



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Edinburgh Research Explorer

Faith-based actors as climate intermediaries in Scottish climate policy

Citation for published version:

Hague, A & Bomberg, E 2022, 'Faith-based actors as climate intermediaries in Scottish climate policy', *Policy Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2022.2137122>

Digital Object Identifier (DOI):

[10.1080/01442872.2022.2137122](https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2022.2137122)

Link:

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

Document Version:

Peer reviewed version

Published In:

Policy Studies

Publisher Rights Statement:

This is an Accepted Manuscript version of the following article, accepted for publication in Policy Studies. Alice Hague & Elizabeth Bomberg (2022) Faith-based actors as climate intermediaries in Scottish climate policy, Policy Studies, DOI: 10.1080/01442872.2022.2137122. It is deposited under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

General rights

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy

The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact openaccess@ed.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



Faith-based actors as climate intermediaries in Scottish climate policy

Alice Hague, Social, Economic and Geographical Sciences Department, The James Hutton Institute, Aberdeen. ORCID: 0000-0003-4874-7050

Elizabeth Bomberg, Politics and International Relations, University of Edinburgh. ORCID: 000-0002-2876-995X

Abstract: Faith-based actors (FBAs) are increasingly active in climate policy, and a growing literature focuses on how specific faith characteristics (theological and organisational) might shape climate action. This paper examines an under-researched dimension of their action. Using the example of Christian FBAs in Scotland, we examine their distinctive role as ‘climate intermediaries’ - ‘go-betweens’ between policymakers and their policy targets. We construct a framework of three core intermediary capabilities - representation, mobilization, aggregation - and examine strategies adopted to implement those capabilities. Using documentary data we identify FBA involvement in domestic and global climate policy, examining how certain Christian FBAs seek to shape government policy, but also aim to change the actions and behaviours of their congregations and members below. While FBA action has not alone shaped climate policy or agreements, we find their linkage role is distinct and multi-directional. First, by mediating ‘downwards’, FBAs mobilize action on global climate concerns within their own congregations. By converting parishioners’ religious concern into global action, these FBAs link the local to the global, but also the spiritual to the practical. FBAs also operate ‘upwards’ to successfully aggregate specific theological knowledge, and translate it into a powerful, general moral imperative for climate action.

Key words: climate policy; faith-based actors; intermediary actors; climate intermediaries, religion; Scotland.

I. INTRODUCTION

The number, presence, and activities of faith-based actors (FBAs) engaged in climate policy has increased dramatically over recent years as the links between climate change, ethics and moral duty have become more prominent (Baumgart-Ochse and Wolf 2018; Glaab, 2017; Kearns 2011). For instance, in the run-up to the 2021 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Conference of the Parties in Glasgow, Scotland (COP26), religious leaders came together to demand global cooperation and action on the climate crisis. Christian leaders issued a joint statement highlighting the impact of climate and biodiversity crises on poverty, calling for action at every level (Anglican Communion, 2021). Muslim organisations joined the faith-led campaign and issued a ‘united rallying call’ (IFEES, 2021); and a network of global faith leaders and scientists issued a joint appeal emphasising that ‘multiple crises facing humanity are ultimately linked to a crisis of values, ethical and spiritual’ (UK Government, 2021). In addition to high-level engagement, ground-level action by FBAs was evident: multiple faith groups took part in demonstrations surrounding COP26; the UK Young Christian Climate Network organised a 550-mile pilgrimage to COP26 to call for action (YCCN, 2022); others have pressured their faith denominations to cut energy use, and divest from fossil fuels (Operation Noah, 2022).

Scholarship on FBAs and climate has increased alongside FBAs’ climate engagement, spread across disciplines and disciplinary literatures. Discussions in the field of International Relations include explorations of FBAs’ role in international negotiations (Glaab, 2017; Krantz, 2021) or across scales (Kidwell, 2020). Others have examined FBAs’ distinct resources and mobilization patterns at the domestic level (Bomberg and Hague, 2018). Meanwhile, religious studies scholars have examined the theological dimensions of climate action (Nita, 2016; Kidwell et al., 2018) exploring the religious foundation for these actors’ positions on climate change. Recent collections focus heavily on Christianity, but also offer comparative studies of faith and engagement with climate change (Veldman, Szasz and Haluza-DeLay, 2014; Jenkins, Berry, Kreider, 2018) and/or in-depth studies of, for example, Muslim environmentalism (Koehrsen, 2021). This varied literature has focussed on how FBAs work to shape their religion’s institutional doctrine or members’ environmental behaviours, as well as investigating how religious values impact climate activism. Existing literature on FBAs’ climate activism does not suggest there is anything inherently ‘climate-friendly’ about FBA mobilisation (Bomberg and Hague 2018). FBA engagement can polarise debate and action (Baumgart-Ochse and Wolf, 2018; Smith and Smythe, 2017), and FBAs include organisations taking an obstructive approach to climate action (Dunlap and McCright, 2011; Jenkins, Berry, Kreider, 2018). But most attention is on the FBAs’ growing activism for change, identifying how they often speak as a moral voice, and mobilize networks to campaign for social change (Smith, 1996; Glaab, 2017; Glaab and Fuchs, 2018).

We draw on this rich literature but are particularly interested in the role of FBAs as *intermediaries* in climate policy and governance. *Climate Intermediaries* (CIs) are an extension

of the concept of intermediary actors from Science and Technology Studies literature (Kivimaa, Hyysalo, et. al., 2019; Hargreaves, et al., 2013; Meyer, 2010). Simply put, climate intermediaries are 'go-betweens' (Tobin, Farstad and Tosun, forthcoming; Moss, 2009); actors operating between policymakers and their policy targets, and aiming to change behaviours by interacting with both to influence policy and governance. Thus far, most STS literature on intermediaries has focused on actors such as professional societies, innovation bodies and standardisation organisations (Kivimaa, Boon et al., 2019, Kivimaa, Hyysalo et al., 2019; Gliedt, Hoicka and Jackson, 2018), which mediate between the local (individual businesses, or individual members of the public) and the state (Fischer and Newig, 2017). Looking beyond STS to the area of climate governance, well recognised CIs include industry and trade associations (Bailey and Rupp, 2006), or NGOs, groups and movements explicitly established to address climate issues (see Karhinen et al., 2021; Sovacool et al., 2020). All these can serve as transmission belts (Easton, 1971), collecting and aggregating policy input from their constituencies and feeding it into the policy process (Albareda, 2018).

But CIs also include less obvious climate actors - groups such as local communities, religious organisations or funding bodies, which pre-exist and engage with climate change not as their core remit but for other reasons. For instance some FBAs (e.g. Christian Aid) were established principally as development organisations that subsequently brought climate concerns into campaigning (Saunders, 2008), while local churches exist for reasons other than environmental activism. Other network-based organisations such as EcoCongregation Scotland and EcoChurch (England and Wales) were established primarily to encourage local churches to take environmental actions in their own context, rather than engage in national or global climate policy (ECS, 2022). Focusing on FBAs allows us to explore this latter, less known type of intermediaries.

