREENPEACE BRANDENBURG-POTSDAM b: Ansprechpartner. Available online at <http://gruppen.greenpeace.de/potsdam/74.html>, checked on 8/11/2011.

GREENPEACE GERMANY a: Mitmachen. Available online at http://www.greenpeace.de/ueber_uns/mitmachen/, checked on 21/09/2011.

GREENPEACE GERMANY b: Presse. Available online at <http://www.greenpeace.de/presse/>, checked on 21/09/2011.

GREENPEACE GERMANY c: Was sind Greenpeace-Gruppen? Available online at http://www.greenpeace.de/ueber_uns/mitmachen/was_sind_greenpeace_gruppen/, checked on 21/09/2011.

GREENPEACE GERMANY (2004): Globaler Klimaschutz –ohne Wind nicht machbar. Available online at http://www.greenpeace.de/fileadmin/gpd/user_upload/themen/energie/greenpeace_factsheet_klimaschutz_ohne_wind_nicht_machbar.pdf, checked on 7/11/2011.

GREENPEACE GERMANY (2006): Erneuerbare Energien. Im Überfluss vorhanden. Available online at http://www.greenpeace.de/fileadmin/gpd/user_upload/themen/energie/greenpeace_erneuerbare_energien.pdf, checked on 7/11/2011.

GREENPEACE GERMANY (2007): Wind. Available online at http://www.greenpeace.de/themen/energie/erneuerbare_energien/artikel/wind/, checked on 21/09/2011.

- GREENPEACE GERMANY (2008): Hintergrund Erneuerbare Energien. Mit Wind und Sonne das Klima schützen. Available online at http://www.greenpeace.de/fileadmin/gpd/user_upload/themen/energie/Greenpeace_Energie.pdf, checked on 7/11/2011.
- GREENPEACE GERMANY (2010): Freiwillige und Ehrenamt* bei Greenpeace Deutschland. Selbstverständnis, Aufgaben, Zusammenarbeit. Available online at http://www.greenpeace.de/fileadmin/gpd/user_upload/wir_ueber_uns/mitmachen_bei_greenpeace/Freiwilligen_Policy_2010.pdf, checked on 28/11/2011.
- GREENPEACE GERMANY (2011): Satzung des Greenpeace e.V. Hamburg. Available online at http://www.greenpeace.de/fileadmin/gpd/user_upload/wir_ueber_uns/GP_Satzung_als_Doppelseiter.pdf, checked on 8/11/2011.
- GREENPEACE GERMANY (2011): Der Plan. Available online at http://www.greenpeace.de/fileadmin/gpd/user_upload/themen/energie/DerPlan.pdf, checked on 9/11/2011.
- GREENPEACE GERMANY (2011): Greenpeace Code of Conduct. Available online at http://www.greenpeace.de/fileadmin/gpd/user_upload/wir_ueber_uns/2011_Greenpeace_Germany_Code_of_Conduct.pdf, checked on 8/11/2011.
- GREENPEACE INTERNATIONAL (GPI) a: Governance Structure. Available online at <http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/about/how-is-greenpeace-structured/governance-structure/>, checked on 30/11/2011.
- GREENPEACE INTERNATIONAL (GPI) b: Management Structure. Available online at <http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/about/how-is-greenpeace-structured/management/>, checked on 30/11/2011.
- LAND BRANDENBURG/BERLIN (2011): Raumordnerische Steuerung von Windenergieanlagen. Available online at <http://gl.berlin-brandenburg.de/regionalplanung/windenergie/index.html>, checked on 5/12/2011.
- MICHAEL-OTTO-INSTITUTE: Windkraft & Greifvögel. Available online at <http://bergenhusen.nabu.de/forschung/greifvoegel/>, checked on 17/11/2011.
- NABU BRANDENBURG a: Chronik. Available online at <http://brandenburg.nabu.de/nabu/portrait/chronik/index.html>, checked on 23/11/2011.
- NABU BRANDENBURG (1991): SATZUNG des Naturschutzbundes Deutschland Landesverband BRANDENBURG e.V. Available online at <http://brandenburg.nabu.de/imperia/md/content/brandenburg/satzung09.pdf>, updated on 21/11/2009, checked on 15/11/2011.
- NABU BRANDENBURG; BUNDESVERBAND WINDENERGIE E.V. (BWE) (2009): Windenergie im Spannungsfeld zwischen Klima- und Naturschutz. Available online at <http://energie-land-schafft.de/dokumentation/>, checked on 22/11/2011.
- NABU GERMANY a: Windkraft. Available online at <http://www.nabu.de/themen/energie/erneuerbareenergien/windkraft/>, checked on 21/09/2011.
- NABU GERMANY (2006): Leitfaden Erneuerbare Energien. Konflikte lösen und vermeiden. Available online at <http://www.nabu.de/imperia/md/content/nabude/energie/4.pdf>, checked on 21/11/2011.
- NABU GERMANY (2007) a: Umweltmediation – eine Chance für Konflikte bei Erneuerbaren Energien? Available online at <http://www.nabu.de/imperia/md/content/nabude/14.pdf>, checked on 21/11/2011.
- NABU GERMANY (2007) b: Windenergie. Zukunft Erneuerbare Energien. Available online at <http://www.nabu.de/imperia/md/content/nabude/energie/wasserkraft.pdf>, checked on 21/11/2011.
- NABU GERMANY (2008) a: Grundsatzprogramm Energie. Available online at <http://www.nabu.de/imperia/md/content/nabude/energie/19.pdf>, checked on 21/11/2011.

