

Université de Montréal

**Urban Carbon Politics**  
*Civil Society, Policymaking and the Transition to*  
*Carbon-Neutral Cities*

par  
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Sciences humaines appliquées  
Faculté des arts et des sciences

Thèse présentée à la faculté des arts et des sciences  
en vue de l'obtention du grade de doctorat (Ph. D.)  
en Sciences humaines appliquées

Novembre 2020

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Université de Montréal  
Sciences humaines appliquées : Faculté des arts et des sciences

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*Cette thèse intitulée*

**Urban Carbon Politics**

***Civil Society, Policymaking and the Transition to Carbon-Neutral Cities***

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# Résumé

Les villes sont au cœur de l'urgence climatique et elles sont fondamentales pour accélérer la transition vers un monde 'carboneutre'. Aujourd'hui, les municipalités ne sont plus que de simples fournisseurs de services; elles doivent catalyser des transitions urbaines durables. La réalisation de villes durables est un défi extrêmement complexe car les exigences et le contexte changent constamment, plusieurs interdépendances dynamiques jouent un rôle crucial et il y a peu de possibilités d'apprendre par essais et erreurs. La signification même de ce qu'est une 'ville durable' est très vaste et basé sur des débats sociétaux très contesté. Bien que la société civile et les 'entrepreneurs politiques' jouent déjà un rôle important dans le contexte urbain et façonnent considérablement la façon dont les gens perçoivent la crise climatique; on ne sait pas encore comment ils peuvent répondre à des défis 'super vicieux' telle que l'urgence climatique dans le contexte urbain et comment les acteurs de la société civile peuvent contribuer à accélérer la transition vers des villes carboneutres. Souvent caractérisés par leur désir de maintenir une certaine indépendance vis-à-vis des institutions publiques, la question est de savoir comment les acteurs de la société civile occupent différentes positions vis-à-vis les institutions qu'ils cherchent à transformer, et les effets que ces différentes positions ont sur leurs contributions aux transitions urbaines durables. Si de nombreuses recherches ont été menées sur les entrepreneurs politiques 'puissants' associés aux systèmes dominant de nos sociétés, les 'régimes', on en sait beaucoup moins sur les entrepreneurs politiques issus de la société civile. Il est nécessaire d'améliorer notre compréhension de la manière dont ces derniers encadrent l'urgence climatique dans le contexte urbain et de la manière dont ils mettent à l'échelle leurs actions pour parvenir à une profonde et rapide décarbonisation du contexte urbain. La question de la thèse est: ***Comment est-ce que les entrepreneurs politiques issue de la société civile encadrent le problème de l'urgence climatique et comment mettent-ils à l'échelle leurs actions pour rapidement décarboniser le contexte urbain et accélérer la transition vers des villes carboneutres?*** La recherche est une étude de cas unique longitudinale et approfondie, sur une période cinq ans (2015-2020), qui reconstruit l'émergence de la Coalition climat Montréal; un organisme à but non lucratif qui vise à ce que Montréal atteigne la carboneutralité d'ici 2042, année du 400e anniversaire de la ville. La thèse mobilise le champ de recherche des théories de transition (*Transition Theory*) et des études en politiques publiques, pour mieux comprendre les efforts, actions et stratégies de la Coalition climat Montréal depuis sa création, au moment de l'accord de Paris COP21 de 2015. Basé sur un cadre théorique qui revisite la perspective multi-acteurs (MaP), l'accent est mis sur une meilleure compréhension des 'actes' des acteurs de la société civile qui visent à 'gagner' dans le champ d'action stratégique de la carboneutralité dans lequel ils opèrent à Montréal. La recherche met en relief leurs stratégies, comment elles ont émergé et se sont structuré à travers les années, ainsi que leurs capacités à influencer les processus d'élaboration des politiques publiques urbaines pour la carboneutralité et les processus de transition urbaine en général. Une attention particulière est portée au contexte; examinant comment (et dans quelle mesure) la nature 'polycentrique' de la gouvernance climatique et les caractéristiques des institutions municipales locales facilitent et contraignent les efforts des acteurs. Adoptant une stratégie d'analyse processuelle et abductive, la recherche révèle les stratégies entrepreneuriales des acteurs de la société civile qui cherchent à perturber le statu quo en faisant progresser des politiques publiques ambitieuses pour la carboneutralité urbaines, et le potentiel que de telles actions au niveau micro puissent provoquer des changements au niveau

macro. Adoptant le rôle engagé d'un 'chercheur-activiste', j'explore les formes d'entrepreneuriat qui 'tiennent tête' aux acteurs et secteurs les plus puissants de notre société; enrichissant notre compréhension du rôle actif que certains acteurs de la société civile jouent afin d'ancrer la carboneutralité dans l'agenda des politiques publiques. Ce faisant, la thèse contribue à enrichir notre compréhension nuancée de l'influence que certains acteurs de la société civile ont sur la direction et la vitesse des transitions urbaines pour la carboneutralité, et la durabilité en général. D'un point de vue pratique, la recherche contribue à mieux informer les actions et les stratégies de la société civile concernées par l'urgence climatique, ainsi que les types de processus de politique publique climatique au niveau municipal qui peuvent effectivement accélérer les transitions urbaines vers la carboneutralité; contribuant au développement de 'sagesse pratique' pour l'action climatique locale. Fondamentalement, le potentiel des villes n'est pas de tout simplement adopter les cadres politiques internationaux, mais aussi de montrer comment d'autres voies alternatives venant des 'marges' sont possibles. Impliquant un important potentiel émancipateur, la ville en tant que site d'expérimentation socio-écologique radicale doit être encouragée et catalysée, plutôt que d'être simplement laissée au mirage d'une 'économie verte'.

**Mots clés :** Carboneutralité, villes, transitions durables, société civile, politiques publiques.



# Abstract

Cities are at the heart of climate emergency, and they're fundamental if we are to accelerate the transition to a 'carbon-neutral' world. Today, municipal governments are no longer just service providers; they need to be catalysts for sustainability transitions. Achieving sustainable cities is a vicious problem as requirements are always changing, complex and dynamic interdependencies play a crucial role, there is no absolute right or wrong solution, and little opportunities exist to learn by trial and error. The very meaning of what is a 'sustainable city' is a very contested societal debate. Although civil society and policy entrepreneurs are already central actors in the urban context and considerably influence the way by which people think about the climate crisis; it's not clear yet how they can respond to challenges of such magnitude as the climate emergency, and how they can contribute to accelerating the transition to a carbon-neutral world. While often characterized by their desire to sustain a certain form of independence from governments, it's not yet clear how civil society actors occupy different positions vis-à-vis the institutions they try to transform, and the effects that these diverse positions have on their contributions to urban sustainability transitions. For instance, while much has been researched about powerful 'regime' policy entrepreneurs, much less is known about policy entrepreneurs emanating from civil society. There's a need to enhance our understanding of how such actors frame the climate emergency in the urban context and how they scale their actions in order to achieve deep urban decarbonisation. The thesis question is: ***How do civil society's policy entrepreneurs frame the climate emergency problem and scale their actions to quickly decarbonise the urban context and accelerate the transition to carbon-neutral cities?*** The research is a five-year in-depth longitudinal single case study that reconstructs the emergence of the Montreal Climate Coalition; a non-profit organization that aims for Montreal to achieve carbon-neutrality by 2042, year of the city's 400th anniversary. The thesis mobilizes the research fields of sustainability transitions and public policy studies to better understand the Coalition's efforts, actions and strategies since the 2015 COP21 Paris agreement. Based on a conceptualised theoretical framework that revisits the Multi-actor perspective (MaP), the focus is to shed light on the 'acts' of civil society actors that aim to 'punch above their weight' in the strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field in which they operate, the way that they develop and deploy their strategies, and how this contributes to (and shapes) policymaking processes for urban carbon-neutrality; as well as overall urban sustainability transition dynamics. Particular attention is paid to context, examining how (and to what extent) the 'polycentric' nature of climate governance and local municipal institutions facilitate and/or frustrate the efforts of actors. Adopting a processual, abductive and transformation-based strategy of analysis that aims to generate 'practical wisdom' knowledge for urban sustainability science, the research reveals civil society's entrepreneuring strategies that seek to disrupt the status quo by advancing ambitious urban carbon-neutrality policies, as well as the potential for such micro-level acts to bring about changes at the macro level. In this way, and by taking on the role of an engaged climate 'researcher-activist', I explore the forms of entrepreneurship that stand up to powerful actors and sectors in our society, enriching our knowledge of the active role that some civil society actors (can) play in setting the urban carbon-neutrality agenda. In doing so, the thesis contributes to enriching an ever more nuanced understanding of the influence that civil society actors can have on the speed and direction of urban sustainability transitions. From a practice-based perspective, the research contributes to better informing civil society' actions and strategies, as well as the kind of municipal climate policy processes that can catalyze deep decarbonisation and

accelerate the urgently needed urban sustainability transitions to carbon-neutral cities. Fundamentally, the potential of cities is not just to simply associate themselves with current international climate frameworks; but more critically, to show how other alternative pathways from the fringes of society are possible. Involving considerable emancipatory potential, the city as a site of radical socio-ecological experimentation needs to be fostered, and not just handed over to the mirage of a ‘green economy’.

**Keywords:** Carbon-Neutrality, Cities, Sustainability Transitions, Civil Society, Policymaking.

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## **List of abbreviations**

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| CAM      | Climate Action Montreal                      |
| GHG      | Greenhouse Gases                             |
| GWB      | Gardens Without Borders                      |
| IPCC     | Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change    |
| MaP      | Multi-Actor Perspective                      |
| MCC      | Montreal Climate Coalition                   |
| MMaP     | Multi Level MaP                              |
| MMaP-MSA | MMaP with a Multiple Streams Approach Filter |
| MLP      | Multi-Level Perspective                      |
| MSA      | Multiple Streams Approach                    |
| OCPM     | Office de consultation publique de Montréal  |

## Dedication

*To Enzo, Kaia, Keoni, Joaquim and the children of their generation; I'm deeply sorry for the state of our home, forgive them (and us), keep fighting the good fight of the Light, nourish your roots, spread the wings of your mind, flutter freely, pollinate your communities, and inhabit beautiful blue Gaia, our Pachamama; the same way you would embrace, cuddle, protect and love your one and only mother. Ho'oponopono, the Jesus Prayer and the Five Toltec Agreements.*

## Acknowledgements

I can hardly believe that I've reached this moment, when I finally get to put down on paper all those acknowledgements I've played over and over in my mind as the end of my Phd journey was drawing ever closer, especially during those challenging last eight months of typing out the dissertation; deeply entrenched in the surreal and utterly unexpected COVID-19 confinement. While it's easy to begin the acknowledgement section, it's going to be difficult to end it. I promise that I will try my best not to make it too long. This said, I would like to share with the reader that I see this section, not just as an important and meaningful way to honor and give thanks to those that have made this work possible, but also to give the reader an initial 'feel' for what it is that I have lived in my solitary walk through the desert of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D).

I feel it appropriate to first begin by honoring those individuals that have taken care of me since birth. My parents, William EL-Khoury and Mireille Fortier, and my sister Sara EL-Khoury Bocti. Apart from the vital emotional support that they have nurtured me with, over the years, they've considerably supported me financially throughout my studies and are hence the key investors behind my academic endeavor. I owe them everything.

Mummy, you are the one person in the world that has sacrificed the most on my behalf. You birthed me, nurtured me, educated me, supported me, reassured me and guided me all the way to this very academic accomplishment. Like a lighthouse, you've safely led me to the fertile shores of my second homeland, this free nation of Quebec, where the spring buds of my soul could blossom. From you, I have witnessed and learned the meaning of 'a life of service', learning from you the blessings of softness, generosity, empathy, selflessness and hospitality; the pillars for building a peaceful and harmonious home filled with love. As the social worker, pedagogical counselor and educator that you are; you've also transmitted to me the joy of supporting others through the nourishment of authentic and reciprocal human relationships based on the golden rule of 'treating others as you would like to be treated'. You've always supported all my projects and endeavors, always encouraging me to listen to my inner voice, whatever it was that resonated with(in) me; in the same way that you have always followed your own 'resonance'. You've brought me up by

example, not just words, my role model in action. My inner me is you, and for that I am forever blessed, eternally with you.

Dad, here I am, thanking you for having (very early on in my life) planted in me the seeds of intellectual curiosity, knowledge, social sciences and academia. How can I not remember those evenings, when at the tender age of five or six years old, I would sit next to you as you corrected (over a candlelight) your students' management exams, sometimes accompanied with the faraway sound of artillery shells. Or that time when I overheard a conversation between you and mum about how a student had pulled out a gun on you in class because of a poor grade he had received, making me feel anxious at every work you graded. Your passion and flair for teaching are well documented in those two local Val D'Or newspaper pieces that your 'humanities' students and you exchanged publicly between 1973 and 1975; indicating that after all, teaching seems to be an inherited family craft. You've got behind you a beautiful professional life that you have built for yourself, from schoolteacher to university lecturer, corporate executive and successful entrepreneur; you have taught me the invaluable lesson of resilience, this capacity to continuously reinvent yourself. It's no surprise then that I've found my calling pursuing in your footsteps, I'm no more than a mere extension of you, and for that I am forever blessed.

Sister, or as I call you 'ikhteh' in Arabic. Since we were born people often assumed that we were twins. Not only do we physically look alike (more than ever as we pile on the ages :-), but it's also amazing to see how we've simultaneously matured into fierce 'conscious objectors'. As I like to often state, while you're my little sister biologically speaking, you've always been my big sister in terms of character. Always ahead of me in life's learning curve, you're my torch that lights my path. While I was selling diapers in the desert of Dubai back in early 2000's, you were reading Noam Chomsky and Naomi Klein while telling me that Dubai's corporate life wasn't for me. At many crucial moments in my life, you've been my voice of reason. For that I will always be grateful. Now that I'm done with my studies, let's get working together on that unschooling environment for our Enzo, Kaia and Keoni!

After acknowledging my deepest gratitude to the people that have accompanied and nurtured me since my early years; next I want to honor the women that has in a way accompanied me since teen hood; and that has shaped my life (and me) in ways I could have never imagined. My darling partner in crime, friend, wife and soul mate, Lisa Charbel. How could I have done it without the

home that you have weaved for us with all your creativity, serenity and love? I simply would not have done it, you're the cornerstone of this academic work. As the more emotionally stable one in our relationship, your free spirit brings me lightness, fun, joy and simplicity. The child in you brings out the child in me, keeping me grounded and connected to what matters. Your rebellious, artistic and do-it-yourself nature encourages me to continuously explore the limits of the possible; making it possible for us to reimagine another world and contribute to shaping it. I'm so very grateful that 'our PhD journey', rather than break us (as it can sometimes do to couples), contributed instead to making us the most authentic (and hence beautiful) versions of ourselves, for one another. For all this, I'm forever blessed and grateful.

While the next person on the list has accompanied me for only the last four years, he has changed my life as much as my life has changed in the last forty years, our angel from heaven, my beautiful son Enzo. It's not a coincidence if my doctorate research truly began in the summer of 2016 when you were born, and successfully unfolded during the first four years of your life. There is an Arabic saying that says '*babies bring their fortunes with them*'. Indeed, you choosing me as your father has been a miracle that's transformed me like I would have never imagined. You are love, light and divinity itself encapsulated in a beautiful little boy that lights up my every minute. You have already taught me more than any diploma, book or philosopher could ever do. You have given me a second chance at childhood and at life. I'm so grateful and blessed for the love and care mummy has given you in your first years, while I could not always be with you both as much as I wanted, so taken up with my studies. I can't wait to begin spending all my time with you, learning and growing together; you, mummy and me.

After my immediate family, the next two individuals are the ones that have had the biggest impact on my academic and professional life in the last twelve years since my arrival in Montreal, and whom I like to refer to as my two guardian angels, my mentors, role models and friends: my director Professor Luciano Barin-Cruz (the academic athlete) and co-director Professor Marlei Pozzebon (the academic revolutionary). From our very first discussions back in 2010, you both inspired me to explore the possibility of shifting professional path, from the corporative to the academic. The way you taught your classes, nurtured relationships with students, reconciled your humanistic values with your profession, and brought an overall breath of fresh air to an otherwise monotonous intellectual space; made me want to follow in your footsteps. Thank you for all the academic

opportunities and moral support you've provided me over the years, for always believing in me, providing me with the opportunities to trace a path for myself in the challenging field of academia and always making sure that had my financial expenses and needs covered at all times. Thank you for who you are, the things you do, and for your friendship. I am forever indebted and grateful.

And now, how can I give enough due honor to the people who are at the heart of this research project, my dear friends and comrades at the Montreal Climate Coalition. They are so many, and I'm bound to forget some. First and foremost, Matthew Chapman, who got me into this whole urban climate adventure from the very beginning. You have shown me what democracy in practice is all about, you are an exemplary activist and climate leader; with you I've learned from the best there is in climate community organizing. Thank you for having embarked me on this once in a lifetime ride. I'm grateful for everything that we've shared, for the camaraderie that we've nourished, and here's to growing potatoes on a farm while tipping municipal politics! To Jean-François Boisvert, thank you for being an example of what simple living looks like in practice, for always reminding me of humility, consistency and persistence. Jean-François Lefebvre, for showing me what a skillful researcher-activist and climate policy entrepreneur is all about. You have inspired me tremendously. Dimitri Roussopoulos, it's an honor and privilege to call friend a living legend such as yourself, to be learning directly from one of Montreal's greatest political ecologist and anarchist. Amal Melki, France Levert, Mathieu Corriveau, Derek Paul, Monika Firl, Luc Parent, Anthony Garoufalis-Auger, and Shaen Johnston; words will never be enough to describe my deep gratitude for everything that you have brought to my life throughout our activism together, for all the learnings you have offered me, and for your continuous support in my research. A special thanks as well to all the inspirational people that so generously offered me their time be interviewed.

The next circle of individuals that I would like to thank and acknowledge are my PhD peers at the University of Montréal that accompanied me in the first couple of years, Kadidiatou, François-Xavier, Maryse and especially my dearest friend Marianne Chbat; along with my 'pilgrimage companion' at HEC Montréal, Fabio Prado Saldanha. Marianne, thank you for believing in me from day one even though class couldn't understand half the things I presented in our seminars. For introducing me through your work to intersectional studies, and for showing me the kind of discipline and structure that doctorate level studies required. I will always be grateful for your

support, and we're way overdue (as always) for a visit to Mar Youssef. I still believe that in a past life we lived in the same village somewhere in the mountains of Lebanon 😊. Fabio, querido, what can I say except that, if it wasn't for you, I'm not sure where I would have made it to the finish line with your valuable comments and suggestions. Thank you for your friendship, for always asking about me, my research, sharing articles, advice and moral support. Our numerous milestone presentations with Marlei were just 'deal breakers' for me, apart from being of course such wonderful moments together. It's been an honor walking the path together. Forever grateful habibi!

Also, many thanks to my program of study in Applied Human Sciences, I could not have found a more suitable PhD experience; one that was well adapted to my learning style and developmental approach, continuously providing me with the flexibility and support that I needed to respect the integrity of my own emergent learning processes. Professor Marie-Marthe Cousineau, thank you for being such a tremendous program director.

Next, I would like to extend my thanks and appreciation to my dear colleagues at Pôle IDEOS-HEC Montréal. Mathieu, Laurence, Marc, Clarisse, and Kate; thank you for who you are, for your continuous support and encouragements, both in words and deeds. I could not have asked for more supportive and pleasant colleagues such as yourselves. I would like to also deeply thank several professors that have, at one point or the other, contributed in many ways to 'unlocking the lock-ins' that I faced throughout my academic journey. Anna Kim, Natalia Delgado, Emmanuel Raufflet, Johanne Turbide and Martine Vezina at HEC Montréal. René Audet at UQAM, Blake Poland at the University of Toronto, and Satoshi Ikeda at Concordia University; I'm forever grateful for your empathy and kindness. A thank you as well to Professor Flor Avelino, at the Erasmus University Rotterdam whose work has been a tremendous source of inspiration and holds a central place in this dissertation.

To my dearest extended family and friends that still consider me as such despite my quasi-disappearance from their lives, you know who you are. Mich Mich, thank you for always playing devil's advocate at dinner table in order to keep my critical thinking in check, for keeping me fueled-up with your home-made desserts during some of my writing marathons. Fu, thank you for having been one of my first examples of academic dedication and excellence; for showing me what it means to 'learn how to learn'.



Last but not the least, a heartfelt thought to all those that I knew (from close or afar), family, friends and comrades; that have passed to the other side of life, and that have shaped me in one way or the other. A particular mention to my grandfather's Joseph EL-Khoury (the goalkeeper) and Roland Fortier (WWII hero who's guided me in the last months of this dissertation work), my grandmothers Rose Salhab EL-Khoury (the intellectual and spiritual one) and Carmella Cyr (the rebellious and comic one); as well as my spiritual grandmother, '*Kukum*' Ann-Marie Awashish whom I know is proud of this achievement. Finally, a special thought goes out to the late Ms. Jane Greenaway, my friendly and highly qualified English teacher who taught me Shakespeare's language at the tender age of 9.

This work was also made possible thanks to the accompanying inspirational music and vibes of Norah Jones and Neil Young, alongside Jack, Guy and mother earth's abundant bounty. The formatting of this document was supported by the highly valuable support and work of Mathieu Neau.

*'Even though you can't expect to defeat the absurdity of the world, you must make that attempt.  
That's morality, that's religion. That's art. That's life'*  
Philip David Ochs (1940-1976), Singer and Songwriter

*'...to speak a true word is to transform the world'*  
Paulo Freire (1921-1997), Social Justice Pedagogue

*'Before writing for others to understand, the writer writes so that (s)he first can understand'*  
Unknown

# Chapitre 1 – Climate Emergency and Cities in the Anthropocene

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the societal problem that the dissertation addresses, mainly the global climate crisis, looking specifically at the role of cities, civil society and social movements in tackling it. The chapter is not meant to serve as a literature review on climate science, urban theory or the research field of civil society and social movements studies. Rather, it's a general overview of key concepts that 'sets the scene' for the subsequent literature review on (urban) sustainability transitions that follows in chapter 2.

## 1.1 Global warming, Climate Emergency and Ecosystemic Collapse

Since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the average surface temperature of our planet has increased by about +0.9°C, with most of this global warming taking place in the last 35 years<sup>1</sup> (International Energy Agency, 2020; Mann, 2012; United Nations Environment Programme, 2019). Temperature variations are not something new for our planet, as indeed the Earth's dynamic climate conditions have gone through multiple transformations throughout geological history. In the last 650,000 years, there's been seven cycles of glacial 'advancement and retreat', with the last ice age ending about 11,700 years ago and representing the beginning of the modern climate era that has enabled our current human civilization to flourish. Our planet's continuously evolving dynamic climatic conditions over millennia is a result of incredibly small variations in its orbit, which modifies the amount of solar energy that it receives from the sun (National Aeronautics and Space Administration [NASA], 2020a)<sup>2</sup>.

Nevertheless, what is particularly unique with the current global warming phenomenon is that it's happening at a speed that's ten times faster when compared to the average rate of warming that would normally occur after an ice age. This is a rate that's unprecedented in the past 65 million years<sup>3</sup> (Diffenbaugh & Field, 2013; Marcott et al., 2013). Why this exponential global warming of our planet? What is its root cause(s)? According to 97% of the world's scientists (1,300 independent scientific

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.iea.org/articles/global-co2-emissions-in-2019>

<sup>2</sup> <https://climate.nasa.gov/evidence/>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2013/08/130801142420.htm>

experts from around the world that are endorsed by the United Nations), it's highly possible (with a likelihood greater than 95%) that current global warming is 'anthropogenic' (J. Cook et al., 2013; Oreskes, 2004; Oreskes & Conway, 2011); that is, its the result of human industrial activities that are developed thanks to the consumption/burning of fossil fuels (mainly coal and oil) (Leggett, 2001; Ring et al., 2012). These energy sources are the foundations of our globalised world economy since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century (Mitchell, 2011), they're at the basis of our western model of global economic growth-centered development (Escobar, 1997, 2000). Despite that the need to move beyond 'business as usual', and define 'progress' differently, has been accepted for some time now (Stiglitz et al., 2009); inaction has persisted far too dominantly (Gore, 2015).

As illustrated by the famous 'hockey stick' graph, carbon dioxide levels in our atmosphere have dramatically increased by approximately one third in just 50 years (Mann, 2012; Mann et al., 1998; Mann & Jones, 2003). This dramatic and unprecedented growth, along with major increases in other gases such as methane, nitrous oxide and water vapour; traps the heat that radiates from earth towards space and creates what's termed as the 'greenhouse effect', the root cause of our planet's global average temperature increases. Within the mixture of greenhouse gases – GHG, carbon dioxide is considered the most important climate 'forcing' element and methane the most 'active' (yet less abundant) in the atmosphere<sup>4</sup> (Hardy, 2003; NASA, 2020b).

With GHG emissions continuing to increase at uncontrollable rates (Friedlingstein et al., 2019; Olivier et al., 2019; World Meteorological Organization, 2019), the world's scientific community has been ringing the alarm bell and raising red flags; warning us that global warming has reached unprecedented levels with devastating impacts fast approaching on the horizon<sup>5</sup> (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [IPCC], 2018). From polar icecaps retreating at extraordinary speeds and representing an imminent permafrost 'ticking time bomb' of methane<sup>6</sup> (Mascarelli, 2009), to ocean acidification that's eradicating coral reefs and marine life<sup>7</sup> (IPCC, 2019), ever more destructive hurricanes (Grinsted et al., 2019) in the Caribbean region (Knutson

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<sup>4</sup> <https://climate.nasa.gov/causes/>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.sciencemag.org/news/2019/10/global-impacts-thawing-arctic-permafrost-may-be-imminent>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/oceans/critical-issues-ocean-acidification/>

et al., 2019), forest fires of magnitudes never witnessed before in Canada<sup>8</sup>, the Amazon<sup>9</sup> and Australia<sup>10</sup>; along with annual patterns of extreme droughts in Africa<sup>11</sup> and flooding's in Asia<sup>12</sup> (including here in Québec<sup>13</sup>), climate deregulation is already happening, much earlier and faster than what was initially anticipated (IPCC, 2018). Already claiming more than 250,000 lives every year, the climate crisis is impacting people across the globe, at both individual and collective levels (Haines & Ebi, 2019; Patz et al., 2014; World Health Organization, 2014).

Compounded by an unprecedented collapse of our biodiversity (60% of wildlife having gone extinct in just the last 50 years) and 1 million species at risk of extinction in the next decades, current losses are happening at ten to a hundred times faster than it's ever been on average in the last 10 million years. The scientific consensus is that we are witnessing our planet's 6<sup>th</sup> mass extinction, the first 'human-induced'<sup>14</sup> (Ceballos et al., 2017; Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services, 2019). The earth's biosphere is now steadily crossing irreversible biophysical 'tipping points', crossing 'planetary boundaries' that represent humanity's 'safe operating space'; and in so doing threatening our planet's ability to sustain life for humans and other species (Rockström et al., 2009). From a biophysical standpoint, on a 'finite planet', it's no longer possible to continue operating an economic model of 'infinite growth' that's structurally based on an infinite extraction/degradation of natural resources and the pollution of living ecosystems (Georgescu-Roegen, 1971).

For the first time in history, mankind's (industrial) activities have degraded ecosystems to such an extent that geologists are suggesting that we're now living in a new geological 'human-dominated' period, the Anthropocene era (Crutzen, 2006; Hamilton, 2016; Lewis & Maslin, 2015), a new 'climatic reality' that can not be escaped (Latour, 2017). Our current decade and century are about nothing less than the survival of civilization as we know it (IPCC, 2018; Wallace-Wells, 2019), with humanity currently slipping into the precipice (Steffen et al., 2018).

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<sup>8</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015\\_Canadian\\_wildfires](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015_Canadian_wildfires)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Alberta\\_wildfires](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Alberta_wildfires)

<sup>9</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Amazon\\_rainforest\\_wildfires](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Amazon_rainforest_wildfires)

<sup>10</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019%E2%80%9320\\_Australian\\_bushfire\\_season](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019%E2%80%9320_Australian_bushfire_season)

<sup>11</sup> [https://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011\\_East\\_Africa\\_drought](https://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_East_Africa_drought)

<https://www.oxfam.org/en/drought-east-africa-if-rains-do-not-come-none-us-will-survive>

<sup>12</sup> <https://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/images/147006/excessive-monsoon-rains-flood-asia>

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/flooding-quebec-evacuation-1.5106352>

<sup>14</sup> <https://ipbes.net/news/Media-Release-Global-Assessment>

In 2015, and for the first time ever at the international level, all of the world's nations (including the United States and China) pledged to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions and 'decarbonize' their economies to limit global warming to +2°C (vs pre-industrial era: 1850-1900), while maximizing efforts to remain within the 'safe zone' of +1.5°C. This is the COP21 Paris Agreement, which acknowledges that climate change is a critical and possibly irrevocable danger to human societies and all living species on Earth. Calling for an unprecedented international cooperation to abide by strict 'Carbon Budgets' (Le Quéré et al., 2018) in order to quickly decarbonize our world economy and achieve a carbon-neutral world by 2050 (Singh & Swanson, 2017; United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change [UNFCCC], 2015b)<sup>15</sup>; the agreement is considered a major turning point in the tackling climate change, one that opened the door to what's deemed as the 'Post-2015 moment' (Gore, 2015). A time in history where wide-ranging transformative efforts are emerging (Kinley, 2017) with the vision of a new 'development' trajectory that's considerably different from the dominant western paradigm of economic growth that has modeled globalization; one of 'prosperity' (Moore, 2015) that's engrained in diverse definitions and ideas about the 'good and just life' (Escobar, 2015). A vision that must involve climate policy mechanisms and governance structures that can achieve rapid and deep decarbonization of our contemporary societies (Held & Roger, 2018).

Where as the IPCC's +1.5°C special report tells us that we need to remain within the 'safe operating space' of maximum +1.5°C of additional global warming versus the preindustrial era, and that in order to do so we need to rapidly and drastically decarbonize our globalized economy and reach carbon neutrality within 10 years, by 2030 (IPCC, 2018); the 2015 Paris agreement's current target is a -40% reduction of GHG by 2030 and representing a 66% chance for humanity to remain within the +2°C increase in global warming (UNFCCC, 2015b). This difference in ambitions illustrates the gap that exists today between the scientific imperative and what governments are (not) able to action and undertake (Chan et al., 2018). This situation is compounded by the fact that the Paris Agreement is a non-binding agreement and that the United States (the planet's leading emitter of GHG emissions) pulled out of the agreement for several years<sup>16</sup>. Governing decarbonisation is the politics of climate change (Hildingsson, 2014).

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<sup>15</sup> <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/what-is-the-paris-agreement>

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.cbc.ca/news/technology/trump-climate-paris-pullout-1.5331982>

In October 2018, the IPCC's +1.5°C Special Report highlighted that there are considerable differences in socio-environmental and economic impacts that need to be taken into account with even a +0.5°C degree of warming difference between the safe zone of +1.5°C and +2°C. This seemingly negligible variation is enough for life on Earth to be taken past critical biophysical planetary limits and thresholds, into unknown calamitous territory where irreversible negative and cascading domino effects and impacts will occur (IPCC, 2018). For instance, a difference of +0.5°C in temperature increase wipes out coral reefs that represent a primary source of food, as well as coastal protection, for half a billion people around the world; while dramatically destabilizing polar ice sheets that would result in exponentially more feet of sea level rise well within our current century (IPCC, 2018). Already exposed and vulnerable regions across the world, from Africa, to the Middle East, Central America, and South-East Asia; would struggle exponentially in order to survive the multiple and simultaneous shocks that would befall upon them (such as heat waves, crop failures, the expansion of unknown diseases and on-going wildfires sweeping across the planet) (IPCC, 2018). Such interplays of natural catastrophes will dramatically impact the world's food supply that will become highly unstable and insecure, with overall global population health and security put at extreme levels of vulnerability (IPCC, 2020).

Also, the effects of a +0.5°C variation in global warming aren't distributed evenly throughout the planet. For instance, the Arctic will warm about two to three times faster, while regions like the Mediterranean and Middle East potentially experiencing (at +1.5°C) a 9% decrease in the availability of water, versus -17% drop at +2°C. Global sea-level will soar around 10 cm if warming reaches +2°C, implying that at +1.5°C, 10 million less people would be subjected to major floodings (IPCC, 2018). As such, the +0.5°C variation substantially exacerbate the risks for hundreds of millions of people, hence the risks are significantly lower at +1.5°C versus +2°C. Crossing +1.5°C is taking a chance with the planet's livability, with deeply damaging impacts no longer far away in the future but within a short to medium timeframe, well within the lifetime of most of today's adults and children. Dangerously above the average temperature range that enabled human civilization to thrive and flourish during the climatically stable geological era of the 'Holocene', that has made life on Earth possible; crossing +1.5°C and +2°C entails that humanity would find itself in a highly unfamiliar and extremely perilous landscape (IPCC, 2018).

As if this was not enough, the IPCC's +1.5°C Special Report not only highlighted the major difference in scale, scope and distribution of impacts between a +1.5°C and a +2°C increase in global

temperatures; it also raised another alarm bell, warning us yet again that at current rates of GHG emissions, the +1.5°C safe zone of the Paris agreement could be exceeded in just 12 years (by 2030) and that it's more and more likely that global warming will reach +2°C by 2050, +3°C by 2070, and +4°C by the turn of the century (IPCC 2018)<sup>17</sup>. In this context, where current GHG emission trends lock us into a catastrophic 'overshoot' trajectory of +3°C well within this century (Huntingford & Lowe, 2007), the worst of global warming has accelerated; and if a drastic shift is not undertaken, it's civilization as we know it that could very well implode by the end of the century (Spratt & Dunlop, 2019).

Newly emerging global environmental problems like climate emergency, biodiversity collapse and resource exhaustion are considered as 'super wicked problems' (Levin et al., 2012), because over and above their complex, systemic and ambiguous nature; they are not clearly observable and are mainly about the medium to long-term future (Bulkeley, 2015). In this way, they are different than environmental problems like water and air pollution, acid rain, or endangered species; which are immediate, at the local level and clearly impact identifiable people that can be mobilized against specific causes of the problem and potential solutions. In the case of climate change, this is even more challenging because cause-effect relations and dynamics are uncertain and more dispersed, with people that will suffer from the impacts not yet born (future generations) or belonging to distant lands (other countries) (Bulkeley, 2015). So while today there exists an international consensus on the urgency of climate change, the crisis is still one of the least worrisome of societal issues for most North Americans; with the politics of climate change making it extremely challenging for citizens and policymakers to reach some type of consensus on how to properly tackle the problem. One of the key challenges and predicaments is how to articulate and understand the climate crisis in a way that it becomes a top priority of concern for citizens and policymakers alike at the local levels (Haarstad, 2014; Hale & Roger, 2014; Singh & Swanson, 2017).

Compounded by the realization that the actions required to rapidly and drastically decarbonize our world economy are at such a transformational scale and speed that human civilization has no documented historical precedent for the challenge at hand (IPCC, 2018); there is uneasy sense of fear that the post-2015 window of opportunity to deeply transform our global society and avoid runaway climate change is now fast closing. With 90% of chances that human society will collapse

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<sup>17</sup> [https://report.ipcc.ch/sr15/pdf/sr15\\_spm\\_final.pdf](https://report.ipcc.ch/sr15/pdf/sr15_spm_final.pdf)



within the decades to come (Bologna & Aquino, 2020), the couple of years until 2030 are probably the most important of our history, with decisions regarding the climate emergency no longer able to be put off and delayed (IPCC, 2018).

Whether it is the United Nations' IPCC team of experts and scientists, leading international researchers, professionals, key decision-makers and an important part of civil societies across the world; there is now a general consensus that two key elements are crucial if we are to succeed in managing runaway climate change: cities and civil society actors (Bernauer & Betzold, 2012; Böhmelt et al., 2014; Chan et al., 2018; Nulman, 2015; Soma et al., 2016). Given that cities are key geographical zones of GHG emissions, they have a critical responsibility in decarbonizing our global economy and mitigating the climate crisis (Bai et al., 2018; Betsill & Bulkeley, 2007; Bulkeley, 2013, 2015; Bulkeley & Betsill, 2013; van der Heijden et al., 2018). As for civil society and social movements that have played a key role in the Paris Agreement (M. Jacobs, 2016), they're essential actors and stakeholders in tackling climate change mitigation and adaptation (Hale & Roger, 2014). More than ever, they have a leading societal role in innovating our way out of the mess in which we find ourselves (Bernauer & Betzold, 2012; Böhmelt et al., 2014; Chan et al., 2018; Nulman, 2015; Soma et al., 2016).

## **1.2 Rapidly Decarbonizing the Urban Context and Transitioning to Carbon-Neutral Cities**

Over the past six decades, the process of rapid urbanization has transformed our planet. In 2014, 54% of our global population was urban, with practically all population growth forecasted over the next three decades expected to take place in cities; and the world urban population expected to be some 5 billion people by 2030, representing 64% of world population (United Nations [UN], 2014). By 2050, it's estimated that the world will be one third rural (34%) and two-thirds urban (66%), more or less the opposite of what the global rural-urban distribution was in the mid-twentieth century, just seventy years ago (Seto et al., 2010; UN, 2014<sup>18</sup>). While it's approximated that urban areas occupy 2.7% of the earth's landmass (NASA, 2018), they're responsible for 70% of global greenhouse gas

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<sup>18</sup> <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/publications/files/wup2014-highlights.pdf>

emissions<sup>19</sup>, deplete more than 75% of the Earth resources in any one year, and account for roughly 80% of energy production worldwide<sup>20</sup> (Demographia, 2020; Girardet, 2014).

Global wealth and resource demand and consumption is disproportionately concentrated in the urban areas of high-income countries (Grimm et al., 2008), with their share even more substantial when taken from a ‘consumption-oriented’ basis, where emissions are allocated to the individuals (consumers) whose consumption causes the emissions in the first place (Hoornweg et al., 2011). As such, industrialized cities are the ‘hot spots’ where the origins of most (un)sustainability problems are found, they are the root causes of the planet’s unsustainability symptoms (Nevens et al., 2013), and their environmental and social impacts are felt globally (Vojnovic, 2014). With cities and their urban ‘carbon lock-ins’ creating inertia that obstructs systemic transformation and transitions (Romero-Lankao, 2012; Unruh, 2000), the urban context has become a critical piece of global climate governance (Betsill & Bulkeley, 2007; Bulkeley, 2013, 2015; Bulkeley & Betsill, 2003; Bulkeley & Castán Broto, 2012),

Given that cities concentrate (future) consumption and production (and are hence carbon lock-ins), they’re highly relevant areas for climate action especially that urban communities are at the scale where human behavior can most directly be influenced (Betsill & Bulkeley, 2006). In a perspective of ‘local elaboration’, cities are the ‘operational units’ for concrete actions that need to be ‘*envisioned, designed, politically facilitated and effectively rolled out*’ (Nevens et al., 2013, p.111). In this way, cities are considered as potential ‘motors’ for sustainability and ‘hubs’ for extreme innovation (Bulkeley & Castán Broto, 2012).

Urban sustainability challenges are compounded by the very rapid intensification of disparities between wealthy and poor populations, and which has taken center stage in the debates on urban-environmental pressures and governance (Bugliarello, 2006). As economic globalization has led to deregulation, privatization and the retreat of government provisions in the last decades; and despite the fact that some have argued that some urban populations have benefited from such neo-liberal policies, they have also increased socio-economic pressures on vast segments of the population, especially moderate and low-income groups (Bulkeley et al., 2013; Pinson & Journal, 2016).