Our more specific focus is on Christian FBAs. While a wide range of faiths and spirituality organisations are active in climate policy (Jenkins, Berry, Kreider, 2018; Berry, 2022), Christian actors are particularly visible. At both the government/organisational level and at the local (congregation/parish) level, FBAs have become increasingly active, decisive, and vocal in seeking to shape global action on climate (Kearns, 2011; Klinkenborg and Fuchs, 2022; Krantz, 2021). These actors include a diverse range of organisations such as established churches, church alliances, charities and development organisations, and a growing number of eco-congregation or 'green church' networks of churches committed to acting on climate change (Kidwell, 2020). We include all these under the label Christian FBAs.

Taken at face value, Christian FBAs fit the basic definition of intermediaries provided above: they serve as a go-between, a linkage actor, working directly with government actors, as well as seeking to influence government from the side-lines. As climate intermediaries, Christian FBAs seek not only to act upwards and shape state or government policy, but also aim to change the actions and behaviours of their own congregations and members (Kidwell et al.,

2018). The mechanisms of intermediation - how they undertake the intermediary role, including what strategies they employ, and how effective they are, remains under-investigated. We seek to address that gap by exploring Christian FBAs as climate intermediaries in a particular sector: Scottish climate policy. Our primary research questions ask what intermediary functions FBAs perform, what are their key strategies and interactions, and what, if anything, is distinctive about their role as climate intermediaries. Examining these questions will help us reveal how FBAs seek to shape and respond to climate policy, and add to debates about intermediaries in climate policy.

The next section builds on literature on intermediary actors and introduces a conceptual framework to examine FBAs as climate intermediaries. We then outline our methodology for answering our research questions regarding the roles, strategies and interactions of FBAs. Next we focus on two specific areas: i) domestic climate policy in Scotland, and ii) activities surrounding COP26 in Glasgow, tracking how FBAs act as climate intermediaries, and with what effect. Although we ascribe no direct link between FBAs and specific policy change, we find their linkage role is distinct, linking the local to the global, and the spiritual to the practical. Our analysis reveals the distinct ability of certain FBAs to gather and consolidate specific theological knowledge, and translate it into a powerful general moral imperative for climate action by individuals, communities, and government.

II. FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSING CLIMATE INTERMEDIARIES

As noted above, climate intermediaries play a role as ‘go-betweens’ situated between actors both ‘above’ (state actors, policymakers) and ‘below’ (citizens, individuals, community groups). Through their interactions, intermediaries do more than lobby; they seek to mediate between actors (and their activities, skills and resources) to create change (Kivimaa, Hyysalo et al., 2019). Put another way, intermediaries are not simply advocates, nor actors who happen to be located between citizens and states. Intermediaries must bring certain capabilities or functions which enable them to act as go-between and (potentially) shape behaviour or policy. To examine the strategies and interactions of FBAs as climate intermediaries we create a hybrid framework that pulls together existing scholarship on FBAs, intermediaries in technological innovations, and insights from literature on interest intermediation. Although intermediary capabilities are presented differently by different authors (see e.g. Alabareda; 2018; Sovacool et al., 2020) we simplify them here to into three broad capabilities linked to representation, mobilization, and aggregation. We explain each capability in detail below. Our framework enables us to: 1) identify and analyse how FBAs seek to carry out their intermediary role; and 2) identify and explore strategies employed to ensure these capabilities are carried out effectively.

A. Representation: Intermediaries must be able to ‘speak for the field’ (Moss, 2009), establishing themselves as credible and legitimate spokespersons for local constituencies when mediating with other actors – including state or ‘higher’ actors (Kivimaa, Boon et al.,

2019). Applied to FBAs generally this criterion requires FBAs to represent and articulate the views and interests of their faith adherents such as parishioners and congregations. Successful intermediaries are well-informed, recognised as independent (not tied to the state; see Abbott, Levi-Faur and Snidal, 2017), and considered credible and legitimate by the actors they seek to represent as well as by the policymakers with which they deal. Much of this legitimacy derives from their possession of distinct and valued knowledge (Seyfang et al., 2014; Illes and Yolles, 2002). The possession of knowledge is especially important for faith-based actors. In existing studies, knowledge tends to be scientific and technical (Moss, 2009; Hargreaves et al., 2013, etc). Faith-based intermediaries possess a distinct sort of knowledge – not technological, but theological or spiritual, including knowledge of sacred beliefs and texts, and an understanding of their meaning.

B. Mobilization: Successful intermediaries mobilize by creating social networks and building a sense of community (Karhinen et al., 2021; Seyfang et al., 2014). Earlier scholarship demonstrates how successful intermediaries build links and networks by sharing information through, for example, websites, newsletters, seminars and workshops (Hargreaves et al., 2013; Bomberg and McEwen 2012). Sharing knowledge is an important intermediary function in itself (Abbott et al., 2017), but it is also the process through which sustained networks can emerge. For FBAs, mobilization can also often involve ‘outside lobbying’ (Tobin, Farstad and Tosum, forthcoming) – i.e. galvanising adherents to take note and take action, using core communication tools and practices (sermons, newsletters, study groups) and institutions of their religion (churches, mosques, synagogues) to raise awareness (Bomberg and Hague, 2018). Mobilization also involves building wider networks. These networks might comprise multiple faiths (such as Faith for the Climate, GreenFaith), but they can also intentionally involve non-faith groups, including actors involved with international development, poverty eradication, and justice. For instance, Saunders (2008) and Kidwell, et al. (2018) demonstrate how FBAs joined with non-faith groups to forge wide, inclusive networks mobilizing around shared climate goals. If successful, this mobilization serves to engage religious adherents but also strengthen intermediaries’ presence and voice *vis à vis* policymakers.

C. Aggregation: Finally and crucially, intermediaries must be able to aggregate, or translate, knowledge (Hardagon and Sutton, 1997; Illes and Yolles, 2002). That means more than just collecting knowledge and views. Effective intermediaries are those that can disseminate knowledge through their networks and connections (Hargadon, 2002; Meyer, 2010). More importantly, aggregation involves not just spreading but *translating* - taking knowledge and rendering it appropriate and useable to others across and above the local level. Tightly linked to translation is scaling, which refers to actors’ ability to scale knowledge up and across levels of action and governance: Geels and Deuten (2006: 273) identify a process of transforming specific, local technical knowledge into knowledge which is ‘sufficiently general, abstracted and packaged, so that it is no longer tied to specific contexts’. Put simply, intermediaries shape and share knowledge so it can work in other places.