NABU GERMANY (2008) b: Kommunikationsratgeber zum Ausbau von Erneuerbaren Energien. Available online at <http://www.nabu.de/imperia/md/content/nabude/energie/20.pdf>, checked on 21/11/2011.

NABU GERMANY (2008) c: Statute of the Federal Association of Naturschutzbund Deutschland (NABU) e.V. Available online at http://www.nabu.de/imperia/md/content/nabude/satzung_bundesverband_englisch_092008.pdf, checked on 15/11/2011.

NABU GERMANY (2011) a: Hintergrund. Naturverträglicher Ausbau der Windenergie. Handlungsbedarf und Leitlinien für die weitere Entwicklung in Deutschland. Available online at http://www.nabu.de/imperia/md/content/nabude/energie/wind/110317_nabu-hintergrund_windenergie.pdf, checked on 21/11/2011.

NABU GERMANY (2011) b: Naturverträglicher Ausbau der Windenergie. Eckpunkte für die weitere Entwicklung in Deutschland. Available online at http://www.nabu.de/imperia/md/content/nabude/energie/wind/110317_nabu-position_windenergie.pdf, checked on 21/11/2011.

NABU GERMANY (MICHAEL-OTTO-INSTITUTE) (2006): The impact of repowering of wind farms on birds and bats. With assistance of Hermann Dr. Hötker. Available online at http://bergenhusen.nabu.de/imperia/md/images/bergenhusen/impact_of_repowering.pdf, checked on 17/11/2011.

TNS EMNID (2002): Einschätzungen zu Windkraftanlagen. Available online at http://www.wvwindkraft.de/files/emnid-umfrage_ergebnisse_220302.pdf, checked on 21/09/2011.

Interviewmaterial

1. Klein, Katharina (26/10/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Herbert Barthel, BUND Arbeitskreis Energie, Spokesperson Energie und Klimaschutz at the "Bund Naturschutz Bayern"**. Audio File.
2. Klein, Katharina (1/07/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Anne Lepinski, Naturschutz BWE Fachreferentin Planung**. Written Notes.
3. Klein, Katharina (23/09/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Thomas Duveau, W.W.F Germany Renewable Energies and Infrastructure department**. Berlin. Written Notes.
4. Klein, Katharina (18/10/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Prof. Seied Nasserli ., BWE Berlin/Brandenburg**. Audio File.
5. Klein, Katharina (24/10/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Jan Teut, Ingenieurbüro für Windkraftanlagen**. Audio File.
6. Klein, Katharina (4/11/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Dr. Torsten Bischoff, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety Federal Ministry for the Environment, Department "Wasserkraft, Windenergie und Netzintegration der Erneuerbaren Energien"**. Berlin. Audio File.
7. Klein, Katharina (7/11/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Andrée Böhling, Energy expert at Greenpeace Germany**. Berlin. Audio File.
8. Klein, Katharina (14/11/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Axel Kruschat, Executive Director of the BUND Brandenburg**. Audio File.