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<sup>19</sup> [http://mirror.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/E\\_Hot\\_Cities.pdf](http://mirror.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/E_Hot_Cities.pdf)

<sup>20</sup> <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTUWM/Resources/340232-1205330656272/4768406-1291309208465/PartIII.pdf>

Today, economic inequality is out of control, with the wealthiest 1% of the world's population possessing more than double the wealth of 6.9 billion people, the world's billionaires (2,153 people) having more economic means than 4.6 billion people, the 22 richest men on the planet having more wealth than all the women in Africa (Oxfam, 2020); and practically half of the planet's population today living on less than \$5.50/day<sup>21</sup>.

The challenge, opportunity and responsibility of cities is nothing less than a deep transformation of their local economic development models towards 'climate-resilient' and 'low-carbon' societies (McCormick et al., 2013), while simultaneously reassessing current patterns of urban life for an ever growing population<sup>22</sup> (Quitau et al., 2013). This implies urban challenges to produce, consume and manage energy, water, food, non-renewable resources, transportation and housing within the limits imposed by the overall functioning of the planet; and doing so while also ensuring a solid economy, community self-reliance, individual and collective wellbeing, as well as generational equity (Walsh, 2016). It's now pretty-well documented and accepted that global sustainability is primarily an issue of urban sustainability (Bugliarello, 2006).

Multi-level and multi-scaler in their nature (McCormick et al., 2013), urban sustainability problems and challenges are exponentially magnified by the 'spatially nebulous' concept of the city (Tozer & Klenk, 2018b); with the very structures of cities being large scale, context-dependent and involving complex interrelated environmental, socio-cultural, economic, political, institutional and physical features that are made up of multiple actors, interests, interactions, and processes (Næss & Vogel, 2012; Wamsler et al., 2013). As such, urban systems and their sustainability challenges (and potential solutions) are depicted as processes of 'metabolism and flow' (instead of static and bounded in space) (Gandy, 2004) that are characterized by the high uncertainty of their 'interwoven barriers' that reinforce inertia and maintain the status quo. Bringing local city level solutions to global sustainability challenges is a multifaceted and complicated matter, a titanic challenge with yet very few urban places in the world that can actually be considered as truly sustainable (Childers et al., 2014; McCormick et al., 2013; Meijer et al., 2011).

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<sup>21</sup> <https://data.worldbank.org/topic/poverty>

<sup>22</sup> <https://cop23.unfccc.int/news/lpaa-focus-cities-regions-across-the-world-unite-to-launch-major-five-year-vision-to-take-action-on-climate-change>

This context has led to the emergence of policy goals and research fields such as climate neutral/climate proof cities (Castán Broto & Bulkeley, 2013; Tozer & Klenk, 2018a), resilient cities (Desouza & Flanery, 2013) and water-sensitive cities (Ferguson et al., 2013; M. F. Smith & Ferguson, 2013) to name a few; along with the formation of several international alliance networks of cities that have taken a stance on tackling climate change at the local urban/city level, such as the C40<sup>23</sup>, the Global Covenant of Mayors for Climate and Energy<sup>24</sup>, the Cities Alliance<sup>25</sup>, ICLEI-Local Governments for Sustainability<sup>26</sup>, the Coalition for Urban Transitions<sup>27</sup> and the NAZCA platform<sup>28</sup>. All in all, these different groups, organizations and networks represent a total of more than 2,255 cities (representing 17% of the world population) and 7,000 sub-national governments that have promised to undertake local climate-actions. Nevertheless, only a very small portion of urban populations actually engage and are involved in concrete climate mitigation and adaptation actions and initiatives (Newell et al., 2015).

The emergence of these research fields and global city networks for climate change not only illustrate the consensus on the critical role that cities play in advancing the necessary transformations for dealing with our climate crisis (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives [ICLEI], 2018); but also how cities are beginning to fill the ‘climate vacuum’ left by national governments’ inaction, and the imperative role that they now have in creating opportunities for climate change adaptation and mitigation (van der Heijden et al., 2018). Whereas before municipalities were simply seen as providers of services, like waste collection and utility provisions; this is fast changing as they’re now seen as leading actors on sustainability issues (Burström & Korhonen, 2001), translating our climate concerns into concrete local/grounded actions for low-carbon innovations (Scrase et al., 2010).

As a result, local municipal authorities are letting go of their rigid role of service providers, towards one that facilitates, supports and empowers transformative actions and innovation on key environmental, sustainability and climate change issues (Betsill & Bulkeley, 2006; Bulkeley, 2013; Bulkeley & Betsill, 2003). The fundamental sustainability challenge for municipal governments is

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<sup>23</sup> <http://www.c40.org/>

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.globalcovenantofmayors.org/>

<sup>25</sup> <http://www.citiesalliance.org/>

<sup>26</sup> <https://iclei.org/>

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.coalitionforurbantransitions.org/home/about>

<sup>28</sup> <http://climateaction.unfccc.int/>

to overcome the multiple barriers of ‘spatial scale’ (left to the responsibility of national and/or provincial levels of government), ‘temporal scale’ (political parties in power not wanting to deal with the problem during their electoral term(s)) and ‘institutional scale’ (the perception and perspective that local autonomy is too limited to act effectively on a global crisis such as climate change) (Bai, 2007; Bai et al., 2018). This is further compounded by what was mentioned earlier, mainly that the ‘sustainability of a city’ is already in itself a highly contested ‘political’ notion that points to different meanings of what sustainability is for different groups, hence every city will have its own particular aspirations (Bulkeley & Castán Broto, 2012).

In our current ‘century of the city’ (Seto et al., 2010), global warming has become a problem of strategic urbanism, more than ever crucial to urban planning and local economic development. The urban sphere hence represents a potentially effective scale for local actions to tackle major challenges such as climate change (Betsill, 2001; Bulkeley & Betsill, 2013), with cities now playing a dominant role within the diverse state and non-state actors that are concerned with climate action (Bulkeley & Schroeder, 2011).

*Understanding the contribution of cities to climate change will help us intervene at the local level. With better urban planning and greater citizen participation we can make our hot cities cool again.*<sup>29</sup> (Executive Director of UN-HABITAT)

While recent research has enabled us to better understand the key role that cities have in tackling climate change; nevertheless, looking for (and developing) climate governance actions and mechanisms that can achieve urban sustainability entails very challenging and complex research efforts and projects (Gordon, 2018; Nevens et al., 2013; Newell et al., 2015), with rather little knowledge available and crucial matters still unaddressed (Bulkeley, 2015). First, while the rising momentum and coordination of urban actions resonates with international approaches and guidelines to climate policy and governance, it doesn’t relate very much with what’s concretely occurring ‘on the ground’ in cities; especially given that climate governance is greatly fragmented and (most often than not) it’s emerging from the margins of society, outside the jurisdiction of municipalities (Bulkeley, 2015; Jordan et al., 2015; Newell et al., 2015). Understanding and supporting alternative forms of climate governance is vital if the climate change mitigation

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<sup>29</sup> [http://mirror.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/E\\_Hot\\_Cities.pdf](http://mirror.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/E_Hot_Cities.pdf)

potential of cities is to be accomplished (Bulkeley, 2015; Gordon 2018; Newell et al., 2015). This is the ‘elephant in the room’ #1 of the urban climate question: Governance.

The second crucial question is not just about what cities need to *do*, but also what they need to *stop* doing and start to *undo* so as to attain the sort of rapid decarbonisation that’s required to meet the objectives of the Paris Agreement (Bulkeley, 2015; Gordon 2018). Given that our modern societal systems and institutions are built on fossil fuels, unlocking carbon from our various systems is extremely complicated (Mann, 2012; Mitchell, 2011), a super wicked problem that’s characterised by four fundamental features: First, we’re running out of time to fix the problem. Second, the people at the source of the problem are also the ones that aim to create the solution(s). Third, so far, central authorities (governments) have been quite weak or even inexistent in tackling the problem (lack of political will and means); and fourth, the little policy responses that have materialized have a tendency (amongst other things) to not consider adequately enough the long-term impacts of current decisions (Levin et al., 2012). This is elephant in the room #2: the ‘policy tragedy’ (Bulkeley, 2015; Levin et al., 2012).

The third question regards climate inequality and (in)justice, given that to date most of the responses to climate change have put an emphasis on universal targets for GHG reduction (-45% to -55% by 2030 and carbon-neutral by 2050), without any thought for how such targets need to be distributed across territories and communities, including the city; and the ways by which a multitude and diversity of ‘urban publics’ can participate in the necessary democratic societal debate about what it is exactly that can ensure a just and equitable urban response to climate change (Bulkeley, 2015; Bulkeley et al., 2013; Kaika & Swyngedouw, 2012; Swyngedouw, 2016). This is the elephant in the room #3: Climate Justice.

Where do cities fit precisely in mitigating climate change? What are they doing? How can we explain their current (re)actions? What should they be doing? How would decarbonized cities affect their inhabitants and people in rural areas? How are society-nature relations produced in general, by whom and for whom? Who wins and who loses when different visions of the decarbonized city are manifested? Such political questions are the topics of deep social struggles and elevated contestations, they cause the reshuffling of political possibilities (Bulkeley, 2015; Bulkeley et al., 2013; I. R. Cook & Swyngedouw, 2012; Dyer, 2014; Kaika & Swyngedouw, 2012; Swyngedouw, 2016), and they have to be tackled ‘*through open dialogue and not simply by being wished away*

*in the dreams of a new green economy*' (Bulkeley, 2015, p.1408). Ignoring the '3 elephants in the room' of urban climate action will imply that we run a high risk of ending up with flawed and false climate solutions and future urban contexts that fail to mitigate the life threatening impacts that are coming our way (Bulkeley, 2015) as our globalized world is currently locked into a 'apocalyptic-like' +3°C warmer planet by the end of the century, if not earlier (IPCC, 2018).

So, if our aim is to rapidly embark on the paths that would enable us to achieve carbon-neutral cities as fast as possible, we need to begin by looking closer at the concept of 'Carbon-Neutrality', and what it refers to exactly. The term points to a transformative (radical) approach (rather than an incremental one) to reducing GHG emissions in the urban context, with the aim of transforming contemporary urban contexts into cities that no longer emit any 'net carbon emissions' (Tozer & Klenk, 2018b). In this way, it's a goal and a vision that engages local governments into attempting to undertake 'deep decarbonization' (rapid and drastic) (UNFCCC, 2015a). As a society, we've never had to un-lock ourselves from such a wide-spread and entrenched dependence (addiction) to an energy source, and there isn't a 'silver bullet' or unique 'antidote' to reorient us from our deeply rooted technological, cultural, and institutional reliance on fossil fuels (Mann, 2012; Mitchell, 2011).

Instead, what we have on our hands is the prime governance challenge of our time, to shift away from cheap centralized fossil-based energy systems to more decentralize renewable energy systems; doing so by shaping, steering, guiding and facilitating the kind of societal and technological transformations that are required to rapidly decarbonize and achieve sustainable carbon-neutral cities (Verbong & Loorbach, 2012). Fundamentally, it's about what we want our future cities to look like, it's about the 'political' dimension of societal life (Meadowcroft, 2007; Patterson et al., 2017; Swyngedouw, 2016), when (and how) people envision their future and go on about exchanging and organizing themselves as they create the 'material fabric of societal life' (Kaika & Swyngedouw, 2012; Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2003). This is the political ontology that structures the 'contextuality' of urban climate governance, with different cities developing different visions of what carbon-neutrality looks like in their specific context, and the kind of pathways necessary to achieve it (Tozer & Klenk, 2018a).

While potential future carbon-neutral cities (Betsill, 2001) are generally envisioned as continuously evolving multifaceted configurations of systems, material, infrastructure and social interactions that are most often in a state of 'dynamic equilibrium' (W. K. Smith & Lewis, 2011); carbon-

neutrality doesn't have just one fixed definition or frame, rather, it's a highly inconsistent idea and concept that takes on different definitions and forms based on subjective interpretations and understandings. Nevertheless, and as previously mentioned, newly established global city alliances around carbon-neutrality are providing common ground and platforms for cities across the world to exchange and develop knowledge around carbon-neutrality; providing the space for policy knowledge, standards and instruments to emerge (Tozer & Klenk, 2018b).

In this way, the concept of carbon-neutrality serves as a 'policy umbrella' that supports the urban actors that are pursuing efforts to deeply decarbonize the urban context, as they develop and mobilize tools and policy ideas that can enable them to achieve their goals as they try to navigate through the different pathways that could potentially lead to carbon-neutrality (Tozer & Klenk, 2018a, 2018b). Despite (or rather, as a result of) the absence of a strong and binding international climate agreement, the endorsement of climate policies and measures are increasing in both the public and private sectors; at the international, national and local levels (Dubash et al., 2013; Homsy & Warner, 2015; Jordan et al., 2015; Ostrom, 2014). As such, entrepreneurial policy actions and their importance have increased in recent times, as such endeavors to envision and plan for urban carbon-neutral futures are crucial for the kind of rapid and drastic GHG reductions that are necessary to curb global warming to +1.5°C. Today, policy entrepreneurs are significantly influencing how people understand, perceive and think about climate change, and how they engage in dealing with it (Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017).

In sum, cities and urban spaces are more than just physical spaces, they're 'mediated political spaces' that provide opportunities for individuals and groups to articulate their rights and perform their visions (Sassen, 2001). In the face of the 'city as spectacular commodity' or 'staged archeological theme park' (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2003), and while it's important for cities to adhere to international climate treaties and agreements; it's more critical that the city's potential as an urban site of societal experimentation, challenge, resistance, and justice is supported and tapped into. *'The true potential of cities is not in complying with existing international policy frameworks, but in illuminating how other pathways are possible'* (Bulkeley, 2015, p.1408), and this involves essential emancipatory potential that can have far-reaching consequences (Swyngedouw, 2016) for more just 'forms of urbanity' that emerge from the 'third space' of urban society's margins (Swyngedouw & Kaika, 2003).



### **1.3 Civil Society and Social Movements**

Definitions of ‘civil society’ and ‘social movements’ vary quite extensively (Peck, 2015; Powell, 2007) with civil society most often understood as socially driven (but not always) non-profit organizations (CSO) that make-up the ‘third sector’ (the public and private sectors being the other two) (Scholte, 2004); and which aim (without any financial profit motives) to influence policy-making processes from their position that’s outside the government (Cohen & Arato, 1992; Kaldor, 2003). Made up of citizen-led community groups (often considered as ‘protected niches’ for innovation); CSO’s also involve other actors that play an important role, such as researchers, and sometimes local governments and some types of entrepreneurs. In this way, CSO’s include environmental advocacy groups, scientific institutions and business associations (Vormedal, 2008).

While it’s argued that the involvement of CSO’s in environmental policymaking and governance can improve the transparency and legitimacy towards new policies (in the sense that more people will have a better understanding of the content of policy proposals, they’ll have the possibility of providing valuable expertise, and in doing so they’ll consider the policy outcome as suitable) (Bernauer & Betzold, 2012; Dellmuth & Tallberg, 2014); still, most often policy processes and decision-making take place far away from citizens who end up having very limited possibilities of getting detailed information and actually advancing their interests in policymaking processes (Keohane et al., 2009). One of the most notorious policy areas in which CSO’s function is in environmental governance (Goggin & Newell, 2000; Tallberg et al., 2014), especially concerning climate change (Tallberg et al., 2014), where civil society takes on the crucial information and legitimacy roles as both observers and participants in environmental policymaking processes for tackling climate change (Betsill & Corell, 2007; Dryzek, 2011; Dryzek et al., 2011).

There is a general consensus and understanding that non-state actors; such as businesses and investors, cities, regions and non-government organizations (NGOs) are crucial in overcoming the gap between the Paris Agreement’s commitments and concrete climate actions from government institutions (Chan et al., 2018); with civil society (NGO’s as well as business associations and research institutions) playing an important role in developing and implementing global environmental policies (Bernauer & Betzold, 2012). While CSO’s are said to personify the positive characteristics of civil society, as they collectively contribute to greater common good and hence

a better society overall; this isn't a default feature of CSO's, as they often create political tensions and conflicts that can generate (un)intended negative consequences (Alexander, 2010; Frantz & Fuchs, 2014). Hence while civil society participation has evolved into a necessary pillar of global environmental and climate governance, it isn't a sufficient condition (Bernauer & Betzold, 2012).

In the context of globalization, individualism and new information technologies (Kaldor, 2003) that have given rise to the 'network society' (Castells, 2012), and beyond simply looking at CSO's as social organizations that are outside the state (as non-state actors); more recent studies of civil society have started looking at CSO's as unique contexts, public spaces, and types of arenas where discourses and practices can emerge from and develop (Lilja, 2015). Beyond simply looking at the entities or elements that compose civil society (a clear-cut unit of structural perspective that involves organization boundaries), these studies take on a more fluid understanding of CSO's, focusing on better understanding their activities, their forms of interactions and the social processes in which they're involved. This 'civil society as process' approach points to different parts and stages of social action: as an understanding of an evolving situation that actors make sense of, as the practices and actions of actors involved in broadening a given consensus, as social spaces for 'interactive dualistic communication'. Such processes are undertaken as means by which to adopt a critical standpoint vis-à-vis a given societal problem, to cultivate a sociological evaluation of the issue(s) at hand, and to build wide-ranging recognition and effective solidarity (Arato, 2011).

This 'new ecology of civil society' lens that views civil society as 'process' brings up the question of the demarcation lines between civil society, state and market; pointing to a less rigid and more fluid/hybrid understanding of the forms of organization and governance that transpires between the public sector, civil society and the market. The research discussion has hence moved away from the western-centric notion of civil society as a problem of social organization, towards a more complex, pluralistic and global perspective that's informed (amongst others) by southern perspectives from Latin America and the Middle East (Arab revolutions). Bridging the gap between the dichotomy of focus on the individual or on his/her social organizations and structures, a process-based perspective of civil society looks at unifying the two by emphasizing the 'doing' of civil society; how and why the daily activities of CSO organizations and individuals are produced and function the way that they do (Lilja, 2015).

With ‘doing’ always situated in relation to past, present and future, temporality hence takes central stage in understanding civil society under this new ecology framework, challenging the classical concept of civil society as third sector and bringing to the forefront of the discussion the hybridity, fluidity and blurred boundaries between CSO’s and other sectors of society. In this way, civil society is perceived as being made up of a multitude of contradictions and interwoven relationships between CSO’s, the active individuals that composes them and the state. Beyond just a simple agglomeration of different non-profit organizations, civil society is a highly contested political space where conflict and consensus occur and are created. This yields the key research questions around the fundamental conditions of civil society, its roles, functions, forms and the new ‘arenas’ that it produces and is part of (Lilja, 2015).

Looking now more specifically at ‘social movements’, they’re understood as networks of individuals and organizations whose main goal is societal transformation; especially regarding state institutions and the private sector (Snow et al., 2004). Made up largely by CSO’s, social movements are also comprised of the public and private sectors. As such, they’re ‘forms of collectives’ that emerge when groups and communities of individuals/citizens respond to situations of social and/or environmental injustices, oppression and unmet social, political, economic or cultural demands. In this way, and having existed throughout history (Tripp, 2006), social movements are sets of organized individuals who collectively pursue a common political agenda for achieving societal change (Batliwala, 2012). As dynamic historical phenomena’s, social movements are shaped by circumstances, they’re dependent social entities and processes which emerge and dissolve in response to contextual factors and variables that support or hinders them (Dütting & Sogge, 2010); impacting their activities, strategies and overall political agendas. As social movements cover the time span of generations, temporality is also a core factor in understanding them (as it is for civil society), hence social movements need to be looked at in their historical context and must be understood in their own terms. Namely, social movements are ‘what they say they are’ (Castells, 2010).

Given that not all social and/or environmental injustices lead to the emergence of a social movement, the question of why and how movements form is a persistent debate in social theory. Movements are ‘built’ in the sense that they are constructed by the active and intentional actions of individuals that invest their time, minds, and hands to create a ‘movement consciousness’; a ‘collective identity’

(Holland et al., 2008) with the aim to continuously grow their membership base and develop the social movement's structures in ways that it can influence the external environment and grow enables their collective identity in order to further nurture and nourish a movement consciousness. For instance, this can take the shape of membership activism (unions mobilizing), episodic mass mobilizations (an example is the Occupy movement) and/or persistent/radical mass activism from the 'fringes' (margins) of society (Peterson et al., 2015).

As diverse political forms, social movements are born on the idea that the world around us is 'socially constructed' and that its both, possible and necessary, to change it in order to succeed in accomplishing a more just, fair and equitable society. Fundamentally, this is about the type, shape, form and characteristics of the 'power relations' that structure the very fabric of social life within a given society. *What* needs to change? *why?* *who* should change it? and *how?* these are the fundamental questions that differentiate between different movements and that are at the core of social movement studies (Batliwala, 2012). Although there isn't a specific rule regarding the number of people that's required for an active community of people to be considered a social movement (in contrast to just a collective of people), without the individual members that make up a social movement and infuse it with meaning, there wouldn't be any movement (Batliwala, 2012).

Social movements have a complex and varied relations with organizations, whether they may be non-government organizations (NGO's), civil society organizations (CSO's), religious, trade unions, political parties, academic research centers and/or businesses (Weber & King, 2014). Organizations can be supporting the development of movements, movements can create organizations, and organizations can be allies to movements and/or provide them with certain services to them; with organizations taking on the vital roles of scaffolding structures that enable social movements to be built, developed and sustained (Batliwala, 2012; Weber & King, 2014). Given their participant roles in discussions, debates and dialogues between the internal agendas of social movements and their external environment (such as the media, state and civil society in general), both formal and informal organizations are key players in social movement strategy (Batliwala, 2012).

While moving from informal groups to formal NGO organizations can lead to misunderstandings as to what constitutes the 'movement', such as key legitimacy issue (which actors speak on behalf of the movement and which do not); still, movements creatively use formal organizations to push

forward strategic and practical political agendas. In this way, formal organizations offer a platform upon which to organize movement activities, mobilize resources for collective action, and raise political awareness; along with the degree of political capital that's at stake. Nevertheless, this comes with on-going tensions and complex power relations between movements and organizations; most often relating to questions of financial resources, accountability and participation. While movements can (and often do) seek out financial support from external institutional sources, often they are 'self-resourcing', generating a diversity of resources from within their membership (Rich, 2004). According to critiques of institutional funding, this is because donor funding can 'silence' a movement's more radical ideas and strategies; hence shifting responsibility from being towards the organizations' community-base to becoming instead accountable to donors (Mananzala & Spade, 2008).

This is especially true for movements that question the very validity of the nation-state itself, such as anarchist politics and certain indigenous and ethnic nationalist movements, who also often reject the individualistic 'liberal' root of human rights and their enforcement by the western archetype of the 'nation-state'. Such political positions will determine the degree to which progressive social movements will collaborate with mainstream institutions (Sharma, 2008), with strategies representing a 'double edge knife' as they can potentially lead a movement to 'drift' from its primary mission by having it's transformational potential 'co-opted' by mainstream institutions (Schlembach, 2015); or face 'isolation' and 'decay' (Zald & Ash, 1966) if it's unable to 'self-organize' (Fuchs, 2006).

Social movements generate their power using tactics and strategies that are supported and reinforced by conceptual frameworks that structure what's called a movement's 'theory of change' (Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004). From popular education to community theater, muralism, protest marches, consensus-based decision-making, community-based fundraising and awareness-raising workshops (to name a few); social movements create and support activists to incarnate a 'pre-figurative politics' (Leach, 2013; Power, 2016; Smuker, 2014) that's grounded in the kind of emancipatory power relations relationships that they seek to establish in society. They aim to 'walk the talk', to 'be the change they want to see in the world'. While changing and transforming government policies are core aims of social movements, some argue that the main indicator of change are the new opportunities and possibilities that social movements create for people to get

involved in political action; building ‘power with’ (collective level) and ‘power within’ (individual level) (Khanna, 2012).

In our contemporary context of the network society (Castells, 2010), information and communication technologies (ICTs) are more than ever essential for the building of social movement and the diffusion of information and cross-border solidarities that embody new ways of social, political, cultural and economic connections. While new communication technologies are important catalyzers of social change, it’s important not to overemphasize their positive impacts as the results of any given technology always depend on how individuals, groups and social movements use (and (re)produce) technologies; of how politics shapes and is shaped by technology. As with all facets of social interaction, technologies are constructed and framed by power relations (Ellul, 1967; Hess, 2007; Zuboff, 2019). This is the implicit and hidden ‘deep structures’ of social movements (Polletta, 2008) that have been the main concern of a long history of social movement studies and theories; from the class conflict theories of Engels and Marx in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to the collective behavior theories of Robert E. Park, Herbert G. Blumer and Franklin H. Giddings in the 1930’s, the resource mobilization theories of John D. McCarthy and Mayer Zald in the 1960’s, the political process and identity theories of Charles Tilly and Doug McAdam in the 1970’s, the framing theories in the 80’s (Benford & Snow, 2000) and finally the theories of space and place in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century (Castells, 2010; Harcourt & Escobar, 2005; Koopmans, 2004).

Concerns for the environment and ecology is not a new or recent phenomena, as indeed the global environmental movement goes all the way back to the conservation movement of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century’s romantic movement that emerged in opposition to the fossil fuel-based industrial revolution that had begun to pollute the air, along with chemical waste discharges across land and territories. Encapsulated in such quotes as this one from English poet William Wordsworth<sup>30</sup>: ‘*the environment is a sort of national property in which everyman has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy*’, the conservation and romantic movements evolved in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century into the then nascent ‘post WWI’ environmental movement with the works of such ecologists as Aldo Leopold; a time that began seeing the establishment of large private non-profit advocacy organizations such as the National Wildlife Federation in the United States. It wasn’t until the 1960’s that what can be called the ‘modern environmental movement’

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<sup>30</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William\\_Wordsworth](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Wordsworth)

picked up (for a lack of better word), thanks in major part to the pioneering work of marine biologist Rachel Carson who wrote her pioneering book: ‘Silent Spring’; in which (for the first time) we were being cautioned about the devastating impacts of the chemical industry on (in) agriculture. At the time, her work was also supported and complemented by Murray Bookchin, another important ecologist (though less renowned/mainstream) who wrote ‘Our Synthetic Environment’. Such authors shaped the way by which the environmental and ecological movements evolved in the subsequent decades, and this up until our present day.

Alongside what we now consider as milestone events that structured the rise of the modern environmental movement, such as Apollo 8’s ‘earthrise’ picture, the first ‘Earth Day’ of April 22 1970, the founding of Greenpeace in 1971 and the United Nations’ Environment Program at the first world environmental conference in Stockholm-Sweden; other environmental literary works also came to have a profound influence on the evolution of the environmental movement, such as the pioneering work of the Club of Rome with their ‘Limits to Growth’ report in 1972 (the most sold environmental book in world history), The Ecologists’ ‘A Blueprint for Survival’ and Ernst Schumacher’s ‘Small is Beautiful’ in 1973. In the 1980’s some of the major events that shaped the movement were the Bhopal disaster in India, the famine in Ethiopia, the Chernobyl nuclear catastrophe and the Exxon Valdez oil spill (the largest in US history); along with the Worldwatch Institute’s report on the ‘State of the World’, the Brundtland Commission’s report on ‘Our Common Future’ (that went on to become the cornerstone of sustainable development in the 90’s and early 21<sup>st</sup> century), the Montreal Protocol in 1987 to protect the ozone layer, and finally the establishment of the United Nations’ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). As for the 1990’s, the major milestones include the establishment of the European Environment Agency, the first Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and the Kyoto Protocol to reduce GHG emissions.

By the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, and firmly rooted in environmental and ecology sciences, the global environmental movement began to focus more and more on global warming and climate change; with Hurricane Katrina, previous U.S. vice president Al Gore’s documentary ‘An Inconvenient Truth’ in 2006, and the IPCC’s 2007 report that unequivocally declared the evidence pointing to climate change’s anthropogenic origins; all converging together and tracing the path to the 2015 COP21 Paris Agreement that pointed to the imperative need for a great energy and societal transition in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Wiseman, 2018). Today, the heterogeneity of the ecological

movement can be plotted on a continuum with, on one end, a mainstream environmental ‘techno-centric’ and ‘green growth’ approach to thinking about (and acting upon) environmental issues; and on the other end, the more radical ecological ‘eco-centric’ approach that sees environmental issues as first and foremost cultural problems requiring cultural solutions, rather than simply problems that technology can fix (Audet, 2016; Bailey & Wilson, 2009). This is the case for instance with anti-capitalist, anti-globalization and indigenous movements. Halfway between these two extremes is what some define as the ‘sustain-centric’ paradigm to thinking about environmental problems and sustainability, which seeks to find the right combinations of both technological fixes and cultural changes to respond to our contemporary environmental imperatives (Foley et al., 2016; Gladwin et al., 1995).

By 2009, and at the time of the UN’s landmark climate conference in Copenhagen, a different perspective about climate change was emerging from within the ecological movement, that of the climate justice movement. Finding its roots in the 1999 ‘Battle of Seattle’<sup>31</sup> under the slogan of ‘System Change Not Climate Change’, its key characteristic is that it approaches the climate crises from a diversity of angles and is hence multifaceted. Representing a multitude of unique but complementary social currents and justice movements from across the world, it’s broadened the scope of environmental justice to also include struggles such as food justice, housing justice, transportation justice; along with opposing the ‘commodification of the atmosphere’ by global carbon markets. In this way, the rising climate justice movement links with, and integrates together anti-capitalist, anti-colonial, anti-globalization and indigenous movements that reject neoliberal markets; and who work with the aim of nurturing a world based on complementarity, social harmony through ‘unity in diversity’, and sovereign decision-making power in the hands of local communities; along with the coming of age of ‘sovereign individuals’ that support the ‘Rights of Mother Earth’<sup>32</sup> or ‘Pachamama’<sup>33</sup>.

At the regular UN climate negotiations, the global climate justice movement is organized around Climate Justice Now, even though today this transnational people’s platform takes the form of a loosely connected network rather than a solid organizational reality (with considerable potential

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<sup>31</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999\\_Seattle\\_WTO\\_protests](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1999_Seattle_WTO_protests)

<sup>32</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law\\_of\\_the\\_Rights\\_of\\_Mother\\_Earth](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law_of_the_Rights_of_Mother_Earth)

<sup>33</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pachamama>



nonetheless). At the very core of the climate justice movement is the understanding that those who have profited and benefited the least from the unsustainable pace of the Post WWII ‘Great Transformation’ (Polanyi, 1944) and globalized capitalism since the 1950’s are the ones most at risk in the face of the unprecedented suffering and social breakdown that’s coming our way as a result of the climate crises and our multi-level and multi-scaler ecosystemic societal collapse; and that in order to try and rectify this situation, it requires an in-depth dismantling of the very patterns of exploitation, oppression and ‘maldevelopment’ (Amin, 1990) that the majority of societies in the Northern Hemisphere have long ago forced upon the southern hemisphere and that (to a large extent) continue to be taken-for-granted. Amongst other areas of focus, the climate justice movement works towards challenging the production of fossil fuels and exposing the ‘false solutions’ of corporations, such energy efficiency technologies, shale gas, biofuels, carbon-capture technologies and any type of solution that further commodifies nature based on an overexploitation of finite natural resources and the destruction of biodiversity. It has also proposed for the establishment of an International Climate and Environmental Justice Tribunal that would arbitrate and penalize destructive activities of exploitation that further aggravate the climate crisis. In Canada, the climate justice movement has been very active around groups such as 350.org<sup>34</sup> that very strongly oppose the pace of tar sand oil extraction in the western regions of the country.

The kaleidoscope of ‘intersectional’ societal problems, issues, challenges and struggles (Crenshaw, 1989), but also of perspectives and strategies that make up the climate justice movement is one of the latter’s core strengths; one that supports the creation of pertinent responses to a wide variety of political contexts across all levels of governance. Nevertheless, in the face of ever rising global GHG emissions, runaway climate breakdown, and environmental NGO’s that have typically been used to tackling particular local issues that are disregarded by governments (and capitalizing on small wins); in the face of a super wicked problem such as the climate crisis (abstract, out of sight and in the distant future) (Nulman, 2015), there is a need for ever greater coordination, determination and shared societal vision. The most important aspect of climate justice politics is thinking across all governance levels, starting with the local, then regional, national and the international; and acting across these levels with the most appropriate possible analysis, strategies, tactics and alliances (Bond, 2012). More than ever, and based on the science of climate change, governments need to tremendously

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<sup>34</sup> <https://350.org/>

increase their GHG reduction ambitions and targets; and alongside civil society and social movements, act immediately at every level of society (IPCC, 2018).

While the climate justice movement along with millions of people (especially youth, women, Indigenous Peoples, workers) took to the streets across the globe on two occasions in 2019 (the climate spring in April and climate strikes in September) for what has come to be the world's biggest ever marches in favor of the environment and for tackling the ever more urgent climate crisis; during the COP25 in Madrid at the end of that same year, these same voices were asking rich industrialized countries to 'Step Up and Pay Up' and commit to (and more importantly, action) ambitious science-based carbon reduction targets. The answer they got? For the first time in 25 years of international climate negotiations, they were pushed, bullied and driven out of the negotiating halls by the organizers of the summit. This last world climate summit has been defined as an 'unmitigated disaster'<sup>35</sup>.

Driven by an alternative vision of society (A. Smith, 2012), CSO and social movement actors politically contest society's 'status quo' and its culturally 'taken-for-granted assumptions' and belief systems, impacting public opinion and preferred policies; along with consumer demands and daily societal practices in general (Holzer, 2006; Sine & Lee, 2009). It is not too ambitious then to claim that today, civil society's climate organizations and climate justice movements operating in the urban context are decisive actors if we are to rapidly, drastically and deeply decarbonize our way out of the climate crisis; and doing so while also accounting for issues of social justice, processes of post-politicisation and the spectre of populism politics (Swyngedouw, 2010, 2011, 2013). How are civil society and social movements facing the climate emergency in the urban context? How do they inform urban transformations for deep decarbonisation? How should they be engaged in order to tap into their potential for transitioning unsustainable carbon-intensive urban contexts towards carbon-neutral cities in the coming decade(s)? These problematized 'governance beyond the state' questions (Swyngedouw, 2005) are at the heart of this dissertation.

The thesis is structured in the following manner: I first begin with a literature review of the research field that I mobilize, that of *Transition Theory*. After which I present the theoretical framework

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<sup>35</sup> <https://retakeourdemocracy.org/2019/12/17/madrid-cop25-meeting-an-unmitigated-disaster-we-are-running-out-of-time/>

developed, the methodology employed and data analysis. These are followed by the results and insights generated, including a self-reflexive chapter on my involvement in the research project as an engaged researcher-activist. Finally, I end with the research's contributions, its practical implications, limitations, as well as potential future avenues of research.

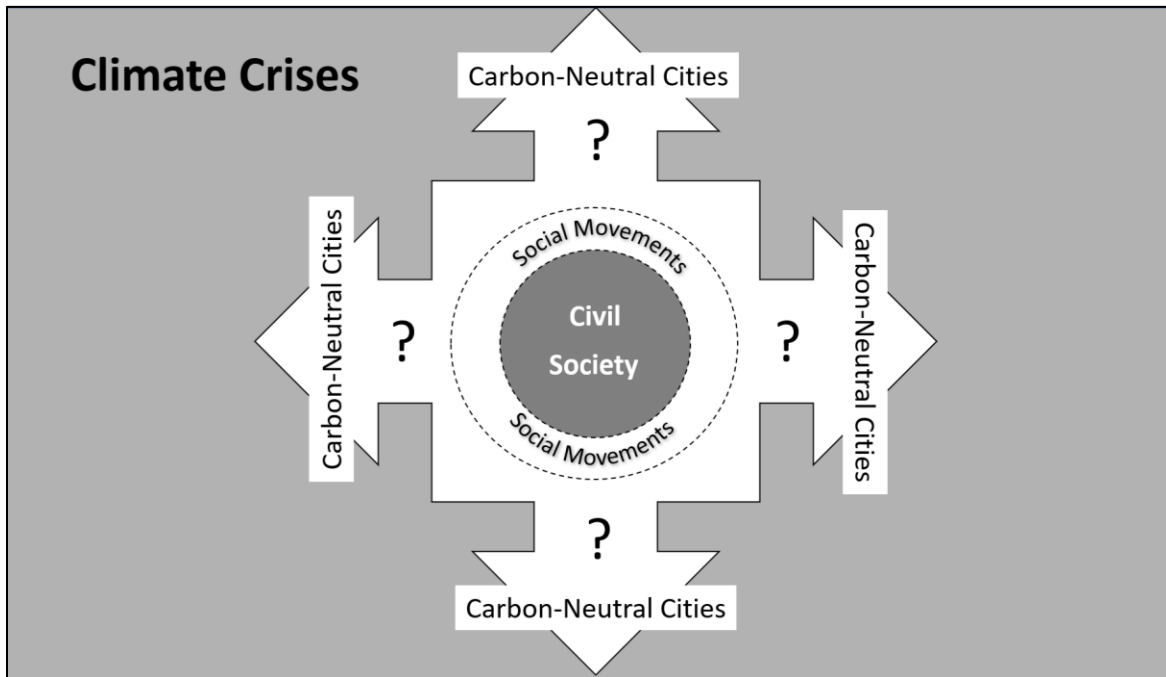


Figure 1. Key Concepts in Introduction

# Chapitre 2 – Urban Sustainability Transitions for Carbon-Neutral Cities

In this section I begin with a brief overview of urban sustainability, touching on the concepts of *transformation* and *transitions* for sustainability. I then develop more extensively on *Transition Theory*; beginning with an overview of the research field, followed by a review of *Sustainability Transitions*, with a specific focus on civil society actors and policy processes for transitions in the urban context. Finally, I highlight areas for further research.

## 2.1 Urban Sustainability

Urban Sustainability is about creating ‘sustainable urban places’, and this requires sustainable transformations to both urban structures and environments; alongside (radical) changes in economic, social, cultural, organizational, and governmental processes (Alberti, 1996; Bayulken & Huisingh, 2015; Childers et al., 2014; Quitzau et al., 2013). For some, the ‘sustainable city’ is an oxymoron, for others it’s a utopia, and for many; an inevitability (Blassingame, 1998; S. Egger, 2006; Roggema, 2016). Involving a multitude of varying paradigms about what the ‘city’ means (J. Jacobs, 1961; Bookchin, 1985, 1992), let alone a ‘sustainable’ one (Franceschini et al., 2016); translating sustainability (and ecology) into actions and practices in the urban context entails a plethora of challenges, dilemmas and opportunities (Bugliarello, 2006; Childers et al., 2014; Williams, 2010; Wu, 2014). The need for urban ‘transformation’ (McCormick et al., 2013) and ‘transition’ (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016) reconfirms the previously discussed consensus that business-as-usual is inadequate (Ernst et al., 2016) for maintaining humanity within a safe operating space, with cities and the urban context representing key ‘acupuncture’ points of (un)sustainability (Lerner, 2014). Both terms of transformation and transition point to the need for large-scale and deep structural changes that can enable us to achieve truly sustainable societies, with each term providing a nuanced perspective in describing, interpreting and supporting desirable radical and disruptive non-linear societal changes (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016; McCormick et al., 2013). Often, the terms are employed interchangeably and figuratively to communicate the intention and goal of moving from analyzing and understanding sustainability problems, to finding pathways and

potential avenues of solutions for deep social and environmental transformations (Hölscher, Wittmayer & Loorbach, 2017).