Applying this framework to FBAs in climate policy, we make two important additions to existing literature. First, while analysing FBAs' moral voice in climate debates is not in itself unique (Glaab, 2017, 1118; Allan, 2020, Marshall et al., 2016), we analyse the role of knowledge and translation in that process. We identify a particular type of knowledge purveyed by FBAs and outlined above: a distinct spiritual knowledge grounded in their faith. We analyse the extent to which FBAs are capable of transforming and aggregating that faith-specific doctrine into a more general, moral imperative applicable to climate justice and governance reform. Second, whereas existing intermediary studies focus overwhelmingly on scaling up (rendering local knowledge more generally applicable) we also examine the inverse – how climate intermediaries translate national and global level concerns into lessons and imperatives relevant to local religious adherents. The aggregation process, in other words, works both ways. We investigate both.

III. METHODS

To examine the role of FBAs as climate intermediaries, we focus our analysis on Scottish FBAs engaged in climate action on both domestic and international issues. In this section we justify our case selection and introduce the data collected and method of analysis.

A. Context: Climate policy and faith-based actors in Scotland

Scotland poses an interesting case for studying how Christian FBAs act as climate intermediaries. Climate policy is an area where the Scottish Government has taken the role of a 'climate pioneer' (McEwen and Bomberg, 2014), including the adoption of ambitious domestic climate policy as a way to 'fuel the demand for Scottish self-government' (Royles and McEwen, 2015, 1049), and to position Scotland as a legitimate actor on the international stage (Nash, 2021). The Scottish Government also aspires to a relatively (compared to Westminster) 'consultative and co-operative style' (Cairney, 2020: 465) which welcomes input from stakeholders and civil society. These characteristics – climate focussed, active and consultative - render Scotland a useful focus for identifying the role of potential climate intermediaries.

Climate policy is also a global challenge, with international, state-level interactions playing a key role. We thus want to study FBAs engaged beyond the domestic level. FBAs active in Scotland include faith-based development organisations (such as Christian Aid; TearFund), as well as Christian denominations (e.g. Church of Scotland) and other organisations such as EcoCongregation Scotland, a network of over 500 churches committed to congregation-level environment action. These actors are often active at the international level, adding their voices to those of global civil society at the UNFCCC climate conferences. The UNFCCC climate policy architecture provides a broad and open role for non-state actors (Bäckstrand et al., 2017; Chan et al., 2019; Glaab, 2017). Scottish FBAs have long since joined the many religious groups now recognised as part of the rich tapestry of civil society actors with 'observer' status

at the COPs. They have been represented at previous COP meetings, but Scotland's hosting of the COP26 in November 2021 provided an additional, focussed opportunity to explore how FBAs in Scotland act at the international level. Climate policy in Scotland thus provides an excellent opportunity to study how FBAs have the potential to act as effective climate intermediaries at multiple levels of governance.

B. Data collection and analysis

To understand the strategies and interactions of FBAs as climate intermediaries, we adopted a qualitative approach. We identified two main areas of climate action by FBAs (domestic and international) and collected and analysed a range of documentary evidence linked to each level of activity. For each level we gathered data on how the FBAs enact their intermediary role, applying simple coding method to identify the three main functions (Neumann, 2003; Weatherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001). An overview of the coding matrix is provided in Table 2. The data is derived from two main sources:

Domestic policy: written policy consultation responses: we used the Scottish Government's consultation hub (Scottish Government, 2022, see Appendix) to identify where FBAs have contributed to the policy processes through submitting a direct response to a policy consultation. We searched for consultations through the 'Energy and Climate Change Directorate' (returning 31 consultations as of October 2021) and scrutinised the list for consultations on climate policy (6 consultations). We then manually identified responses to these six policy consultations submitted by FBAs.¹ Since 2015 FBAs submitted written responses directly to two climate policy consultations: the public engagement strategy of the Net Zero Nation policy (2021), and the Climate Change Bill consultation (2017). The number of consultation responses from FBAs, and overall responses, are indicated in Table 1.

[Table 1: Domestic climate policy consultations responses]

International climate policy: Scottish FBAs and COP26: We focussed especially on a key network EcoCongregation Scotland (ECS) which includes organisational members contributing to the consultation outlined above. Our focus on ECS is well suited for this study. ECS is connected to a range of FBAs through its funding organisations (including the Church of Scotland and Christian Aid), and through its membership base of local church congregations. ECS is also a member of Stop Climate Chaos Scotland, a coalition of civil society organisations campaigning on climate issues. It participated in earlier COP summits but made COP26 central to their activities in 2021. We systematically examined newsletters, websites, seminars and events before and during COP26, with particular focus on July-November 2021.

¹ We searched all submission responses to these six proposed policies by keywords (e.g., faith, religion, justice) to identify responses from FBAs not immediately recognisable as FBAs by their organisation name. We also checked for other FBAs' submissions through reviewing respondents' websites to check whether respondents indicated a faith-based connection.

We identified and downloaded text from twenty-seven ECS sites or newsletters mentioning COP26; we analysed each to pull out key themes linked to the capabilities discussed above, as well as an indication of strategies employed.² Taken together, these diverse documents - consultation responses, newsletters and online documents - provide a strong basis for examining the key capabilities of climate intermediaries outlined in our framework (see Table 2).

[Table 2: Coding synopsis]

IV. ANALYSING CHRISTIAN FBAs

In this section we apply our framework to our cases to provide in-depth analysis of the mechanisms of climate intermediation. We focus specifically on our FBAs' strategies and activities linked to the three intermediary capabilities.

A. Representation

Effective intermediaries must be able to speak for the field; they should be recognised as independent, deemed legitimate and credible by actors above and below, and they must possess credible knowledge (Abbott et al., 2017). At both international and domestic levels, the FBAs in our study seek to highlight this representational role as climate intermediaries, emphasising their connections to wider society and members across the country. The Scottish Episcopal Church, for example, notes in one consultation response that 'like other faith communities, [it] is deeply embedded, in society' (2021), while the Church of Scotland highlights its 'geographic spread, mass membership, ... membership of all ages, backgrounds and political beliefs' (2021). The FBAs additionally highlighted their connections to 'local, national, UK and international partners' (Church of Scotland, 2021). Touting their representative role, several respondents expressed disappointment that faith groups were not explicitly referenced in the 2021 Net Zero Nation policy proposal as a key member of civil society. (That desired reference was ultimately included in the final policy in 2021) (Scottish Government, 2021a, 2021b).

ECS, as a non-denominational network of over 500 church congregations (ECS, 2020), also enacts a representation capability in their climate intermediation. ECS itself did not submit written responses to domestic policy consultations. Yet through their broader representative actions working alongside other FBAs, they are clearly recognised by their peers as playing an

² More specifically, we analysed the ECS website <https://www.ecocongregationscotland.org/> with in-depth analysis of 3 sections: 'Ideas for Action', 'Events', and 'Projects'. Resources linked to COP26 ('COP26 and the Climate Emergency') and four newsletters from 2021 (April-Dec 2021) were also studied. In addition, communication surrounding jointly sponsored activities involving ECS and other FBAs (such as the Climate Fringe's Peoples March on 6 Nov 2021) were also analysed. For each, we identified key FBA messages, words, activities and how/if they reflected the 3 intermediary capabilities of our framework (see Table 2).

important role in climate policy: ECS is explicitly mentioned in consultation responses from other FBAs in both the 2017 and 2021 consultations. ECS also represents its members directly in larger networks, including faith-based networks and secular groups such as Stop Climate Chaos Scotland (SCCS) and the COP26 Coalition of UK civil society. Its representative role is also affirmed through its funding sources, including faith-based development organisations SCIAF,³ Christian Aid and church bodies such as the United Reformed Church or Church of Scotland (ECS, 2022).