9. Klein, Katharina (14/11/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Axel Heinzl-Berndt, Ortsgruppe Eberswalde**. Audio File.
10. Klein, Katharina (17/11/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Thomas Volpers, Spokesperson KV Uckermark, Deputy chairman BUND Brandenburg**. Audio File.
11. Klein, Katharina (21/11/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. **Interview with Employee in the planning department of a European renewable energy supplier with a focus on wind energy**. Audio File.
12. Klein, Katharina (22/11/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Dr. Helmut Röscheisen, Secretary General Deutscher Naturschutzring (DNR)**. Berlin. Written Notes.
13. Klein, Katharina (22/11/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Torsten Hauschild, Chairman NABU Berlin, Chairman of the "Berliner Landesarbeitsgemeinschaft Naturschutz e.V", Member of the "Stiftungsrat Stiftung Naturschutz Berlin"**. Berlin. Audio File.
14. Klein, Katharina (23/11/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Dr. Werner Neumann, BUND Spokesperson "Arbeitskreis Energie", Member of the Scientific Advisory Council**. Audio File.
15. Klein, Katharina (24/11/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Jens Lüdeke, Naturschutz und Reaktorsicherheit BMU" Research fellow at the "Bundesministerium für Umwelt**. Berlin. Written Notes.
16. Klein, Katharina (28/11/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Sven Teske, Head of the Energy and Climate team from 1994-2004 in Germany, current Head of GPI Energy and Climate team**. Audio File.
17. Klein, Katharina (29/11/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Dr. Wolfgang Cajar, Spokesperson BUND Ortsgruppe Schöneiche, Naturschutzaktiv Schöneiche e.V. Schöneiche**. Audio File.
18. Klein, Katharina (2/12/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Jürgen Jentsch, Chairman "NABU Kreisverband Calau" and Bernd Elsner, Executive Director "NABU Kreisverband Calau"**. Audio File.
19. Klein, Katharina (5/12/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Stefan Bunde, Greenpeace Potsdam. Berlin**. Audio File.
20. Klein, Katharina (7/12/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Katharina Weinberg, Executive Director NABU Brandenburg. Potsdam**. Audio File.
21. Klein, Katharina (8/12/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Nico Blume, Greenpeace Potsdam**. Audio File.
22. Klein, Katharina (9/12/2011): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Carsten Wachholz, Deputy Head of the department "Naturschutz und Umweltpolitik" and Policy Officer for Energy Politics and Climate Change**. Berlin. Audio File.
23. Klein, Katharina (10/01/2012): Nature conservation vs. climate protection in the wind energy sector. ENGOs and their handling of these trade offs. Interview with **Günter Ratzbor, Head of DNR information campaign „Umwelt- und naturverträgliche Nutzung der Windenergie an Land“ Sept 2009- Sept 2011**. Audio File.

Manuskript

HUBERT WEIGEL (18/09/2010): Redemanuskript des BUND-Vorsitzenden Hubert Weiger bei der Abschlussveranstaltung der Berliner Anti-Atom-Demonstration. Berlin.
http://www.bund.net/fileadmin/bundnet/publikationen/atomkraft/20100918_atomkraft_anti_atom_demo_berlin_redemanuskript_hubert_weiger.pdf.

JÄNICKE, MARTIN; JACOB, KLAUS: Environmental Governance in Global Perspective: New Approaches to Ecological and Political Modernization. Festschrift on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Environmental Policy Research Centre. Berlin.

Pressemitteilung

NABU BRANDENBURG (15/06/2009): Global Wind Day: Naturschutz und Windenergie im Gespräch. Symposium „Windenergie im Spannungsfeld zwischen Klima- und Naturschutz“. NABU-Pressestelle Brandenburg, Heidrun Schöning, NABU Landesverband Brandenburg e.V., Lindenstraße 34., 14467 Potsdam. Available online at http://brandenburg.nabu.de/presse/pressemitteilungen/index.php?popup=true&show=105&db=presseservice_brandenburg, checked on 22/11/2011.

Unklarer Dokumententyp

GREENPEACE GERMANY (October): Das Greenpeace-Konferenzsystem, October.