‘Transition’ is specially employed by the sustainability transitions research community to denote deep social, technological, institutional and economic changes from one dominant ‘societal configuration’ to another; providing us with analytical and operational tools to understand and develop disruptive interventions to support the emergence of wide-ranging societal transitions (Geels, 2005, 2006, 2010). On the other hand, ‘transformation’ has been adopted by research approaches that deal with global environmental change, like resilience (Olsson et al., 2014) and transformative adaptation (O’Brien, 2012); and that refer to essential alterations in human-environmental interactions and feedbacks.

Primarily, both transition and transformation methods propose governance frameworks and interventions for managing new and dynamically evolving risks and disruptions, while averting damaging transformations (Olsson et al., 2014). Through ‘transformative agency’ and governance, actors are considered as playing key roles in influencing desirable urban transformations and transitions, highlighting the importance of motivation, cognition, emotions and values as core elements of human agency for change (O’Brien, 2012). Involving collaboration, learning and knowledge integration, alongside institutional, social, technological and economic innovations; processes that shape transformations and transitions involve considerable power struggles and deep value conflicts. As such, transformations and transitions are inherently deeply political phenomenon’s (Patterson et al., 2017). In this way, achieving urban transformations and transitions for sustainability is a ‘wicked problem’, given that (similar to climate change); there is no absolutely right or wrong solution, requirements keep shifting, complex interdependencies lock systems into inertia, and there is very little space for learning by trial and error (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016; McCormick et al., 2013). Moreover, solutions require considerable financial investments that are tied with great risks; and given that urban development unfolds over very long periods of time, it is very difficult to reverse any negative unintended consequences (Frantzeskaki, Loorbach, & Meadowcroft, 2012; Woolthuis et al., 2013).

## 2.2 Transition Theory

The word and concept of transition is largely utilized in many scientific disciplines as representing a ‘non-linear shift’ from one social context of ‘dynamic equilibrium’ to another, and it’s been repeatedly utilized in such disciplines as demography, ecology, psychology, and physics. During the 1990’s, the concept of transitions appeared and developed in diverse research fields within the sciences, as a new concept that addresses large-scale societal change and sustainability. This led to the emergence and development of an interdisciplinary field that connects with two main constellations of intellectual currents (Loorbach et al., 2017).

The first current was the comprehensive group of innovation research that includes science and technology studies-STS (Schot, 1998), history of technology (Pacey, 1999), evolutionary economics (Nelson & Winter, 1982), and innovation policy (Edquist, 2002). The second was the somewhat intersecting disciplines of environmental studies (Basak, 2009) and sustainability sciences (Heinrichs et al., 2016); including environmental assessment (Harrop & Nixon, 1998), integrated assessment (Parson & Fisher-Vanden, 1995), sustainability governance (Lehman, 2015), and environmental policy (Roberts, 2003). Although these currents/constellations represent an array of disciplines, the academic and intellectual streams that traverse transitions research deal with complex real-world sustainability problems and enrich our understanding of deep societal changes thanks to the development of ‘tacit knowledge’. At the frontiers between theory and practice, transitions research is transdisciplinary (Loorbach et al., 2017).

Many environmental problems (especially the ‘super-wicked problem’ of climate change) require deep-structural changes to the way by which our society’s systems of provision function, such as energy, transport, agriculture, water, healthcare, and financial systems (de Haan & Rotmans, 2011). In the Transition literature, these systems are described as ‘socio-technical’ systems, systems that are made up of networks of actors; from individuals, to firms, collective groups, organizations, and institutions; along with infrastructure, technologies, knowledge and material artifacts (Farla et al., 2012; Geels, 2004). As these different but interdependent elements interact, they deliver specific services for human societies and have crucial effects and repercussions for the dynamics that the systems exhibit. As such, it’s considered that socio-technical transition processes lead to fundamental transformations in the different technological, material, organizational, institutional,

political, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions that structure the interdependent web of diverse socio-technical systems on which society depends (Geels, 2005; Kemp, 1994).

Initially, the emphasis of transitions research was on exploring and examining ‘historical transitions’ in socio-technical systems (e.g., mobility transition at the beginning of the twentieth century, from horse carriage to the automobile, as well as the transition from the candlelight to electricity, and the green revolution in the agricultural industry); which illustrate that transition processes become apparent (come to life) thanks to the interface of social dynamics at three specific societal levels: the ‘landscape’, ‘regime’, and ‘niche innovation’ levels. By capturing and explaining the complex dynamics that occur simultaneously, at any given point in time, across these three levels; the Multi-Level Perspective (MLP) is the field’s core heuristic framework (Geels, 2005, 2006, 2010) that enables us to capture the ‘bigger picture’ of sustainability dynamics (A. Smith et al., 2010)<sup>36</sup>.

The ‘landscape’ represents the overarching societal context that’s characterised by features such as societal values, economic patterns, political ideologies and demographic trends. It’s our external macro-context that contains deep heterogeneous structural trends and inclinations (Geels, 2005). Examples of landscape developments are climate change, military conflict, economic crisis etc. Representing the dominant social structures, institutions, and practices of society; the ‘regime’ is a ‘de facto’ form of governance that structures and orders the interaction of material artifacts and social interactions and processes. It is a set of ‘semi-coherent rules’ that different social groups abide by and stand for, and that enables for the coordination and orientation of social activities that structure ‘dynamically stable’ socio-technical configurations (Geels, 2005; Mossberger & Stoker, 2001; Quitzau et al., 2013) that force a logic and a direction on the evolution of socio-technical change (Geels & Schot, 2007). While precise definitions of the regime vary substantially, a important characteristic is its ‘dominant position’ and its ability (power) to reproduce and duplicate predominant social structures, systems and processes (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). In this way, the regime’s considered as being synonym to power, dominance and vested interests within markets, technology, science, policies, and culture (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016). According to

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<sup>36</sup> See figure 2.

some authors' recent works in transition research, the meta-regime is Capitalism, with the different contextual forms that it can take (Feola, 2020).

While regimes represent dominant institutions, 'niches' represent 'protected micro-level spaces' where 'radical bottom-up innovations' (technological and social) emerge thanks to actors and change agents (Hölscher et al., 2018) who are most often outside the regime. They take on the role of 'incubation rooms' that protect embryonic innovations against mainstream market selection, with the objective and intention of catalyzing major regime shifts. As bottom-up niche innovations build strong internal momentum and the wider societal context (the landscape) simultaneously exerts top-down pressure on the dominant regime, it weakens the latter and creates 'windows of opportunities' for mature niche innovations to scale and 'contaminate' (or 'pollinate') the regimes' dominant structure(s)<sup>37</sup>. Niche innovations are hence viewed as the seeds for systematic change, and like regimes, they respond to (and are shaped by) overarching landscape developments (Geels & Raven, 2006; Kemp et al., 1998; Raven et al., 2016; A. Smith & Raven, 2012).

Involving a broad range of actors, the core problem and challenge in socio-technical transitions is how 'green' technological innovations, social innovations and sustainable practices in general struggle when facing dominant systems; as they have to deal with an 'uphill battle' that's played out across economic, technical, political, scientific, and cultural dimensions (Geels, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2010; A. Smith, 2007). The Multi-Level Perspective (MLP) framework demonstrates that deep-structural changes in society are difficult to achieve because socio-technical systems are stabilized by various 'lock-in' mechanisms (Unruh, 2000); in the form of conformist beliefs, vested interests, low costs, sunk investments, and advantageous institutions (Geels, 2002, 2005, 2011; Markard & Truffer, 2008). Compounded by technologies that are highly intertwined with user practices and lifestyles, lock-in's lead to 'path dependence' and 'entrapment' (Unruh, 2000; Walker, 2000). As a result, socio-technical systems are said to experience incremental rather than radical changes, with niches alone having limited power to influence and disrupt the regime's dominant systems (Geels, 2011; Markard & Truffer, 2008). As such, niche–regime interactions are often conceptualized based on the 'David and Goliath' metaphor, a dichotomous perspective that compares small and agile niche innovations versus big and powerful regimes (Avelino et al., 2016).

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<sup>37</sup> See figure 1.



Transitions are thus depicted as complex chains of change (de Haan & Rotmans, 2011) that are temporally and structurally persistence, and that unfold over significant timespans (e.g., 50 years and more) (Geels, 2005; Kemp, 1994). Depending on the timing and uniqueness of niche-regime-landscape interactions, Geels & Schot (2007) have elaborated four types of possible transitions processes or ‘pathways’: 1) technological substitution, 2) reconfiguration of the regime, 3) de-alignment and re-alignment of the regime, and 4) transformation of the regime; with each pathway unfolding through four phases: 1) predevelopment, 2) take-off, 3) acceleration, and 4) stabilization (Rotmans et al., 2001).

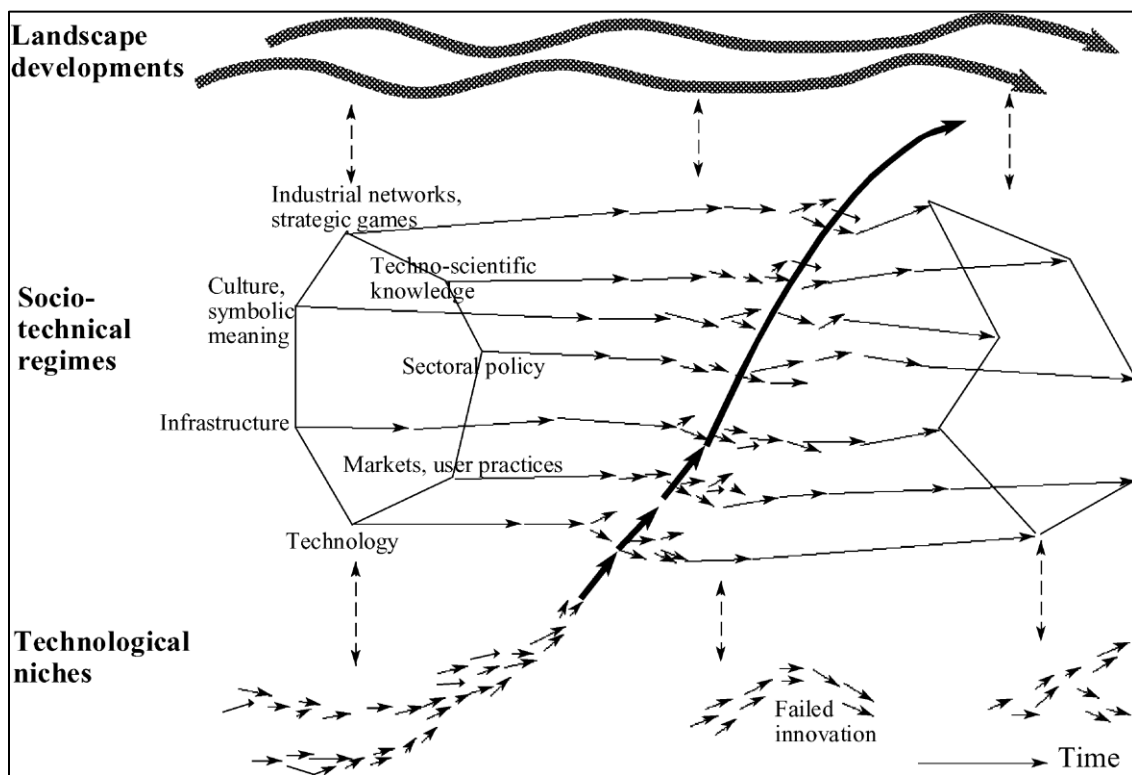


Figure 2. Multi-Level Perspective (MLP) (Geels, 2002)

Although it's regularly labeled as a theory, transition is more of a 'quasi-theory'; a general framework that attempts to uncover, interpret and understand the socio-economic, political, cultural, and environmental complexities that occur in socio-technical transitions. Some critical scholars argue that there's been a functionalistic inclination in the study of sustainability transitions, one that has led to an over-emphasize of the technical/technological aspects of socio-technical systems, at the detriment of the social and 'the political' in the study of socio-technical systems and the dynamics

that they manifest (Avelino, 2011). So while the research field of sustainability transitions has been subject to an approach that has the tendency to underestimate issues of politics, power and discourse; nevertheless, transition theory remains a critical project because it aims to question the dominant social structures of our time, and to envision alternative pathways in situations where the dominant societal structures in question are considered to be unsustainable, and therefore undesirable. As with the critical-theoretical works and contributions of past intellectuals such as Marx, Horkheimer, Adorno and Habermas (to name a few), the study of transitions is to diagnose and analyze contemporary societal problems and articulate corresponding remedial strategies. As such, transition studies that bring the political back in the study of socio-technical systems are most needed and welcomed (Avelino et al., 2016).

Given the growing acknowledgement of the necessity and opportunity of achieving deeper and more fundamental transitions, instead of gradual ‘sustainable development’ processes, the research field is motivated by the awareness and understanding that new research methods are indispensable to study the dynamics of complex and overlapping super-wicked societal problems (as is the issue of climate change within the urban context), and to better develop systemic responses and potential practical solutions (Loorbach et al., 2017). As such, the challenge of how to promote and govern a transition towards sustainability has been receiving a growing attention from both the policy arena (OECD, 2011)<sup>38</sup> and social-science research (Grin et al., 2010). It’s not too ambitious to state that transition theory has come of age (Avelino et al., 2016).

## **2.3 (Urban) Sustainability Transitions**

‘Sustainability’ transitions are defined as large-scale disruptive changes in socio-technical systems that are essential to solve tenacious ‘grand societal challenges’ that are faced by contemporary (post)modern societies. They’re long-term, multi-dimensional (radical) structural transformation processes through which key socio-technical systems change to ‘more sustainable’ ways of production and consumption; in the direction of new ‘sustainable societies’ (Grin et al., 2010; Markard et al., 2012).

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<sup>38</sup> <http://www.oecd.org/corporate/mne/transitiontoalow-carboneconomy.htm>

As with historical transitions, sustainability transitions emerge over long periods of decades, and result in vital changes in the way that societies' think (culture), organize (structure), and act (practice). In this way, markets, technologies, institutions, values and behaviors are considered as temporary and changeable outcomes; with sustainability transitions viewed as opportunities for more radical, systemic, and accelerated change that threaten and potentially disrupt/destabilize existing 'dynamically stable' regimes (dominant systems, institutions etc.). Compared to more historical transitions, sustainability transitions are characterized as possessing key additional complexities (Loorbach et al., 2017; Markard et al., 2012).

First and foremost, sustainability is a normative aim and a shared 'common good problem' involving 'prisoner dilemmas' and 'free rider problems' (Ostrom, 1990). Sustainability transitions are crammed with social debates about the different merits of various environmental problems/solutions, and which are based on entrenched values/beliefs; with private sector actors having no direct financial incentives to tackle sustainability challenges (Paredis, 2010). As a result, public authorities and civil society have become crucial catalyzers, facilitators and drivers of sustainability transition processes through their attempt to transform the economy through new consumer practices; as well as pressuring and incentivizing private actors to reconsider and redirect their innovation and commercial activities in the direction of sustainability (Frantzeskaki et al., 2014; Loorbach et al., 2017; Markard et al., 2012).

Second, today's transport, energy, food and other socio-technical systems of provision involve numerous green niche-innovations (Cooke, 2010), which differs from many historical transitions that involved only one (or just a few) niche alternatives. Also, it brings to the forefront the challenge of 'directionality' and choices among an array of possible transition pathways that considerably influence current and future lifestyles. How can the costs, benefits and potentially the negative (un)intended consequences of different green pathways be evaluated? This entails opposing criterions of evaluation, as well as different value systems across a multiplicity of groups (Paredis, 2010; Sengers et al., 2016; A. Smith et al., 2005). Other key governance questions relate to: who takes the decisions and makes the choices? Should it be done by governments that are supported by closed groups of experts and commissions doing technical analysis? Or should it be done through a more participatory and inclusive process that connects broad and diverse stakeholders, such as social groups, communities and the general public? (Frantzeskaki, Loorbach, & Meadowcroft, 2012).

The answers to the above questions partly depend on the individual's perspective and discourse of sustainability transitions. If these are seen and understood as being technical challenges, one may be persuaded with the former answer. If they're recognized as large social and political processes of change and transformation that also involve consumer lifestyles and citizen behaviors, then some people may be inclined towards the latter (Audet, 2014, 2016). Nevertheless, in both cases, legitimacy and public support are essential for the required financial investments and ambitious policies 'that bite' (such as higher taxes and/or stricter regulations) (Boasson & Huitema, 2017; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017). The key difference between sustainability transitions and more historical transitions is that long-term goals, guidance and governance inform the direction of the transition; hence playing an important role in sustainability transitions (Garud & Gehman, 2012; Markard et al., 2012; A. Smith et al., 2005).

In this way, a key peculiarity of sustainability transitions is that a wide array of actors are highly likely to work collectively in a coordinated manner in order to develop 'purposeful and intended' transition processes (Audet, 2014, 2016; Markard et al., 2012) and 'deliberate' policies aiming at transforming the dominant unsustainable regimes (Frantzeskaki, Koppenjan et al., 2012). Therefore, sustainability transitions is principally built on deep cultural changes and socially constructed dynamics that are made up by the cognitions and activities of numerous actors and groups that are involved in a plethora of socio-political processes as they struggle against one another, and in doing so form coalitions across various social sectors and societal levels. Therefore, and alongside innovations, policies and investments; narratives, discourses, framing and politics play key roles in sustainability transition processes (Avelino et al., 2016; Loorbach et al., 2017; Markard et al., 2012; Meadowcroft, 2011).

A current example is the 'Energy Transition', which is more than just a technological shift. It's a socio-cultural change consisting of power struggles that deeply impacts society's dominant 'incumbent' regime institutions, routines, and beliefs (Sterling, 2018). In many places across the world, it has gone through a long period of predevelopment, and now it's in a stage of high uncertainty, chaotic changes and very ambiguous consequences. Historically, many social sectors have experienced such major shifts, and it's very likely that they'll go through the same thing again in the (near) future (Loorbach et al., 2017). By focusing specifically on radical and transformative technological and social innovations in the early phases of grand (overarching) societal transitions,

alternatives to the dominant systems are considered as experiments given that they have the potential to shed light on how desired transitions may unfold over time. In this way, regime shifts/transitions are seen as beginning outside dominant/incumbent institutions during the ‘predevelopment’ and ‘destabilization’ phases of a transition (Loorbach et al., 2017); with civil society, social movements and public opinion (most often supported by concerned scientists) playing key roles in this aspect (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016). This has resulted in an ever more growing consideration and interest in the role of civil society organizations, social movements and grassroots/community-led social innovation initiatives in studying transitions to sustainability (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016; Seyfang & Haxeltine, 2012; Seyfang & Smith, 2007; A. Smith, 2012).

Especially pertinent to the research field of sustainability transitions is also the recent trend that has surfaced for the geographical dimension of emerging transition processes, with ‘place specificities’ becoming a crucial topic in the literature. Given the growing acknowledgement that, if new governance structures and mechanisms are created, then cities can perhaps accelerate transitions to sustainability; there is a considerable interest now for conceptualizing more clearly the geographical distinctions and variations of sustainability transition systems in cities and neighborhoods (Coenen et al., 2012; Coenen & Truffer, 2012; Frantzeskaki et al., 2017; Hansen & Coenen, 2015; Hodson & Marvin, 2010; Murphy, 2015; Truffer et al., 2015).

Building on sustainability transitions research, ‘urban sustainability transitions’ are defined as processes of fundamental and structuring transformation towards sustainability in the incumbent complex of urban society (it’s systems, practices, technologies, infrastructures, markets, lifestyles, culture, institutions and governance structures that fix, regulate and limit patterns of resource production and consumption); and through which the urban society’s wicked problems and persistent challenges are tackled. In contrast to sector-specific sustainability transitions (such energy, water, food, etc.), urban sustainability transitions consist of multiple transitions from various interdependent domains and sectors that simultaneously manifest and intersect; forming ‘infrasystems’ (Ehnert, Frantzeskaki et al., 2018; Ehnert, Kern et al., 2018; Frantzeskaki et al., 2016, 2017; Frantzeskaki & Loorbach, 2010; Wolfram, 2016). Since in an urban context multiple socio-technical systems and transitions congregate, interact and co-evolve (Nevens et al., 2013; Wolfram & Frantzeskaki, 2015), transitions in interconnected societal sectors influence and shape the urban development regime; and hence the creation of sustainable places (Quitau et al., 2013).

Purposive, systemic, long-term and vision-led, urban sustainability transitions are comprised of multi-stakeholder processes of governance that take place simultaneously at different levels; where disruptive innovations, systemic solutions and reflexive institutions are developed through on-going societal experimentations and continuous collective learnings (Hodson et al., 2017). Urban sustainability transition processes can hence be summarized as the need and requirement for a societal culture of open innovation, transparent communication, public participation and collaborations by both regime and niche actors, catalyzed, enabled and facilitated by (and with) local authorities; as actors use both bottom-up and top-down strategies to co-develop new, flexible transition-oriented visions, plans, designs and organizational models (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016, 2017).

Such dynamics integrate different perspectives and ‘bodies of knowledge’ and expertise, all the while promoting experimentation with (and learning from) a diversity of solutions and approaches. Requiring long-term oriented governance approaches, alongside flexible, adaptive and reflexive policy designs that emphasize and practice deliberation, probing, experimentation and learning among stakeholders (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016, 2017; Hamann & April, 2013; Nevens et al., 2013); researching the field of urban sustainability transitions pushes us to ask crucial political ‘power-laden’ questions: who are the actors taking part in urban sustainability transitions? How are the relationships amongst them evolving? Who is profiting from urban sustainability transition processes, and who is assuming the costs of current urban transition pathways? How does civil society exercise power? and how is this similar or different to the approaches that other actors implement in performing power within urban sustainability transitions? (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2017; Frantzeskaki et al., 2016, 2017).

These are essential questions, issues and challenges that need to be tackled in order to enrich the current lack of knowledge about the active role that civil society actors (can) play in initiating and accelerating the transition to sustainable cities (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016), and how to empower ‘context-specific’ transformative (social) innovations towards desired urban sustainability transitions (Loorbach et al., 2016). Even though civil society organizations have always held important roles in the context of cities, their roles in urban sustainability transitions needs to be further scrutinized, especially regarding potentially unforeseen effects, such as the risk of being weakened by political agendas that can fragilize organizations and potentially threaten their core social missions (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016, 2017).

### 2.3.1 Civil Society and Social Movements

Both civil society and social movements influence socio-technical transitions by protecting niche innovations and building far-reaching advocacy coalitions supportive of ambitious transition policies, while simultaneously shaping more implicit cultural norms, beliefs and values that destabilize regimes, and their dominant socio-technical systems; in favor of emerging social and technological innovations (Haukkala, 2018; Markard et al., 2016). Challenging dominant ‘institutional logics’ with alternative ones, plotting new plans of what’s desired and possible, and ultimately unleashing changes in both political and consumer awareness and values; CSO’s and social movements construct and articulate new directions for societal change and transformations (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2017; Frantzeskaki et al., 2016, 2017), all the while emphasizing issues of justice, equity and inclusiveness in the design of transition policies (Sovacool & Dworkin, 2015; Sovacool et al., 2017). In doing so, they influence which social and/or technological innovations get to remake society and the ways by which they do it (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2017; Frantzeskaki et al., 2016; J. Smith et al., 2017).

While in sustainability transition processes we have many actors from a variety of institutional environments (market, government, science, civil society) and many levels of structuration (mainly niche or regime actors) that participate in a large number of activities (Jørgensen, 2012); there remains in the literature a certain emphasis and focus on the achievements and capabilities of ‘frontrunners’, ‘champions’ (R. R. Brown et al., 2013) or ‘intermediaries’ (Kivimaa et al., 2019). These are powerful actors that can act in ways that catalyzes transitions (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016, 2017), with Farla et al. (2012) warning us against such an emphasis on the individual, suggesting that there isn’t just one unique kind of actor in transitions.

Moreover, existing contributions in transition research mainly use the conventional division between market, state and civil society; indicating an actor understanding that has two conceptual limitations. First, the rather problematic disposition to employ the classification of civil society to represent everything that isn’t the government nor the market; and second, a shared opacity regarding the actors involved, as well as their ‘level of aggregation’: are they operating at the niche or regime level? Or both? How? When? As such, it’s important to prevent undue analytical representations where actors that relate to business and government are de facto ascribed to the regime; and civil society to niche groups. Also, in other circumstances, policymakers and social

movements are sometimes portrayed as belonging to the same level (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016, 2017; Frantzeskaki et al., 2016).

As such, and general speaking, theoretical frameworks and empirical analyses have been lacking accuracy when differentiating between various types and levels of actors. Are they looking at individuals or organizations? More general categories of actors or instead they're looking at the roles that actors play? These ambiguities have led to a palpable underestimation and/or overestimation of civil society's relative power when facing the state and/or the market (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016, 2017; Frantzeskaki et al., 2016), with the field of sustainability transitions usually missing a nuanced understanding of power relations as forces that influence and structure sustainability initiatives in practice (Avelino, 2011; Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016; Lawhon & Murphy, 2011).

Today, the research field of sustainability transitions requires a more sophisticated and refined understanding of actors, and how the political dimension of transitions is formulated when futures are envisioned (Avelino et al., 2016; Jhagroe, 2016; Meadowcroft, 2011), spaces visualized (Castán Broto, 2015), economic paradigms reproduced (Kenis & Lievens, 2016; Kenis & Mathijs, 2014; Swilling et al., 2015), novelties captured (Pel, 2016), participation procedures form (Chilvers & Longhurst, 2016), and the roles of actors are framed (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016). These are tricky challenges in improving our understanding of the complex socio-political transition dynamics that shape political coalitions, transition policies and overarching cultural norms and practices (Kern & Rogge, 2018). Researchers are hence encouraged to open and explore the 'black box' of CSO and social movements in (urban) sustainability transitions, exploring what differentiates them, their internal tensions, and their relationships to the (multi-level) structural/institutional context(s) in which they are embedded; and in which they have to operate (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016, 2017; Frantzeskaki et al., 2016).

Several contributions from Actor-Network Theory and Practice Theory (Chilvers & Longhurst, 2016; Hoffman & Loeber, 2016; Pel, 2016) are answering to these research gaps by challenging the predominant individualistic concepts of agency, recognizing that certain actors could be linked to regime or niche contexts more than others; but that some individuals could consider themselves as undertaking more flexible roles that can potentially belong to both simultaneously. In this way, authors are challenging the MLP's dichotomy of niche-regime 'David Vs Goliath' interactions;



doing so by opening-up and specifying the concept of regime and highlighting how diverse actors take up diverse roles, and a wide-range of actors (both individuals and organizations) from diverse sectors of society (government, civil society, market and third sector) shape (intentionally and unintentionally) sustainability transition dynamics and processes (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016, 2017; Frantzeskaki et al., 2016).

The Multi-actor Perspective (MaP) (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016) is a transition-based heuristic that develops on the ‘Welfare Mix’ model in Third Sector research (Evers & Laville, 2004) so as to enhance our understanding of the role of civil society, agency and power in transition processes. It distinguishes between four sectors: (1) state, (2) market, (3) community and (4) third sector; as well as between actors at various levels of aggregation: (a) sectors, (b) organizational actors, and (c) individual actors (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016).

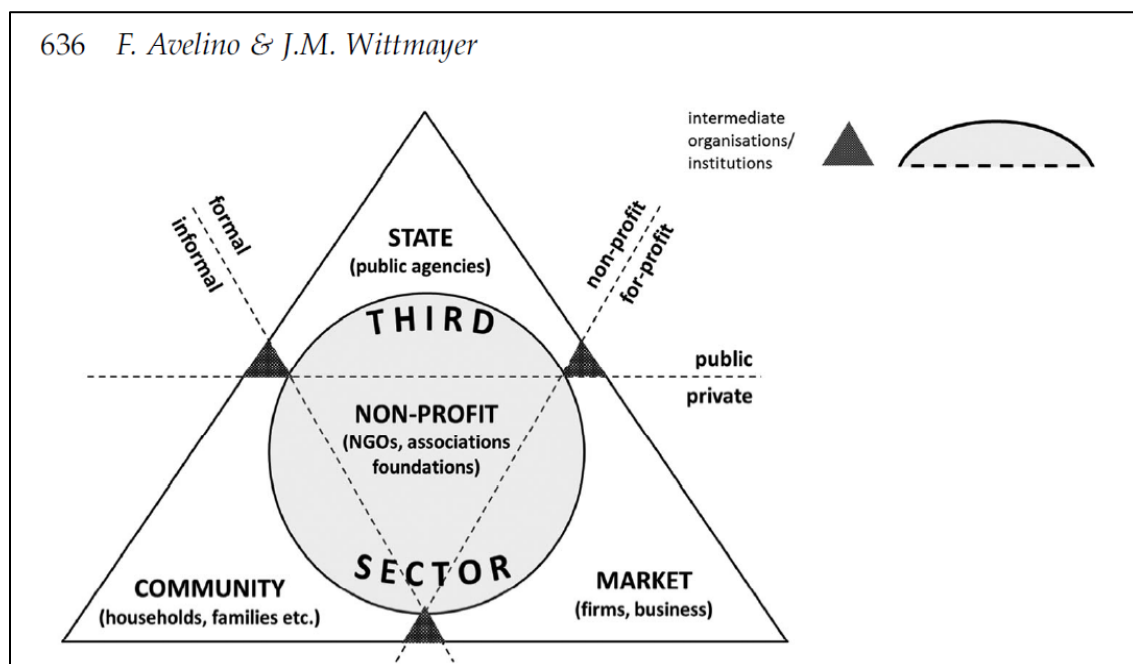


Figure 3. Multi-actor Perspective (MaP) Framework – Sector Level

Whereas sectors can (in themselves) be regarded as ‘actors’, they’re also understood as unique ‘institutional contexts’ or ‘discursive fields’ that are packed with organizational and individual actors operating with (against) one another and the overall sector (Snow, 2008); and through which ‘meaning-making’ processes such as framing and narration occur and manifest. In this way, these sectors should

not be regarded as ‘fixed entities’, but rather; as places and spaces of struggle and cooperation between different actors whose boundaries are porous, continuously contested, and dynamically changing over time. As for the ‘Third Sector’, it’s a social ‘hybrid sphere’, an ‘intermediary’ sector where primarily non-profit ‘intermediary organizations’ act as vital ‘nodes’ at the intersection between market, government and community. As they communicate and translate across sectorial silos, they develop, diffuse and scale innovations across the different sectors and geographical localities (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016).

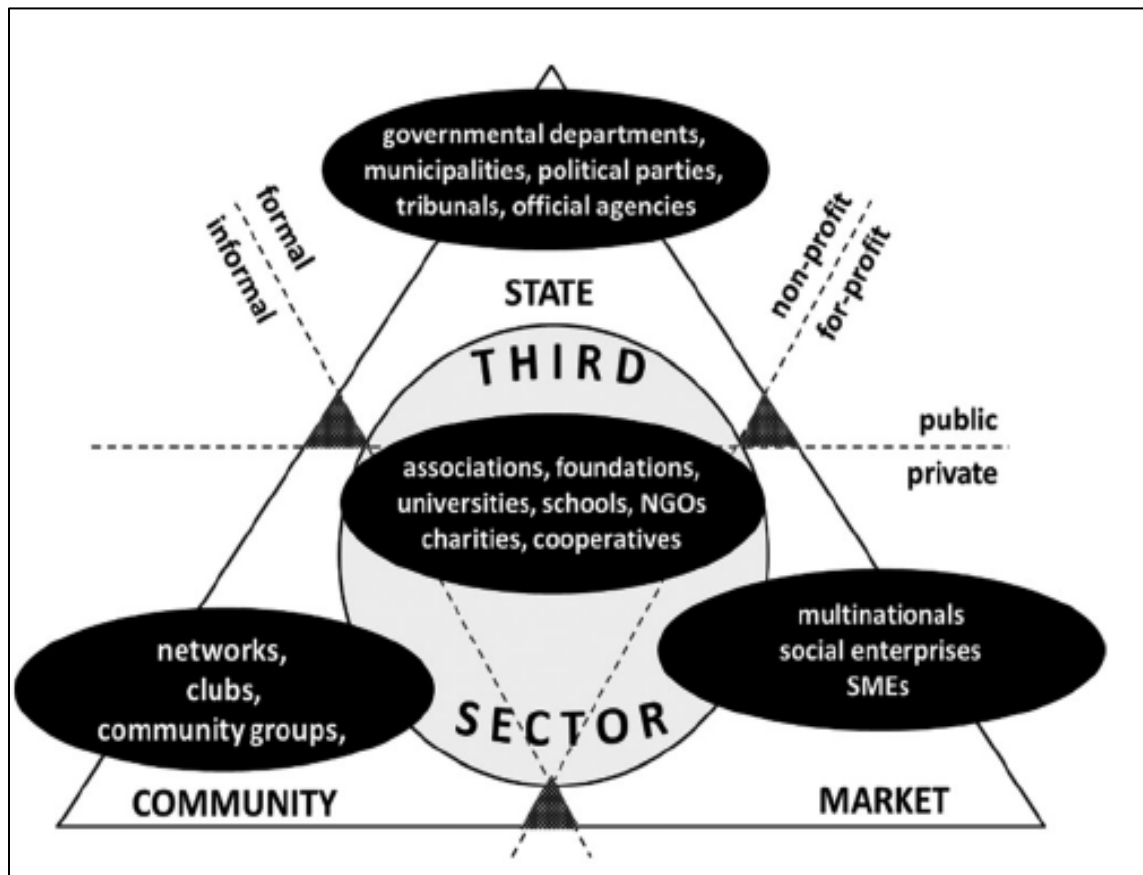


Figure 4. Multi-actor Perspective (MaP) Framework – Organizational Level

Beyond the regime-niche dichotomy of the Multi-Level Perspective (MLP), the MaP highlights; in a refined, granular and dynamically constructed manner, the ‘distributive agency’ of actors and categories that are continuously ‘in the making’. It enables for a more refined/fine-grained understanding of regime-niche dynamics from an inter-temporal perspective, and the way by which multi-actor ‘shifting agency’ dynamics shape and (are shaped by) the socio-political system in

which they occur; where the Politics of (urban) sustainability transitions are played out (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016). This is the ‘micro-politics’ (Hoffman & Loeber, 2016) of (urban) sustainability transitions; all the actions of collaboration, cooperation and conflict within (and between) societies through which individuals organize the production, distribution and use of resources for the reproduction of biological and social life (Leftwich, 2010).



Figure 5. Multi-actor Perspective (MaP) Framework – Individual Level

Similar to ‘fields’ (Bourdieu, 1994), ‘ecologies of participation’ (Chilvers & Longhurst, 2016), ‘institutional contexts’ (DiMaggio, 1998), ‘arenas of development’ (Jørgensen, 2012), ‘process systems’ (Pel, 2012), ‘transition arenas’ (Hölscher, Wittmayer, Avelino, & Giezen, 2017) and ‘strategic action fields’ (Fligstein, 2009; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011); the third sector/hybrid sphere can be considered as a refined entity in which transformative innovation is questioned, challenged and disputed; where different institutional logics are expressed and collide (Avelino et al., 2016).

Beyond the David and Goliath metaphor, such an approach understands regime-niche interactions as a ‘dialectic process of innovation, capture and translation’ where both niches and regimes contribute similarly (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016). Pointing to the idea that social innovations are ‘temporary breakthrough moments’ in otherwise ongoing and deeply contested processes (Pel, 2016), the focus is on the ‘material embeddedness’ and ‘distributive agency’ of transition processes; the entrenched issues and challenges of ‘power asymmetries’, the different forms of influences that actors can have and exert on one another, how ‘power relations’ shift between them over time, and the central roles that (political) constellations of actors have in urban sustainability transitions (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016; Kenis et al., 2016; Kenis & Mathijs, 2014; Meadowcroft, 2009; Scrase et al., 2010; Shove & Walker, 2010). In this way, sustainability transitions are not to be regarded as pre-definable regime shifts, but as continuously enduring processes in which purposeful and intentional transition procedures and actors are in a constant ‘state of becoming’, their identities constructed over time (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016).

As such, transitions are fundamentally political processes that involve a wide-ranging variety of groups and individuals that disagree about the required and desirable directions (pathways) of transitions, and how to catalyze, facilitate and guide such processes. Understanding the politics of transitions pushes us to pay more attention to ‘who gets what, when and how’; that is, who wins or loses when innovations (do not) materialize. Ultimately, one of the core political questions in urban sustainability transitions is: which vision(s) of urban sustainability are predominating in contemporary urban contexts, and how are they shaping the direction and speed of sustainability transitions? (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016; Frantzeskaki et al., 2016, 2017; Kern & Rogge, 2018; Stirling, 2011).

The discussion of politics is intimately associated with the notion of power, with power understood as primarily linked to the foundational and dominant regulative, cognitive and normative rules of socio-technical regimes. Involving ‘power struggles’ between actors and groups that have contradictory and conflicting goals and interests that form/structure the inherent tensions of regime-niche interactions and dynamics (Avelino et al., 2016; Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016; Geels & Schot, 2010), change is understood as the result of these tense conflicts, disagreements, political lobbying, negotiations and overall coalition building (Köhler et al., 2019; Markard et al., 2016). Such an understanding of actor dynamics theorizes the regime not just as a dominant socio-technical

system, but also as a ‘socio-political’ system that’s deeply rooted in incumbent economic and institutional structures; making the argument that in order for sustainability transitions to materialize, socio-political regimes need to be challenged and opposed if we want socio-technical systems to be transformed (Avelino et al., 2016; Swilling et al., 2015).

This represents a change in the object of sustainability transitions, not just shifting from an emphasis on socio-technical systems to an emphasis on socio-political systems, but also considering socio-ecological and socio-economic systems as being similarly important dimensions of sustainability transitions (Loorbach et al., 2017). As a result, authors are calling for a wider appreciation of the politics of sustainability transitions; one that doesn’t just include government-led processes, but that likewise unpacks the micro-politics of transition dynamics and processes (Avelino et al., 2016; Hess, 2014; Hoffman & Loeber, 2016).

A key research area that’s been so far understudied is how CSO’s and social movements shape the expansion of public support for destabilizing regimes, phasing out unsustainable technologies and practices, and establishing policies and governance designs that can actually accelerate sustainability transitions (Kuokkanen et al., 2018). Key questions pertain to the political role that CSO and social movements actors have in surmounting regime resistance to sustainability transition policies, and the contextual conditions under which they play an important role, or are instead disregarded, marginalized or sidelined. Further research is required to better understand how CSO’s and social movements contribute to ‘deep transitions’ (Schot & Kanger, 2018) thanks to their ‘stretch and transform’ goals that attempt to escape the ‘fit and conform’ patterns of society’s dominant regimes (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016; Frantzeskaki et al., 2016; Köhler et al., 2019; Loorbach et al., 2017).

With climate emergency being the main reason behind the imperative to catalyze transitions away from a fossil fuel-based society, and unlike historical transitions that did not necessarily involve the ‘emergency’ element that we’re dealing with in the context of the climate crisis; the temporal dynamics (pace, speed, directions) of today’s grand societal energy transition for carbon-neutrality play a crucial role in shaping transition governance (Kern & Rogge, 2016). The main task is to expand and deepen our understanding of how agency, as a dynamic and complex social phenomenon, influences social change or instead preserves and stabilizes a certain pre-established

and taken-for-granted context; and how various arrangements of agency might shape the direction and speed of transitions (Loorbach et al., 2017).