Another key aspect of the representational role is being seen as legitimate and trusted spokespersons by those being represented, and by the policy actors with whom the CIs interact. FBAs first sought to enhance their legitimacy through reference to their core involvement in high-profile campaigns (e.g., Make Poverty History; Drop the Debt), emphasising to policymakers ‘above’ and members ‘below’ their previous record of political engagement. Secondly, FBAs draw attention to their respected status partnering with the Scottish Government: in one consultation response, Christian Aid (2017) highlights its role as chair of a group that ‘worked alongside the Scottish Government’ to ‘showcase examples of good practice in international climate policy’, while ECS prominently lists the Scottish Government logo on its website as one of its core supporters. The FBAs in our study also seek to strengthen their representative legitimacy by highlighting their international connections and reach. For instance, they quote statements from partners in the Global South when making arguments in consultation responses for why Scotland should adopt an ambitious climate policy, and anchor this legitimacy by drawing on credible information provided by development groups. This approach includes advocating for issues relevant to those presently ‘un-represented’ in policy conversations, i.e. those whose voices are currently not being heard. While our FBAs do not claim to directly represent these groups,⁴ they do seek to amplify their concerns, linking them to wider concerns of climate justice and highlighting its relevance for domestic climate policy. That linkage helps broaden their message while seeking to underscore credibility and trust between FBAs in Scotland and groups in the Global South.

Finally, an intermediary’s representative function requires possessing relevant knowledge (Geels and Deuten, 2006; Hardagon, 2002). In both the international context and domestic policy responses, the FBAs studied make it clear that knowledge of the impacts of climate change – and thus their imperative for action – is evidence-based. For instance, in their consultation responses, the FBAs refer to reports from scientists and from the UK’s Committee on Climate Change among others, to highlight the need for action. But our FBAs possess distinctive knowledge, and they invoke it often. Their knowledge is not technological (the preserve of the scientists) but theological or spiritual. Our FBAs’ domestic and

³ Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund

⁴ See Hudson 2002 and Bebbington 2005 on the blurred relationship between representation and advocacy in context of development NGOs

international activities demonstrate clear evidence of, reference to, and interpretation of Christian biblical and religious texts. Calls for climate action, and rationale for positions are steeped in biblical references and interpretation of Christian theology and mission (see Table 2). Reference is made to theological notions of creation care (the view that the Earth is part of God's creation and Christians are compelled to take care of it), and the biblical imperative of 'neighbour care' (Bomberg and Hague, 2018). In sum, the FBAs in our study demonstrate their confidence in the science (as presented by scientists) but add powerful arguments - based on their own specialist knowledge - underlining the moral imperative for action.

B. Mobilization

Mobilization includes the ability to create a sense of community, build social networks and galvanize action (Hargreaves et al., 2013; Karhinen et al., 2021). All three subcomponents were key to the FBAs' strategy to address climate action. Notions of community – especially a just community - is core to the FBAs' aims and action (Kidwell et al., 2018). For ECS, community-building refers first to strengthening internal ties - providing its members with shared aims and motivations. Collective climate events, eco-groups, workshops and seminars are all instruments employed within ECS churches to build community and action around climate change issues. But key to successful mobilization is the ability of intermediaries to appeal to a wider circle of participants (Klandermans and Tarrow, 1988). Our analysis shows that ECS sought to widen the community in question beyond its member organisations and churches. ECS has purposively forged alliances and joint action with climate groups, expanding awareness and collective action beyond the church and into the wider community. A core strategy was joining Stop Climate Chaos Scotland (SCCS) in 2007, a coalition of over 60 civil society organisations campaigning on climate issues in Scotland. Notable here is that SCCS members are not necessarily those with whom ECS parishioners would share ideological beliefs or political affiliation. Instead, SCCS is a community bound together on the issue of climate action and a shared imperative to address it. Prior to COP26, ECS also became active promoting the Climate Fringe – a platform for civil society activists and NGOs supported by SCCS, frequently sharing information about events and mobilizing its networks through the dissemination of resources.

Through these organisations, our FBAs encouraged members to take faith-based action around several action themes – reflection, learning, prayer and worship. Note here the mix of religious (pray and worship) and more secular (reflect and learn). That 'secular reach' extended to hands on action encouraged by ECS. Church members were mobilized to 'take practical action' in their own church buildings (through energy saving renovations), campaign outside the church ('meet your MSP and your MP'⁵) and 'join in the Global Day of Action' (ECS, 2021). In short, the mobilization strategy of ECS and other FBAs often centres on grounding

⁵ MSP - Member of the Scottish Parliament; MP - Member of (UK) Parliament

action in religious practices and beliefs, but can stretch to more general strategies around learning, campaigning, and advocacy.

Domestic policy consultation responses evidence further how FBAs employ strategies to create community, build networks and galvanise climate action. With only one exception FBAs' consultation responses refer to partnerships with other organisations.⁶ The FBAs regularly point to other networks and initiatives with which they are connected (e.g. Glasgow Churches Together) and connections with national and international partners. For the Church of Scotland, creating community and building networks is a key part of its strategy to mobilize action, reaching beyond church members to the wider community: typical is its 'encouraging local congregations to hold community meetings to consider themes and ideas for a just and green future...' (Church of Scotland, 2021).

The strategy of galvanising action is seen most clearly through details of 'campaign responses' received in response to policy consultations. Campaign responses are those linked to an organised campaign asking supporters to send postcards or emails as a consultation response, rather than a formal, detailed response submitted directly by an FBA. The Scottish Government's summary of responses to its 2017 Climate Change bill consultation reported 19,092 campaign responses in total, of which over 3000 were from FBA actors. Through these responses, the FBAs demonstrate their effectiveness in mobilizing their adherents, and highlight their impact as climate intermediaries. Beyond encouraging 'campaign responses', Scottish FBAs also mobilize local climate action through their congregations. In their 2021 consultation responses, the Free Church of Scotland underlined how Christian concern often results in practical actions by parishioners; the Scottish Episcopal Church reported that churchgoers have participated in study courses and 'deepened their own knowledge of what needs to be done...' and the Church of Scotland lists churches presented with 'Gold' awards for climate action by ECS. Interfaith Scotland additionally refers to members mobilizing around financial divestment from fossil fuels. In all cases, we see how FBAs use their religious position and texts to mobilize members to engage not just in further prayer, but to take concerted, identifiable, practical climate action, as a manifestation of their climate intermediation.