Vortrag

ROLSHOVEN, MICHAEL DR. (2011): Greifvögel, Fledermäuse & Co. – Artenschutzrecht aktuell. Windenergietage. Forum 3: Naturschutz. Rechtsanwaltskanzlei Müller-Wrede & Partner. Berlin, 26/10/2011.

SCHIMRIGK, DANIELA (2011): Greenpeace Deutschland. Abschluss- Basis-Seminar. Hamburg, 25/11/2011.

SCHIMRIGK, DANIELA (2011): Wie und warum aus Greenpeace eine Kampagnenorganisation wurde. Abschluss-Basis-Seminar. Hamburg, 25/11/2011.

TENGG-KOBLIGK, DIETRICH VON (2011): Schwierige Schutzgüter: Wie Windprojektierer und Naturschützer miteinander umgehen (sollten). Windenergietage. Forum 3: Naturschutz. Forum Umwelt; Entwicklung Europabeauftragter. Berlin, 26/10/2011.

WEBER, JAN (2008): Windkraftnutzung und Konflikte. Landschaftsplanerische Aspekte. Planungsbüro Petrick. Potsdam, 21/06/2008.

Zeitschriftenaufsatz

BRUNNENGRÄBER, ACHIM (1997): Advokaten, Helden und Experten. NGOs in den Medien. In *Forschungsjournal Neue Soziale Bewegungen* 10 (4), pp. 13–26.

DENHARDT, ALEXANDRA; PETSCHOW, ULRICH (2004): Nobody is perfect! Erneuerbare Energien, externe Effekte. In *Ökologisches Wirtschaften* (5), pp. 24–25.

DEVINE-WRIGHT, PATRICK (2005): Beyond NIMBYism: towards an integrated framework for understanding public perceptions of wind energy. In *Wind Energy* 8 (2), pp. 125–139.

HIRSCHL, BERND; HOFFMANN, ESTHER; WETZIG, FLORIAN (2004): Erneuerbare Energien zwischen Klima- und Naturschutz. In *Ökologisches Wirtschaften* (5), pp. 10–12.

- HÖFER, RENATE (2007): Zwischen erster und zweiter Moderne, Identifikationsprozesse in zivilgesellschaftlichen Organisationen am Beispiel der Naturfreunde. In *Forschungsjournal Neue Soziale Bewegungen* 20 (2), pp. 102–110.
- KREWITT, WOLFGANG; Nitsch, Joachim; Reinhardt, Guido (2004): Wege für einen ausgewogenen Ausbau erneuerbarer Energien. In *Ökologisches Wirtschaften* (5), pp. 12–15.
- MUSIOL, FRANK (NABU climate expert) (2004): Fischhäckselanlagen und Vogelschreddermaschinen. Streit über Erneuerbare Energien bei den Umweltverbänden. In *Ökologisches Wirtschaften* (5), pp. 15–17.
- NEUKIRCHEN, BERND (2004): Quantensprung oder Störenfried? Windkraft vor der Küste. In *Ökologisches Wirtschaften* (5), pp. 17–19.
- REIß, MANUEL (2007): Kampagnen von Umwelt-NGOs zwischen Kooperation und Konfrontation. In *Forschungsjournal Neue Soziale Bewegungen* 20 (3), pp. 40–48.
- SZARKA, JOSEPH (2004): Windpower, discourse coalitions and climate change: breaking the stalemate? In *European Environment (Today Environmental Policy and Governance)* 14 (6), pp. 317–330.
- TILS, RALF (1997): „Vorsicht: Mediation“, Chancen und Risiken der Umweltmediation aus der Perspektive von Umweltverbänden und Bürgerinitiativen. In *Forschungsjournal Neue Soziale Bewegungen* 10 (4), pp. 43–52.
- UEBERHORST, REINHARD (1997): Mittlergestützte diskursive Verfahren in der Energie- und Umweltpolitik. In *Forschungsjournal Neue Soziale Bewegungen* 10 (4).

Zeitungsartikel

- BINSWANGER, HANS CHRISTOPH (18th september): Unbeirrbarer Glaube an die Windenergie. In *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, FAZ* 1997, 18th september.
- STERN, HORST (22th september): Mühlen-Monster – Wind Energie ist nicht öko. In *Die Woche* 1995, 22th september.