Invigorated by the highly political nature of agency (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016), the issues of legitimization in transitions, the overall intrinsic political characteristic of sustainability transitions (Avelino et al., 2016; Jhagroe, 2016; Meadowcroft, 2009, 2011; Shove & Walker, 2010; A. Smith, 2012), and the lack of attention to these in earlier works on transition governance (Patterson et al., 2017); several authors are starting to explicitly theorize the role of politics and power in transitions (Ahlborg, 2017; Avelino, 2017; Avelino et al., 2016; Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016; Geels, 2014; Hess, 2014; Hoffman, 2013). This has created a set of empirical research and critical theory studies on discourse, power and politics in transitions (Audet, 2014, 2016; Avelino et al., 2016; Köhler et al., 2019). So far the emerging research track on the role of civil society (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016) and social movements in (and impacts on) sustainability transitions (Törnberg, 2018) can be classified into three different pathways in the way that they shape transition dynamics (Köhler et al., 2019).

- 1) The Politics and governance of transitions (Kern & Rogge, 2018)
- 2) Grassroots innovation (Seyfang & Haxeltine, 2012)
- 3) Cultural change (Geels & Verhees, 2011)

The research field of sustainability transitions, and more specifically it's sub-field on the politics of transition, has begun to bestow greater consideration to the 'politics of policy processes'; with transition scholars now going beyond just analyzing the content of public policies, and thinking more thoroughly about how the 'political premise' of policy processes shapes policy outputs and transitions in general (Normann, 2015, 2017). This young and newly emerging body of research is drawing on robust and well-developed policy theories from the research field of public policy sciences (Kern & Rogge, 2018).

### **2.3.2 The Politics of Policymaking; A Multiple Streams Approach (MSA)**

Policy process research is the study, overtime of the links between public policy outcomes and the interactions between the actors, events, and the contexts that are involved in policymaking processes (Weible, 2014). While an array of analytical approaches have been applied to study policy processes and outputs (Howlett et al., 2009; Sabatier & Weible, 2014), still, very few have

been employed in studying the politics of/in transitions (Grin et al., 2011; Meadowcroft, 2011; Scrase & Smith, 2009). Drawing on well-established public policy theories of policy processes, five of the foremost mature approaches in policy studies since the 1980's and 1990's (theoretically well established and empirically validated across a range of policy fields and regions) have been mobilised in several publications within sustainability transitions (Markard et al., 2016; Normann, 2015, 2017); and are considered as pertinent and of considerable value to the study of sustainability transition politics (Kern & Rogge, 2018).

- 1) Sabatier's Advocacy Coalitions (Sabatier, 1988)
- 2) Pierson's Policy Feedback Approach (Pierson, 1993)
- 3) Kingdon's Multiple Streams (Kingdon, 1995)
- 4) Hajer's Discourse Coalitions (Hajer, 1996)
- 5) Baumgartner's Punctuated Equilibrium (True et al., 1999)

Most often than not, the focus of analysis employed by all five frameworks is at the level of actors, those individuals and groups who are usually involved in formulating policy proposals within a specific policy field (such as innovation or environmental policy fields). Attention is especially given to coalitions of actors that compete to influence and sway policies in their directions, better understanding which actors 'get access' to policymaking venues and processes; and how different policy agents fail and succeed in shaping policy outputs and outcomes. This is the politics of policymaking (Kern & Rogge, 2018).

While some of these policy process theories, such the Multiple Streams Approach and Punctuated-Equilibrium, focus on explaining 'agenda-setting' processes; others like Sabatier's Advocacy coalition framework look at all stages of policymaking, with a focus on powerful policy makers and stakeholders who are routinely involved in policy processes. In contrast, other authors who utilize policy feedback theory focus on how the general public also influences and shapes policies; with a particular interest for how policies influence politics, and in (re)turn how politics influences policymaking through continuous 'feedback loops' (Pierson, 1993).

The Multiple Streams Approach (MSA) was developed by Kingdon in the US in the 1980's to analyse agenda-setting processes in health and transportation policy. Drawing inspiration from the 'Garbage Can' theory in organizational studies (Cohen et al., 1972; Zahariadis, 2014), it's main

objective is to shed light on how certain issues make it onto the political agenda (most of the empirical work has been conducted at the national level), how alternative courses of action manifest themselves, and why certain policy issues and/or alternative options never get the attention from governments and other related regime actors and stakeholders (Kingdon, 1995; Zahariadis, 2008). Arguing that social and contextual ‘ambiguity’ is a fundamental part of policymaking processes (Zahariadis, 2008), hence it’s important to analyse the ‘messiness’ of (in) policy change processes (Copeland & James, 2014; Zahariadis, 2008); the MSA enables us to approximate the ‘dynamic, complex and chaotic nature of policymaking’, and in so doing disregards more conventional theories of how ‘rational behavior’ drives policymaking processes (Zahariadis, 2014).

The MSA approach to understanding policymaking dynamics suggests that policy systems can be considered as mostly composed of three different streams: problems, policy/solutions, and politics. While the ‘problem stream’ refers to the general public’s awareness and discernment about a specific societal issue, and whether or not (and most importantly how) it should be addressed by government(s) (environmental pollution being an example); the ‘policy stream’ contains potential solutions that are developed and proposed by experts, analysts and researchers within ‘policy communities’ that include elected officials, bureaucrats, citizens, researchers and expert practitioners. As these multi-stakeholders interact around a shared concern within a given policy area, they (most often) operate as an (un)official think tank. As for the ‘politics stream’, it entails public debates, changes in government or legislature, and lobbying groups (Kingdon, 1995; Zahariadis, 2014).

As these three streams are said to evolve independently from one another (there remains a dynamic discussion about the degree to which this is actually the case), ‘policy windows’ sometimes open thanks to important developments within the political stream (such as changes in government after election periods) or by the start of substantial problems (the problem stream) that become more visible as a result of ‘focussing events’ occurring at the landscape level (a pandemic for instance). At these crucial moments in time, and as the concerned policy community has narrowed down possible solutions to a small group of policy choices that are ready to be proposed; ‘policy entrepreneurs’ (within and/or outside of governments, some of which pursue ‘evidence-based policymaking’) intervene to connect the three streams together (Cairney, 2018; Kingdon, 1995; Zahariadis, 2014). In this research, the focus is on civil society (non-state) policy entrepreneurs who elaborate, introduce, translate and promote new policy ideas (Roberts & King, 1991).



As they frame problems, get solutions ready and influence policymakers' intentions and purposes, policy entrepreneurs capitalize on contextual windows of opportunities (Cairney, 2018) to push forward their 'pet policy solution' with the objective of convincing decision-makers and policymakers to adopt them. Hence, 'policy windows' are opportunities that policy promoters grab so that political attention is given to the societal problems they aim to remedy, and the related policy solutions that they propose (Kingdon, 1995). The aim is for their issue(s) to become recognized as a problem on the political and policy agenda and start public policy processes to achieve concrete policy changes. As such, the MSA helps us to shed light on how policy windows open and/or close, and how actors capitalize on them whenever their policy solutions are well prepared and are ready to be pushed forward. Hence, it's said that policy entrepreneurs have very strong 'social acuity' in their capacity to scan and understand the environment in which they operate, as they look for policy windows through which to catalyze and achieve policy change where (and when) they are most likely to succeed. Unless this is done, crucial policy windows can often be missed (Mintrom, 2000; Mintrom & Norman, 2009; Kingdon, 1995; Zahariadis, 2014),

While usually it's assumed that when a problem arises, policy solutions will be developed in order to respond to it, various empirical applications of the MSA across a number of policy fields has demonstrated that this is not always the case. If a window of opportunity opens in the problem stream (for instance an earthquake), indeed policy solutions will be applied to the new problem. However, if it opens in the political stream (change of government through elections), then consideration is put on solutions before the problems are well-defined. In this way, policies are produced in search of a justification, with the solution considered as being more important than the problem to be solved. This is one of the key findings of the MSA findings, that very frequently, it's 'solutions that chase problems' rather than the other way around (Zahariadis, 2014). This makes policymaking an irrational problem solving exercise, something that's important to consider when designing and developing policy recommendations; as it indicates that only offering 'evidence' is not a satisfactory requirement, but that on the contrary, issues and variables of 'timing' and 'sensitivity' to events and developments occurring in the politics stream are fundamental and vital if policy entrepreneurs are to succeed in pushing for their proposals to be adopted (Zahariadis, 2014). Shedding light on the central role that agency plays within the MSA (Béland & Howlett, 2016), a dedicated literature has addressed how policy entrepreneurs take strategic advantage of crises and the framing contests that derive from these (Boin et al., 2009).

Policy windows have shown to improve entrepreneurial activities and success (Bakir, 2009; Boasson & Wettestad, 2014), with basic framing and communication of ideas being indispensable for actors to manipulate and impact processes of policy change (J. L. Campbell, 2004). Nevertheless, not all actors will necessarily identify and understand that a window has opened, while others may simply not have the time nor the capabilities to take advantage of it (Boasson, 2015). In this way, skillful problem framing policy entrepreneurs not only exploit emerging context-specific windows of opportunities, but they also create windows of opportunity for successive policy entrepreneurs to continue advancing processes for policy change. The trademark and innovation of policy entrepreneurship is identifying policy windows and acting upon them by combining ideas and meanings from a variety of actors, settings and situations; with problem framing representing a crucial precursor to capitalize on policy windows and lead efforts for ambitious policy changes (Boasson & Wettestad, 2014; Huitema & Meijerink, 2010; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017).

As individuals who continuously attempt to connect the problem and solution streams, with the aim to then connect both with the political stream at some given strategic moment/window of opportunity (Zahariadis, 2014), policy entrepreneurs need to be persistent and skilled, as they work with others in and around policy venues, establish new alliances, develop innovative and original policy ideas and grab the opportunities offered by changing broader conditions (the macro-level landscape) (A. L. Campbell, 2012); all the while trying to convince ‘difficult-to-organize citizens’ to support their proposed policy innovations (Boasson & Huitema, 2017; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017).

A central role of policy entrepreneurs is to persuade others that the policy innovations they promote is workable, and this necessitates remarkably pertinent evidence to be presented in a manner that can persuade powerful coalitions of supporters to support the changes that are proposed and advocated (Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017). Amongst other things, it includes presenting evidence in ways that promotes the perspective that a crisis actually exists (Boin et al., 2009), that highlights the failures of current policies (Baumgartner et al., 2014), and that’s able to gain the support from actors that are outside the direct scope of the problem. Understanding what others are looking for, considering perspectives other than their own; and creating meanings and frames that appeal to many actors (Fligstein, 2001; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011; Roberts & King, 1991); policy entrepreneurs balance what matters to them with what matters to others (O’Neil & Ucbasaran, 2016) in order to create advocacy coalitions that can have the capacity to change policies (Mintrom & Vergari, 1996). In this

way, they're skillful 'political actors' who are able to ensure the cooperation of powerful actors by building political coalitions that mobilize resources and gain more influence (vs others) within a given socio-political and policy context. In doing so, they demonstrate quite high levels of creativity in investing 'cracks' (or fractures) within social structures, enabling them to exploit and further accentuate these cracks (Fligstein, 2001; Fligstein & McAdam, 2011).

Employing rhetoric, symbols and analysis to frame policies in a way that supports their favorite solution, skillful policy entrepreneurs develop arguments differently, and for a multitude of audiences. By framing issues in ways that they can overcome possible objections (Bakir, 2009; Timmermans & Zabala-Iturriagoitia, 2013) and using argumentation as an excellent 'political weapon' in their attempts to sway political debates, they have the ability to argue persuasively (Mackenzie, 2004). Hence, the basic challenge of policy entrepreneurs is to 'frame' stories in ways that gets them the cooperation of other people, as they attempt to appeal to other individuals' identities, beliefs, and interests. Simultaneously, they also use stories to frame actions versus numerous opponents (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017). Persuasion and 'framing' are therefore regarded as the same phenomenon, with framing relating to an array of actions that aim to undermine and weaken certain ways of interpreting and understanding information, events and social phenomena. 'Image-making' is another term that's also used for explaining the framing capabilities of policy entrepreneurs (Baumgartner et al., 2009; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017); with the very act of framing issues varying across ideological and partisan groups (Singh & Swanson, 2017). In general, and compared to people on the left, people on the right of the political spectrum seem to have a tendency to be less sensitive to how climate change is framed (as well as to policies aimed at tackling the problem) (Singh & Swanson, 2017).

While framing can be done in several ways to serve multiple aims, still, positive and negative framings are distinguished as a basic delimitation (Boasson & Huitema, 2017; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017), with framing used to create either positive or negative comprehension of particular ideas, situations, solutions or groups (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). Mintrom and Norman (2009) point to a specific type of positive framing, that of 'leading by example' and developing prototypes of the suggested change or what is often referred to as 'theories of change'. This has to do, not just with the use of language and rhetoric, but also with the concrete actions that the policy entrepreneur(s) undertake (most often locally and at a relatively small-scale).

As for negative framing, it means dynamically de-legitimizing ideas and proposals that are considered as undesirable for policy and practice. This may necessitate and involve discrediting, demeaning or even sometimes shaming current and rival policy proposals, along with the actors who represent them. In practice though, positive and negative framings can be combined in multiple ways and to various degrees (Mintrom & Norman, 2009), with Copeland and James (2014) highlighting the strategic construction of narratives that rally and organize political action on a policy problem, with the aim of legitimizing a specific solution. To strengthen their claims and points of views in local societal debates, policy entrepreneurs also refer often to international standards, norms, and institutions that are proposed by an array of United Nations resolutions (Boasson, 2015).

Given that the way by which issues are framed influences and shapes how individuals process information, especially for a super-wicked and highly charged political issue such as climate change whose normative foundations are contested, and that competes for attention with other important and notable social, economic and/or environmental issues; framing is a striking and pretty effective method to influence public opinion (Singh & Swanson, 2017). Keohane (2015) presents five climate change ‘policy frames’, representing how each one of them emphasizes attention to particular aspects of the climate problem:

1. Two approaches under ‘Mitigation’:
  - a) Consumers and taxpayers carry the cost of limiting emissions
  - b) Mitigation that’s structured in a way to reduce the incentives for opposition to emerge.
2. Adaptation
3. Building new infrastructure
4. Solar radiation management (geoengineering)

How politicians and governments frame climate change (along with public opinion that’s directly influenced by the public sector’s framings) can influence policy responses to the problem, and in doing so, impact the chances that actions can have in generating (or not) the desired outcome(s) (Keohane, 2015). Also, framing climate change as a global or local issue can moreover influence people’s perceptions about the gravity of the problem, how they can support policy actions, and how they can change their everyday actions and behaviors (Singh & Swanson, 2017). Given that its more

difficult for individuals to understand, evaluate and make decisions about abstract concepts such as climate change, then it is for more concrete concepts; studies have proposed that global scale framings of the climate emergency can reduce the level of importance that people give to the problem, with more local ‘anchoring’ frames exerting more influence as they can at times increase the perception of severity and the need to support local policies (Singh & Swanson, 2017). Still, on average, people’s views, opinions and attitudes about the importance of climate change are somewhat inflexible; and framing in order to change people’s perceptions is a highly challenging undertaking. This is compounded by the predisposition of politicians in North America to give more importance to policy information coming from actors who have inaccurate or often mistaken views about climate science; and that do not see the importance of tackling the issue (Singh & Swanson, 2017).

Stressing that framing operates through (re)arranging the elements of a problem in such a way that its meaning is changed (a process that involves putting the focus on certain issue elements, at the detriment of others), Dewulf and Bouwen (2012) highlight the ‘interactional’ nature of framing and depict policy entrepreneurs as ‘active conversationalists’ who define and (de)construct the denotation of a given situation via ‘meaningful’ discussions; with the intent and goal of mobilizing and capitalizing on their rhetorical skills to convince others to accept and endorse their policy proposals. While policy entrepreneurs approach societal problems with their specific preferences regarding the policy proposals and solutions that could be implemented to tackle them; nevertheless, by exchanging and networking with others, they advance new ways of understanding the problems at hand and the kind of solutions that could be effective in responding to them (Dewulf & Bouwen, 2012). In practice, it’s most often better to ensure the acceptance of an ‘inferior’ policy proposal, rather than ending up with no policy change at all. This points to the idea that incremental steps in policymaking often prepares the terrain for successive policy amendments, developments and changes that can ultimately achieve the end goal of a more advantageous long-term outcome (Mintrom, 2000).

Distinguishing between those who ‘soften the political context’, known as the ‘tortoises’, to those who benefit from enhanced/more favorable contexts, denoted as issue-specific ‘carpe diemers’; the original policy idea and proposal can be changed when only parts of it are interesting and suitable to the entrepreneur’s preferences, and sometimes if the entrepreneur’s aim is to make it look more appealing to possible coalition members and sympathizers (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). In this way,

and while scholars have supported the idea that entrepreneurship can be essential for developing and presenting new policy ideas in legislative processes (Kingdon, 1995; Mintrom, 1997; Sheingate, 2003); very few actors will develop new policy ideas from scratch; as they're more disposed to be stimulated and encouraged by ideas, initiatives and policies from other places and/or sectors, often remodeling and remixing these in new and creative ways (J. L. Campbell, 2004). Hence, policy innovation is more than simply having a great idea, its based on the research, diffusion and evaluation of emerging policy ideas (Jordan & Huitema, 2014).

Knowing that because some policy entrepreneurs can successfully implement a range of advocacy skills, this in itself can't guarantee that they will achieve the kind of policy changes that they're running after. They need to continuously be mindful and well informed as to how policy changes can be achieved when facing political institutions, interests, and ideologies. As such, if they intend on growing their influence and impact, policy entrepreneurs need to also work to propagate smart solutions to problems, or what is referred to as 'scaling' (Jordan & Huitema, 2014; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017). The greater policy entrepreneurs pay attention to successfully scaling their strategies to ease the climate crisis, the more possibilities they can potentially have in contributing to catalyzing and supporting societal changes; at both the global and local (glocal) levels (Jordan & Huitema, 2014; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017). In this way, policy entrepreneurs can, not only capitalize on (and sometimes open) windows of opportunities, but in some cases, they're able to set the policy agenda (Oborn et al., 2011). Similarly, to the research opportunities around the framing of climate change, numerous opportunities also exist to further deepen our knowledge of the mindful (and most often implicit/underlying) political work that structures and supports the scaling up of climate actions. This is a key research element to focus on, especially that it deals with attributes of policy entrepreneurship that involves significant performance variabilities (Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017).

Given that policymaking processes occur in a host of locations, places and settings that differ considerably in their jurisdictional scope and implications (Huitema & Meijerink, 2010; Mintrom, 2000; Schneider & Teske, 1992), and compounded by language and cultural barriers; there exists certain boundaries and geographical restrictions that inhibit the efforts and actions of policy entrepreneur. This points to the highly diverse domestic policy settings in which policy entrepreneurs are embedded, and in which they need to function; policy settings that are politically

shaped by ‘multi-level’ regimes composed of political institutions, dominant ideologies and discourses, historical legacies, and the power of various interest groups (Christoff & Eckersley, 2011; Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2019). As such, policy entrepreneurs are always operating within socio-political contexts and systems that shape their entrepreneurial strategies and success, the constraints and frontiers of which they cannot easily alter nor transcend (Boasson, 2015).

In this way, policy entrepreneurship is said to be considered as a ‘context-specific’ activity, demonstrating that context influences the strategies, and that in turn; strategies influence the capabilities to succeed, and that some contexts are more advantageous to entrepreneurial success than others (Ackrill & Kay, 2011; Zhu, 2013). In this way, the arrangement of governance is a contextual factor that contributes to changes and adjustments in the entrepreneur’s strategies and potential success, with policy innovation spreading horizontally or vertically; or by integrating both dynamics within a given socio-political context (Boasson & Huitema, 2017).

By producing, brokering and spreading ideas, undertaking activities of collaboration and networking (Huitema & Meijerink, 2010), solving conflicts, lobbying and guiding implementation for policy change (Bakir, 2009); policy entrepreneurs’ ‘micro-activities’ bridge contradictory institutional logics (Tracey et al., 2011), change the rules of the game, create new institutional forms and new organizations; and stabilize or transform these logics and their amalgamations (Bjerregaard & Luring, 2012). They’re skillful ‘public entrepreneurs’ (Hjorth, 2013) with strong ambitions to position themselves in space(s) where ‘creative destruction’ can be catalyzed within policymaking processes (Kivimaa & Kern, 2016), where older pre-existing policy settings may be excluded as newly emerging policy innovations are adopted, espoused and implemented. In such settings, cross-jurisdictional learnings and exchanges can produce favorable circumstances and environments for policy innovation to disseminate and ignite systemic transformations (Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017).

In this way, the action of policy entrepreneurs plays a critical role in triggering and nurturing climate governance processes (Jodoin et al., 2015), demonstrating that by doing the work that they do; not only do they attempt to steer policies for transitions, but often they can succeed in influencing policy processes towards desirable transitions (Huitema et al., 2011). Thanks to their desire to considerably change the way things are conventionally undertaken in their field of interest and expertise (Mintrom & Norman, 2009), policy entrepreneurs are decisive ‘change agents’ in policy processes (Mackenzie,

2004), they're a 'critical source of policy innovations' for societal transitions and radical transformations (Timmermans & Zabala-Iturriagoitia, 2013). As such, it's important to better understand the 'acts' performed by these actors that aim to 'punch above their weight' (Boasson & Huitema, 2017) (compared to other policy actors that simply 'do their job', such as is often the case with more 'institutional entrepreneurs'); and how their strategies change across time and space, and why (as well as how) some succeed in overcoming lock-in's when individuals and groups challenge and destabilize entrenched power structures (Boasson & Huitema, 2017).

In this way, the MSA draws the contours of policy change processes and dynamics over time, and the vital roles that framing, interpretation, understanding, explanation, learning and overall communication play in these processes. More recent work has expanded the theory beyond agenda-setting to also include 'decision-making and implementation' (Zahariadis, 2014); as well as providing empirical insights into policy design choices (Nowlin, 2011). Further research needs to be undertaken to better understand the emerging processes of news ideas and policies that make their way to being accepted by wide-ranging stakeholders (Zhu & Xiao, 2015).

While there's been a recent surge of studies showing how international organizations and politics in general is inciting entrepreneurship by supporting actors (Bakir, 2009; Boasson, 2015; Fligstein & McAdam, 2012; Hermansen, 2015); nevertheless, it remains unclear how policy entrepreneurs emanating from the public sphere (civil society) can tackle problems of such magnitude as climate change (Boasson & Huitema, 2017). Framing the climate change problem and scaling climate policies and actions in the urban context remain two key focus areas that are under-studied facets of the efforts of policy entrepreneurs to address the climate emergency (Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017). Moreover, and with the application of the MSA so far serving to better understand how new policy instruments and/or strategies are designed and accepted (Kern & Rogge, 2018), there is a necessity to pay more attention to 'policy mixes'; mainly how policy actors, strategies, processes, instruments and outputs interact simultaneously (Capano & Howlett, 2020; Rogge & Reichardt, 2016).

The long-term, dynamic and political nature of sustainability transition processes requires that more attention is given to policy processes in transition research, and the application of policy studies in broadening our understanding of (urban) sustainability transitions (Markard et al., 2012). Integrating policy processes to analyze the linkages between policymaking and socio-technical



change is an essential future research opportunity that needs to be explored, for mainly three reasons (Reichardt et al., 2016, 2017; Rogge & Reichardt, 2016):

- 1) Policy processes shape policy strategies and instruments, and in doing so have a direct impact on innovation in general.
- 2) Policymaking and the implementation processes of new policies help us to better understand the co-evolution of policy and socio-technical change (the dynamic nature and causal links between the two, as well as feedback loops).
- 3) Opening the ‘black box’ of policy processes can help us to develop and support policy proposals that are based on more solid understanding of the politics of policymaking and implementation. In this way, they potentially have a better chance at being accepted, implemented and sustained across time.

While it’s a particularly challenging undertaking for research to try and measure the actual influence that actors have on transition processes (Köhler et al., 2019), research should not stop from trying to better understand how (climate/carbon-neutrality) policy processes are developing, and how policy entrepreneurs are shaping climate mitigation (Boasson & Huitema, 2017) in the urban context; especially regarding civil society’s policy entrepreneurs that invest their time and efforts to catalyze the kind of urban transitions that have the potential to achieve carbon-neutral cities. It’s a suitable starting point for empirical studies that look at the successes and failures of civil society actors in urban sustainability transitions (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016), and today there are a lot of opportunities and potential to cross-fertilise transition and policy research. The various policy approaches and frameworks covered above need to be further developed in scope and applied as part of broader interdisciplinary analytical frameworks (Edmondson et al., 2019). While the research project finds itself at the interdisciplinary crossroad between sustainability and climate science, transition theory, urban studies, political science, public policy studies, and civil society/social movements in organizational studies; nevertheless, the research field of transition theory remains the ‘grounding’ field that anchors this thesis’s theoretical foundations. Table 1 (below) summarizes the key research areas that have been identified and discussed in the above literature review, and from which the subsequent research question has derived.

Table 1. Areas for Further Research – Literature Review

| Research Field                   | Theme  | Author  |
|----------------------------------|--|---|
| Urban Sustainability Transitions | Look for new insights in better understanding how to navigate away from unsustainable lock-ins, and how to activate disruptive systemic innovations towards desirable (urban) sustainability transitions (Markard et al., 2012).   | Köhler et al. (2019)  |
|                                  | Deepen our understanding of how agency, as a dynamic and complex phenomenon; shapes social change, stability, or preserves a taken-for-granted context. Enrich our understanding of how agency can be engaged and empowered so that change agent networks can ‘act otherwise                       | Loorbach et al. (2017)<br>Markard et al. (2012)   |
| Civil Society                    | Opening the ‘black box’ of civil society actors in urban sustainability transitions  | Köhler et al. (2019)<br>Loorbach et al. (2017)<br>Frantzeskaki et al. (2016)<br>Avelino & Wittmayer (2016)  |
|                                  | Examine their distinctiveness and tensions from within, as well as in relation to their structural/institutional context(s). Understand and evaluate the actual diversity of civil society.  |   |
|                                  | How CSO’s and social movement catalyze and influence the pace, speed and direction of sustainability transition dynamics and processes in the urban context.   |   |
|                                  | How they develop public support for regime destabilization, phasing out unsustainable technologies and practices, changing the way people think about sustainability and transitions; and overcome regime resistance to sustainability transition policies   |   |
|                                  | Shed light on the ‘distributive agency’ of actors that are in a constant ‘state of becoming’, their identities constructed over time; with categories of actors continuously ‘in the making’. Better understand the conditions under which they play an important role or are instead marginalized |   |
| Politics                         | Improve our understanding of the complex political transition dynamics   | Köhler et al. (2019)<br>Kern & Rogge (2018)<br>Avelino (2017)<br>Frantzeskaki et al. (2016)<br>Loorbach et al. (2017)<br>Avelino & Wittmayer (2016, 2017)<br>Avelino et al. (2016)<br>Hess (2014) |
|                                  | Need to unpack the ‘micro-politics’ of transition processes  |   |
|                                  | Who wins or loses when innovations arise, develop and get implemented; and which vision(s) of sustainability prevail, dominate and outweigh the rest when deciding on the direction(s) of sustainability transitions? That is, who gets what, when and how?  |   |
|                                  | Give more attention to the politics of policy processes and how they influence and structure policy outputs for sustainability transitions.  |   |
| Policy Processes                 | Opening the ‘black box’ of policy processes in urban sustainability transitions  | Köhler et al. (2019)<br>Kern & Rogge (2018)<br>Boasson & Huitema (2017)<br>Mintrom & Luetjens (2017)<br>Boasson & Wettstad (2014)<br>Huitema & Meijerink (2010)                                   |
|                                  | It is yet unclear how civil society’s policy entrepreneurs can tackle problems of such magnitude as climate change   |   |
|                                  | How do policy entrepreneurs identify policy windows, frame the climate change problem in the urban context and scale their climate mitigation actions for policy change  |   |
|                                  | How do policy processes influence and structure policy strategies and instruments and have an immediate impact on innovation (Reichardt et al., 2017; Rogge & Reichardt, 2016) and socio-technical transition dynamics.  |   |
|                                  | How do policy mixes emerge, develop and change over time, and with what consequences?  |   |

The dissertation 's research questions is as follows: **How do civil society's policy entrepreneurs frame the climate change problem and scale their actions to rapidly decarbonize the urban context and accelerate the transition to carbon-neutral cities?**

Some of the underlying questions are:

- *What positions do civil society's policy entrepreneurs occupy vis-à-vis the institutions that they attempt to transform?*
- *To what degree are they initiating transition processes, destabilizing existing urban regimes and impacting urban sustainability transition processes in general?*
- *How are they participating in the politics of urban sustainability transitions with the aim to accelerate the transition to carbon-neutral cities?*
- *How are their actions influenced and shaped by the local socio-political context in which they operate, and how do they in turn influence and shape this context?*
- *How can they be empowered 'in practice' in order to contribute to desired sustainability transitions to carbon-neutral cities?*

By addressing the research question, the dissertation aims to contribute to better understanding the means by which the multitude of diverse urban communities and publics are engaging and participating in urban debates on what can ensure a fair, just and equitable urban response to climate change, the alternative forms of local urban climate governance that are taking shape, and the kind of urban climate actions and mechanisms that can contribute to actually achieving the transition to carbon-neutral cities (Bulkeley, 2015). Science has been ringing the alarm bell for a while now, waking us up from our deep dream of 'infinite growth on a finite planet', alerting us that our home is on fire! While skilled firemen and paramedics are attempting to intervene, political decision-makers are debating who should oversee renovations, and which private enterprises are going to benefit from getting the lucrative contracts.

## Chapitre 3 – Theoretical Framework

Based on the research avenues identified in the literature review (see table 1 above), and responding to calls to further explore the political role(s) of CSO's and social movements in policy process for urban sustainability transitions (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016; Kern & Rogge, 2018); as well as investigate the political linkages between socio-technical transitions and transition policy processes (Edmondson et al., 2019), I develop and propose a theoretical framework (lens) that revisits the MaP framework proposed by Avelino and Wittmayer (2016).

I begin by first (re)conceptualize the Third Sector 'hybrid sphere' as representing the carbon-neutrality 'strategic action field' (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011, 2012), a newly emerging socio-political space (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016, 2017; Bulkeley & Betsill, 2013) that tackles carbon-neutrality across governance boundaries (Tozer & Klenk, 2018b); with a focus of analysis on the urban/municipal context/level. Building on the extensive work at the intersection of social movement and organizational studies; a strategic action field (SAF) is the collective efforts of actors that try to gain strategic advantage in their interactions with other individuals and groups (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011, 2012). It's a socially constructed 'meso-level' social order (or arena) that structures change and stability in modern society's institutional life, where individual actors and groups exchange with one another knowingly and intentionally; under a common understanding of the purpose of the field, the power-relationships structuring the field and the general field rules, with the fundamental aim of organizing the complex web of societal life (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011, 2012).

Representing the foundational unit of collective action in society, the boundaries of a SAF are not fixed, but instead, they continuously change and evolve based on the situation(s) and issue(s) at hand; as moving collectives of actors continuously (re)define existing and emerging issues and concerns as being important in (for) society (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011, 2012). A SAF perspective enables us to identify and describe the social dynamics of stability and change, revealing the micro-politics (Avelino et al., 2016; Avelino & Wittmayer, 2017; Kern & Rogge, 2018) that structure the multilevel strategic action field for carbon-neutrality in the urban municipal context. Hence, I propose the term *strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field* to identify, explore and investigate

the hybrid social sphere that involves a multitude of policy communities and policy mixes (spaces, actors and discourses) in (through) which competing policy actors operate (Bahadur & Tanner, 2013) with the aim to ‘punch above their weight’ to catalyze deep decarbonization and shape the transition to carbon-neutral cities.

After reconceptualizing the third sector hybrid sphere as a strategic action field (SAF), and in order to account for the ‘contextuality’ of transition dynamics, policy processes and actor strategies; I add to the MaP a ‘Multi-Level Governance’ perspective of the regime (Ehnert, Kern et al., 2018) that enables for a continuous account of the vertical climate dynamics occurring at multiple levels of governance; from the municipal, to the provincial, federal and international level) (Betsill & Bulkeley, 2006; Ostrom, 2014). Beyond the too often homogenous depiction of regimes, the framework provides a more nuanced picture of on-going institutional tensions and contradictions that shape (and are shaped by) regime-niche interactions. Made of different institutional logics, regimes are by nature ‘semi-coherent’ socio-technical systems with varying ‘levels of structuration’ or ‘degrees of institutionalization’; with these variations exerting different forms and degrees of pressure on actors, the system’s stability; and ultimately, the potential for deep transformations and change (Fuenfschilling & Truffer, 2014).

As for the concept of ‘urban regime’ (a dominant paradigm in urban politics and policy, that explains public-private sector relationships), it’s understood as an ‘organism’ that arbitrates between underlying variables in the environment, as well as policy outcomes; as local actors mediate external pressures by building coalitions, engaging in cooperation and coordinate across institutional boundaries. This is the production of social and political power that the regime seeks to continuously nurture in order to have the ‘power to’ act, and sometimes the ‘power over’ others for social control. While the strength of the urban regime concept is its blend of elements from political economy, pluralism, and institutionalism; its limitation is that it’s not a theory per se and hence it can’t explain regime change (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). Given that regime enactment at the urban scale remains highly ambiguous (Quitau et al., 2013), conceptualizing the ‘multi-level’ dimension of the urban regime that’s embedded (like a Matryoshka (Russian) doll<sup>39</sup>) within different governance levels (from the local to the international); enables us to explore the multi-level ‘political-institutional contexts’ through which urban sustainability transitions are catalyzed, developed and at times

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<sup>39</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matryoshka\\_doll](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matryoshka_doll)

opposed. A less ambiguous and more nuanced/dynamic conceptualization of the urban regime that ‘brings the politics back in’ is something that has been rather neglected so far in studying urban sustainability transitions, with the multi-level governance approach also under-explored in sustainability transitions research (Ehnert, Kern et al., 2018). Such an integration of the complex and chaotic contextuality of action (especially concerning climate change) is something that’s essential to the study of both transitions and policy processes (Kern & Rogge, 2018).

Third, I integrate to the theoretical lens some key concepts from transition theory’s core framework, the Multi-Level Perspective (MLP) (see section 2.2); mainly, system ‘carbon lock-ins’ (Unruh, 2000), ‘windows of opportunities’ and ‘landscape gamechangers’. These enable us to identify and shed light on the (inter)relational dynamics between actors in the socio-political strategic action field of urban carbon-neutrality, between actors and their multi-level context, and how context shapes (and is shaped by) the agency of actors. This relates directly to the ‘structure-agency’ debate (Bourdieu, 1994; Giddens, 1984). Finally, I add to the constructed multi-level MaP lense a Multi-Stream Approach (MSA) ‘filter’ to enrich our understanding of the complex and chaotic policy processes that are structured by the actor’s positions, actions and strategies; and that ‘flowing through’ (Kingdon, 1995; Zahariadis, 2014) the strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field, hence contributing to structuring and shaping it.

As a socio-constructivist ontology (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), the Multi-Stream approach is deemed the most appropriate of policy process theory to integrate because it enables us to reveal the dynamic and inter-temporal efforts, actions and strategies of civil society’s policy entrepreneurs (Boasson & Huitema, 2017; Kern & Rogge, 2018; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017); enriching our understanding of how messy and chaotic policy mixes (instruments, strategies and goals) arise, develop, and transform over time, as well as the (un)intended impacts and consequences that this has on policymaking processes and the politics of (urban) sustainability transitions (Edmondson et al., 2019). Within such an approach, entrepreneurship is considered as an overarching concept for a category of behaviors within policy processes, instead of an enduring characteristic of a specific individual (Ackrill & Kay, 2011); with the position of the entrepreneur taking the form of a ‘role’ that proposes itself in specific social circumstances (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

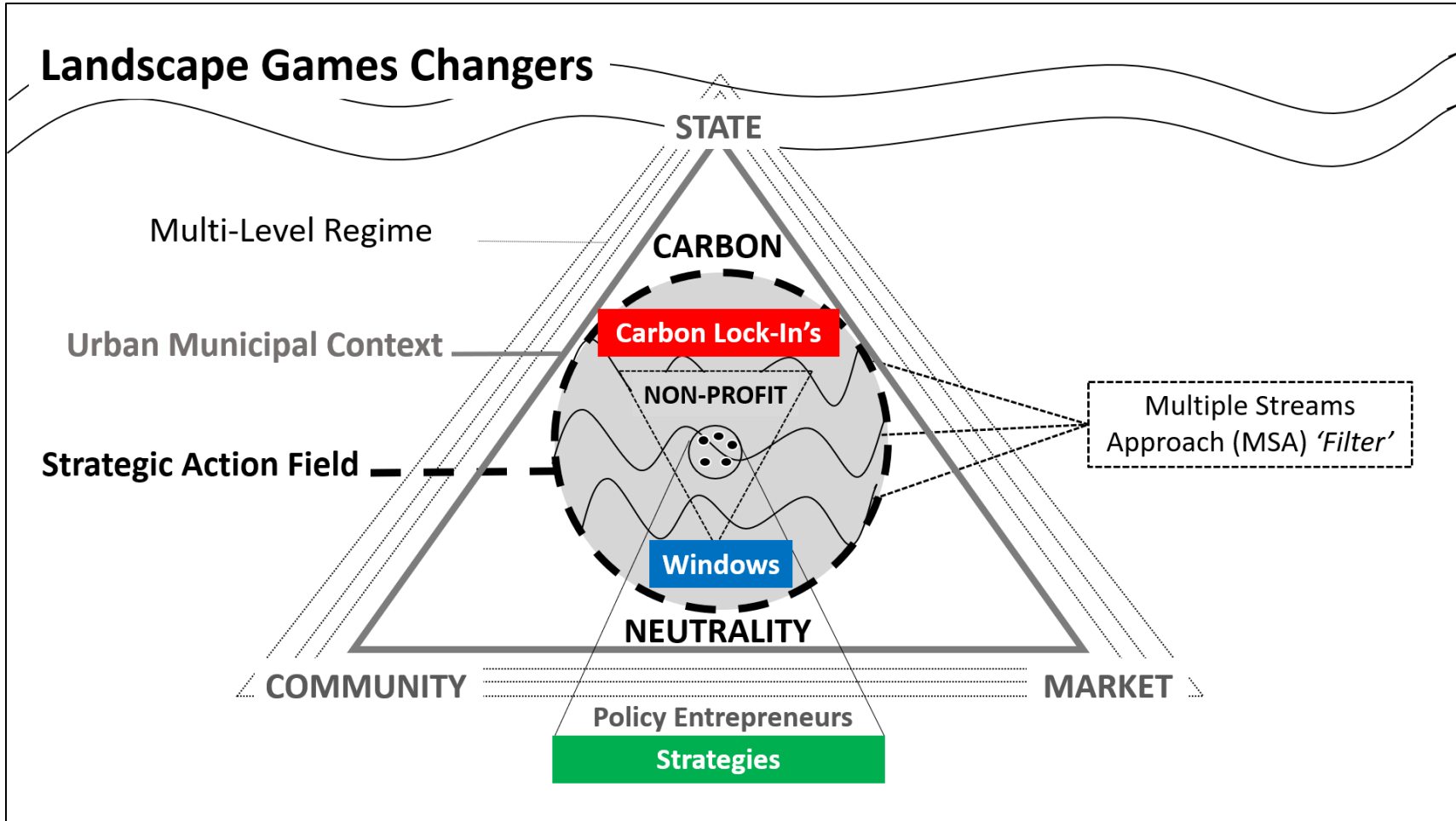


Figure 6. Multi-level Multi-actor Perspective (MMaP) Framework (Lens) with a Multiple Streams Approach (MSA) Filter

This proposed relational/actor-network-based (Latour, 1987) theoretical lens provides the means by which to explore, in a dynamic and multi-layered manner, the ‘embeddedness’ (Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2019) of urban sustainability transition dynamics, policy processes and the relationship between actors and context. The aim again is to unveil and shed light on civil society’s strategies and roles ‘in the making’ (Wittmayer et al., 2017), as actors (civil society’s policy entrepreneurs) challenge entrenched power structures, form policy communities, and get involved in trying to set the carbon-neutrality policy agenda; as well as how these strategies differ over time, the key role of collaboration between those seeking change (Frantzseskaki et al., 2017), how the socio-political multi-level regime shapes (and is shaped by) civil society’s policy entrepreneurs, and why (and how) some succeed in overcoming lock-in’s. It helps us to better understand the actions undertaken by actors aiming to punch above their weight (Boasson & Huitema, 2017) in the strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field.