C. Aggregation

Aggregation refers not just to collecting knowledge but spreading, scaling and translating it. This function helps distinguish intermediaries from 'mere' advocates. As described above, FBAs' specialist knowledge is not technical, but spiritual. Un-translated, this knowledge would be unlikely to resonate beyond adherents. Successful translation in this case therefore refers to 'de-contextualising' local (faith-based) understanding, and rendering it appropriate across a wider set of groups and scales. More specifically, the process involves translating a specific

⁶ ECS was mentioned once in the 2017 responses, and four times in 2021 responses; SCCS was mentioned in nine responses in total.

religious message into a broader moral imperative. While earlier studies place primary emphasis on aggregating knowledge upwards, from the local to the global (Geels and Deuten, 2006; Iles and Yolles 2002), we identified a more complex, multi-level process of aggregation. That process includes aggregating specialist knowledge not just across groups, or upwards to national and global level actors, but also downwards, translating global knowledge about climate change so it is meaningful to policy subjects such as individuals and wider society. This two way 'translation' process is evident in both international and domestic activities.

We identified several FBAs' aggregation strategies in relation to COP26. First, was a simple horizontal translation to a broader public. By hosting public events around COP26, ECS was able to present its specialised expertise and knowledge to a wider audience. ECS advertised a series of online 'In Conversation With' sessions for its members and broader audiences, each featuring representatives from groups engaged with climate action and justice (themes included fast fashion, consumerism, and equality). The target audience spanned religions, geography and generations. On each day of COP26, ECS groups around Scotland also hosted 'Climate Conversations'. Echoing the message of high-profile climate scientist and Christian, Katharine Hayhoe, these conversations underlined the need for action not just to 'save ourselves' but to address the impact on the most vulnerable and future generations (Hayhoe, 2021). In other words, running through the conversations was a clear moral imperative for action, powerful to churchgoers but not exclusive to them.

Aggregation involves horizontal widening but also targeting audiences both 'above' and 'below.' Translating their spiritual knowledge 'upwards' includes direct citation of biblical excerpts in policy consultation responses. These citations highlighted how values (justice, peace) outlined in consultation documents align with their faith-based values. When calling for action by policymakers, our studied FBAs drew on terminology such as 'caring for the poor,' 'our common home,' and 'caring for creation' as well as concepts such as stewardship and altruism, and pointed to greed and selfishness as the root of climate-related policy challenges (see Table 2). FBAs also frequently drew the attention of policymakers to their role as 'trusted messengers' to a diverse audience, emphasising their role as important communicators because of the 'clear theological rationale' for their concern (Scottish Episcopal Church, 2021).

Another strategy for upward aggregation was joint proclamations. By promoting marches and the 'People's Summit for Climate Justice' (6-10 November 2021), the FBAs shared a platform with a host of groups calling for immediate action from leaders assembled in Glasgow. Spiritual language fed into banners, statements and demands (e.g. 'Climate Justice Now!') to negotiators in the COP formal 'Blue Zone' where plenaries are held. These calls were not presented as faith-based views, but formed part of much wider, global imperative for climate justice.

We also identified a clear attempt to aggregate downwards; that is, translating broad messages of the global movement and national leaders into a context and language local adherents could understand and act upon. For the FBAs in our study, that meant translating global demands for justice (expressed by a range of actors) into a spiritual context. Our analysis reveals how FBAs use the language of ‘climate crisis’ and ‘climate emergency’ in communications with congregations (Church of Scotland, 2021). For example, when sponsoring debates on the ethics of investing in fossil fuel production, our FBAs sought to translate language used in the non-faith-based sphere into a spiritual context. Other methods included encouraging prayer (‘prayer for each day of COP26’), showcasing pilgrimages (‘from Camino to COP’) and integrating climate messages into daily and Sunday worship services- for instance ECS provides resources for ‘Creation Time’ and other themed worship services on its website. These ‘translation’ events were deemed successful, at least by ECS itself who noted in a newsletter communication:

‘It has been inspiring to see so many churches throughout Scotland encouraged and motivated through the importance of COP26. Please keep sharing photos and videos with us of all the amazing activities in worship, craftivism, practical action and campaigning.’ (ECS, 9 Nov 2021 newsletter).

D. Intermediary Functions: Summary

Applying our framework for climate intermediaries reveals how the representation, mobilization and aggregation/translation strategies outlined above have helped FBAs fulfil their role as effective climate intermediaries.

FBA **representation** capacities were recognised by government actors and parishioners who took part in the many activities (both spiritual and secular) around COP26. Through their policy consultation responses, FBAs fed into policy formation, articulating views of their members. In this way, the FBAs in our study sought to speak for their field (Moss, 2009), representing the views of members and adherents to policymakers, and taking the role of a ‘go between’ (Tobin, Farstad and Tosun, forthcoming) between policymakers and their targets.

We also confirmed that the FBAs in our study **mobilized** others to influence policy by building community and galvanizing action on climate change – another key feature of successful intermediary action (Karhinen et al., 2021). They sought to connect with civil society beyond FBAs, as well as mobilizing downwards to engage parishioner action. This mobilization function resulted in an expanse in climate mobilization in the churches (represented by growth in ECS’s membership to over 500 churches), but also ‘on the streets’ through faith-based actors successfully mounting of ‘campaign responses’ to government policy consultations.

Finally, our analysis indicates that FBAs’ principal strategy was centred on **aggregation** – translating and scaling knowledge to make it relevant in different contexts. (Abbott, Levi-Faur,

Snidal, 2017; Geels and Deuten, 2006; Iles and Yolles 2002). Particularly marked in our data were efforts to translate the *specific* (church doctrine) to the *general* (broader moral imperative). Conversely and importantly, our application showed how the FBAs scaled the global experience of climate change down to the local practical level and church context, translating global calls for climate action to locally-held events, and engaging congregations in climate action. While this strategy may appear a manifestation of the well-known ‘think global, act local’ mantra, what makes it distinct is how the message was translated not just down to fit the spatial context, but translated into the spiritual context as well. In short, operating in the space between policymakers and their policy targets, FBAs as climate intermediaries both translated spiritual knowledge up to policymakers, as well translating climate knowledge back down to the local level.

V. CONCLUSION

We have analysed how FBAs in Scotland seek to bring about change in domestic and international climate policy arenas. We drew on existing research into intermediaries to build an analytical framework which enabled us to focus on the representation, mobilization, and aggregation capabilities of effective climate intermediaries. Systematically analysing FBA activities domestically and internationally we found that, despite their origins outside of climate policy, our FBAs developed and implemented effective climate intermediary strategies to carry out these functions. Crucially, we have identified how FBAs sought to influence policy both upwards, and downwards to their congregations. More specifically, our examination of FBA demonstrated how FBAs can *represent* a distinct constituency, *mobilize* around claims of climate justice, and *aggregate*, translate and scale knowledge to render it applicable to both parishioners below and policymakers above.

While the aim of this paper was not to determine the specific impact of FBAs, the study has been revealing, both empirically and conceptually. Empirically, we have offered new cases and material with which to explore the growing role of intermediaries and climate policy. We highlighted core intermediary capabilities and rendered them applicable to neglected, less conventional intermediary actors, such as faith-based actors. In STS literature, the focus is often on technical actors aggregating technical knowledge (Moss, 2009; Hargreaves et al., 2013). We showed how that function need not be limited to technical knowledge. Conversely, we revealed how intermediation roles traditionally held by political actors such as parties, interest groups or movements can also be applied to seemingly non-political agents. In short, we show how the role of climate intermediary can be usefully applied to a much broader range of actors. But we also stressed that this wider application needs to be rigorous and focussed. Not every actor advocating for a cause is an intermediary. By systematically applying our framework we demonstrated the key functions that render intermediaries more than just climate advocates or activists.

We sought to make an empirical contribution to scholarship on faith-based actors as well. Existing literature on FBAs and climate change has established these actors' importance on the global climate policy stage (Glaab, 2017; Glaab and Fuchs, 2018; Krantz, 2021) including as potential agents of social change (Moyer, Sinclair and Spaling, 2012; Klinkenborg and Fuchs, 2022) But further study was needed to examine more systematically FBAs' precise role, strategies and mechanisms adopted. Moreover, these earlier studies view FBAs primarily as advocates rather than intermediaries. Viewing them as intermediaries – as actors operating between policymakers and congregations, shaping knowledge in distinctive ways - has allowed us to explore what happens at the increasingly blurred interfaces between church and state, public and private domains.

Conceptually, we have tried to enhance general understanding of climate intermediaries in several ways. First, we have refined and elaborated key dimensions of intermediation, especially, the core concept of aggregation. While overwhelmingly applied to the diffusion of technical knowledge (Moss 2009; Iles and Yolles 2002; Geels and Deuten, 2006), we expanded that concept to encompass an unexplored type of climate 'knowledge': theological, spiritual, and potentially powerful. Explaining how our FBAs scaled and translated that knowledge provides insights into knowledge diffusion, but also suggests the process through which moral claims – now central to climate policy at all levels of governance - are disseminated and formed. Our second conceptual contribution was to consider intermediation, and aggregation in particular, as a complex, multilevel two-way process. Most attention thus far has been how intermediaries – technical or political - seek to shape, translate and scale knowledge upwards (Geels and Deuten, 2006; Iles and Yolles, 2002) towards policymakers. We identified an equally strong counter dynamic which should be of interest to scholars of how intermediaries act – the aggregation and scaling of knowledge from the global down to the local level. Specifically we identified how our FBAs translated global messages of climate action, making them applicable and meaningful for parishioners actions at the congregational and even individual level.

There are inevitable limits to our findings, but we see these primarily as starting points for further research. First, we have investigated the role of Christian groups, which are just one type of FBA acting as climate intermediaries. While we have referred to other faiths, as well as interfaith organisations, analysis of how other FBAs seek to influence climate policy development, would provide additional insights about the role of FBAs more broadly (see Tobin, et al., forthcoming). We also studied a group of FBAs with a progressive agenda for action. Understanding the intermediary strategies of FBAs that seek to block climate action would also be worth further study, not least to investigate whether the framework for action in our research is reflected in climate intermediary actions more broadly. Additionally, the Scottish policy context and the event of COP26 is distinct in many ways. Those characteristics rendered our case particularly rich and revealing, but further research examining FBAs in different contexts would be welcome to tease out the extent to which context shapes the

expanding role of climate intermediaries, and what other strategies might be adopted given contextual differences. In addition, observing engagement and climate action by FBAs over a longer time period would help us understand how the role of FBAs as climate intermediaries changes and/or is sustained over time. Finally, further studies might build on our findings to investigate the direct impact of these FBAs. It is seldom possible to isolate a specific impact of one group of actors, but further research could track a rise in awareness amongst parishioners, or changes in language or policy, all of which our own study suggested might be present. These future avenues of research will expand our understanding of climate action and the increasingly diverse role of climate intermediaries.

References

- Abbott, Kenneth W., David Levi-Faur and Duncan Snidal. 2017. "Theorizing regulatory intermediaries: The RIT model." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 670 (1): 14-35. doi.org/10.1177/0002716216688272
- Albareda, Adrià. 2018. Connecting Society and Policymakers? Conceptualizing and Measuring the Capacity of Civil Society Organizations to Act as Transmission Belts. *Voluntas* 29, 1216–1232 (2018). doi.org/10.1007/s11266-018-00051-x
- Allan, Jen Iris. 2020. *New climate activism: NGO authority and participation in climate change governance*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Anglican Communion. 2021. "A joint message for the protection of creation." Created September 1, 2021. Accessed 24 Feb 2022. <https://www.anglicancommunion.org/communications/press-and-media/press-releases/a-joint-message-for-the-protection-of-creation.aspx>
- Bäckstrand, Karin, Jonathan W. Kuyper, Björn-Ola Linnér, and Eva Lövbrand. 2017 "Non-state actors in global climate governance: from Copenhagen to Paris and beyond." *Environmental Politics* 26 (4): 561-579. doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2017.1327485
- Bailey, Ian, and Susanne Rupp. 2006. "The evolving role of trade associations in negotiated environmental agreements: The case of United Kingdom climate change agreements" *Business Strategy and the Environment* 15 (1): 40-54. doi.org/10.1002/bse.465
- Baumgart-Ochse, Claudia, and Klaus-Dieter Wolf. 2018. *Religious NGOs at the United Nations: Polarizers or mediators?* London: Routledge.
- Bebbington, Anthony 2005. "Donor-NGO relations and representations of livelihood in non-governmental aid chains". *World Development* 33(6): 937-950. doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2004.09.017
- Berry, Evan (Ed.) 2022. *Climate politics and the power of religion*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Bomberg, Elizabeth, and Alice Hague. 2018. "Faith-based climate action in the Christian congregations: mobilisation and spiritual resources." *Local Environment* 23 (5): 582–596. doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2018.1449822
- Bomberg, Elizabeth, and Nicola McEwen. 2012. "Mobilizing community energy." *Energy Policy* 51: 435-444. doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2012.08.045
- Cairney, Paul. 2020. "The 'Scottish approach' to policymaking" in Keating, Michael, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Scottish Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198825098.001.0001
- Chan, Sander, Idil Boran, Harro van Asselt, Gabriela Iacobuta, Navam Niles, Katharine Rietig, Michelle Scobie, Jennifer S. Barnard et al. 2019. "Promises and risks of nonstate action in climate and sustainability governance." *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 10:e572. doi.org/10.1002/wcc.572
- Condell, Killian, Jennifer Gisborne, Skye McCool, Matthew Reynolds and Robin Kimber. 2017. *Proposals for a new Scottish Climate Change Bill: Summary Report*. Scottish Government. Accessed February 22, 2022. www.gov.scot/publications/climate-change-bill-consultation-summary-report/documents/