The objective is to reconstruct, describe, interpret and understand the kind of distributive political agency relationships that emerge and consolidate in urban sustainability transitions processes (Frantzseskaki et al., 2016; Kern & Rogge, 2018) for carbon-neutral cities (Tozer & Klenk, 2018a, 2018b). Rather than focusing on urban carbon-neutrality ‘solutions’, the theoretical framework points to civil society’s micro-political acts (tactics and strategies) as they frame and try to scale their actions in order to catalyze urban sustainability transitions for carbon-neutrality. If, and how, by changing cognitive frameworks, norms, paradigms, worldviews or institutional logics (Boasson & Huitema, 2017); they’re able (or not) to have policy proposals for urban carbon-neutrality adopted, as well as how the dynamics that they manifest shape ‘selection environments’ and ‘issue lifecycles’ (Penna & Geels, 2015). The conceptualized multi-level MaP framework (lens) with an MSA filter is geared to enriching our understanding of the circumstances and variables that influence the underlying dynamics of civil society’s entrepreneurial activities, tactics, strategies aimed and success at destabilizing urban regimes; with strategies understood as the lines of actions that actors pursue (Boasson & Huitema, 2017). Such a research aim is extremely pertinent in addressing climate change through the theorization of the role of civil society, social movements and policy entrepreneurship (Boasson & Huitema, 2017; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017) in urban sustainability transitions (Frantzseskaki et al., 2016).



## Chapitre 4 – Methodology

This section presents the methodology adopted for the dissertation. I begin by restating the research question, followed by the research design and setting. After which I present the research strategy, data collection and analysis.

### 4.1 Research Question

Once again, the research question addressed is the following: **How do civil society’s policy entrepreneurs frame the climate change problem and scale their actions to rapidly decarbonize the urban context and accelerate the transition to carbon-neutral cities?**

The research question points to the study of how social processes and material life evolve and change, taking us into the field of ‘temporal flows of activities’ and ‘chains of events’ across time and place. The aim is to better understand the emergence, change and stability of social interactions as they unfold over time (Langley et al., 2013), in this case the emergence of urban transition dynamics and policy processes for carbon-neutrality in Montreal; specifically, regarding the role and influence of civil society actors on these social interactions. The aim is three-fold:

First, to better understand who are the civil society actors involved in urban sustainability transition processes (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016), how they’re debating about what they consider as a fair, just and equitable response to climate change (Bulkeley, 2015); how their framing and scaling roles, efforts, actions, and strategies are influencing the pace, speed and direction and of urban sustainability transitions (towards carbon-neutral cities); as well as how context shapes (and is shaped by) the actors and the actions that they perform (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016).

Second, enrich our understanding of how civil society actors can occupy different positions vis-à-vis the institutions they aim to change, how they balance autonomy and participation to change and transform current regulations that favor dominant regimes; towards new societal and institutional rules and norms that favor promising niche and contextualized innovations (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016), as well as how multi-actor relations in the strategic action field of urban carbon-neutrality change overtime when the political dimension of urban transition dynamics are communicated,

expressed and ‘acted out’ (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016; Castán Broto, 2015; Chilvers & Longhurst, 2016; Kenis & Lievens, 2016; Kern et al., 2016; Pel, 2016; Swilling et al., 2015). As such, the search is for insights into the dilemmas that we as a society face when engaging with dominant institutions, how they are resolved (or not), and what this means for urban sustainability transitions to carbon-neutral cities (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016).

Attending to these empirical issues and research gaps can enable us to better understand the alternative social arrangements of urban climate governance that are developing and emerging in the urban context (Bulkeley, 2015), how civil society can be empowered so that they can more effectively contribute to desired urban sustainability transitions in responding for carbon-neutrality; and more generally, ways to better support policies (Boasson & Huitema, 2017) for realizing sustainability transitions in the urban context (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016). With these research objectives in mind, the dissertation is particularly interested in a direct and in-depth hermeneutical reconstruction, interpretation and understanding of a flow of political, social, historical and personal events and contexts that unfolded over time (Prasad, 2002). For such an empirical research endeavor, the qualitative single case study methodology is deemed appropriate (Stake, 1995).

## **4.2 Research Design – Single Case Study**

A single case study design to the research enables us to reconstruct a chosen case by ‘time and activity’ (Stake, 1995), and a ‘chronological re-enactment’ of the empirical phenomena under study (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009) with the aim to tease out the stories of those ‘living the case’ and capture nuanced insights and understanding of the various ‘trends’, ‘patterns’, ‘periods of interest’ and ‘tipping points’ that occur over time (Stake, 1995); in and around a given organization, and with regards to a specific issue of interest (Langley et al., 2013). In this case, urban decarbonization and the transition to carbon-neutral cities. An in-depth case study approach also fits well with the MSA filter that predominantly uses qualitative case studies (Cairney & Heikkila, 2014) in its empirical applications; while also being considered as an important methodological choice for understanding (explicitly or implicitly) the ‘dynamics of power’ and how they impact the ‘rationality of governance’, especially at the local level (Flyvbjerg, 1998, 2006).

### 4.3 Research Setting – Montreal and the Montreal Climate Coalition

The case study is that of the Montreal Climate Coalition, a citizen-lead non-profit organization that emerged in the city of Montreal (Canada) in the wake of the COP21 Paris Agreement. Comprised of more than sixty organizations and a thousand members and sympathizers, its mission is to

*inform and connect citizens, political decision-makers, and other energy-transition actors as to practices and policies that will guarantee the achievement of carbon neutrality; to lobby and educate political, organizational and institutional leaders, as well as citizens, to take bold action towards carbon-neutrality by 2042, the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the City of Montréal.*<sup>40</sup>

The Coalition's aim is to 'intentionally and purposefully' contribute to developing deep decarbonization actions and policies that can influence and accelerate the transition to a carbon-neutral city of Montreal. The coalition's work has inspired the creation of Climate Reality Canada's<sup>41</sup> *Community Climate Hub*<sup>42</sup> network.

The coalition's story (case study) is finely reconstructed, described and interpreted in ways that can enrich our understanding (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009) of the processes and outcomes that resulted from the moves and interactions that the coalition's policy entrepreneurs have been undertaking overtime; as they react to one another (Boasson & Huitema, 2017; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017) and to the multi-level and multi-actor strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field in which they operate within the urban context of Montreal.

Re-constructing, interpreting and understanding the emergence and establishment of the Montreal Climate Coalition's is an interesting and appropriate case study because by looking closely at how the coalition's policy entrepreneurs facilitated and coordinated multi-level and multi-actor activities in the 'thick of time' (Geertz, 1973), we are provided with an opportunity to enrich our knowledge of the 'mindful work' that supports the framing of urban carbon-neutrality and the scaling of climate mitigation actions by civil society's policy entrepreneurs; two key focus areas

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<sup>40</sup> <https://coalitionclimatmtl.org/en/mission/>

<sup>41</sup> <http://www.climatereality.ca/>

<sup>42</sup> <http://climatehub.strikingly.com/>

that are under-studied aspects of the efforts of policy entrepreneurs to address climate change (Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017).

Moreover, the MCC story represents a case of how urban actors are exerting efforts and creating a story about future carbon-neutral cities (Tozer & Klenk, 2018a) (in this case Montreal), shedding light on how change agents in the urban context (Hölscher et al., 2018) have been participating in (and contributing to) the emergence of a strategic carbon-neutrality action field in Montreal during the much talked about ‘post-2015 moment’. Such a story is important because stories influence our perception and comprehension of the future, which is then integrated in the continuous demolition, construction and consolidation of urban systems. In this way, stories are the powerful ‘change substance’ that’s carried around by the change agents as they go about their activities (J. Smith et al., 2017). As such, the case study is an interesting opportunity to investigate the role of agency in urban transitions, doing so in ways that can yield new insights and potential ideas on how civil society actors (can) disrupt the dominant multi-level regime, steer clear from unsustainable lock-in’s (Markard et al., 2012) and accelerate the transition to desirable urban carbon-neutral sustainability transitions (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016). It provides an appropriate setting to deepen our understanding of how agency, as a dynamic and complex phenomenon; structures social change, stability and/or protects a given status quo (Geels & Schot, 2007; Loorbach et al., 2017).

Hence the MCC case study can be said to possess both intrinsic and instrumental characteristics (Stake, 1995), intrinsic in the sense that the uniqueness of the case is in itself valuable (in that it can offer pertinent insights and new avenues of exploration to the research question); and instrumental in the sense that it can generate insights into a specific issue and build theory that can then potentially inform the practice of actors in urban sustainability transitions and policymaking for urban carbon-neutrality. Given yet again the core importance of contextuality in the study of urban sustainability transitions and policy entrepreneurship, and the way by which I have conceptualized this in the theoretical framework (as socio-political multi-level regime); the case study includes a historical overview of Montreal’s municipal politics, with the city’s municipal government quite active on the climate front in recent years<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> [http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?\\_pageid=7237,75083582&\\_dad=portal&\\_schema=PORTAL](http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=7237,75083582&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL)

## 4.4 Research Strategy

### 4.4.1 Processual and Abductive

Given the aim of re-enacting and interpreting (Prasad, 2002) a richly nuanced and immersive contextualized account (Geertz, 1973) of sustainability transitions (Rauschmayer et al., 2015); of the dynamic efforts, actions and strategies of the MCC's policy entrepreneurs over time (Boasson & Huitema, 2017; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017), a longitudinal approach to qualitative research (Saldana, 2003) is deemed appropriate and is selected.

Based on process studies that puts temporality at the core of the research design, the focus is on how (and why) organizations are born, grow, stabilize and/or cease to exist over time (Langley et al., 2013). Adopting a process-based analysis helps us to better understand evolving phenomena (institutional or organizational practices and their contextual environments) that are structured by multi-level interactions, tensions, contradictions and patterns of change and stabilization unfolding across space and time (Langley et al., 2013). This is the ontological basis of the thesis, that of 'process reification', where process is seen as fundamental to understanding social life because, as Rescher (1996) so nicely puts it; rather than being made up of things, everything in nature is a question of process, activity and change (Rescher, 1996), a 'matrix of interwoven processes' (Langley et al., 2013). *'Process is fundamental: the river is not an object but an ever-changing flow; the sun is not a thing, but a flaming fire'* (Rescher, 1996, p.10). Seen this way, our world is not made up of entities, but instead of events and experiences that are 'born from the womb' of other events and that are shaped in relation to a 'pluriverse' of other events. In this way, change doesn't just 'happen to things', but instead; it's the way that reality is born at any given moment in time and that each one of us cognitively constructs, interprets, understands, deconstructs, reconstructs, reinterprets and understands the a new/more fresh outlook; in continuous and subjective interlaced cycles of iterations (Langley et al., 2013; von Glasersfeld, 1995).

Such an understanding of organizational entities as temporary and on-going processes that are continuously in a 'state of becoming' (Tsoukas & Chia, 2002) is a particularly pertinent foundation when wanting to look at a newly emergent civil society organization (CSO) that's part of a wider social movement; itself within a dynamic context that's also understood as being continuously altered by processes, rather than something that's static, constant and independent from the changes

(organization or institutional) that are being analyzed (Meyer et al., 2005). This processual design to the research is moreover coherent with the use of the MSA filter that enables us to depict the multiple streams that flow through policymaking processes, especially important given that the fluidity of a world that's in an endless state of becoming makes it very challenging to capture and analyze a given transitory phenomena (Langley et al., 2013).

With the aim to study actors and their context in an abductive and meaningful way, I've engaged myself in a prolonged involvement in the processes under study (Pozzebon, 2018). Doing so, I've benefited from having easy access to events and practices, acquiring an 'interactional expertise' with the content that makes up the MCC case study (Collins, 2004). By deeply engaging with the coalition in order to unveil a finely grained and nuanced reconstruction and understanding of the phenomena's fluid micro-processes and dynamic context, I've taken upon myself the position of a 'researcher-activist' (Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014). One where the competence of 'self-reflexivity' takes on a central role in the research design and methodology as try to deal with the and ongoing interactions within the research context (Jay, 2013).

Aiming to establish a privileged affinity with participants so as to understand multiple perspectives (Krefting, 1991), I've 'entered' the empirical field over a five year period, 'empathetically' submerging myself in the object of investigation, developing close relationships with the research participants (Charmaz, 2006), establishing an intimate acquaintance with the setting(s) and the events; nurturing a kind of 'resonance' with the subjects (Krefting, 1991), a 'congeniality' by which an invisible 'collective bond of meaning' is forged as we engaged in transformation (Wittmayer et al., 2018). In this way, I've put myself close to the action, ensuring that the actors I was involved with perceived and understood my double role of researcher and fellow activist. From this position in the field, an abductive approach (Thomas, 2010) to the empirical phenomenon enabled for the emergence of the research question(s) and for explanations to be constructed directly from the field and the actors taking part in the process (Sandberg & Alvesson, 2011). Based on this processual ontology and 'second wave' of socio-constructivist actor-network (relational) epistemology (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2009), the research attempts to shed light on how processes of urban carbon-neutrality framing and scaling of actions by civil society policy entrepreneurs emerged over time, and developed in relation to their context; exploring emerging sequences of carbon-neutrality

activities, events, practice, processes and transition dynamics within the Montreal's urban context over a five year period, from 2015-2020.

#### **4.4.2 Transformation Research**

In line with my program of study in *applied human sciences*, and with the aim to contribute to advancing both theoretical and practical knowledge on urban sustainability transitions, the dissertation relies on a 'transformation-based' strategy to the research; an approach that studies complex and persistent societal problems and searches for (as well as supports) fundamental long-term societal change dynamics and processes for sustainability. By integrating multiple theoretical approaches, frameworks and insights from a diversity of research components; along with an appreciation and quest for tacit 'practice-based' knowledge, the dissertation takes the form of a transdisciplinary research initiative (Wiek & Lang, 2016; Wittmayer et al., 2018).

Whereas as the theoretical knowledge of transformation research describes and analyzes the challenge(s) and role of civil society's policy entrepreneurs (Wittmayer et al., 2018); the practical and actionable 'solution oriented' knowledge allows these same actors to evaluate diverse possibilities and to choose how to take actions on specific social problems within particular and unique dynamic (urban) contexts (Bartels & Wittmayer, 2014; S. D. N. Cook & Wagenaar, 2011; Wittmayer et al., 2018) (in this case climate change mitigation and the transition to carbon-neutrality). This kind of knowledge is frequently considered as the 'implicit knowledge' of actors that arises and develops from creative and innovative interactions with others (Bartels, 2012), and that materializes in productive ways through a research process (for the researcher and sometimes the collective) (Wittmayer et al., 2018).

The incorporation of theoretical and practical knowledge is fitting as it ensures a comprehensive knowledge base that links understanding of initial situations of urban sustainability transitions, desirable directions (carbon-neutrality in this case), and concrete opportunities for action (Wittmayer et al., 2018). Similar to action research, whose aim is to produce social knowledge alongside scientific knowledge (Flyvbjerg et al., 2012; Greenwood & Levin, 2006); transformation research guides and facilitates collective learning processes (Pohl et al., 2010), mediates between different frames (Pohl et al., 2010), and dedicates itself to transforming reality (Salas-Zapata et al., 2013) by translating sustainability into action (Loorbach et al., 2011) (from Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014).

The intrinsic tension and friction between a ‘descriptive-analytical’ and a ‘transformational mode’ of sustainability science implies that transformation researchers are actively engaged, not just in the ‘scientific arena’, but also in other more ‘activist arenas’ (Wittmayer et al., 2018). This makes them responsible and liable for societal change activities and processes (Wittmayer et al., 2018), with their roles shifting from one of ‘descriptive-analyst’ to one of ‘researcher-activist’ (Salas-Zapata et al., 2013; Wiek et al., 2012). In this way, and in line with an abductive approach (Thomas, 2010), the researchers immerse themselves in the field in order to analyze and grasp challenges and opportunities ‘from within’ and from various standpoints (Wittmayer et al., 2018). Among other capabilities, it requires them to adjust and adapt to every dynamic and evolving changes by modifying their research conditions/settings and problem framings (amongst other things); while also considering these as starting points for further research, rather than just something that needs to be controlled (Wittmayer et al., 2018). Given my participative role in the empirical research, I elaborate further on my engaged implication within the research project (Pozzebon, 2018), dedicating a sub-section to this in the data analysis (chapter 4) and contributions (chapter 6); where I analyze and reflect upon the active role that I’ve had as a researcher-activist in this qualitative research (Pozzebon, 2018; Wittmayer et al., 2018).

Beyond the search for producing a ‘predictive theory’, this in-depth process-based single case study transformation research design aims to generate ‘practical wisdom’ (or ‘phronesis knowledge’) (Thomas, 2010) for informing urban sustainability transitions for carbon-neutrality; a form of social science knowledge or ‘mindfulness’/‘prudence’ that we as people (citizens and policymakers) can use to better orient ourselves in our contexts, when we inform our decisions by narrowing down our options for actions, disregarding certain possibilities, and taking action to make a difference in our (collective) lives (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Flyvbjerg et al., 2012)... in this ‘matrix of interwoven processes’ world of ours (Langley et al., 2013).

## **4.5 Data Collection**

In a hermeneutic-based analysis (Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1982; Ricoeur, 1981), what researchers collect in the field is not considered as ‘data’ or ‘facts’ per se, but rather ‘sources’, ‘entities’ or ‘traces’ that can provide the researcher with knowledge of past event(s) (Alvesson & Sköldböck, 2009; Hirsch, 1967; Madison, 1988; R. E. Palmer, 1969). These traces are symbols, or



'texts' that can be 'literal', involving written and spoken words (discourse); but also in the figurative sense where social 'acts' (practices) are in themselves also regarded as meaningful symbols/texts that can be interpreted and their underlying meanings understood. It's only when the researcher begins to 'interpret' these texts that facts begin to emerge and data is formed (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; Hirsch, 1967; Madison, 1988; R. E. Palmer, 1969).

Taken from historiography, and complementing an 'empathetic' re-enactment, interpretation and understanding of social phenomenon 'in the thick of things'; 'source-criticism' is a rigorous hermeneutic method which sets up a number of criteria for the evaluation and interpretation of data, for both written text and oral history (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). These involve checking for authenticity, bias, distance and dependence. Composed of texts, dialogue, 'patterns of interpretation' and 'sub-interpretations', source-criticism is also divided into three chronologically overlapping phases: a documentary phase, an understanding phase, and a presentation/writing phase; and it's especially appropriate to case studies since they both have points in common with historiography (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

In line with an abductive approach (Thomas, 2010) in longitudinal qualitative studies (Patton, 2002), I present here forth the mixed method data collection during the documentary phase, and that's based on participant observations, semi-directed interviews; as well as primary and secondary archival data (Langley et al., 2013). In the initial documentary phase, a preliminary classification of sources (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1982; Ricoeur, 1981) is made between sources which provide unintended information, which cannot be exposed to subjective distortion, such as internal documents of the Montreal Climate Coalition that point to past events having indeed taken place/occurred (along with their effects/how they have taken place); as well as narrative sources that have gone through a 'subjective medium' that expresses an event and exposes it to risks of distortion (such as interviews) (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1982; Ricoeur, 1981). Nevertheless, it's important to first begin by sharing how I came to select the Montreal Climate Coalition as the case study and fieldwork for my dissertation, elaborating on the genesis of the empirical research project, and which involves considerable methodological implications.

### 4.5.1 Fieldwork

It all started when I was first contacted in February of 2014 by the then director of the HEC Montreal MBA Sustainability Challenge, M. Matthew Chapman. In my role of lecturer in Social Innovation and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) at HEC Montreal, Matthew requested me to invite students in my class to participate as volunteers in the organization of the MBA event that he and his team were planning; as well as inviting me to be part of the competition's panel of judges. A year later, at the end of March of 2015, I ran again into Matthew at a local event organized by the Université Populaire de Montréal (UPop)<sup>44</sup> (Ironically, it's at this event that I first came across the research field of Transition Theory; thanks to a presentation done at the time by a fellow colleague in the transition movement). This random encounter led Matthew and I to meet again at HEC Montréal on April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2015. It was then that he shared with me the project he was working on at the time, to rally citizens from across Montreal's diverse communities and sectors to mobilize the city's *'Right to Initiative'*<sup>45</sup> to push the municipal government to hold a public consultation on Montreal's climate change mitigation challenges and opportunities (What was to become the public consultation *'Reducing Montreal's dependence on fossil fuels'*).

At that point, Matthew was still at the early stage of elaborating the extensive list of contacts that he (and other citizens that were working with him) had to mobilize, from as wide a diversity of Montreal-based communities and stakeholders as possible, in order to instigate the public consultation (they had to officially collect fifteen thousand signatures from citizens residing in Montreal). In this endeavor, and in my capacity as a social entrepreneur in the field of urban agriculture (I cofounded an urban agriculture/permaculture social enterprise in 2011), he was soliciting my support to put him in touch with individuals and groups in Montreal which I thought could be interested by (and concerned with) the climate change question; enough that they would potentially rally behind the planned public consultation. As illustrated by the below excerpt from an email I wrote to Matthew dated February 4<sup>th</sup>, 2016, I was immediately very much interested in the work that he was undertaking. Hence was planted the seed that would eventually germinate and grow into this thesis.

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<sup>44</sup> <http://www.upopmontreal.com/>

<sup>45</sup> [http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?\\_pageid=6717,60353574&\\_dad=portal&\\_schema=PORTAL](http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=6717,60353574&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL)

*[...] I'm looking into doing my PhD research on the consultation process and the steps that will follow in the coming years (shadowing the stakeholders, looking into the various strategies and institutional work that they adopt in pushing forward for a transition towards a low-carbon Montreal).*<sup>46</sup> – Email, Joseph EL-Khoury to Matthew Chapman (Feb 4<sup>th</sup>, 2016).

As co-founder of Gardens Without Borders (GWB)<sup>47</sup>, the non-profit (urban) permaculture design organization that I was leading at the time, Matthew and the organizers of the public consultation also solicited my collaboration to co-write and present a consultation brief on the role of urban agriculture in mitigating climate change in the context of Montreal. In total, a group of ten individuals and three Montreal-based urban agriculture organizations contributed to the brief which I personally presented to the OCPM's commission on the 16<sup>th</sup> of March 2016. By the end of the public consultation process, the brief was amongst the ones to have received the most public support with over seventy signatures of endorsement.

It's in this way that I initially got involved with the Montreal Climate Coalition, as one of the thirty-six sectorial/community ambassadors leading the work on the consultation briefs, myself representing the urban agriculture community. I was interested to participate in the consultation because, throughout my social entrepreneurship activities with GWB, I had come to be involved in local transition-based citizen activities, projects and initiatives in Montreal. At the time, a key question that boggled my mind was to better understand the extent to which local citizen-led transition initiatives (social 'niche' innovations) were contributing to 'The Great Transition'<sup>48</sup>; and whether or not they had the capacity and potential to actually transform the unsustainable globalized 'growth-centric' world-order, system or regime; starting with Montreal.

Given that the Montreal Climate Coalition's mission is to federate, connect and work with numerous and diverse local transition initiatives, entrepreneurs and activists in Montreal for deep decarbonization and the transition to a carbon-neutral city; I regarded the organization as an interesting possibility for a pertinent case study that could help answer the question(s) I posed myself as a social entrepreneur concerned with, and passionate about, society's great transition challenge to sustainability and the mitigation of the climate crisis. Moreover, and in the context of

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<sup>46</sup> Internal email date...

<sup>47</sup> <https://www.jardinsansfrontieres.org/>

<sup>48</sup> [http://www.greattransition.org/documents/Great\\_Transition.pdf](http://www.greattransition.org/documents/Great_Transition.pdf)

GWB that was struggling financially, joining the MCC was also a strategic organizational and entrepreneurial opportunity that was deemed pertinent in trying to scale the social enterprises' social impact(s), while compensating for the limited resources at our disposal.

Hence, it's first and foremost as a social entrepreneur that I first became an active member in the MCC, contributing to the initial public consultation on *Reducing Montreal's Dependence on Fossil Fuels* in the role of ambassador to the urban agriculture sector, to MCC's official establishment as a non-profit organization; going on to being twice elected on the board of directors as vice president responsible for the research and development of a 'Carbon-Neutrality Road Map' for Montreal. While my last involvement as a member of the Board of Directors was during the fiscal year 2017-2018, I continued to participate in the coordinating committee as part of the working group on urban climate governance, doing so until the end of 2019. This active implication in the activities of the MCC during a period of five years enabled me to immerse and imbed myself in the case study, providing me privileged access to participant observations, the opportunity to develop proximity and trust with interviewees, as well as primary data in the form of MCC's internal documents. My immersion in the phenomenon under study resulted in the problematization emerging abductively from the field and the data collected, from the actors I was involved with, and according to my lived experiences in the social phenomenon I was exploring (Sandberg & Alvesson, 2011).

Since June 2016, I had the opportunity to participate in five annual general assemblies, four annual anniversary events, twelve board meetings, three strategic off-site workshops, nine meetings with city officials from Montreal's municipal government; as well as more than fifty weekly/bi-weekly conference calls and meetings of the coordinating committee. These make up the core building blocks of the preliminary/exploratory field work (documentation phase). These are complemented with my field journal that's in the form of self-recorded voice narratives (over three hours), field notes, academic work and various documents/reports that I've come to develop on multiple occasions over the years; such as PowerPoint presentations for meetings with city officials, the Coalition's annual anniversary events and board meetings, strategic internal meetings, as well as

events organized by the coalition and some of its member organizations such as the Green Coalition<sup>49</sup> and Transition NDG<sup>50</sup>.

My involvement in the various meetings and activities of the MCC took on different roles depending on inter-temporal sequences of events, as well as based on the needs of the organization; or how the coordinating committee and/or board of directors estimated that I could contribute to the coalition's mission, this being as well a function of my own resources, mainly in terms of time available to be involved. It's in this way that throughout my involvement with the MCC, I've taken on the role of an engaged (Pozzebon, 2018) researcher-activist (Wittmayer et al., 2018). In chapter 6 (results and insights), I identify and narrate the different roles that I've undertaken throughout the research project, and I reflect upon them in an 'emotionally engaging' manner (Behar, 1997; Spry, 2001) by sharing how I emotionally experienced living the events that unfolded before me, with me and from me.

## **4.5.2 Participant Observations**

Table 2 below summarizes all the key coalition events that I've been fortunate enough to attend and participate in. It's essential to note that the events highlighted in beige are the ones that compose the empirical material that was analyzed, as these came after having received the ethics committee approval for collecting the data. As such, while the remaining events were not explicitly analyzed as part of the research, nevertheless, they enabled me to extensively immerse myself in the field and accordingly develop my thesis proposal. The seven participatory observations part of the dissertation's official data analysis (highlighted in the table 2) cover the coalition's key annual meetings and events; mainly, one annual strategic workshop (Sept. 2019), four Board Meetings (Oct. 2019; Dec. 2019; Feb. 2020 and March 2020); the annual anniversary event (Jan. 2020) and finally the Annual General Assembly (June 2020).

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<sup>49</sup> <https://greencoalitionverte.ca/?fbclid=IwAR2Lkj57QTNzYxlmjN-OmpntQJsZKexGEczaZP2TLeNOAtwl5CyeNGJ0Q&o>

<sup>50</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/TransitionTownNdg/>

Table 2. Summary of Meetings and Activities Attended

| #  | Meeting:  | Role:                               | Dates:   | Topic:   |
|----|---|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| 1  | <b>Annual General Assembly – 2016</b> ( <i>Alternative</i> )  | Facilitator and Presenter           | 16 <sup>th</sup> June 2016                     | Electing new board members and on-boarding new members to the Coalition  |
| 2  | <b>Annual General Assembly – 2017</b> ( <i>Centre Communautaire Pointe-St-Charles</i> )               |                                     | 19 <sup>th</sup> June 2017                     |  |
| 3  | <b>Annual General Assembly – 2018</b> ( <i>Maison Créole</i> )  |                                     | 1 <sup>st</sup> June 2018                      |  |
| 4  | <b>Annual General Assembly – 2019</b> ( <i>HEC Montreal</i> )   |                                     | 18 <sup>th</sup> June 2019                     |  |
| 5  | <b>Annual General Assembly – 2020</b>   | <b>Participant Observation</b>      | <i>TBC</i>                                     |  |
| 1  | <b>2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Anniversary – 2017</b> ( <i>Maison du développement durable</i> )            | Facilitator, presenter and observer | 16 <sup>th</sup> Jan. 2017                     | Previous year in review, inviting Coalition group members to present their projects, meeting of working committees, and launching the new year action plan |
| 2  | <b>3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Anniversary – 2018</b> ( <i>Westmount Church</i> )                           |                                     | 9 <sup>th</sup> Feb. 2018                      |  |
| 3  | <b>4<sup>th</sup> Annual Anniversary – 2019</b> ( <i>EMSB</i> )                                       |                                     | 9 <sup>th</sup> Feb. 2018                      |  |
| 4  | <b>5<sup>th</sup> Annual Anniversary – 2020</b>   | <b>Participant Observation</b>      | <i>TBC</i>                                     |  |
| 1  | <b>Board Meeting – Post Consultation</b> ( <i>@UQAM</i> )   | Facilitator and Presenter           | March 2016                                     | Planning for post-consultation action plan and Establishment of the Montreal Climate Coalition   |
| 2  | <b>Board Meeting – Post Consultation</b> ( <i>@Dimitri's place</i> )                                  |                                     | May 2016                                       |  |
| 3  | <b>Board Meeting – 2016</b> ( <i>@Joey's place</i> )  |                                     | July 2016                                      |  |
| 4  | <b>Board Meeting – 2017</b>   |                                     | July 2017                                      | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Quarter 2017 Action Plan Update  |
| 5  | <b>Board Meeting – 2017</b> ( <i>@Emmanuelle's place</i> )  |                                     | Dec. 7 <sup>th</sup> , 2017                    | Planning for the 2018 Action Plan  |
| 6  | <b>Board Meeting – 2018</b>   |                                     | March 1 <sup>st</sup> , 2018                   | 1 <sup>st</sup> Quarter 2018 Action Plan Update  |
| 7  | <b>Board Meeting – 2018</b> ( <i>@Matthew's place</i> )   |                                     | July 5 <sup>th</sup> , 2018                    | On-boarding newly elected Board of Directors & Semi-Annual Review  |
| 8  | <b>Board Meeting – 2018</b>   |                                     | Nov. 15 <sup>th</sup> , 2018                   | Strategic Planning – 2019  |
| 9  | <b>Board Meeting</b> ( <i>@Jean-Francois' place</i> )   | <b>Participant Observation</b>      | September, 2019                                | 3 <sup>rd</sup> Quarter 2019 Action Plan Update  |
| 10 | <b>Board Meeting</b> ( <i>@Monikas' place</i> )   |                                     | December 2019                                  | Strategic Planning – 2020  |
| 11 | <b>Board Meeting</b>  |                                     | February 2019                                  | Review of 2020 Strategic Plan  |
| 12 | <b>Board Meeting</b>  |                                     | March 2020                                     | 1 <sup>st</sup> Quarter 2020 Action Plan Update  |
| 1  | <b>Strategic Brainstorming Day - 2017</b> ( <i>@ UQAM, facilitated by Concordia Master students</i> ) | Facilitator and Presenter           | 3 <sup>rd</sup> May 2017                       | Strategic planning exercise and action plan  |
| 2  | <b>Strategic Off-Site Weekend – 2018</b> ( <i>St-Rose</i> )   |                                     | 21 <sup>st</sup> - 22 <sup>nd</sup> Sept. 2018 |  |
| 3  | <b>Strategic On-Site Weekend – 2019</b> ( <i>Davis Suzuki Foundation</i> )                            | <b>Participant Observation</b>      |  |  |

Table 2. Summary of Meetings and Activities Attended (*continued*)

| # | Meeting:  | Role:                               | Dates:                        | Topic:   |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <b>City administration:</b> Director of Sustainable Development and his team  | Facilitator, Presenter and Observer | 21 <sup>st</sup> March, 2017  | -Follow up of 15 recommendations<br>-Active transport<br>-Open data<br>-Structuring collaboration  |
| 2 | <b>City administration:</b> Director of Sustainable Development and project leads on Active Transport and Smart City                          |                                     | 23 <sup>rd</sup> August, 2017 | Setting up working committees on key transition files, starting with Active Transport and Smart city   |
| 3 | <b>City administration:</b> Director of Sustainable Development, project lead on Transport, and City Administrators working on Climate Change |                                     | 20 <sup>th</sup> Sept, 2017   | Pursuing discussions on Transport in general. Better understanding the city's C40 position and climate change adaptation and mitigation vision; with the aim of establishing a Climate Change working committee.   |
| 4 | <b>City administration:</b> Director of Sustainable Development and his team  |                                     | 17 <sup>th</sup> Jan, 2018    | Meeting the newly elected city administration, specifically the Director of Sustainable Development and his team of elected officials and advisers; and exchange respective visions for a carbon-neutral city of Montreal.<br>Set up working committees or some formal form of collaboration moving forward. |
| 5 | <b>City administration:</b> Sustainable Development and Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation teams of administrators                      |                                     | 23 <sup>rd</sup> August, 2018 | Discuss the possibility of exchanging data on various climate change adaptation and mitigation indicators; as well as discussing the city's upcoming 2020 Sustainable Development Plan.  |
| 6 | <b>Borough administration:</b> Neighborhood councilor responsible of Climate Change Mobilization  |                                     | 23 <sup>rd</sup> May, 2019    | First meeting between St-Henri neighborhood citizens and elected borough official, to discuss options and possibilities of mobilizing local neighborhood citizens for climate actions.   |
| 7 | <b>City administration:</b> Director of Sustainable Development and colleague   |                                     | Oct. 28 <sup>th</sup> , 2019  | Montreal's Carbon Budget and the City's upcoming Climate Action Plan   |
| 8 | <b>City administration:</b> Director of the Bureau of Ecological Transition & Resilience  |                                     | Dec. 20 <sup>th</sup> , 2019  |  |
| 9 | <b>Borough administration:</b> Mayor of Lachine and Head of Cabinet   |                                     | Dec. 19 <sup>th</sup> , 2019  | Lachine-Est Eco-district: Multi-stakeholder Governance   |

Given the participant observations that came before the approval from the ethics committee, and the ones that came afterwards (highlighted); it can be said that I initially undertook a type of participant observations that can be understood as ‘undercover’, when I was involved in the MCC’s activities as an activist and represented in the way by which event participants understood and interpreted my presence and role; as just another activist amongst several other ones. Only close collaborators of mine from within the MCC were aware of the second hat that I wore, that of researcher. Such an initial ‘underground’ or ‘infiltrated’ participant observation (Abercrombie et al., 2000) enabled me to grasp a certain number of social processes and interactions in their ‘natural’ context (de Sardan, 2001). Hence, my initial in-depth ‘lived immersion’ in the case study (from the very beginning of the coalition’s existence) enabled me to develop the basis and foundations of the dissertation (the thesis proposal); before going on to gather the official data that was to be formally analyzed as part of the research project (once I had received the ethics committee approval, and that are highlighted in the table).

In these ‘official’ participant observations, it can be inferred that I carried out a slightly different type of participant observations, one that announced my researcher color; that is, a participant observation that is ‘uncovered’ (in contrast to undercover) where everyone involved in the activity was aware that my presence and participation was more one of researcher rather than activist; and during which I intentional took upon myself a more ‘peripheral’ position vis-à-vis what was occurring, with the aim of not letting myself be ‘sucked in’ by the action (Adler & Adler, 1987). In experiencing both approaches, it can be said that it was an on-going balancing act (Diaz, 2005) in finding that sweet ‘emancipatory’ spot (Hughes, 1996), between not letting my object ‘slip between my fingers’ (uncovered approach/detachment) and remaining aware of my subjectivity (undercover/participation) (Favret-Saada, 1977). It’s about being simultaneously part-time participant (in public/outwardly or extrovert), and part time observer (in private/inwardly or introvert). This is what Chapoulie (1984, p.598) terms ‘*the price to pay to remain a sociologist in the adventure of participation*’.

It's important to put forward here that, as my data collection unfolded, transitioning from one type of participant observation (undercover) to another (uncovered) meant that I had to untangle myself from the participant observation habits, reflexes and ways of thinking that I had developed and accustomed myself to during the first two years of my involvement with the coalition (2016-2017);



a period when I was more in undercover mode. The subsequent two years (2018-2019) was the period when I observed more than I participated, doing so in order to provide myself with a better opportunity to develop more concrete capacities for analysis. Throughout the entire four years of participant observations in the coalition's activities, I was continuously attempting to maintain a warm heart (proximity) and a cool head (distance) on a continuum that has on one end the 'participant', and on the other the 'observer'; with varying degrees in between, from maximum implications to minimum implications (Bastien, 2007).

With such an approach, it can be said that I fully and honestly embraced the inter-subjectivity of the fieldwork, acknowledging that the observer influences what he/she is observing, and that such influences that 'alter' the situation and context are part of the object of study. The researcher is hence also a source/part of the results, and not a 'contaminator' of the latter (Emerson, 2003). If such an approach is undertaken successfully, it can yield better data quality than other methodologies because what one is actually doing is collecting information about someone who's truly experimenting in the world, and the way by which this experience is being lived. Being in the field is not just about decrypting a social system from within, but it's also about better understanding what it means to be an actor of/within that field; an understanding that remains anchored in a fundamentally subjective experience (Bastien, 2007). Importantly as well, the audio field journal that I maintained throughout 2018 and 2019 as I was shifting towards the minimum implication extreme of the participant observation continuum, provided me (along with the writing time for my thesis proposal and eventually final thesis) with the necessary time and space to actually observe the events and on-going processes that I was an integral part of; and which include many privileged meetings between the coalition and the city of Montreal.

### **4.5.3 Semi-Directed Interviews**

I've conducted a total of twenty-one semi-directed interviews with the Montreal Climate Coalition's board of directors, members of the coordinating committee; as well as close advisory members and collaborators<sup>51</sup>. This represents approximately sixteen of the thirty-six sector/community ambassadors that have been part of the MCC since the public consultation of 2016 and totaling two thousand two hundred minutes or thirty-seven hours of recorded interview

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<sup>51</sup> See Annex 1.

material. The interview questionnaire was specifically conceived in order to apply the conceptualized theoretical MMap-MSA framework upon the empirical phenomenon of interest<sup>52</sup>.

Given that I was, from the get-go, very well acquainted with the interviewees; most of them I had been in the field with for more than two years, I approached the interview sessions more as sorts of ‘catching up’ discussion with my peers. While I designed an interview guide to reflect the dissertations theoretical MMap-MSA lens developed, while also helping to prepare the ‘flow’ to be adopted during the semi-directed interviews, it was only during the first couple of interviews that I had the interview guide in front of me. Pretty quickly, after having done a couple of first interviews, I became more confident and realized (or rather, I had the experiential intuition/feeling) that it would be more conducive and potentially more enriching if I kept the interview guide and theoretical framework only in my mind; so, I started ‘going along’ in a more spontaneous manner with my discussions with the various interviewees. I immediately felt that it seemed to help the interviewees to get into a ‘discussion mode’ with me instead of being too self-conscious that they were being interviewed. Especially given my proximity and familiarity with the interviewees, it wasn’t too difficult for them to quickly feel at ease and somehow forget that I was recording the discussion. It really resembled one of the many informal coffee moments that I had previously shared with most of them through our MCC activities and projects together.

With the interview guide and theoretical framework in the back of my mind, I made sure to proactively listen to what my interlocutors were sharing with me, not interrupting, letting them finish their train of thoughts even if it meant a few seconds of silence; while not being concerned with the sequence of the subjects and topics being discussed. What I kept in mind as a checklist was to ensure that, at some point or the other in our discussion, we would touch upon all the key concepts and elements of the theoretical framework. Order didn’t matter, flow of conversation was more important if I wanted to provide the person in front of me with the space to share enthusiastically and as detailed as possible their thoughts, feelings and experiences. Moreover, and with the interviewees that I was less familiar with (that I had never had the chance to exchange with outside of our activism related discussions); with these individuals I took the time at the beginning of the interviews to ask about them, their background and life path; genuinely wanting

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<sup>52</sup> See Annex 2.

to get to know them a bit better. This I felt often created a mutual feeling of respect, trust and willingness from them to generously give me some of their much-appreciated time.

Moreover, and while I aimed for an hour and a half to two hours of semi-directed interview (which I communicated in advance to all interviewees), I tried my best to be mindful of the person's body language during the discussion, so as to spot moments of possible tiredness, or if they needed a break or simply end the interview if this is what they wished for. Based on such an approach to conducting interviews, I can say that no two interviews were identical. While the topics of probing were the same, each interview experience was unique. Finally, and depending on what elements of discussion were being shared with me, I systematically asked for secondary data in the form of reports and documentation, whenever I felt that these could provide me with further information. I also asked the interviewees if ever I could get in touch with them if further questions arose at a later time. Overall, I can safely say that I intuitively followed the below guidelines by Seidman (2006) in conducting my semi-directed interviews with individuals I was already (very) familiar with; a context I felt played to my advantage throughout my data collection.

- Ask open-ended questions, not leading questions.
- Listen more and talk less.
- Don't interrupt by affirming or disaffirming what is being shared.
- Explore, don't probe. Try to get to the bottom of what interviewees seem to want to share.
- Follow up on what's being shared, go where the conversation takes you, while remaining with the framework of what you are looking for. Follow your intuition as to where the 'golden nuggets' could be.
- Make it fun if the conversation provides the space, occasionally share my own experience and not shy away from having a laugh.

#### **4.5.4 Primary and Secondary Data**

Primary data is based on internal documents and reports of the Montreal Climate Coalition; primarily the organizations' Google drive database, that includes amongst other more than one hundred 'minutes of meeting' documents and audio recordings by the MCC; along with more than one thousand six hundred email correspondences of the coordinating committee, board of directors and external partners on which I had the privilege to be copied on, including all of the Coalition's

newsletters from the beginning of its existence. For internal communication, MCC also utilizes Slack; and exchanges on this channel are also part of the primary data that’s been collected.

As for secondary data, information from the coalition’s Facebook page, website information and Twitter activities; as well as artifacts distributed throughout numerous conferences and events, have also been gradually collected throughout the years. Secondary data relating to the empirical phenomenon under study and its context (both local and global) have also been collected and classified; both online and offline. These are in the form of newspaper article clippings (electronic copies of *Le Devoir* and hardcopies of *Le Metro* that featured local and international climate change related articles); along with related videos, websites, newsletters, Facebook posts that were gradually classified within Facebook and in Google Chrome browser as the case study gradually unfolded over time; alongside with the abundance of artifacts (as mentioned earlier) that I gathered from various conferences and activities that I attended throughout my five years of involvement with the MCC. This collection of artifacts is the object of a ‘Field Research-Scrap Book’ that accompanies this thesis dissertation. Table 3 summarizes the primary and secondary data collection.

Table 3. Summary of Primary and Secondary Documentation

|                       |                           |      | Date          |                |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|------|---------------|----------------|
| Source                | Types                     | #    | From          | To             |
| Googledrive           | Agenda/Minutes of Meeting | 72   | March 2016    | September 2018 |
| Email Correspondances | From MCC President        | 1500 | February 2014 | December 2019  |
| Le Devoir             | Online Newspaper          |      | November 2015 | June 2020      |
| METRO                 | Offline Newspaper         |      | January 2018  | June 2020      |

## 4.6 Data Analysis

With the documentary phase completed, we now move on to the understanding phase. Given that we’re interested in the way(s) by which coalition actors have undertaken their activities over time in Montreal’s strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field, the first step in analyzing the data was to develop a visual mapping that chronologically (re)constructs the case study of the MCC; from its birth, consolidation and development up to this day.

### **4.6.1 Processual Analysis and Visual Mapping**

In the early stages of the analysis, it's important to identify predominant issues and events because they play the role of 'anchoring points' (Langley et al., 2013) in the (re)construction of the case study. From these I 'teased out' some of the specificities that they demonstrated in order to have a more in-depth and comprehensive understanding of them, doing so by filling in the time-spaces between them so that I was able to thickly (re)construct the process-based case study.

I started by mapping out the key issues and events that have structured the Coalition's existence (from my very first meeting with Matthew in winter of 2014, to the MCC's incorporation as a non-profit, and up to the Coalition's fifth annual 2020 assembly), developing visual timeline map models that reconstruct traces of the coalition's work and activities, key climate actions that occurred simultaneously at the levels of both the MCC and the multi-level socio-political strategic carbon-neutrality action field in which actors operated within Montreal's urban context.

I began by going over seventy-two meeting agendas and their minutes of meeting from the MCC's google drive (from March 2016 to September 2018), enabling me to identify key topics and themes of discussion that emerged over time, with a specific attention at identifying the ones that were recurrent and that seemed to structure predominant issues and events over time. With 'anchoring events' plotted on a timeline, I went on to analyze 335 email correspondences that I received between February 2014 and December 2019 from the president and co-founder of the Coalition, M. Matthew Chapman. This enabled me to 'lay out on the table' all the fundamental pieces of the empirical phenomenon under study, developing an initial comprehensive visual map model that highlights the multiple and diverse events that structure the case study.

Based on the literature review upon which it was conceptualized, the theoretical MMAP-MSA framework (lens) provided a logic by which the events were positioned in relation to one another, in accordance to their level of governance, whether or not they could be considered as taking place within (or outside of) Montreal's strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field; and if they related to activities of the MCC or other groups and organizations. In addition, elements relating to my own involvement in the case as a researcher-activist were also identified across time and space. This first visual map model was an important tool, as it enabled me to 'see the case right there in front of me', 'pulling my head out of the water' so to say. At this point, this first output was shared

with Matthew Chapman, who validated it and provided precisions and additional information that were integrated in the final version of this first iteration visual map model<sup>53</sup>

Now with the storyline ‘in hand’, and going back to the theoretical framework, it was time to analyze for lock-in’s, windows of opportunities and policy entrepreneurs’ strategies that the case was still hiding and that needed to be uncovered and teased-out. I proceeded by analyzing ten semi-directed interviews (out of a total of twenty-one), worth 17 hours of recorded material; analyzing, comparing and categorizing quotes according to the conceptual framework (this is covered in more details in the following sub-section). From this coding analysis of semi-directed interviews, thirty different tactics or mechanisms emerged around five overarching strategies that reveal the dynamic ‘micro-building blocks’ or ‘fabrics’ of the case, and which are presented as part of the results in chapter 5.

While the rich data collection at our disposal could enable us to analyze the case study from a variety of spatial and temporal angles, the first visual timeline map along with the simultaneous coding of semi-directed interviews revealed that two particular issues structured the story of the Coalition: First, it’s not-for-profit activities aimed at advancing urban carbon-neutrality policies and actions; and second, their opposition to the Réseau Électrique Métropolitain (REM), Montreal’s biggest urban infrastructure project in several decades. Hence emerged at the very early onset of the data analysis two embedded ‘sub-cases’ that serve as guiding threads in the reconstruction of the general case study, as they get unpacked at higher levels of analysis.

Given the predominant influence that the REM controversy seemed to have had on the coalition’s development over time, a special attention was put in identifying and reconstructing the sequence of lock-in’s, windows of opportunities and coalition strategies associated with the coalition’s opposition to the REM. In order to do so, I analyzed 110 email correspondences that I received between April 2016 and May 2020 and that had direct and indirect link with the REM controversy; enabling me to develop a more refined and nuanced reading of chronological events that focused on the embedded REM sub-case, so as to tease out the influence(s) it has had on the coalition’s overall activities for transitioning Montreal to carbon-neutrality.

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<sup>53</sup> See Annex 3.

This improved the first visual maps' precisions by positioning events and actions according to the month in which they occurred, in relation to 11 different levels of scales at which they could be occurring (international, federal, provincial, municipal, urban development regime, transition arena, MCC activities, policy entrepreneurs' strategies); and all the while continuing to account for the various engaged researcher-activist activities that I undertook across time. This latter point was done by plotting on the visual map key moments of my implication, and which yielded a second visual map model<sup>54</sup>. Providing a chronologically more refined reconstruction of the case, it revealed seven key moments of increased activities deployed (and number of strategies employed) by the coalition actors (in green); pointing to key moments of lock-in's, windows of opportunities and critical turning points or junctures (Howlett, 2019).

In order to bring the two sub-cases into better focus (activities for urban carbon-neutrality policymaking and activities in opposing the REM infrastructure project), and with a special attention to their potentially intertwined dynamics and how they (in)dependently relate to their multi-level context; a third iteration of processual analysis was done which yielded a third more 'in focus' visual map model that draws the contours of how the two subcases seem to have co-evolved together within their multi-level socio-political context. This 3<sup>rd</sup> processual visual map model<sup>55</sup> enabled the processual analysis to shed light on more general 'overarching sequences' of lock-in's and windows of opportunities, which in turn resulted in a 4<sup>th</sup> visual map model<sup>56</sup> that illustrates chronological sequences of lock-ins, policy windows of opportunities and entrepreneurial policy strategies that unfolded over time as the coalition operated in Montreal's strategic carbon-neutrality action field. This fourth processual analysis iteration provides a reading of the coalition's influence (or lack of) on several key empirical events linked to urban carbon-neutrality in Montreal and the REM controversy; at times suggesting 'positive outcomes' (or 'wins') for the coalition.

Back to the theoretical framework, and in order to generate a more parsimonious/higher level reading of the case that would enable us to tease out from the coalition case study general insights on the extent by which the actions and strategies of civil society actors (under study) influenced

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<sup>54</sup> See Annex 4.

<sup>55</sup> See Annex 5.

<sup>56</sup> See Annex 6.

(or not) carbon-neutrality policymaking processes and urban sustainability transitions dynamics; a fifth visual map model<sup>57</sup> was developed that ‘zooms out’ of the case study and crystallizes a pattern of relationships between the coalitions’ actions and activities for carbon-neutrality and their opposition to the REM, key moments of activities, and critical turning points/junctures in the story. This 5<sup>th</sup> visual map model can be considered as the ‘generic’ or ‘process’ story of the case study that reveals the overall plot, the ‘dialectic tensions’ and ‘generative mechanisms’ at work across multiple actors and organization operating at multiple levels simultaneously (Jay, 2013; Langley et al., 2013). This approach of 5 iteration cycles that have yielded 5 different visual maps enables us to ‘zoom in and out’ of the case study, from a granular account of the densely rich details of its particularities, to the more parsimonious and broad understanding(s) of ‘what’s going on here’ and ‘what is this case about?’ (Tsoukas, 2009). Table 4 summarizes the 5 cycles of iteration and their 5 respective visual map models.

Table 4. Summary of Processual Analysis Iteration Cycles

| Iteration Cycle | Description  | Output       |
|-----------------|--|--------------|
| 1               | Setting the pieces of the ‘puzzle’ (case study) on the table and validating the chronology of empirical events with the Coalition’s co-founder and president                                     | Visual Map 1 |
| 2               | Reconstructing empirical events with a Multi-Level Perspective (MLP) as well as integrating in the chronology the coalition strategies and researcher’s activism involvement                     | Visual Map 2 |
| 3               | Focusing on the coevolution of the two subcases, promoting carbon-neutrality and opposing the REM  | Visual Map 3 |
| 4               | Constructing the overarching sequence of lock-in’s, windows of opportunities and strategies, while paying attention to new revealing elements such as particularly intense moments of activities | Visual Map 4 |
| 5               | Most parsimonious timeline highlighting overarching events, co-evolution of subcases, key moments of activities and critical turning points/junctures  | Visual Map 5 |

These 5 visual map models also serve as ‘temporal brackets’ that help us to identify comparative units of analysis within a stream of longitudinal data (Langley, 1999), enabling for the investigation of empirical repetitions, the accumulation of developments over time and the reproduction of theoretical ideas across sequential time periods; shedding light on (and better understanding) how

<sup>57</sup> See Annex 7.



the continuously changing context from past temporal brackets (time periods) impacted and shaped subsequent events (Langley et al., 2013). Narrated by the in-depth case study, these temporal brackets help to make propositions about patterns, phases and stages as they emerged and developed over time (and in some cases faded out). Moreover, and in conjunction with the analysis of semi-directed interviews, it enables us to reveal the recurring mechanisms employed by the actors under study (Ring & Van de Ven, 1992).

#### **4.6.2 Coding and Categorization**

Inspired from Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), coding is the process by which data is put into categories that are in themselves constructed around common properties that emerge from the process of coding itself; and that form what can be deemed as ‘concepts’ (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Creating categories by coding is an intensive word by word, sentence by sentence, and paragraph by paragraph analysis of empirical material (data collected); and it takes the form of two main types: In vivo and in vitro coding. Whereas the former represents codes that are taken directly from the actors as stated by them, the latter is a code constructed by the researcher through his/her interpretation (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss, 1987). I began by coding 10 interview transcriptions using the software Atlas TI, and as per the following process:

1. I read through the interview transcripts and coded small paragraphs of about 8-10 lines, sometimes less.
2. As I went along, I copy In Vivo codings unto Excel sheet.
3. I then read the In Vivo codings in the Excel sheet and I identify parts that I interpreted as policy entrepreneurship strategies.
4. Sometimes/often I needed to break down the original In Vivo coding into smaller parts.
5. In a separate column, I assigned key words to each of the In Vivo codes that seem to reveal strategies.
6. I then add a column ‘topic of discussion’ to help cluster the In Vivo code entries.
7. Then by cluster, and for each In Vivo code, I interpret in my own words the strategy mentioned by the interviewee.
8. Sometimes a potential 2nd order structure is added (if it comes to mind, usually strongly influenced by the theoretical framework and literature).

9. Also, as much as possible while coding for strategies, key elements of the case study and revealing quotes are simultaneously identified.
10. All interpreted strategies are then listed, sorted by alphabetical order and classified in loose groups.
11. For each group, similar strategies are fused and then the loose group is interpreted into an overarching (more consolidating) strategy.
12. This is repeated for all interviews.
13. Once all 10 interviews were analyzed, an overall aggregation and consolidation of all interpreted strategies was conducted in order to come up with the final 1st order and 2nd order codings.

By adopting a ‘minute examination’ of the interview transcripts that provide traces of the case study plot, I iteratively constructed 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> order categories, continuously (re)considering different interpretations of the categories, and the ways by which one could make-sense of their (inter)relations in order to craft a general understanding of the empirical phenomenon under study (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This type of ‘Rubik’s cube’<sup>58</sup> cognitive effort enabled for the emergence of, not just categories of strategies, but also other elements linked to the empirical phenomena; mainly the case study’s ‘conditions’, general interactions between actors, as well as ‘consequences’ (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Charmaz, 2006). A theorization model (Strauss, 1987) was then developed to specify how I understand the way by which different categories are interlinked in an overarching ‘dense’ theory (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Charmaz, 2006). After which, the remaining 11 semi-directed interviews that were not part of the initial coding were analyzed with the aim of fine-tuning the typology of strategies and reinforcing the theorization model until a ‘theoretical saturation’ was achieved (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Charmaz, 2006); that is, when additional analysis no longer seemed to yield any new discovery about a category (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss, 1987).

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<sup>58</sup> The world’s top-selling puzzle game - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rubik%27s\\_Cube#cite\\_note-8](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rubik%27s_Cube#cite_note-8)

### 4.6.3 In-Depth Case Study and Abductive Insights

Moving away from the rather ‘thin description’ of behaviorists, a socio-constructivist approach to knowledge implies a description, interpretation and understanding of social phenomenon’s ‘in the thick of things’ (Geertz, 1973), with the aim to reveal the inner meaningful aspect of social action, the rich layers of meaning and symbolism that characterizes human action and social phenomena (Geertz, 1973; von Glasersfeld, 1995).

Given the research’s abductive approach to revealing (as deeply as possible) social structures (Hanson, 1958) by interpreting and understanding the underlying meanings of events as they unfold over time and space (Ricoeur, 1981), the researcher needs to ‘intuitively’ understand the object of investigation ‘from within’, whether a single individual or overarching social formations, and re-enact the intentions behind their original creation (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009). In doing so, he/she plays an important role by filling and enriching with ‘inner meaning’ the merely external ‘thin shelled’ outward behavior (Geertz, 1973). Rather than looking for ‘objective’ causal connections between civil society’s micro level actions and macro-processes of urban sustainability transitions, the analytical framework is mobilized ‘hermeneutically’ in order to ‘empathetically’ re-enact, interpret and understand the ‘lived experiences’ (over time and space) (Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1982; Ricoeur, 1981) of civil society’s policy entrepreneurs (Boasson & Huitema, 2017; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017) in urban sustainability transition processes (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016) aimed at deeply decarbonizing the urban context and achieving carbon-neutral cities (Bulkeley, 2015; McCormick et al., 2014); alongside the researcher’s ‘self-reflexive’ posture to better grasp his/her own lived experiences as a researcher-activist in the process.

The focus of the case study is on the underlying meaning(s) (Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1982; Ricoeur, 1981) behind the coalitions’ patterns of efforts, actions and strategies as they framed the climate change problem in the urban context and attempted to scale their entrepreneurial policy efforts (Boasson & Huitema, 2017; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017). Rather than looking for a ‘logic of validation’ from the case study, we’re looking for a ‘logic of argumentation’ (Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1982; Ricoeur, 1981) of how civil society actors shape (and are shaped by) the dynamic multi-level and multi-actor socio-political strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field in which actors and processes are fluid, in a constant state of becoming that influences urban policymaking for carbon-neutral transitions; and ultimately shaping the direction and speed of urban

sustainability transition dynamics (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016). From an applied practice-based perspective, an abductive case study provides insights into how actors can be empowered to better contribute to desired carbon-neutral cities (Bulkeley, 2015; McCormick et al., 2014).

#### **4.6.4 The Reflexive Researcher-Activist**

Any interpretation of something that has occurred in the past is ‘subjective and historical’. Truth with a capital ‘T’ doesn’t exist, in the sense of reflecting an objective reality originating from a rational subject independent of temporality (time) and space (Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1982; Ricoeur, 1981). This is the epistemological socio-constructivist root of the hermeneutic analysis (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009) that’s concerned with the very process of understanding, rather than with causal explanations; and where constructed data and facts are considered as the result of research, rather than a point of departure to be analyzed. In this way, the process of understanding is its own result, with the researcher interpreting meanings behind social acts in a way that can be of significance to both him/herself, as well as the reader (Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1982; Ricoeur, 1981).

In this way, understanding is an imaginative, inventive and ‘creative re-productive act’ where the researcher constructs the meaning of the object instead of attempting to emulate some kind of absolute objective comprehension (Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1982; Ricoeur, 1981). Researchers unavoidably make their own interpretations according to their frames of reference and biases, with their interpretation process shifting between previously acquired understanding (or ‘pre-understanding’); and the acquisition of ‘new understanding’ as researchers remain open to transforming their pre-understanding throughout the research process. Hence, researchers are never a ‘tabula rasa’, and their interpretations are complex and intricate moments of restructuring of subjective creativity that possess only relative autonomy, and are never absolute (Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1982; Ricoeur, 1981).

The ‘historiographic pact’ between the author and the reader is that the text concerns a real, although very hard to interpret world, and its purpose is to try to reconstruct social phenomenon’s (even if narratively temporary and incomplete) (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009). Rather than attempting to get to a final answer, the aim is to reveal the underlying problematic(s) of the text, the journey itself becoming its own prize. The experiences acquired during the journey(s) are the means and the ends

in themselves, and the aim is not some final ultimate knowledge to be explained. By the end of the research endeavor, the question itself has been dissolved; and a new question has begun to manifest itself so that the hermeneutic process can start all over again (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

In this way, the researcher shouldn't adopt any false posture of ultimate authority, but rather, invite readers into a dialogue about a number of alternatives; towards a 'fusion of horizons' (Gadamer, 1989) of which he or she prefers one on stated grounds (or several equivalent ones). This is a form of honesty towards the reader and is justified given the existence, in every text, of much that is only tacitly understood; and which represents the core element of what needs to be communicated (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). Once again and given his/her plural and multi-faceted activities and roles (Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014), the transformation researcher needs to be self-reflexive; that is, aware of his/her particular individual position with respect to time, place, background and normativity, and allowing for a 'self-understanding' as part of the social dynamics that she/he is aiming to influence, shape and change (Pozzebon, 2018). This involves introspection, which is the act of positioning oneself as a researcher in time and space; along with looking at one's own background and normative angle, with the intention and aim to question the means by which the researcher shapes the research, and in (re)turn is shaped by the research process (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

Hence, it's more than five hours of recorded field journal in the form of self-narrative audios, along with over thirty conference calls of the MCC's coordinating committee in which I participated; as well as more than ten presentations and ten reports that I developed throughout my involvement with the MCC since early 2016, and that I analyzed in order to 'observe myself'. In section 6.3, I reflect upon my own participation in the case study's rich and dense plot, the different roles that I've undertaken over time; and the influence each has had on me, the MCC, and the case study in general. According to Wittmayer and Schöpke (2014), researchers who adopt a transformation approach to research (aiming for both conceptual and actionable knowledge) take on ideal-type roles; mainly that of change agents, knowledge brokers, reflective scientists, self-reflexive scientist and process facilitators in sustainability science (Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014)<sup>59</sup>. This typology has supported my reflexivity throughout my work.

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<sup>59</sup> See Annex 8.

These ideal types contrast to the quite complicated and chaotic nature of actual collaborative research processes that involve numerous and diverse actors, viewpoints and morals; and that hence can be planned only to a limited degree (Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014). Given that the different roles are not easy to discern in practice, they intersect and shift over time while also being dependent on their context; with the behavior of the researcher bounded and buckled-up by his/her subjective interpretations, understandings and improvisations. Often researchers do not seem to have a proper vocabulary to describe, deal and manage the conflicts, tensions, traps and potential opportunities that derive from their new roles and activities (Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014). As such, the concrete context, goals, skills, capabilities and commitment of the researcher become pivotal factors and elements for the researcher's roles and the research that he/she performs (Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014).

Rather than being about the researcher taking on one role or the other, it's more about harmonizing and integrating the different roles in a complementary manner, mobilizing them as resources in specifically given situations and contexts; as well as tools for adapting to events in the empirical field (Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014). Researchers are hence constantly engaged in 'skillful improvisation' through which decisions are quite often taken in the spur of the moment, as the researcher faces information asymmetries and contradicting/conflicting interests (Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014). Nevertheless, ideal types can help make sense and clarify some of the difficulties, dilemmas, challenges, impasses, choices and opportunities that researchers experience throughout the research process; allowing them to interpret and understand these as contradictory intentions covering different roles that helps them to consciously and purposefully decide how to deal with the daily operational challenges and opportunities of research design. Hence this typology provides a vocabulary for researchers to identify, describe and explain; in a transparent manner, the diverse roles that they undertake (or not) (Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014).

The aim is for better interpretations, where facts are not just picked from the sources, but are always (re)constructed by an often complex, ambiguous, contradictory, tiresome, and always tentative process of interpretation (Madison, 1988; Ricoeur, 1981). The aim is to reach some kind of optimal interpretation(s) given the current knowledge, one that requires an openness to multiple interpretations, to 'polyphonous' account of different interpretations, or at least of possibilities of interpretations (Madison, 1988; Ricoeur, 1981). As researchers make provisional assessments of

plausibility in understanding a certain social phenomenon (a temporary classification of certain pro and contra arguments), the list is left open to further (types of) arguments that can arise in the future; since all research engages in ongoing process of re-creating its own methods (Feyerabend, 1987). What the considerations tentatively do though, is provide a basis for the future development of (and inquiry into) hermeneutics (Madison, 1988; Ricoeur, 1981).

Texts are not only constructed into facts and data by the researcher/author's pre-understandings; but also, by their overall 'con-textuality' (Madison, 1988): the external social, political and historical weave of connections (Phillips & Brown, 1993) that has made them 'come to life'. As a result, interpretations are permeated by the workings of two hermeneutic circles or 'double hermeneutics' (Giddens, 1976); between the pre-understanding and understanding of the researcher; as well as the interpretation of the 'whole' context (in our case urban sustainability transition processes) and its 'parts' (civil society actions) (Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1982; Ricoeur, 1981). As such, the whole text is understood as a function of the interpretations of its parts, and equally, the view of the parts is illuminated by the view of the whole (Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1982; Ricoeur, 1981). While it's important to keep in mind that given empirical material remains restricted to 'surface structures' (Chomsky, 1965), even a very well detailed and constructed analysis can never extract from data 'theories of deep structures' (Bunge, 1967). Nevertheless, it's the right of researchers to generate new theories (Alvesson & Sköldböck, 2009) that are developed and communicated in emotionally engaging manner (Behar, 1997; Spry, 2001); with the aim to help themselves and others to 'find themselves' in meaningful ways within their surrounding and enhance their capacity to act based on 'practical wisdom' (or 'phronesis knowledge') (Flyvbjerg, 2012).

In the following chapter we move on from the understanding phase of the case study to the presentation/writing of the typology of strategies that emerged from the coding of the data material, the in-depth narration of the MCC case study, the theorization model developed; and finally, the engaged researcher-activists' self-reflexive exercise.

# Chapitre 5 – Results and Insights

## 5.1 Visual Timeline Maps

The first results of the thesis are the 5 visual timeline map models that have enabled me to chronologically reconstruct some of the social interactions and processes that have shaped the unfolding of the coalition's activities over time. These 5 processual map models resulted from the five iterations of processual analysis that enabled me to first 'thickly' reconstruct the chain of events that I observed, was part of and contributed to in the emergence and development of the MCC; and then zooming out of the case, from a detailed perspective to a more parsimonious picture (snapshot), with the aim to tease out patterns in the dynamics between structure (the multi-level socio-political regime) and agency (MCC's policy entrepreneurs operating in the strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field embedded within (part of) the multi-level socio-political regime). The visual map models are provided in the annexes 1 to 7, and are summarized in table 5 (chapter 6, sub-section 6.1).

Along with primary and secondary data sources, and my own involvement in the case as a researcher-activist, in the next section I develop an in-depth narrative of the MCC's story. It represents my reconstruction, narration and interpretation of the events that unfolded before me (and with me) in the last four years since the coalition's 2016 public consultation; and in which I participated as ambassador representing Montreal's urban agriculture community, then going-on to becoming an active member of the Coalition.

Occurring over a period of 4 years (from April 2016 to April 2020), the case is composed of 4 main chronological time periods, each representing a sub-section of the case. I have also felt it pertinent to begin with an initial sub-section that touches on the genesis of the coalition, retracing how it all began in 2014 and 2015 (we can consider it as year 0 in the case study). Also, and as a way of epilogue, I end by glancing over key events that occurred in 2020, especially in the first six months of that year, for a total of 6 sub-sections that structure the overall case study. Finally, and given once again the core importance of contextuality in the study of both urban sustainability transitions and policy entrepreneurship as illustrated in the MMaP-MSA theoretical framework (lens)



proposed, I first begin with a brief historical overview of Montreal’s municipal politics. The table 5 summarizes how the case study is structured around an introduction and 6 periods (time brackets representing a calendar year) running from 2014-2015 to 2020. Each period is given a title/heading that captures the essence of key events occurring in that particular year.

Table 5. Case Study’s Temporal Brackets (Sequences) / Time Periods

| Sub-Section  | Year     | Period                 | Title  |
|--------------|----------|------------------------|--|
| Introduction | -        | Historical Perspective | A Brief History of Montreal and its Municipal Politics   |
| 1            | 0        | 2014 – 2015            | Genesis: From Avaaz Encounters to a Municipal Public Consultation and the Emergence of the Montreal Climate Coalition; Two Years in the Making |
| 2            | 1        | 2016                   | Researching the REM for the BAPE   |
| 3            | 2        | 2017                   | Clashes, Lawsuit and Municipal Elections   |
| 4            | 3        | 2018                   | Playing the New Political Game and Provincial Elections  |
| 5            | 4        | 2019                   | Loosing, Winning and Everything in Between   |
| 6            | Epilogue | 2020                   | The Dawn of a New (Ab)normal   |

Each sub-section of the case begins with a table that recaps some of the key chronological events that unfolded in that given year. These tables are meant for the reader to have empirical points of reference to refer to, if need be, as the dense descriptions of diverse events across time and space can too easily loose the reader. In order to reconstruct and narrate the case ‘in the thick of things’, in a way that enables the case to reveal itself to the reader in an empirically rich and dense manner; I integrated a wide variety of references from the primary and secondary data sources collected, such as internal coalitions documents, emails, social media posts and newspaper articles. The aim is to enable the reader to also (re)construct his/her own understanding of the phenomenon under study.

For each period (year) of the case, events are reconstructed by first narrating those that occurred in relation to the REM controversy, followed by events relating to advancing carbon-neutrality in Montreal (except for 2019 and the 2020 epilogue when the REM controversy had considerably wined down. Instead, these sub-sections begin first with events linked to carbon-neutrality policymaking followed by those linked to the REM controversy).

In addition, and more importantly, each sub-section ends with a ‘theoretical perspective’ in the form of a table that recapitulates the sequence of carbon lock-ins and windows of opportunities that unfolded across the multi-level regime in that given year; contrasting these to the key activities and strategies deployed by the coalition. In doing so, the aim is to interpret the case through the theoretical MMaP-MSA framework (lens), developing a refined and granular theoretical interpretations of how the MCC’s policy entrepreneurs reacted to the carbon lock-in’s and windows of opportunities that they were presented with, the type of strategies they deployed in the face of these, how these impacted (and were impacted by) further sequences of lock-ins and windows, and some of the outcomes that can be associated to the identified chains of events. In sum, connecting the empirical case with the theory enables us to answer the research question and develop insights that can contribute to advancing research on the role of civil society actors in urban sustainability transitions for carbon-neutrality.

I cannot begin to tell the story of the MCC without first acknowledging that the land on which the story takes place is the traditional and unseeded territory of the Kanien’keha: ka (Mohawk); a place which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst nations<sup>60</sup>.

## 5.2 The Case of the Montreal Climate Coalition

The below brief historical overview of Montreal and its municipal politics is based on the book chapter ‘At the Crossroad of Cultures: The Distinct Politics and development of Montreal’ by Shawn Katz and Dimitri Roussopoulos, in *The Rise of Cities* (Roussopoulos, 2017). It can be considered as a brief summary of it. Additional supportive information is taken from the online format of Britannica<sup>61</sup>, the Canadian Encyclopedia<sup>62</sup> and Wikipedia<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>60</sup> <https://www.immigrant-education.ca/knowledge-base/land-acknowledgement/>

<sup>61</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Montreal>

<sup>62</sup> <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/montreal>

<sup>63</sup> <https://www.wikipedia.org/>

## 5.2.1 A Brief History of Montreal and its Municipal Politics

### 5.2.1.1 Origins and Identity of the City

According to history and archeology, the island that is today Montreal (near the confluence of the Ottawa and Saint-Laurence river) was originally called ‘Hochelaga’ by the Huron first nations peoples that inhabited the territory since the 16th century, at the time when French imperialist Jacques Cartier arrived (in 1535) and found a settlement of more than a thousand people that lived in approximately 50 long houses; and who welcomed him on the slopes of what was to be called the ‘Mount-Royal’ mountain. Official records date the city’s establishment back to 1642 when colonialists came back unto the island a second time, establishing Ville-Marie, after decades of war with the Iroquois nation. Throughout the subsequent centuries, the city went on to grow and develop around the Mont-Royal Mountain, which is today the city’s main urban green space (park), just a short walking distance from the city’s busy downtown. It’s become a central element of the city’s identity and the everyday lives of Montrealer’s.

Montreal first developed as a missionary settlement before becoming a fur-trade and eventually an important transportation hub (for agriculture and timber) thanks to its port that was established on the banks of the Saint-Laurent River. As the city was incorporated in 1832, many small towns and villages were established close to the city, as well as on either shore of the Saint-Laurence. By mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, a peaceful co-existence reigned with the Iroquois, and the city was one of the only locations in North America that was linked to both railway lines and an international port. This advantage led to Montreal becoming an important industrial center where agriculture, flour, sugar, wood, clothing, shoes and even ships were produced. By that time, the city’s population grew as a result of the annexation of the towns and villages around the city, reaching more than 90,000 people by 1883. Less than a century later, by the 20th century’s post-war era, Montreal had become one of North America’s main manufacturing hub that supplied a booming North American economy fueled by the onset of the consumerist culture.

The 1960’s were an effervescent period for Montreal, as it became the intellectual and organizational heart of the social movements that were leading Quebec’s francophone ‘Quiet Revolution’<sup>64</sup>, against the century long dominations of both the anglophone minority community

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<sup>64</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quiet\\_Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quiet_Revolution)

and the church. Economic for the former, cultural for the latter. This was also the time that Montreal built its subway system, hosted the international Expo event in 67 and annexed two dozen small towns and villages in 1968. In the early 1970's, as Quebec's francophone nationalism emerged and began to take control of the provinces' institutions and economy, the city began experiencing an important flight of (anglophone) capital as corporations started to massively relocate to Toronto. By the time Montreal hosted the 1976 Olympic Games (going on to becoming a financial disaster for the province of Quebec) and was witnessing the rise to power of the party Quebecois; the city was losing a big part of its Anglophone population, along with an important part of its tax base as Montrealer's began to settle more and more in the suburban peripheries of the city. The phenomenon of accelerated urbanization was set off, from the city outwards into agricultural lands and natural ecosystems.

By the 1980's, Toronto surpassed Montreal as Canada's economic center and most populated city. While Montreal initially struggled to cope with its major economic and demographic transformations, over the subsequent years that followed, the socio-economic void left by the Anglophone exodus was replaced by a new Quebec Inc. elite. Montreal began to discover and embrace its unique nature as a francophone city in North America and as Quebec's metropolis. Rooted in the francophone culture, the city has embraced its unique identity and potential as a cultural metropolis at the intersection between Europe and North America, shaping everything about the city, from its political discourse and vibrant intellectual traditions, to its immigration policies, cultural expression and practices, as well as lifestyles. All these are reflected in the spirit of Montréal, a sort of 'rebel city' that delights going against the current.

With five of the ten neighborhoods in Canada that have the highest concentration of working artists, Montreal has become an important center for the contemporary creative domains. It's North America's only UNESCO City of Design<sup>65</sup> (the city's largest cultural industry), as well as the capital of digital and circus arts, dance, film and more recently, a global hub for artificial intelligence given that it hosts the world's biggest number of academic researchers in 'deep learning'<sup>66</sup>. Compounded by the relative affordability of life in Montreal when compared with other major Western cities, along with its two English and two francophone universities; it's no surprise

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<sup>65</sup> <https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/montreal>

<sup>66</sup> <https://www.montrealinternational.com/en/keysectors/artificial-intelligence/>

that the city is also an important university hub, with greater Montreal counting the second highest number of university students per capita in North America and hosting Canada's largest population of international university students thanks to. In 2017, it was voted as best city for studying<sup>67</sup>, establishing itself as Canada's most important center for research and development. Moreover, Montreal is home to the greatest concentration of international organizations in Canada, the most international conferences of any city in North America; and is one of the continent's three United-Nations cities along with New York and Washington while also having the second-highest number of consulates in North America.

Today, and with a population of around 4.2 million inhabitants that accounts for 43% of the province of Quebec, Montreal's agglomeration (municipalities on the island of Montreal as well as the city's suburbs) forms Quebec's cultural and economic metropolis, Canada's second largest city, one of North America's oldest; and the second largest francophone city in the world after Paris, while continuing to have an important Anglophone community that makes up approximately 17.4% of the urban population. Montreal's linguistic duality has evolved from a source of sectarian tensions and political economic instability into one of the city's greatest assets and unique traits; with past resentments having largely dissipated as the new generations embrace the city's rich multiculturalism as a key component of Montreal's identity.

#### 5.2.1.2 City Government and Governance

The political system in Montreal, like Canada's British parliamentary system, is composed of political parties and an official opposition; with decision-making power residing with the city's executive committee. The 11 members of the executive committee are selected by the mayor, usually from their own party, with the appointment of the chair and vice chair to the executive committee having to be approved by city Council. Montréal's counsel is composed of 65 members, 46 city councillors that are elected directly in their respective districts, 18 borough mayors, and Montréal's mayor who is also by default the mayor of the city's downtown area, the Ville-Marie borough. In this way, it is the largest city Council in Canada. Also, and along with 38 borough councillors, Montreal's municipal administration composed of 27,000 employees is North America's largest bureaucracy.

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<sup>67</sup> <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/montreal-named-world-s-best-city-for-students-1.3984987>

Legislative responsibilities are divided between city council and the boroughs, with city hall having under its authority the city's annual budget, allocations of the borough's budgets, the urban master plan, environmental protection, public safety, as well as all dealings with higher levels of government at the provincial federal and international levels.

Montreal's system of political parties is one of its most distinctive characteristics, where parties are independent from parties at other levels of government, with some parties structured around solid democratic foundations which makes them authentic membership-based organizations; while others are more of electoral machines centred around the candidate for the post of mayor and his/her political team. Whereas the former promotes specific policy platforms developed over time that are grounded on consistent urban visions and plans with clear sets of political values; the latter approach is more pragmatic and opportunistic, most often yielding ambiguous policy orientations designed at the higher spheres of the political machine. Whereas some municipal parties emerge and fade away during election periods, others have succeeded in lasting for decades.

A key moment in Montreal's history of municipal politics was the merger and demerger period at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when in 2002 Quebec's provincial government imposed a major merger of 29 municipalities under the slogan 'One Island, One city'; and which was very unpopular in many areas of the city, especially in the West Island suburbs of the Anglophone community; as well as with the then official opposition, the Montreal Citizens Movement (MCM). By 2004, Quebec's newly elected Liberal Prime Minister Jean Charest went ahead with one of his electoral campaign promises and allowed municipalities to hold their own referendum as to whether they wanted to demerger back to the original municipal status. With this, 15 boroughs left the new megacity of Montreal and returned to being independent municipalities.