- Dunlap, Riley E., and McCright, Aaron M. 2011. "Organized climate change denial" in Dryzek, John S., Richard B. Norgaard and David Schlosberg (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society* (online edition). doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199566600.003.0010
- Easton, David. 1971. *The political system: An inquiry into the state of political science*. New York: Knopf.
- ECS (EcoCongregation Scotland). 2020. "Annual report." Accessed April 13, 2022. www.ecocongregationscotland.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/ECS-OSCR-2020_2.pdf
- ECS (EcoCongregation Scotland). 2021. "COP26 Glasgow: A Briefing for Churches". Accessed April 13, 2022. www.ecocongregationscotland.org/cop26/
- ECS (Eco-Congregation Scotland). 2022. "History." Accessed February 22, 2022. www.ecocongregationscotland.org/about-us/story/
- Fischer, Lisa-Britt and Jens Newig. 2016. "Importance of actors and agency in sustainability transitions: a systematic exploration of the literature". *Sustainability* 8, 476. doi.org/10.3390/su8050476
- Geels, Frank, and Jasper J. Deuten. 2006. "Local and global dynamics in technological development: a socio-cognitive perspective on knowledge flows and lessons from reinforced concrete." *Science and Public Policy* 33 4: 265–275. doi.org/10.3152/147154306781778984
- Glaab, Katharina. 2017. "A Climate for justice? Faith-based advocacy on climate change at the United Nations." *Globalizations* 14 (7): 1110-1124, doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2017.1308060
- Glaab, Katharina and Doris Fuchs. 2018. Green faith? The role of faith-based actors in global sustainable development discourse. *Environmental Values* 27 (3): 289-312 <https://doi.org/10.3197/096327118X15217309300840>
- Gliedt, Travis, Christina E. Hoicka, Nathan Jackson. 2018. "Innovation intermediaries accelerating sustainability transitions." *Journal of Cleaner Production* 174: 1247-1261. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2017.11.054>.
- Hargadon, Andrew. 2002. 'Brokering knowledge: Linking learning and innovation' *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 24: 41-85. [doi.org/10.1016/S0191-3085\(02\)24003-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0191-3085(02)24003-4)
- Hardagon, Andrew and Robert I. Sutton. 1997, Technology brokering and innovation in a product development firm. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 42(4): 716-749. doi.org/10.2307/2393655
- Hargreaves, Tom, Sabine Hielscher, Gill Seyfang, and Adrian Smith. 2013. "Grassroots innovations in community energy: The role of intermediaries in niche development." *Global Environmental Change* 23 (5): 868-880, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2013.02.008>
- Hayhoe, Katharine. 2021. *Saving Us: A Climate Scientist's Case for Hope and Healing in a Divided World*. New York: Atria/One Signal Publishers.
- Hudson, Alan. 2002. "Advocacy by UK-based development NGOs". *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 31(3): 402-418. doi.org/10.1177/0899764002313
- IFEES (The Islamic Foundation for Ecology and Environmental Sciences). 2021. "Muslims in UK and Ireland unite in call for COP26 climate action". Created October 18, 2021.

<https://www.ifees.org.uk/news-posts/muslims-in-uk-ireland-unite-in-call-for-cop26-climate-action/>

- Iles Paul and Maurice Yolles. 2002. "Across the great divide: HRD, technology translation, and knowledge migration in bridging the knowledge gap between SME's and universities" *Human Resource Development International* 5(1): 23-53.
doi.org/10.1080/13678860110007184
- Jenkins, Willis, Evan Berry and Luke Beck Kreider. 2018. "Religion and Climate Change." *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*. 43: 9.1-9.24.
doi.org/10.1146/annurev-environ102017-025855
- Karhinen, Santtu, Juha Peltomaa, Venla Riekkinen, Laura Saikku. 2021. "Impact of a climate network: the role of intermediaries in local level climate action." *Global Environmental Change* 67: 102225. doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2021.102225
- Kearns, Laurel. 2011. "The role of religions in activism." pp 414-428 in Dryzek, John S., Richard B Norgaard, David Schlosberg. *The Oxford Handbook of Climate Change and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kidwell, Jeremy. 2020. "Mapping the field of religious environmental politics." *International Affairs* 96 (2): 343-363. doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz255
- Kidwell, Jeremy H., Franklin Ginn, Michael Northcott, Elizabeth Bomberg, and Alice Hague. 2018. "Christian climate care: Slow change, modesty and eco-theo-citizenship." *Geo: Geography and Environment* 5 (2): e00059. doi.org/10.1002/geo2.59
- Kivimaa, Paula, Wouter Boon, Sampsa Hyysalo, and Laurens Klerkx. 2019. "Towards a typology of intermediaries in sustainability transitions: A systematic review and a research agenda." *Research Policy* 48 (4): 1062-1075. doi.org/10.1016/j.respol.2018.10.006
- Kivimaa, Paula, Sampsa Hyysalo, Wouter Boon, Laurens Klerkx, Mari Martiskainen, Johan Schot. 2019. "Passing the baton: How intermediaries advance sustainability transitions in different phases." *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions* 31: 110-125.
doi.org/10.1016/j.eist.2019.01.001
- Klandermans, Bert, and Sidney Tarrow. 1988. "Mobilization into social movements: Synthesizing European and American approaches." *International Social Movement Research* 1 (1): 1-38.
- Klinkenberg, Hannah and Doris Fuchs. 2022. "Religion: A resource in European climate politics? An examination of faith-based contributions to the climate policy discourse in the EU." *Z Religion Ges Polit* 6, 83–101. doi.org/10.1007/s41682-021-00082-0
- Koehrsen, Jens. 2021. "Muslims and climate change: How Islam, Muslim organizations, and religious leaders influence climate change perceptions and mitigation activities." *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 12 (3): e702. doi.org/10.1002/wcc.702.
- Krantz, David. 2021. "COP and the cloth: quantitatively and normatively assessing religious NGO participation at the conference of parties to the United Nations framework convention on climate change." *Sci* 3 (2): 24.
- Marshall, George, Corner, Adam, Roberts, Olga, and Clarke, Jamie. 2016. *Faith and climate change: A guide to talking with the five major faiths*. Oxford: Climate Outreach