Another consequence of this much politically charged era in Montreal's municipal politics was that it's served to establish the foundation for a new wave of urban decentralization and municipal democracy; with the emergence of many of Montreal's current democratic institutions, such as the highly acclaimed Office de consultation publique (OCPM) (public consultation office) and the robust borough system that has jurisdiction over many local issues, from the urban planning of side streets (main avenues and arteries, as well as parks are under authority of the city's central administration), to local parks, affordable housing, as well as social and community development. Each borough is headed by a borough council of at least five members composed of the borough

mayor, borough councillors and city councillors for the borough. In this way, during every municipal election, Montrealers are asked to elect their four municipal representatives, two for each municipal level (the city mayor and city councillor); along with borough mayor and borough councillor. Whereas city councillors and borough mayors are part of both city and borough councils, borough councillors only sit at the borough councils.

Out of the 2006 demergers emerged Montreal's Island wide urban agglomeration (Agglomération urbaine de Montréal), enabling the city to continue to provide major services to all municipalities on the island, such as transit, waste management and police amongst others, with Montreal's mayor and his/her councillors holding 87% of the voting power on the agglomeration council. At the metropolitan level, Montreal's Metropolitan community (Communauté Métropolitaine de Montréal – CMM) has a role of planning and coordinating for the 82 municipalities that it represents. In this way, Montreal emerged from the merger/demerger period of early 2000's with a multilevel governance structure that divides municipal responsibilities among the city's council, borough councils, the agglomeration council and the city's Metropolitan community. Overall, in practice, all these are under the control of the city's mayor and his/her team of councillors.

### 5.2.1.3 Citizenship and Participative Democracy

In 2002, as the city's office of the ombudsman and the OCPM<sup>68</sup> were established, statutory 'in person' citizen question periods were introduced preceding every monthly public council meeting. In 2005 the city's 'Charter of Rights and Responsibilities'<sup>69</sup> was adopted with the vision of increasing overall public consultations and citizen participation in the city's municipal political life. In 2006, Toronto followed this example and in 2009 Montreal's city council adopted the innovative urban governance mechanism known as the 'Right of Citizen Initiative', giving every Montrealer the possibility of obtaining from the city a public consultation on the issue, idea or project that they deem important to the city's population. If they're able to collect the minimum of 15,000 signatures supporting their demand, then the city administration has no choice but to mandate the OCPM and invest in a public consultation that responds to the citizens demands.

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<sup>68</sup> <https://ocpm.qc.ca/>

<sup>69</sup> <https://montreal.ca/en/topics/montreal-charter-rights-and-responsibilities>

In this way, and beyond just periodic election periods, citizens have at their disposal an important democratic governance tool by which they can intervene on public policy issues and forced local elected decision-makers to hold credible public consultations that provide Montreal citizens with the opportunity of time and space to propose concrete policy and action recommendations, and advance multi-stakeholder dialogue. By 2010, live webcasts of city council meetings were established, and a year and a half later, Montreal's democracy award was created in order to recognize active citizens and social movements that promote municipal democracy. Montreal's public consultation institutions, when respected, provide an important safeguard against unjustified power influences from private real estate developers; taking the form of effective social and political spaces for civil society actors to influence policymaking. Thanks to the OCPM's public consultations, multiple stakeholders (both groups as well as citizens) can be heard on an equal playing field; with final public consultation recommendations providing policymakers with a roadmap towards achieving forms of urban development and city-scaping that can serve the common good. While the OCPM's reports are independent and credible and can considerably influence the city's final decisions on major issues, legally it remains nonbinding. One of the earliest examples of the kind of impact that the OCPM can have, is the 2004 urban master plan that was developed in collaboration with key civil society actors such as Vélo Québec, Héritage Montréal and the Conseil régional de l'environnement de Montréal (CRE-MTL); and that was also considerably shaped by the input from housing rights groups such as the Front d'actions Populaire en réaménagement urbain (FRAPRU), Équiterre and municipal blue-collar unions. Similarly, an employee of the CRE-MTL was hired to sit on the technical committee that developed the analysis and proposals for the city's sustainable development plan.

This said, not all civil society groups have the same political influence, with some having more weight than others in shaping changes and final outcomes of urban projects; as the city's administration looks for competence and representativity. At the metropolitan level, the most influential are the business interest groups, Montreal's Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce and Montréal International; as well as the investment arms of the provincial level labour confederations, the Fond de solidarité (FTQ) and Fondation (CSN), Culture Montreal (a non-profit organization representing cultural actors) and the 'Chantier de l'économie sociale' (a social economy umbrella organization composed of third sector organizations). The varying degrees of influence exercised at the local level by different actors varies considerably depending on a multitude of factors, from



the project, the developers, the overall political context and ultimately the potential benefits that each side can amass. While appeals for public participation and the social license to operate are common and recurrent, typically the failure of past city administrations has been to ensure that actions follow rhetoric. The core issue with policymaking in the context of Montreal has less to do with the development of overarching orientations and is more about the failure of translating them to concrete actions that (re)shape the city's social and urban landscape.

In addition, a major limitation in the way that urban planning is developed to serve the public good, is the complex web of processes at the borough level. Given that boroughs are only under the outdated and weak requirements of laws at the provincial level, powerful real estate developers have a considerable leeway in exerting heavy influence on local borough administrations to obtain preferential terms and conditions; with local civil society organizations and public input in general having tremendous difficulties and challenges in obtaining important information, be able to closely follow the processes, mobilize their communities, and ultimately influence urban development decisions at the local level. Major changes are being called for to expand the OCPM's actions at the borough level and/or considerably improve public consultations in ways that can meet the standards and robustness for more equitable and democratic urban planning across Montreal. Table 6 below provides a historical overview of Montreal's municipal politics, from the different political eras to the key events that have fundamentally shaped the city from the 1960's up until today.

Table 6. Historical Perspective of Montreal's Municipal Politics

| Period    | Political Era                                    | Overview of Key Events   |
|-----------|--|--|
| 1960-1986 | One Man Rules:<br>Mayor Jean Drapeau             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- He was a 'protégé' of nationalist priest Lionel Groulx in 1930's-1940's</li> <li>- First spell as mayor at the age of 37, from 1954 to 1957</li> <li>- Re-elected in 1960 at the head of his Civic Party</li> <li>- Built the city's Metro system in the 1960's</li> <li>- Montreal hosts the International Exposition Expo 1967</li> <li>- Creation of the Expos Baseball franchise in 1969</li> <li>- During the 1970's municipal elections he used the War Measures Act to neutralize (involving jailing) his opponents and main opponent</li> <li>- Montreal hosts the 1976 Summer Olympics</li> <li>- Drapeau leaves upon retirement in 1986.</li> <li>- City was left with a \$1 billion debt that took citizens + 30 years to fully pay off, that were the consequence of a 'culture of kickback' in the way his administration managed the Olympic games, amongst others.</li> </ul>  |
| 1974-1986 | The Montreal Citizen's Movement (MCM)            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Founded in 1974, a coalition of left-leaning community groups, the rather anglophone Urban Progressive Movement (UPM), Union -Federations and Students.</li> <li>- First significant and effective opposition to Jean Drapeau in 1974</li> <li>- Internal dissidents split and form the Municipal Action Group (MAG)</li> </ul>   |
| 1986-1994 | Mayor Jean Doré (MCM) and Reforms                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Doré becomes head of MCM in 1982</li> <li>- Elected in 1986 upon Drapeau's retirement</li> <li>- Some MCM members and city councillors quit and form the Democratic Coalition of Montreal, accusing Doré of going against his reform agenda. He also loses the support from the anglophone community</li> <li>- Credited with renewing the Old Port and the Sainte-Hélène Island, as well as adopting the first Master Urban Plan for Montreal.</li> <li>- Voted out of office in 1994. From then the MCM struggled.</li> <li>- In 2001, the MCM Party was integrated to upcoming Mayor Gérald Tremblay's organization: Union of Citizens of the Island of Montreal</li> </ul>  |
| 1994-2001 | Pierre Bourque and the Populism of the Right     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Director of Montreal's Botanical Gardens (1980-1994)</li> <li>- Head of the party Vision Montreal</li> <li>- Creation of parks, tree-planting initiatives, Eco-Centers for reusable material, and the Eco-- Quartier program that developed recycling</li> <li>- Revitalized one of the city's main commercial arteries, Sainte-Catherine Street, as well as the Old part of Montreal and the reopening of the Lachine Canal</li> <li>- He was close to cultural minority communities</li> <li>- Aligning with Quebec's Provincial Government vision, his objective of merging all of Montreal's 28 municipalities into a megacity cost him the election in 2001.</li> <li>- Ran again in the 2005 election but lost again to then mayor Tremblay</li> </ul>  |
| 2001-2012 | Gérald Tremblay and the New Megacity of Montréal | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Initially he's a businessman, entrepreneur and lecturer at HEC Montreal Business School of Management</li> <li>- Ran in the 2001 elections with his party Montreal Island Citizens Union, after the controversial 2000-2006 municipal reorganization in Quebec. Based on his promise to re-evaluate the merger and decentralize the city, he defeats mayor Bourque.</li> <li>- He was eventually seen as adopting the neutral position vis-à-vis the (de)centralization of the city.</li> <li>- 2002 Montreal Citizen Summit that leads to the creation of the Office de Consultation Publique de Montréal (OCPM) in 2002</li> <li>- Defeats Bourque again in 2005</li> <li>- Montreal's Charter of Right's and Responsibilities is established in 2006, subsequently updated in 2011</li> <li>- He's elected for a third term in 2009.</li> <li>- His administration is often considered as one of the most secretive in the city's history. More public consultations but less democracy.</li> <li>- The Charbonneau Commissions looking into alleged corruption in the construction industry reveals that Tremblay's Union Montreal party received financing from illegal mafia-related activities.</li> <li>- He resigned as Mayor in 2012 and leaves politics</li> </ul> |

Table 6. Historical Perspective of Montreal’s Municipal Politics (*continued*)

| Period    | Political Era   | Overview of Key Events   |
|-----------|---|--|
| 2001-2012 | Gérald Tremblay and the New Megacity of Montréal                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Initially he’s a businessman, entrepreneur and lecturer at HEC Montreal Business School of Management</li> <li>- Ran in the 2001 elections with his party Montreal Island Citizens Union, after the controversial 2000-2006 municipal reorganization in Quebec. Based on his promise to re-evaluate the merger and decentralize the city, he defeats mayor Bourque.</li> <li>- He was eventually seen as adopting the neutral position vis-à-vis the (de)centralization of the city.</li> <li>- 2002 Montreal Citizen Summit that leads to the creation of the Office de Consultation Publique de Montréal (OCPM) in 2002</li> <li>- Defeats Bourque again in 2005</li> <li>- Montreal’s Charter of Right’s and Responsibilities is established in 2006, subsequently updated in 2011</li> <li>- He’s elected for a third term in 2009.</li> <li>- His administration is often considered as one of the most secretive in the city’s history. More public consultations but less democracy.</li> <li>- The Charbonneau Commissions looking into alleged corruption in the construction industry reveals that Tremblay’s Union Montreal party received financing from illegal mafia-related activities.</li> <li>- He resigned as Mayor in 2012 and leaves politics</li> </ul> |
| 2004-2015 | Projet Montréal: The Green Opposition   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Founded in 2004 by Richard Bergeron</li> <li>- First Party Congress in 2009</li> <li>- Goes from 1 elected official to 14 in 2009 and consolidates the party’s flagship borough: Plateau Mont-Royal</li> <li>- In 2013 elections, Projet Montreal becomes the leading opposition party at the City’s Municipal Council</li> <li>- Bergeron resigns from Projet Montreal in 2014 and Luc Ferrandez is assigned as interim head of the party.</li> <li>- In 2016 Bergeron joins then mayor Denis Coderre’s team</li> <li>- December 2016, Valérie Plante is elected head of Projet Montreal</li> <li>- The party’s political platform is based on commitments across various sectors: housing, family, the environment, transport, economy, arts &amp; culture, democracy, public participation, integrity and administrative quality</li> </ul>  |
| 2013-2017 | Denis Coderre   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Started his political career as Liberal deputy at the Federal level (Canada)</li> <li>- Is elected mayor of Montreal in 2013 under his party: Team Coderre - Even before running, rumours circulate on his supposed proximity with Montreal’s mafia scene. They would follow him throughout his mandate without any official indictment against him.</li> <li>- Supports Law p-6 banning face masks during manifestations and requiring route itineraries.</li> <li>- Establishes the ‘Smart City’ bureau</li> <li>- Is considered by many as the ‘Media Mayor’, focused on Montreal’s international exposure and visibility, and his own political image</li> <li>- Involved in three main controversies in the run-up to the 2017 elections: The banning of pitbulls, the Electric F1 event and his support of the REM Skytrain</li> <li>- Defeated by Valérie Plante in 2017. Équipe Coderre becomes ‘Ensemble Montreal’ and is today the main opposition at city council, representing a center-right politics and the outer boroughs of the city.</li> </ul>   |
| 2018-2021 | Valérie Plante, First ‘Green’ Mayoress from the Progressive Party Projet Montréal | Key events linked to this period are at the core of the case study and are developed upon in the subsequent chapter dedicated to the same  |

#### 5.2.1.4 Sustainability and GHG Gas Emissions

Sustainable development was one of the key priorities to emerge from the Montreal Summit in 2002. Following the summit, dozens of important actors of civil society partnered with the city in

the development of the 2005-2010 plan, which was followed by a second 2010-2015 plan that was elaborated in conjunction with 180 organizations from across civil society; and finally a third from 2016-2020 sustainability plan. Each of these respective plans have been vast and thorough, with specific objectives detailing the city's commitments in a wide array of areas, most notably greenhouse gas emissions, transit and transportation, urban sprawl, water and air quality, water management, energy efficiency, waste management, urban agriculture, green spaces, and biodiversity. In this process, certain ecological groups and organizations were excluded because they were deemed by city bureaucrats as too radical, most of which are grouped around the Réseau Québécois des Groupes Écologique<sup>70</sup>.

In 2005, Montreal pledged to reducing greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) to 30% below 1990 levels by 2020. The latest GHG inventory in 2015, however, showed that the city was well behind schedule (initial target of -30% by 2020), with total emissions having only decreased by 28% since 1990; which the city attributes to greater energy efficiencies gained by the many conversions of buildings from oil to electricity or natural gas, but mainly to the closure of the Shell's Montreal refinery in 2010<sup>71</sup>. The city's 2010-2015 sustainable development plan and subsequent 2013-2020 emissions reduction plan thus sought to accelerate and expand the city's efforts, with the tracking of progress on emissions reductions being a difficult task, as illustrated by the fact that inventories are done every three years and provide an overview that is always lagging by 3 years in terms of measuring GHG emissions. Towards the end of Coderre's term in office, Montreal's locally led climate plans included the GHG emissions reduction plan (2013-2020)<sup>72</sup>, the Climate Change Adaptation Plan (2015-2020)<sup>73</sup>, the afore mentioned public consultation on the reduction of the city's dependence on fossil fuels<sup>74</sup>; along with the city's third sustainable development plan (2016-2020)<sup>75</sup>; which included a GHG emissions reduction target of -80% by 2050.

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<sup>70</sup> <https://rqge.qc.ca/mission/>

<sup>71</sup> <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/shell-confirms-closure-of-montreal-refinery-1.973360>

<sup>72</sup> [http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/ENVIRO\\_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/SUIVIPLANCOLLECTIVITE2013-2020.PDF](http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/ENVIRO_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/SUIVIPLANCOLLECTIVITE2013-2020.PDF)

<sup>73</sup> [http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/ENVIRO\\_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/PACCAM\\_2015-020\\_LESMESURES.PDF](http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/ENVIRO_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/PACCAM_2015-020_LESMESURES.PDF)

<sup>74</sup> <http://ocpm.qc.ca/actualite/le-rapport-de-la-consultation-sur-la-reduction-de-la-dependance-aux-energies-fossiles-est>

<sup>75</sup> [https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/d\\_durable\\_fr/media/documents/plan\\_montreal\\_durable\\_2016\\_2020.pdf](https://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/d_durable_fr/media/documents/plan_montreal_durable_2016_2020.pdf)

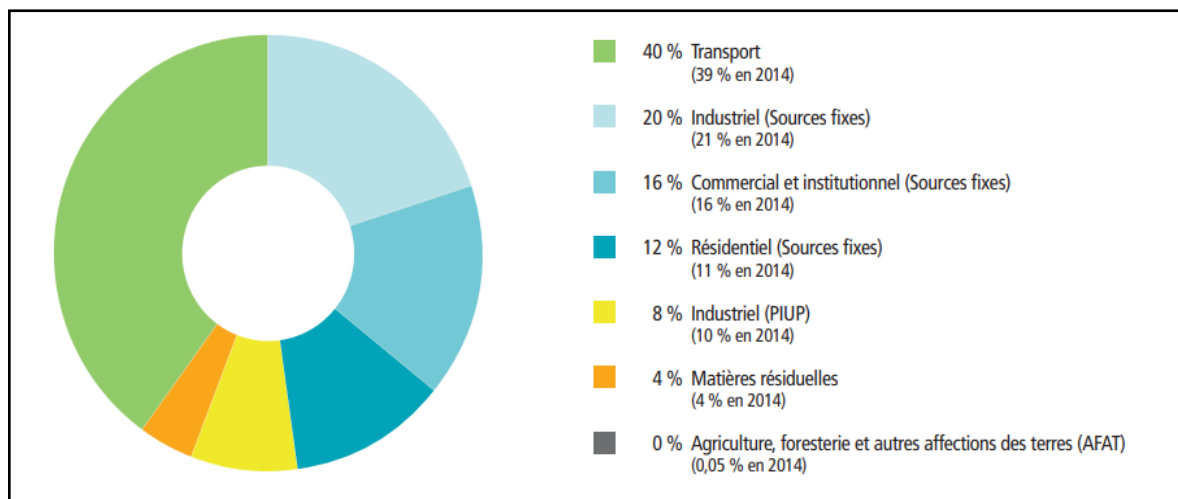


Figure 7. Distribution of GHG emissions of Montreal's Collectivity in 2015

As it will be touched upon in the case study, Projet Montreal created at the end of 2018 the Bureau of Transition and Resilience<sup>76</sup> that's spearheaded by Équiterre's former director; Sidney Ribaux; and which encompasses all of the city's services and functions associated with sustainability, climate change mitigation and resilience (adaptation), sustainable transport, waste management and green spaces. While the Bureau was to announce and publish its Climate Action Plan in April 2020 (to replace the previous Sustainable Development Actions Plans), due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic it was postponed by eight months. It was finally unveiled in December 2020 and is structured around 45 actions aimed at reducing Montreal's GHG emissions by -55% by 2030<sup>77</sup>. We will come to understand both the direct and indirect roles the MCC has played in the elaboration of this Climate Action Plan for Montreal.

After setting the backdrop of the case study with a brief overview of Montreal's history and municipal politics, we can now delve into the story of the Montreal Climate Coalition, from its emergence to its development and then ensuing consolidation.

<sup>76</sup> <https://montreal.ca/transition-ecologique>

<sup>77</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/the-city-of-montreal-unveils-its-climate-change-action-plan>

## 5.2.2 The Montreal Climate Coalition

*To live in the epoch of the Anthropocene is to force oneself to redefine the political task par excellence: what people are you forming, with what cosmology, and on what territory? One thing is certain: these actors who are making their stage debuts have never played roles in a plot so dense and as enigmatic as this one!* (Latour, 2017)

5.2.2.1 Genesis: From Avaaz Encounters to Municipal Public Consultations, and the emergence of the Montreal Climate Coalition: Two Years in the Making (2014-2015)

Table 7. Chronology of Key Empirical Events in 2014-2015

| Year: 2014 | Chain of Events  |
|------------|--|
| March      | Several citizens from Montreal meet on Avaaz.org   |
| September  | They create the group Climate Action Montreal and contribute in organizing a climate march   |
| December   | <b>At the time of the COP20</b> in Lima-Peru, they organize a teach-in symposium on climate change at McGill's Redpath Museum with the top local scientists from across Montreal's universities  |
| Year: 2015 | Chain of Events  |
| Winter     | They mobilize around the city's 'Right to Initiative' with the aim to push the city administration to hold a public consultation on urban climate change mitigation  |
| April-June | The City of Montreal accepts their demand and announces that it will hold a public consultation on <i>'The Reduction of Montreal's Dependence on Fossil Fuels'</i>   |
| September  | The 1 <sup>st</sup> phase of the public consultation is launched   |
| December   | <b>At the time of the COP21</b> Paris Agreement, and supported by a diversity of environmental groups, Climate Action Montreal publishes the report <i>Montreal 2042: Carbon-Neutral and Sustainable City, A Vision for the 400<sup>th</sup> Anniversary</i> ; establishing the 400 <sup>th</sup> anniversary vision and declaration for a carbon-neutral city of Montreal by 2042 |

In the spring of 2014, about twenty engaged citizens from Montreal connected on Avaaz, the 'campaigning community that brings people-powered politics to decision-making worldwide'<sup>78</sup>. These Montrealer's began to meet offline, thinking together about the kind of concrete climate mitigation actions that need to be undertaken to rapidly decarbonize urban areas, more specifically in the context of their city: Montreal.

By early fall of 2014, this small group of citizens rallied with other climate-concerned citizens and established a local Montreal-based climate group called Climate Action MTL (CAM)<sup>79</sup>. Supported by a coordinating committee of five people<sup>80</sup> and a Facebook page<sup>81</sup>, they co-organized a climate

<sup>78</sup> <https://secure.avaaz.org/page/en/>

<sup>79</sup> <http://actionclimatmtl.org/en/>

<sup>80</sup> <http://actionclimatmtl.org/a-propos/membres/>

<sup>81</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/ActionClimatMontreal/>

march<sup>82</sup> on September 21<sup>st</sup> 2014<sup>83</sup>; requesting ‘actions and not words’<sup>84</sup> from governments that were meeting in New York, for a climate summit<sup>85</sup> that had ‘catalyzing action’ as its slogan. The march was followed by a one day free-of-charge ‘teach-in symposium’ that the group organized on December 14<sup>th</sup> at McGill’s Redpath Museum; right at the time of the UN’s COP20 climate summit in Lima-Peru, and as Montreal was joining the 100 Resilient Cities Network<sup>86</sup> (for a while the only Canadian member)<sup>87</sup>.

*The reason why there is a WE is because of AVAAZ. AVAAZ was my entry point to the climate movement, and they, as an international advocacy organisation with a host of people on their mailing list, put Montrealer’s in touch with each other in June of 2014 to organize a March in September. Organized by 30 or 40 Montrealer’s, it went very well and we had this idea that ... if non of the other existing organizations stepped up to organize this march; it wouldn’t have happened and so there must be a capacity gap here. We have this huge international people’s climate march and non of the ‘quote on quote’ established organizations were interested really in stepping up to fill that space, they don’t have capacity to do it, so where else is there capacity lacking? - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

Entitled ‘Mitigating Climate Change: The Role of Science & Public Policy; Towards Paris and Beyond (Educate-Empower-Mobilize)’<sup>88</sup>, the symposium brought together citizens, activists and some of city’s leading climate researchers; namely Catherine Potvin, Dominic Champagne, Dominique Paquin, Shaun Lovejoy, and Normand Mousseau<sup>89</sup>. A key takeout of this first event was that

*overall capacities in coordinating uncoordinated actors at the city level were lacking; a capacity-gap that seemed uninteresting for already well-established environmental groups such as the David Suzuki Foundation, Greenpeace Canada and renowned Quebec non-profit Équiterre; and that non-established organizations were interested in filling.*<sup>90</sup> - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)

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<sup>82</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/events/682740258485558/?active\\_tab=discussion](https://www.facebook.com/events/682740258485558/?active_tab=discussion)  
[https://www.flickr.com/photos/wequick/sets/72157647540003089/?fbclid=IwAR21wd87ofISA-vGipbuqrscr7tSoAM\\_rxzyhn-Qnwpw2EX6PrCojVUT4oA](https://www.flickr.com/photos/wequick/sets/72157647540003089/?fbclid=IwAR21wd87ofISA-vGipbuqrscr7tSoAM_rxzyhn-Qnwpw2EX6PrCojVUT4oA)

<sup>83</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CDSg6TV0lhE&fbclid=IwAR2tSwt2yd0V13N4r4GEq1VHBKVAKoiSEUkL8FzKM1rSscZ-W-m0lJL3xQs>

<sup>84</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/events/682740258485558/>

<sup>85</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/blog/live/2014/sep/23/un-climate-change-summit-in-new-york-live-coverage>

<sup>86</sup> <http://www.100resilientcities.org/>

<sup>87</sup> <http://www.100resilientcities.org/>

<sup>88</sup> <http://actionclimatmtl.org/agenda/evenement/climate-change-science-policy/>

<sup>89</sup> See picture 1 in Annex 30.

<sup>90</sup> Matthew Chapman Interview.

Receiving media coverage from CBC's The National<sup>91</sup>, *'it was the first real event that confirmed the potential to have a voice in the 'city-scale' space'*<sup>92</sup>.

*So that lack (of climate capacity at the city level) led to the foundation of the coalition because we realized that there was a gap in this ecological landscape, and the gap was nobody's focusing on the city, on pushing the city's public policies... people have lofty demands like carbon neutrality by 2050 but they are focused at the provincial or federal level and they don't look at the nitty-gritty of what is happening on our streets.*<sup>93</sup> - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)

Early March 2015, and in partnership with some key environmental organizations such as the CRE-MTL<sup>94</sup>, Équiterre<sup>95</sup>, Justice Climatique Montréal<sup>96</sup>, and the Réseau Québécois pour la simplicité volontaire<sup>97</sup>; CAM hatched the city of Montreal's unique democratic tool, the Right to Initiative<sup>98</sup> that's part of the city's Charter of Rights and Responsibilities<sup>99</sup>. By gathering 15,000 signatures (in a period of 90 days) around a specific social issue, idea or concern, Montrealer's can force the city's administration to conduct public consultations on the matter, anything that they deem important to them and for the benefit of Montreal's population at large<sup>100</sup>. *'Unlike existing consultations that generally concern projects already under way, this tool gives all citizens the right to propose and submit for public discussion new propositions that represent the support of the community'*<sup>101</sup>. As such, the coalition began taking shape as a result of various local citizens and Montreal-based groups coalescing around the request to hold a public consultation on the *'concrete, ambitious and achievable initiatives that the city of Montreal's decision-makers are ready to undertake to reduce our dependence on fossil fuels by transitioning to renewable-clean energy, hence improving the health and well-being of present and future Montrealer's and becoming an international municipal model'*<sup>102</sup>. The petitioner's<sup>103</sup> goals were to:

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<sup>91</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/matty.c.14/posts/10162752222510357>

<sup>92</sup> Matthew Chapman Interview.

<sup>93</sup> Matthew Chapman Interview.

<sup>94</sup> <https://cremtl.org/>

<sup>95</sup> <http://equiterre.org/>

<sup>96</sup> <http://climatejusticemontreal.ca/home/>

<sup>97</sup> <http://simplicitevolontaire.org/>

<sup>98</sup> [http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?\\_pageid=6717,60353574&\\_dad=portal&\\_schema=PORTAL](http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=6717,60353574&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL)

<sup>99</sup> [http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?\\_pageid=3036,3377687&\\_dad=portal&\\_schema=PORTAL](http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=3036,3377687&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL)

<sup>100</sup> Annex 1 for more details taken from Coalition's 'Montréal vert 375 – Combating climate change at the municipal level' presentation made to various student groups in early spring 2015.

<sup>101</sup> [http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?\\_pageid=6717,60353574&\\_dad=portal&\\_schema=PORTAL](http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=6717,60353574&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL)

<sup>102</sup> Letter received from the city's registry service – dated March 20th, 2015.

<sup>103</sup> Annex 2 for list of petitioners.



- Give Montrealer's an opportunity to participate actively in their democracy by bringing an issue that matter to them to city hall.
- Provide an ambitious roadmap at the municipal level to avoid global warming beyond +2C and become a model that other cities envy.
- Become the greenest city in North America, recognized for the superior quality of life for its citizens.
- Give our elected officials the support they need to take ambitious action.
- Encourage an emphasis on energy transition and sustainable development at the core of the smart city strategy.
- Provide a platform for researchers to have their voices heard and their recommendations heeded.<sup>104</sup>

*The meeting with Dimitri (Roussopoulos) was seminal. It allowed us the tool to launch a conversation around decarbonization and alternatives to fossil fuel dependence; and the right to initiative is that tool enshrined in the Rights & Responsibilities of Montrealer's as part of the Montreal Charter. That was followed by a few months of getting a bunch of organizations together to say yes, we believe that there is value in having this conversation and holding a public consultation and inviting citizens to participate and contribute to what the future of our city will look like and how we're going to achieve carbon-neutrality; by what means, by what speed etc. and that, that is the genesis, and that was the first major project because prior to the consultation the two previous events were organized by Climate Action Montreal as we called ourselves [...] this is the real first time that it the Montreal Climate Coalition made an appearance. It was probably March 2015 when we had a whole bunch of organizations supporting on signing on that we need to ask for this public consultation. The first time ever that we called ourselves a coalition was a graphic of 50 in all organizations that were saying this consultation needs to happen, we need to have this conversation. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

In May 2015, at the time that Montreal joined the Compact of Mayors<sup>105 106</sup>, the then Mayor of Montreal Denis Coderre<sup>107</sup> announced that the City was going to mandate Montreal's public consultation office (the Office de Consultation Public de Montréal - OCPM)<sup>108</sup> to undertake the requested public consultation on *'The Reduction of Montreal's Dependence on Fossil Fuels'*<sup>109</sup>.

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<sup>104</sup> Taken from Coalition's 'Montréal vert 375 – Combating climate change at the municipal level' presentation made to various student groups in early spring 2015.

<sup>105</sup> <https://www.compactofmayors.org/>

<sup>106</sup> <https://www.climatechangenews.com/2015/04/10/live-in-seoul-sustainable-cities-world-congress-day-2/>

<sup>107</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Denis\\_Coderre](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Denis_Coderre)

<sup>108</sup> <http://ocpm.qc.ca/>

<sup>109</sup> <http://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P80/rapport-energies-fossiles.pdf>

*I salute the sensitivity and sense of initiative of the people who presented the petition project for a public consultation on fossil fuels. Given the importance of the subject and the will of our administration to do more for sustainable development and environmental protection, we ask the OCPM to hold a consultation this fall.*<sup>110</sup> (Denis Coderre, Montreal Mayor, June 30<sup>th</sup>, 2015)

As such, it was six months prior to what was to be the ‘historical’ COP21 Paris Climate Agreement, and in an apparently genuine concern for the issue at hand, that Montreal’s mayor quickly approved the consultation request; relieving the MCC from having to collect the required 15,000 signatures stipulated in the right to initiative regulation. At the time, this was well received by the petitioners, as illustrated in the co-signed letter they addressed to the mayor on the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 2015<sup>111</sup>.

Interestingly enough though, I later came to learn that the petitioners had also interpreted the mayor’s move as an attempt to undermine their mobilization around the issue; in the sense that he didn’t necessarily want groups of citizens going around raising awareness that it was in Montrealer’s best interests to demand the city administration to concretely engage itself in rapidly decarbonizing its emissions; given that this involved considerable political risks (as is currently being witnessed, with some experts and analysts already defining next years’ 2021 municipal elections as ‘the battle between the automobile and the bicycle’).

As such, it’s without the typically required 15,000 citizen signatures that the first phase of the public consultation was launched in the fall of 2015, just around the same time that Montreal Mayor Denis Coderre was elected president of Metropolis<sup>112</sup> and signed the Paris Agreement’s ‘Declaration of the Summit of Local Elected Representatives for Concrete Climate Commitments’<sup>113</sup>. These positive climate engagements from the city didn’t come without their load of questions, as illustrated by this internal document of the coalition addressing the city’s sustainability director at the time:

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<sup>110</sup> <https://www.newswire.ca/fr/news-releases/droit-dinitiative---consultation-publique---montreal-annonce-une-consultation-publique-pour-reduire-la-dependance-aux-energies-fossiles-518001191.html>

<sup>111</sup> See Annex 9 (translated from French).

<sup>112</sup> <http://international.brussels/2016/06/the-mayor-of-montreal-is-the-new-president-of-metropolis/?lang=en>

<sup>113</sup> <http://regions-climate.org/declaration/>

Réal Ménard  
Mardi 15 septembre, 2015

#### Questions for M. Ménard

- What are the major initiatives the city is currently undertaking to reduce its GHG emissions?
- What initiatives does the city plan to implement in the coming year?
- What are the expected reductions stemming from those initiatives?
- Are GHG emissions taken into consideration when approving major development projects?
- How much will public transit funding be increased considering the city's climate commitments?
- What actions is the city taking to ensure the growth in number of cars is stemmed?
- What are the expected increases in emissions from the 15-40 shopping complex and the Pierrefonds development?
- What new measures have been implemented as a result of the signing of the déclaration du sommet mondial Climat et Territoires?
- What about following the Global Compact of Mayors signing in South Korea?
- Will Montréal set new emissions targets given the dismal performance on those that were set
- Will the train to the airport include stations for STM passengers?
- Will there be a rail link on the Champlain bridge?
- Who holds the purse strings to the Fond Vert? Has the city had any success using it to pay for carbon reduction projects?
- What are your expectations of this public consultation?<sup>114</sup>

Lead by the OCPM<sup>115</sup> and dubbed 'GreenMTL - Empowering citizens to create an innovative and greener city'<sup>116</sup>, the first phase of the public consultation involved five months of activities to reinvent the city by 'Thinking Global-Acting Local'<sup>117</sup>. By the time the COP21 Paris Summit<sup>118</sup> came round, the MCC collaborated with the GRAME<sup>119</sup> and published a report entitled 'Montreal 2042: Carbon-Neutral and Sustainable City, A Vision for the 400<sup>th</sup> Anniversary'; presenting their vision of a Carbon-Neutral Montreal by 2042, for the city's 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Hence was born Montreal's first ever vision of a carbon-neutral city, right on time for the COP 21 Paris Agreement and as Justin Trudeau's became Canada's 23<sup>rd</sup> Prime Minister.

*The first thing that we coalesce around was the request for the consultation. The second thing that we coalesced around when we had, to some extent finished or almost finished writing our submissions to the consultation. The idea was to prepare the submissions over*

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<sup>114</sup> Internal MCC Document.

<sup>115</sup> <https://ocpm.qc.ca/>

<sup>116</sup> <http://mtlgreen.com/?fbclid=IwAR3qO2zSj0isf32iRxOUZqQC7t89BJPRgFHNz8cSBn0ePebeSgB9-jcwuyY>

<sup>117</sup> Email.

<sup>118</sup> <http://www.cop21paris.org/about/cop21>

<sup>119</sup> <https://www.grame.org/>

*the course of many months where you would have an architect bring all the architects that he knows in the Montreal building community and say what are our key priorities and then that architect drafted a brief that was submitted to the consultation [...] and then in roughly November, December 2015, almost lined up with COP21, those documents were in large part ready and the common demand of those documents was the carbon neutrality for the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary [...] The common demand shifted from let's have a conversation to, cool, we have taken seven-month to consult these various constituencies and we are all deciding to go to arrive at the public consultation with a common voice that common request is let's aim for the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of our city as a visionary target for our city. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

### 5.2.2.1.1 Theoretical Perspective (2014-2015)

Table 8. Sequence of carbon lock-in's, windows of opportunities and landscape events contrasted with key coalition activities and strategies

| Dynamic                           | Event  | Date       | Level         | Case Elements            |
|-----------------------------------|--|------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Super Wicked Problem              | Rising Global Emissions, global warming and the Climate Emergency  | -          | Landscape     | Carbon-Neutrality        |
| Window                            | Climate Summit New York  | 2014-09-01 | International | Carbon-Neutrality        |
| Window                            | COP 20 Lima  | 2014-12    | International | Annual COP Summit        |
| Window                            | Montreal joins resilient cities (Dec)  | 2014-12    | Municipal     | City of Montreal Actions |
| Window                            | Montreal joins Compact of Mayors on climate change (April)   | 2015-04    | Municipal     | City of Montreal Actions |
| Positive Outcome                  | City announces it will hold a public consultation  | 2015-06-01 | Municipal     | City of Montreal Actions |
| Window                            | First phase of the public consultation (Jan-March)   | 2015-09-01 | Municipal     | City of Montreal Actions |
| Window                            | Federal Elections  | 2015-10-20 | Federal       | Elections                |
| Window                            | Trudeau Elected and Conservatives ousted   | 2015-10-20 | Federal       | Elections                |
| Window                            | COP 21 Climate Summit in Paris   | 2015-12-01 | International | Annual COP Summit        |
| Window                            | Potential of the Paris Agreement to catalyze local action  | 2015-12-01 | International | Annual COP Summit        |
| Lock-In                           | Paris Agreement Non-Constraining   | 2015-12-01 | International | Annual COP Summit        |
| Window                            | Montreal Mayor Denis Coderre is elected president of Metropolis (Dec)  | 2015-12-01 | Municipal     | City of Montreal Actions |
| <b>Key Coalition Activities:</b>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creation of local group Climate Action Montreal (July)</li> <li>• Climate March (Sept)</li> <li>• Climate Science &amp; Policy 'Teach-In' Symposium McGill (Dec)</li> <li>• Mobilize 'Right to Initiative' (Jan 2015)</li> <li>• Co-Development of the 400<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Carbon-Neutrality Vision (Dec 2015)</li> </ul>  |            |               |                          |
| <b>Key Coalition Strategies :</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be very curious and try to get to the bottom of things</li> <li>• Move knowledge, be an integrator, a silo buster</li> <li>• Don't hesitate to create new local groups</li> <li>• Engage in direct acts of manifestation</li> <li>• Connect with local (climate) researchers and experts</li> <li>• Organize and participate in 'knowledge brokering' events and activities</li> <li>• Know your rights, start and participate in public consultations</li> </ul> |            |               |                          |

The story of the Montreal climate coalition can be said to have begun in 2015 when a global window of opportunity for urban climate change mitigation actions, decarbonization and carbon-neutrality, opened at the international level thanks to the historical COP21 Paris Agreement. A year prior to the Paris summit, the Montreal citizens (part of whom were some of the coalition's co-founders) that met on Avaaz.com and began mobilizing locally through the organisation of a climate march, as well as a science and policy teach-in symposium; can be said to have anticipated and responded proactively to the COP21 window of opportunity. In doing so, they are also seen as having capitalized on a local municipal window of opportunity, not in the form of a periodical international event, but rather in the form of Montreal's unique municipal democratic tool/mechanism called the Right to initiative<sup>120</sup>. By catalyzing a public consultation on how to reduce Montreal's dependence on fossil fuels and tackle the urban sustainability challenge of rapidly reducing GHG emissions and overall fossil fuel consumption, the coalition demonstrated very early on in its emergence that the tactic of launching public consultations was an important for what they aimed to achieve. More than this, we see that the Coalition is the very fruit of the public consultation process. In addition, the MCC also demonstrated early on two other key tactics and strategies it was going to go on and build throughout the successive years, taking direction action through marches and strikes (climate march) and organizing 'knowledge brokering' events (Science and Policy Symposium).