- McEwen, Nicola, and Elizabeth Bomberg. 2014. "Sub-state climate pioneers: the case of Scotland." *Regional and Federal Studies* 24 (1): 63-85, doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2013.820182
- Meyer, M. 2010. 'The rise of the knowledge broker'. *Science Communication*. 2010;32(1):118-127. doi.org/10.1177/1075547009359797
- Moss, Timothy. 2009. "Intermediaries and the governance of sociotechnical networks in transition." *Environment and Planning A* 41 (6): 1480-1495. doi.org/10.1068/a4
- Moyer, Joanne, Sinclair, John and Spaling, Harry 2012. 'Working for God and sustainability: the activities of faith-based organizations in Kenya' *Voluntas* 23: 959-92. www.jstor.org/stable/41683090
- Nash, Sarah Louise. 2021. "'Anything Westminster can do we can do better': the Scottish Climate Change Act and placing a sub-state nation on the international stage." *Environmental Politics* 30 (6): 1024-1044. doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2020.1846957.
- Neuman, W.L. 2003. *Social Research Methods* (5th ed.), New York: Allyn and Bacon
- Nita, Maria. 2016. *Praying and campaigning with environmental Christians: Green religion and the climate movement*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Operation Noah. 2022. "Bright Now: Our divestment campaign." Accessed February 22, 2022. <https://operationnoah.org/what-we-do/bright-now-our-divestment-campaign/>
- Royles, Elin, and Nicola McEwen. 2015. "Empowered for action? Capacities and constraints in sub-state government climate action in Scotland and Wales." *Environmental Politics* 24 (6): 1034-1054, doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2015.1053726
- Saunders, Clare. 2008. "The Stop Climate Chaos Coalition: climate change as a development issue." *Third World Quarterly* 29 (8): 1509-1526, doi.org/10.1080/01436590802528580
- Scottish Government. 2021a. *Analysis of Responses to Public Consultation: Net Zero Nation – Draft Public Engagement Strategy for Climate Change*. Scottish Government. Accessed February 22, 2022. www.gov.scot/publications/net-zero-nation-draft-public-engagement-strategy-climate-change-consultation-analysis/
- Scottish Government. 2021b. *Net Zero Nation: Public Engagement Strategy for Climate Change*. Scottish Government. Accessed February 22, 2022. www.gov.scot/publications/net-zero-nation-public-engagement-strategy-climate-change/
- Scottish Government. 2022. *Scottish Government consultations*. Accessed April 13, 2022. <https://consult.gov.scot>
- Seyfang, Gill, Sabine Hielscher, Tom Hargreaves, Mari Martiskainen, Adrian Smith. 2014. A grassroots sustainable energy niche? Reflections on community energy in the UK. *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions*, 13: 21-44. doi.org/10.1016/j.eist.2014.04.004
- Smith, Christian, ed. 1996. *Disruptive religion: The force of faith in social movement activism*. New York: Routledge.
- Smith, Peter J., and Elizabeth Smythe. 2017. "Faith groups and justice: A source of solidarity or division in the Global Justice Movement?" *Globalizations*, 14(7), 1140–1157. doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2017.1314628

- Sovacool, Benjamin K., Bruno Turnheim, Mari Martiskainen, Donal Brown, Paula Kivimaa. 2020. Guides or gatekeepers? Incumbent-oriented transition intermediaries in a low-carbon era. *Energy Research and Social Science* 66: 101490. doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2020.101490
- Tobin, Paul, Fay Farstad and Jale Tosun. Forthcoming. "Intermediating climate change: The evolving strategies, interactions and impacts of neglected 'climate intermediaries'. *Policy Studies*.
- Tobin, Paul, Nafhesa Ali, Sherilyn MacGregor, and Zarina Ahmad. Forthcoming. Title TBC. *Policy Studies*.
- UK Government. 2021. "Faith and Science: Towards COP26."
<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/holy-see-faith-and-science-an-appeal-for-cop26>.
Accessed 22 Sept 2022.
- Veldman, Robin Globus, Andrew Szasz, and Randolph Haluza-DeLay, eds. 2014. *How the World's Religions are Responding to Climate Change: Social Scientific Investigations*. New York: Routledge.
- Weatherell, Margaret, Stephanie Taylor, and Simeon J. Yates, S.J. 2001. *Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis*. London: Sage and The Open University.
- YCCN (Young Christian Climate Network). 2022. "Past Campaigns: Relay to COP26" Accessed 5 October 2022. <https://www.yccn.uk/past-campaigns>.

Appendix 1: List of policy consultation documents analysed

2017 – Climate Change Bill consultation – FBA responses
Christian Aid Scotland
Church of Scotland
Oxfam et al.: Joint submission from various international development orgs incl FBAs : Oxfam Scotland, Christian Aid Scotland, SCIAF, Tearfund Scotland, IDEAS, Scottish Fair Trade Forum, Ecologia Youth Trust, Global Ecovillage Network. Malawi Fruits
SCIAF (Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund)
TearFund Scotland
United Reformed Church (National Synod of Scotland Church and Society Committee)
2021 – Net Zero Nation: draft public engagement strategy
Church of Scotland
Free Church of Scotland
Interfaith Scotland⁷
‘On behalf of two Laudato Si Circles’
Quakers in Scotland
Scottish Episcopal Church (Church in Society Committee)

Data available from consult.gov.scot

⁷ We have included responses from Interfaith Scotland (2021) and the joint submission from international development organisations (Oxfam et al., 2017) in our analysis, as both responses contain content referring to Christianity. We acknowledge that the respondents are representing a broader constituency in their submissions.

Table 1: Domestic climate policy consultations responses

Consultation	Date	Responses	FBA submitting response
Climate Change Bill	Sep 2017	257 non-campaign responses available online. 6 responses from FBAs. 19, 092 'campaign' responses: 2154 via SCIAF; 1019 via Christian Aid (postcards). (Figures from Condell et al., 2017).	Christian Aid Scotland. Church of Scotland. Oxfam Scotland, Christian Aid Scotland, SCIAF, Tearfund Scotland, IDEAS, Scottish Fair Trade Forum, Ecologia Youth Trust, Global Ecovillage Network, Malawi Fruits (joint response). Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund (SCIAF). TearFund Scotland. United Reformed Church (National Synod of Scotland Church and Society Committee).
Net Zero Nation: draft public engagement strategy	Mar 2021	163 responses published online. 6 responses from FBAs.	Church of Scotland. Free Church of Scotland. Interfaith Scotland. ⁸ 'On behalf of two Laudato Si' Circles'. Quakers in Scotland. Scottish Episcopal Church (Church in Society Committee).

⁸ We have included responses from Interfaith Scotland (2021) and the joint submission from international development organisations (Oxfam et al., 2017) in our analysis, as both responses contain content referring to Christianity. We acknowledge that the respondents represent a broader constituency.

Table 2: Coding Synopsis

INTERMEDIARY FUNCTION	DESCRIPTION	SAMPLE PHRASES IDENTIFIED AND CODED
Representation	Indications of desire to represent; identifying whom FBAs are representing; knowledge and legitimacy of representatives	'our communities work alongside Scottish government. 'deeply embedded in society'; 'we're a faith- based network within wider networks'; 'listening to voices;' 'not otherwise heard'
Mobilization	Indications of networking, galvanising, mobilising others to take action.	'Encourage local congregations to hold meetings'; 'we support community action'; take note; take action; four action themes.
Aggregation (upward and downward)	Indication and examples of theological knowledge being aggregated to more general language or context (including biblical notions of creation care and neighbour care).	'Theological imperative to act;' duty to care for God's creation; good stewards; earth belongs not just to us; injustice; listen to the poor; climate as common good; our common home.
	Conversely, examples of 'secular' language aggregated downwards to faith-based context.	Climate emergency is faith emergency; 'our opportunity to repent'; our 'generation's sin'