As such, it can be inferred that the global Paris window of opportunity (this 'post-2015 moment') translated in shaping a favorable climate context at the local municipal level in Montreal, as also illustrated by the city of Montreal joining at the time the network of resilient cities; and its mayor Denis Coderre joining the Compact of Mayors on Climate Change, participating in the global C40 network, and becoming president of Metropolis. These favorable conjunctures of events contributed to the mayor endorsing the coalition's demand for a public consultation, even going further than this by relieving the petitioners from having to gather the required 15,000 citizen endorsement signatures. The global winds of urban climate mitigation were blowing in the right direction and the coalition had to quickly open their sails, which they did as they rapidly coalesced with other key environmental (corporate) groups and, right on time for the COP21, published the results of the public consultation's first phase. A research-based roadmap manifesto entitled:

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<sup>120</sup> See Annex 10.

‘Montreal 2042: Carbon-Neutral and Sustainable City, A Vision for the 400<sup>th</sup>’. Setting the cornerstone of the nascent Montreal Climate Coalition<sup>121</sup>, this co-developed expert report established what can probably be considered as the first locally conceived carbon-neutrality vision and narrative for Montreal. It was to be the first of many successive independent research studies, reports, white papers and manifestos that the MCC would go on to co-develop, publish and diffuse over the years; thanks to the numerous climate ‘knowledge brokering’ events that it (co)organized and participated in throughout the years, and its dynamic network of citizens, researchers, experts, scientists and students. ‘Getting to the bottom of things’ in a scientific manner was, very early on, the cornerstone of the coalition’s approach in contributing to the emergence of a strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field in Montreal.

So while in 2015 we see the nascent coalition capitalizing on two windows of opportunities, one at the international level with the COP21 Paris Summit turned agreement, and another window at the local municipal level with the coalition’s activation of the ‘Right to initiative’; a third window also emerged, this time at the Federal level, with the ousting of Canada’s conservative (fossil-fuel supporter) Prime Minister Stephen Harper and his replacement by the young Liberal Justine Trudeau who vowed to make tackling the climate crisis a priority of his mandate. This said, and depending with whom one is talking, the election of Trudeau was seen by some not as a window of opportunity but rather as another type of carbon lock-in; given that the politics of Canada’s Liberal party is often criticized for talking nice words during election periods but not following through with actions afterwards. With Trudeau now serving a second term mandate, one can quiet easily see the validity of such a critique. From continuing to invest in pipelines and clashing with indigenous first nations, the Trudeau era can be seen simultaneously as a window of opportunity (compared to a more conservative government) or a lock-in (despite Trudeau’s promises, Canada hasn’t begun yet to reduce it’s carbon emissions) depending on one’s outlook of empirical events.

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<sup>121</sup> See Annex 11.

### 5.2.2.2 A Successful Consultation & Researching the REM for the BAPE (2016)

Table 9. Chronology of Empirical Events in 2016

| Year: 2016    | Chain of Events   |
|---------------|---|
| Jan-March     | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Phase of the Public Consultation  |
| March         | Holding Their Feet to the Fire (UQAM and University of Concordia Meetings)  |
| April         | REM project is announced within an emerging hype around public transport  |
|               | Trudeau signs Paris Agreement on Earth Day  |
| May           | Imagine Lachine-Est is created  |
| June          | The OCPM publishes the consultations' 15 recommendations, and the Montreal Climate Coalition launches its 3.0 Carbon-Neutrality Declaration; integrating 4 overarching policy guidelines distilled from the public consultation's results |
|               | First research report and newspaper articles are rapidly published highlighting issues with the REM   |
| July          | The REM project begins and Sauvons La Falaise (Green Coalition) joins the MCC in opposing it  |
| Summer & Fall | Research studies on the impacts of the REM are conducted and presented at three related public consultations  |
| September     | Federal Public Consultation on Climate Change (Marc Garneau)  |
| Fall          | On the ground, mobilization begins (starting with Technoparc), Transparence is created and the projected is debated at the provincial parliament  |
| November      | Donald Trump gets elected as the 43 <sup>rd</sup> U.S. President  |
| December      | Political opposition to the REM intensifies while the BAPE consultations are held   |
|               | Pierrefonds and Royalmount development projects are red flagged   |
|               | <b>At the time of COP 22</b> , Mayor Coderre attends C40 in Mexico and Montreal joins the network   |
|               | The MCC looks ahead to next year's municipal elections  |

After catalyzing the public consultation's first phase, the coalition's second challenge was to set the tone, lead and facilitate the second phase of the consultation by mobilizing the participation of as wide and diverse a public as possible. Taking off early 2016, it involved forty-eight events, sixty-five creative project marathons, numerous public audiences and, for the first time in the history of Montreal's public consultations; online consultations that gathered around five thousand interventions<sup>122</sup>. All in all, it was more than three thousand five hundred citizens and sixty civil society organizations, across more than thirty-two sectors and Montreal-based communities, who participated in the public consultation<sup>123</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> <http://ocpm.qc.ca/fr/energies-fossiles>

<sup>123</sup> See Annex 12.

Dubbed the city's most successful public consultation to date, a key success factor was the Coalition's group of thirty-six ambassadors<sup>124</sup>, representing thirty-six different Montreal-based sectors and communities, who researched, wrote, submitted and presented ninety-two research briefs, while simultaneously rallying their respective communities and sectors behind the numerous recommendations and demands that were being put forth<sup>125</sup>. The coalition's core group led what became a cross-sectorial and multi-disciplinary research and knowledge co-production initiative that began to sketch out the contours of a carbon-neutral vision for Montreal, and the diverse means by which to achieve it.

*What I find amazing about the coalition is the very diverse base. I have learned a lot of things. It represents Montreal well for its diversity. - France Levert (Coalition Coordinating Committee, representing the Réseau des femmes en environnement)*

By the end of March 2016, and with the two phases of the public consultation (six months all in all: October 2015 to March 2016) having come to an end, about ten people from the MCC met at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)<sup>126</sup> in anticipation of the OCPM's final consultation report, which was in the process of being published; with the discussions revolving around two main points: First, that the newly established MCC and its vision of a carbon-neutral Montreal by 2042 (year of the city's 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary) was going to require a permanent group to organize and lead the necessary work towards this goal; and secondly, that this inevitably involved following up with the city's administration on the implementation of the consultation's upcoming recommendations; 'holding elected officials feet to the fire' so to speak.

*The coalition needs to show its added value, its huge network that needs to be maintained and expanded. It must improve its added value. With the public consultation that took place, there was an approach that already had its added value. People were working together, the 400<sup>th</sup> declaration. The other added value is making choices, deciding to push the city in this direction. An added value is being present, requesting meetings with elected officials. To say that the coalition is there, to continue to be there and to maintain some pressure. Our members make projects, its knowledge sharing, and we will help them achieve their projects. This is another added value. It can bring people together to work together on the same project. - France Levert (Coalition Coordinating Committee, representing the Réseau des femmes en environnement)*

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<sup>124</sup> See picture 5 in Annex 30.

<sup>125</sup> See Annex 13.

<sup>126</sup> See picture 7 in Annex 30.



*I think it's the determination, motivation of some members. These people also already have a very large network. They participated in a lot of groups. Credibility is important. People are involved in this out of a sense of necessity. They know we're going into a disaster. The urgency is real. It is the survival of life on Earth. People need to be aware of the gravity of the situation and members need to have that vision too. - Jean-François Boisvert (Co-founder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

This first internal ‘post-consultation’ meeting of the coalition was followed a month later with a wider citizen forum at the University of Concordia<sup>127</sup>, rallying a larger group of the Coalition’s members and sympathizers behind the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary declaration: ‘*Making Montreal a carbon-neutral city<sup>128</sup> while improving the quality of life of all its citizens and inspiring other cities to implement their own solutions to achieve this goal<sup>129</sup>*’. At the forum, the participants discussed establishing administrative working groups and research teams on various cross-sectorial and multi-disciplinary themes linked to the urban carbon-neutrality question; from public and active transport to the built environment, consumption, industry and economy, circular economy, energy and governance (to name a few).

*If groups already exist, we have to work with them rather than starting over because it takes a long time. And time is running out. We should see it as a federation. There is a plurality of interest groups, and you have to try to get everyone on board. At the same time, if you open the notebook, everyone will come up with their requests and it would become impossible to do everything. You can't solve all the problems, that's a challenge. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

Not yet a legally established organization, the Montreal Climate Coalition began planning for its first annual assembly as it looked to consolidate what it had acquired during the public consultation process, in terms of both knowledge and network. It’s at this moment that Quebec’s government announced what was going to become a decisive factor in the coalition’s activities: the Réseau Électrique Métropolitain (REM) skytrain project<sup>130</sup>. The coincidentally simultaneous birth of the MCC and the REM project was to have a decisive impact on the coalition’s emergence and development as a local citizen-led non-profit climate organization, at the time when Canada’s

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<sup>127</sup> See picture 8 in Annex 30.

<sup>128</sup> Reduction by 2042 of at least 80% of GHG emissions compared to 1990, based on objective 2 of the GHG protocol.

<sup>129</sup> Event Agenda.

<sup>130</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/777439/caisse-depot-systeme-leger-rails-montreal>

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and world leaders were signing the Paris Agreement in New York<sup>131</sup> on Earth Day<sup>132</sup>.

While the OCPM initially announced that it would release its final consultation report sometime around the end of April (2016), it did so about a month and a half later, on June 16<sup>th</sup>; publishing fifteen key strategic recommendations that, according to them, had emerged from civil society's public consultation propositions to reduce Montreal's dependence on fossil-fuels<sup>133</sup>. Receiving considerable media coverage in the printed press<sup>134</sup>, the announcement was made on the very same day that the Coalition held its first annual assembly.

Consulting with its membership, specifically the local climate scientists with whom they had organized the teach-in at McGill back in December 2015, the coalition analyzed the OCPM's final report and distilled from it four overarching carbon-neutrality policy and governance orientations (not specific policy prescriptions) that had been (explicitly or implicitly) proposed during the public consultations; but that seemed to have been left out from the OCPM's final report or that need explicit emphasis. These were:

- 1) Establishing a Carbon Budget for Montreal
- 2) Conducting Annual GHG Emission Inventories
- 3) Conducting Climate Tests for all urban development and infrastructure projects
- 4) Adopting a participative democracy-based approach for concrete collective climate actions and mass mobilization of citizens and key stakeholders.

*The 4 pillars are a deepened understanding derived from the Coalition members, the ambassadors, and the results of the consultation. Looking at the results of the consultation, the researchers that were the most deeply involved in climate research, Jean-François Lefebvre, Luc Gagnon, Karine Peloffi, Sandrine Keré, Normand Mousseau, Pierre-Olivier Pineau to a certain extent, these researchers helped us understand that the recommendations from the consultation were very specific policy area recommendations but not governance recommendations, they weren't foundational to the operations of the city and it's difficult to arrive at the city with a laundry list of 15 or 100 recommendations [...] There were fifteen recommendations that came out of the consultation and what we said was ok, how do we take these*

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<sup>131</sup> <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/paris-agreement-trudeau-sign-1.3547822>

<sup>132</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earth\\_Day](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earth_Day)

<sup>133</sup> <http://ocpm.qc.ca/sites/ocpm.qc.ca/files/pdf/P80/rapport-energies-fossiles.pdf>

<sup>134</sup> <https://www.ledevoir.com/politique/montreal/473576/des-citoyens-montrealais-exigent-un-virage-vert>

*recommendations, distill them into their essence so that we can push a handfull of things that will impact everything if they are done well, and importantly, pieces of governance that are consensual? like nobody including the official opposition at the city hall right now is opposed to a carbon budget to my knowledge, I haven't heard of any conversation against that policy [...] So that's where we landed with the help of those researchers, and so we went from the 400<sup>th</sup> declaration at the end of the consultation's first phase (december 2015) to 400<sup>th</sup> + governance is important (at the end of consultation once the report was published). - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*Beyond the governance, if we were going to extend that list of recommendations longer, then we would basically just copy/paste the 15 recommendations that the OCPM made because we think they made a great job, but key elements of governance were not raised significantly in the consultation and that became evident both in the report of the consultation and the response that the city had to that report. The city was able to respond in very non-committal ways (the Coderre administration), so they were like "Ok, yeah...yeah...we'll look into that", such and such a person is going to do such and such a thing, and it was easy for them to "balayer" (put under the rug) the recommendations without taking meaningful action and for a whole bunch of reasons; and the objective of the governance pieces were to offer them a clear; yes or no do we have a carbon budget? Yes or no are we passing decisions through a climate test? Yes or no are we publishing inventories annually that are detailed and that allow us to make decisions based on those numbers? Are we engaging the population in new and innovative ways? - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

At the coalition's first annual assembly<sup>135</sup>, as discussions revolved around Montreal's need of a local carbon budget, annual GHG inventories, climate tests on all major urban infrastructure projects and the key role of participative democracy for mass mobilization; participants began to and work on the kind of 'Road Map' that it was going to take for Montreal to deeply decarbonize and begin transitioning to carbon-neutrality; as well as looking into how the OCPM's recommendations were going to fit within the city's then upcoming 2016-2020 Sustainability Plan that was in the process of elaboration at the time<sup>136</sup>.

*If we take each of the elements of the declaration on the one hand, should there be other things? Beyond the 4 elements there. It may be an exercise to do. I did not participate in the discussions and sometimes I wonder about the elements selected, why these ones specifically? They have a vision of an ideal world. It's super interesting, how we see the transition. But on the other hand, there is so much. I don't know how we're going to be able to take it all. What else can the coalition bring? You have to compare yourself to other countries, internationally. It's research work. To come up with new proposals,*

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<sup>135</sup> See picture 9 in Annex 30.

<sup>136</sup> See Annex 14.

*what is being done elsewhere? This said, the 4 overarching declaration pillars are in place and we must move them forward.* - France Levert (Coalition Coordinating Committee, representing the Réseau des femmes en environnement)

Importantly as well, the recently established coordinating committee invited all members, sympathizers and participants to join them in attending the monthly municipal council meetings at city hall to ask questions to elected officials and engage with them directly. In doing so, the coalitions' core group was capitalizing on yet another unique governance mechanism (over and above the 'right to initiative' that has catalyzed the public consultation) that Montrealers have at their disposal to practice democracy at the city level; that of being able to attend municipal council meetings and directly ask questions to elected officials, both at the level of Montreal's city hall (central administration) or at the city's borough levels. This was to prove to be one of the coalition's key tactics and strategy in the subsequent years. An exhaustive summary and overview of all of the coalition's participations in Montreal's monthly municipal council meetings is provided in annex 28.

Finally, this first annual assembly was a good opportunity for one of the Coalition's founding members to also present another newly established local citizen-led group that he was co-founding at the neighborhood level; Imagine Lachine-Est<sup>137</sup>. A non-profit organization whose mission is to rally citizens and experts around imagining a carbon-neutral redevelopment of the historical industrial zone in the Lachine-East district of Montreal. This group quickly became one of the coalition's key allies at the neighborhood/borough level and was to play a key role in the Coalition's activities throughout the successive years.

As mentioned earlier, we can not begin to understand the MCC case study without grasping the unfolding over the years of the Coalition's opposition to the REM project (Réseau Express Métropolitain). Announced in April 2016, right at the same time as the end of the public consultation on reducing Montreal's dependence on fossil fuels and the emergence of Montreal Climate Coalition; the REM emerged within a growing hype for public transport investments, both at the local and global levels. The project is a 67 KM 'Light Rail System' (Sky Train) that aims to link downtown Montreal with the Pierre-Elliott Trudeau International Airport and the greater Montreal metropolitan, for an estimated cost of over 6.3 billion (CAD). It's one of the largest automated network projects in the world, and Quebec's most important public transport

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<sup>137</sup> <https://imagineLachineest.org/%C3%A0-propos>

infrastructure project since Montreal's inauguration of its metro (subway) network in 1966. Mandated by the government of Quebec, CDPQ-infra<sup>138</sup> (the infrastructure investment subsidiary of CDPQ-Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec<sup>139</sup>, Quebec's biggest pension fund) is responsible for planning, financing, executing and operating the REM.

At the end of June 2016, right after the Coalition's first assembly, the OCPM's consultation report, and two months after the REM project was announced within the favorable international 'post-COP21' climate context and a growing hype around (urban) public transport projects; one of the province's leading daily newspaper (La Presse) published an article entitled: *'The REM's Cascade of Errors'*<sup>140</sup>. Written by a transport scholar, expert and member of the Coalition, the analysis pointed to fifteen different elements that portrayed the REM as a highly problematic mega urban infrastructure project, especially under the lens of climate mitigation and carbon-neutrality. In annex 15 are the 15 'cascades of error' that were put forward.

The Coalition didn't waste any time in conducting further research studies<sup>141</sup> on the project in order to (amongst other things) participate and present in three different public consultations that were planned across the three different levels of government (federal, provincial and municipal); and that had the potential to (in)directly influence the outcome of the REM, at least how the project was going to advance or not. Two public consultations were at the municipal level, one on transport (proposing public transport projects that meet the needs of citizens living in the West<sup>142</sup>) and another on the built environment<sup>143</sup> (establishing construction codes that respond adequately to the imperative for a rapid decarbonisation); along with a federal consultation on the Environmental Evaluation Reform<sup>144</sup> (demanding that climate/carbon tests be conducted for all new (major) infrastructure projects in Canada); and most importantly, Quebec's provincial BAPE<sup>145</sup> consultation on the REM that was planned for the end of the year 2016.

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<sup>138</sup> <https://www.cdpq.com/en/investments/infrastructure>

<sup>139</sup> <https://www.cdpq.com/en/about-us/history>

<sup>140</sup> <https://www.lapresse.ca/debats/votre-opinion/201606/20/01-4993767-la-cascade-derreurs-du-rem.php#>

<sup>141</sup> <https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/idees/478588/train-electrique-les-vrais-couts-du-rem>

<sup>142</sup> [https://www.thesuburban.com/news/west\\_island\\_news/public-consultation-on-wi-transport-nov/article\\_5fb4f28d-87a9-585a-b57b-99d1512f4754.html](https://www.thesuburban.com/news/west_island_news/public-consultation-on-wi-transport-nov/article_5fb4f28d-87a9-585a-b57b-99d1512f4754.html)

<sup>143</sup> [http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/COMMISSIONS\\_PERM\\_V2\\_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/D\\_OCCONSULT\\_20161006.PDF](http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/COMMISSIONS_PERM_V2_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/D_OCCONSULT_20161006.PDF)

<sup>144</sup> <https://www.canada.ca/en/environment-climate-change/services/canadian-environmental-protection-act-registry/review.html>

<sup>145</sup> <http://archives.bape.gouv.qc.ca/sections/english/>

Whereas from the standpoint of the Coalition's coordinating committee their concerns revolved specifically around the (lack of) impacts the project would have on the reduction of GHG emissions<sup>146 147</sup> (based on the key carbon-neutrality arguments that the project contributed to urban sprawl and automobile usages); several Coalition member groups such as Sauvons La Falaise, Sauvons l'Anse-à-l'Orme, Les Amis du parc Meadowbrook and Technopark (all part of the West Island's Green Coalition<sup>148</sup>) began to meet and discuss other potential impacts that the REM would have, especially on urban green spaces and public transport services in the west part of Montreal around the REM's pre-established route.

*Plus, we don't think that it's going to do anything to solve congestion (the REM), because it's up. And the cars are down here. So, cars can just keep on driving. You can just keep on driving. There're going to be fewer cars. They're going to love it. It's not going to ... And more will come. And also, it encourages urban sprawl. The REM makes suburbia more viable, because now you can live in Saint Hubert or Longueuil, not a long way. Saint Hubert, Brossard, Chambly, and eventually the other cities too, Mirabel. You'll be able to live there, have your car and take the train into Montréal as well. That's going to make the suburbs even more attractive, because they get to have rapid transit into Montreal, and they get to keep their car. They don't have to give it up. They can still drive on the weekend and drive within the suburbs. So, it's going to maybe eliminate some commuter traffic, but it's not going to really do that much as far as driving is concerned. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*I mean, the cement that's needed for the tunnel and for the big elevated guiding ... It's enormous, 900,000 tons of cement. It's really bad for greenhouse gases. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*A lot of the people who were very concerned about these other things were also concerned about the REM. If you were concerned about potential development of L'Anse-à-l'Orme, you should be very worried about the REM because the REM is designed as a real estate project. It has in mind building on empty spaces, which means developing green spaces. That's what it's designed to do. It's not a transportation project. First and foremost, it is a development investment opportunity for the Caisse. That's what it's for, and they have the right to sell the damn thing to somebody else. They have guaranteed revenues from our taxes. They have lied, cheated, and stolen in my view in order to get there with the complicity of the City of Montreal, to a great degree, or in this current iteration with this current administration, an unwillingness to go against them. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

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<sup>146</sup> See Annex 16.

<sup>147</sup> [http://plus.lapresse.ca/screens/a08723a1-4873-4040-af94-72f6b31e14c7%7C\\_0.html](http://plus.lapresse.ca/screens/a08723a1-4873-4040-af94-72f6b31e14c7%7C_0.html)

<sup>148</sup> [https://greencoalitionverte.ca/?fbclid=IwAR3dSR4COHdNmRAYTnCijmEo6OM00-IbzKGXKIJ\\_LeAfTe10UZPq7KfntRo](https://greencoalitionverte.ca/?fbclid=IwAR3dSR4COHdNmRAYTnCijmEo6OM00-IbzKGXKIJ_LeAfTe10UZPq7KfntRo)

*The REM, I got involved because of the environmental aspect of the REM. I'm interested in all the rest and willing to help with all the rest. But my particular interest is in the environmental aspects of it, number one. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

One of their key concern was the destruction of the Technoparc wetlands that the REM, as well as another construction development project, were going to create. By presenting their research studies and analysis of the REM's impacts on GHG emissions, green spaces and transport services at a diversity of public consultations spanning multiple governance scales (federal, provincial and municipal levels) and socio-technical and socio-ecological systems (transport, green spaces and the built environment); the MCC and some of its member allies began to pull together all their weight to stop the project and redirect investments within Montreal's public transport system<sup>149</sup>. Together (mainly the MCC and one of its key members, the West Island's Green Coalition), they established yet another local citizen-led group; which, rather than focusing on a specific territory (as did Imagine Lachine-Est), focused primarily on stopping the REM. Hence was established the local citizen group and key MCC ally, Trainsparence, *'a coalition involving experts and citizens engaged in promoting transparency, good governance and sustainable development in projects of infrastructures and territorial development'*<sup>150</sup>.

*He (Coalition president Matthew Chapman) guessed that I was interested in trains. And he said, "Well, there's going to be an awful train here. Do you want to work on it?" And he told me about John, Simon and Lisa Mintz. And how they had started this group called Trainsparence. And I started going to their meeting and it was a natural for me. I really liked it. And I was very, sort of, familiar within those kinds of issues. Transportation is a hard issue because it's a very steep learning curve. So, a lot of information, a lot of facts you need to know. And it combines technology, it combines geography, it combines economics. It's a really tricky issue. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*I got involved in trainsparence because I asked a question about the REM project to the mayor of Montreal, Denis Coderre. The reductions in greenhouse gases were microscopic. And I asked him how was it so? There I challenged him, and I saw that he didn't really have the answer. After that, the people from Trainsparence heard my question and came to see me and offered me to join them (...) I was hesitant, but I said yes, and I quickly found out that REM was bad. I discovered a lot more about why there weren't enough GHG reductions. It brought with it real estate projects that would be added to all of this. There were other alternatives. Two important personalities in*

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<sup>149</sup> See Annex 16.

<sup>150</sup> [http://trainsparence.ca/?fbclid=IwAR24XxhprfLaNxs4p\\_as6D60XsJ\\_OmZbCqiAMS1-G9JgC4SjcB\\_qPASiA](http://trainsparence.ca/?fbclid=IwAR24XxhprfLaNxs4p_as6D60XsJ_OmZbCqiAMS1-G9JgC4SjcB_qPASiA)

*Transparence, Jean-François Lefevre and Luc Gagnon, they could explain to me why it was so much better to run tramways inside neighborhoods. There were no concrete pourings. The REM project is only a financial one, little to do with Montrealers. - Florian Stone<sup>151</sup> (Transparence)*

*We're a citizen's group. We're not an NGO. We aren't getting paid. We're doing this on our own time. We're a bunch of volunteers. Many of us are retired but we're educated, we're smart, and we're stubborn. - Laurel Thompson (Transparence)*

Table 10. Studies and articles published around that time on the impacts of the REM (Spring-Summer 2016)

|            |  |   |
|------------|--|---|
| 20-juin-16 | La cascade d'erreurs du REM                                | <a href="https://www.lapresse.ca/debats/votre-opinion/201606/20/01-4993767-la-cascade-derreurs-du-rem.php">https://www.lapresse.ca/debats/votre-opinion/201606/20/01-4993767-la-cascade-derreurs-du-rem.php</a>                                   |
| 25-juin-16 | Place au Grand Virage                                      | <a href="https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/idees/474185/place-au-grand-virage">https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/idees/474185/place-au-grand-virage</a>   |
| 15-août-16 | Prendre le train de l'étalement urbain                     | <a href="https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/idees/477725/prendre-le-train-de-l-etatement-urbain">https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/idees/477725/prendre-le-train-de-l-etatement-urbain</a>   |
| 26-août-16 | Les vrais coûts du REM                                     | <a href="https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/idees/478588/train-electrique-les-vrais-couts-du-rem">https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/idees/478588/train-electrique-les-vrais-couts-du-rem</a>   |
| 15-sept-16 | Transparence is created                                    |   |
| 11-dec-16  | Montreal's electric train project not as green as it seems | <a href="https://montrealgazette.com/opinion/columnists/opinion-montreals-electric-train-project-not-as-green-as-it-seems/">https://montrealgazette.com/opinion/columnists/opinion-montreals-electric-train-project-not-as-green-as-it-seems/</a> |

With a considerable part of Montreal's environmental movement now very much concerned with the project's impacts and mobilizing voices and expertise to amplify the issues in the media and across the grand public, more established environmental organisations such as Équiterre, Vivre en Ville, RNCREQ and the David Suzuki Foundation (that were part of the original member organisations of the coalition that had coalesced around the public consultation and the vision for achieving carbon-neutral by the city's 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2042 ) regarded the REM in a more favorable light and supported the project under certain conditions<sup>152</sup>. This created a challenging situation for the coalition: As Coalition members were being asked if whether or not they would endorse the Coalition's 400<sup>th</sup> + Governance Carbon-Neutrality Declaration that now included the four overarching policy and governance orientations<sup>153</sup> that had been distilled from the results of the public consultation with the help of local Montreal-based climate scientists; these same

<sup>151</sup> Pseudonym is used here, in accordance with confidentiality terms.

<sup>152</sup> [https://vivreenville.org/media/493969/venv-equiterre-rncreq\\_2016\\_rem-bape\\_memoire\\_final.pdf](https://vivreenville.org/media/493969/venv-equiterre-rncreq_2016_rem-bape_memoire_final.pdf)

<sup>153</sup> Carbon budget, annual GHG inventories, climate test and participative democracy.



coalition members were also being asked to take position on whether or not they supported the REM. A project which, in light of the coalition's four overarching orientations, seemed to go against the goals of deep and rapid decarbonisation. The decision to endorse the REM or not was the Coalition's first real test to demonstrate if they would 'walk the talk' and follow through on their commitment to make Montreal a carbon-neutral city by its 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary (2042) and that they were advocating for the city to adopt. By early fall 2016, the coalition had participated in the federal government's public consultation on climate change<sup>154</sup>, linked up with Marc Garneau, head of Canada's transport ministry in order to attempt to steer away the REM project and redirect Federal investments in Montreal's transport system and infrastructure.

*I'm not personally involved at the provincial, but I am at the Federal. It's intentional, we participate to the extent that we are able in advocating for municipal solutions, so the empowerment of municipalities and the empowerment of citizens as an extension of that in making decisions; the idea being that the more people you have involved, the more resilient the decision is politically, and probably the better the decision is policy wise because you have a whole bunch of heads around the table. What's needed to make sure that that process doesn't drag on forever and get really unwieldy is clear rules around policy making when it's participatory, so how that plays out at the Federal level I can speak to....we are a member of the Can-Rac City's Caucus, about 30 organisations that discusses what should we be amongst other things, what should we be asking the Federal government collectively, and this opens policy windows for the municipality to act. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

With the BAPE's provincial public consultations on the REM nearing up; signs of deep disagreements about the project began to manifest themselves within the environmental movement, between the more established and renowned 'corporate' environmental groups such as the Davis Suzuki Foundation and Équiterre and less known 'citizen-led' environmental groups (the MCC). Also, opposition parties in Quebec's provincial government began to debate the project in parliamentary sessions<sup>155</sup>, with Valérie Plante (newly elected head of Projet MTL, the opposition party at the municipal level) writing an official letter to Canada's prime minister Justin Trudeau expressing her deep concerns with the project<sup>156</sup>.

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<sup>154</sup> <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-climate-change-consultation-1.3674952>

<sup>155</sup> <https://www.ledevoir.com/politique/quebec/489804/rem-quebec-solidaire-veut-que-le-projet-soit-mis-de-cote>

<sup>156</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/projet-montreal-leader-valerie-plantte-writes-to-justin-trudeau-over-gaps-in-rem-plan/>

At the time of the COP22 in Marrakesh-Morocco at the end of 2016, and while Montreal's mayor Denis Coderre's participated in the C40 meeting in Mexico, with Montreal joining this international network of cities taking bold climate actions to a more sustainable future<sup>157</sup>; the coalition's industry and economy research group organized the 2016 'CAP sur la COP22' conference<sup>158</sup> in partnership with HEC Montreal's Chair de gestion du secteur de l'énergie<sup>159</sup>, as one of the research group's members attended the COP in person and reported back to the event participants in Montreal. Below is a telling excerpt of her de-brief report.

*Let there be no mistake. If bottom-up local initiatives must be encouraged, nothing will be done without putting in place integrated, ambitious and structured public policies. These have a major role to play in this paradigm shift in the service of renewable energies, energy transition and climate entrepreneurship. Adopting a unifying political framework around a circular and low-carbon economy is above all to ensure that environmental challenges are met, while providing society with the tools essential for its resilience and creativity. It's to encourage the creation of jobs while reducing business spending and greenhouse gas emissions. What better way to encourage the new generation to commit and act concretely than to propose a unifying societal project which responds to their thirst for entrepreneurship, their concern for the environment and the climate; while giving them hope?<sup>160</sup>*

By the end of the year, and with their REM study briefs submitted to the BAPE consultation, the coalition's coordinating committee and member organizations (especially those opposed to the REM) ended a busy first year of activities with four key strategies planned for 2017:

1. Engaging further with the city's municipal elected officials (especially as there wasn't any clear next steps from the city regarding the implementation of the recommendations that emerged from the public consultation)
2. Rallying coalition members and increasing its membership, as well as its diversity.
3. Developing urban sustainability and climate studies and reports, with a focus on benchmarking against other cities around the world were doing or were planning to do.
4. Organizing 'knowledge brokering' events. After all, they had to get ready for the 2017 municipal elections that were now eleven months away.

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<sup>157</sup> <https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/mayor-of-montreals-mission-to-mexico---montreal-joins-c40-the-network-of-forward-thinking-cities-leading-a-fight-against-climate-change-604340606.html>

<sup>158</sup> <https://www.hec.ca/nouvelles/2016/etudiants-diplomes-HEC-Montreal-mettent-les-jeunes-au-coeur-discussions-internationales.html>

<sup>159</sup> <https://energie.hec.ca/activites/colloque-cap-sur-la-cop22/>

<sup>160</sup> Internal document (article) : Entre « temporisation » et « irréversibilité », une COP 22 placée sous le signe de la transition. Quelles voies pour une action climatique renouvelée? By Morgane Lassaux.

5.2.2.2.1 *Theoretical Perspective (2016)*

Table 11. Sequence of carbon lock-in's, windows of opportunities and landscape events contrasted with key coalition activities and strategies

| Type                              | Event   | Date       | Regime Level  | Sub-Case                 |
|-----------------------------------|---|------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Landscape                         | Rising emissions, global warming and climate change   | -          | Landscape     | Carbon-Neutrality        |
| Window                            | Second phase of the public consultation   | 2016-01-01 | Municipal     | City of Montreal Actions |
| Lock-In                           | Quebec government announces the REM project   | 2016-04-01 | Provincial    | REM                      |
| Window/Lock-In                    | Trudeau signs Paris agreement in New York on Earth Day (April)  | 2016-04-01 | Federal       | Carbon-Neutrality        |
| Window/Lock-In                    | Denis Coderre participates in Climate Action conference in Washington (May)   | 2016-05-01 | Municipal     | City of Montreal Actions |
| Window/Lock-In                    | Federal Climate Actions Public Consultation (May)   | 2016-05-01 | Federal       | Carbon-Neutrality        |
| Window                            | Emerging public transport investment hype   | 2016-06-01 | International | REM                      |
| WIN                               | OCPM Report   | 2016-06-16 | Municipal     | City of Montreal Actions |
| Window/Lock-In                    | New urban sustainability objectives in the 2016-2020 sustainability plan  | 2016-06-16 | Municipal     | City of Montreal Actions |
| Lock-In                           | Technoparc development  | 2016-09-01 | Municipal     | Greenspaces              |
| Lock-In                           | No clear next steps from city administration regarding OCPM's recommendations   | 2016-10-01 | Municipal     | City of Montreal Actions |
| Lock-In                           | Donald Trump gets elected as the 43 <sup>rd</sup> U.S. President  | 2016-11-08 | International | Elections                |
| Window/Lock-In                    | COP 22 Marrakech  | 2016-12-01 | International | Carbon-Neutrality        |
| Window/Lock-In                    | Montreal joins C40  | 2016-12-01 | Municipal     | Carbon-Neutrality        |
| Window                            | Creation of Trainsparence   | 2016-12-01 | Municipal     | REM                      |
| Window                            | BAPE consultations on the REM   | 2016-12-01 | Provincial    | REM                      |
| Lock-In                           | Environmental movement is divided   | 2016-12-31 | Municipal     | Carbon-Neutrality        |
| <b>Key Coalition Activities :</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Post-consultation strategic meeting (March)</li> <li>• 3<sup>rd</sup> citizen forum (April)</li> <li>• Imagine Lachine-Est is established (May)</li> <li>• Annual General Assembly (June)</li> <li>• Rapidly analyse the REM, publish newspaper articles and begin developing an alternative project (June)</li> <li>• Trainsparence is established (September)</li> <li>• Co-organise CAP DD 22 event (Dec)</li> <li>• Submit consultation briefs, including the BAPE</li> <li>• REM opinion piece in the gazette (Dec)</li> </ul>  |            |               |                          |
| <b>Key Coalition Strategies :</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be very curious and try to get to the bottom of things</li> <li>• Move knowledge, be an integrator, a silo buster</li> <li>• Don't hesitate to create new local groups and working groups</li> <li>• Connect with local (climate) researchers and experts</li> <li>• Organize and participate in 'knowledge brokering' events and activities</li> <li>• Know your rights, start and participate in public consultations</li> <li>• Develop and diffuse studies and reports</li> <li>• Write newspaper articles and op-eds</li> </ul> |            |               |                          |

Up until April 2016, when the Paris Agreement was being officially ratified/signed, and during the entire winter of that year when the second phase (main part) of the public consultation was taking place; the ‘Post-COP21’ international window of opportunity was wide open and very well capitalized upon by the coalition as they enabled the public consultation to be the most successful in Montreal’s history, both in terms of number of participants, the diversity of Montreal communities represented, the number of briefs that were deposited; as well as the endorsement it received from Montrealers in general. In retrospect, it becomes somehow evident that going through the experience of leading and facilitating the public consultation was key in building the young coalition’s capacities to organize ‘knowledge brokering’ events and collectively co-develop and disseminate locally relevant urban climate mitigation and carbon-neutrality knowledge for policy and action in the context of their city, Montreal.

In June 2016, while the Paris momentum was still very much alive as reflected at the time with Canada’s nation-wide federal public consultation on Climate Change Action, the first main ‘critical turning point’ in the case occurred when two important events occurred simultaneously. As the Coalition celebrated its first annual general assembly, Quebec’s liberal government announced its public-private-partnership (PPP) public transport project for Montreal: The REM light rail electric skytrain. At a time when the coalition was beginning to establish itself after a successful public consultation that it had catalyzed and facilitate (hence successfully capitalizing on the Paris agreement’s window of opportunity), a lock-in from the provincial level (the announcement of the REM) was deposited in Montreal’s embryonic and emerging strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field. Just as the seeds of the carbon-neutrality narrative were beginning to be planted, the REM event ‘punctuated the equilibrium’ (True et al., 1999) in Montreal’s socio-technical ‘public transport’ system and quickly became a highly controversial urban development project. The collision of these two events (the end of the public consultation/birth of the MCC and the announcement of the REM) catalyzed two consequential chains of events that unfolded simultaneously in the subsequent years. One chain of events pertaining to policy processes for Montreal’s carbon-neutrality, and the other pertaining to Montreal’s socio-technical transition dynamics in the transport and built environment systems.

At the time, it’s note worthy to recall that the REM’s announcement was an integral part of a growing hype (both locally and internationally) for public transport investments, itself a result of

the ‘post-2015’ momentum that was being witnessed as governments looked to materialise more sustainable trajectories of development. Therefore, and while one would expect that environmentalists would be thrilled with a new major electric public transport project for Montreal, and that the REM would be seen as a window of opportunity to advance urban sustainability; on the contrary, the project was evaluated by a considerable part of the Montreal’s environmental movement as representing a climate mitigation lock-in.

It’s interesting to note, yet again, that the concept of windows of opportunities is not always very clear and is an ambiguous concept. For instance, is the REM a widening of the COP21 Paris Agreement international level window of opportunity? or is it a completely new window? is at the provincial level (where the decision was taken) or at the municipal level (where the project will materialise), or both? In addition, an event can be considered as a window of opportunity or as a lock-in by the same group of actors, in this case Montreal’s urban environmental movement. The case offers a clear empirical illustration of the risks involved when taking actors groups (especially civil society) as monolithic homogenous groups, and the importance of a more refined and nuanced understanding of civil society actors and the inherent tensions between actors. While more mainstream ‘corporate’ environmental groups welcomed the REM project as being an integral part of Montreal’s transition to sustainability, smaller more independent citizen-led groups tended to view the project as an obstacle to Montreal’s decarbonisation. Hence again the importance of unpacking what is too often accounted for in research as a homogeneous understanding of actor groups, especially when looking at civil society organizations (CSOs).

So how did coalition members react to the REM lock-in they were served? They had to explain/develop their arguments as to why they considered the project a lock-in for the city’s transition to carbon-neutrality. Two of their member researchers very rapidly began developing research studies on both the problems associated with the REM, as well as potential alternatives; all the while ensuring that these quickly made it to the mainstream newspapers in the form of articles and op-eds. These actions illustrate the coalition’s capacity collaborate in ways to co-develop climate science for policy and action in Montreal, mobilize journalists and the press in order to ‘make the news’, and diffuse the information across networks. Another strategy that we also see in the summer of 2016 is the creation by coalition members of two new local groups, one

to propose concrete urban development solutions for carbon-neutrality (Imagine Lachine-Est) and another to focus on opposing the REM (Trainsparence).

These demonstrate one of the coalition's main strategy, that of creating new (informal) local citizen groups/dedicated working groups in order to develop targeted climate policy and action knowledge and amplify/marshal voices, especially during diverse public consultations where carbon-neutrality could be 'anchored'. Moreover, and by the end of the year 2016, we see the Coalition beginning to consistently mobilize a tactic that was to be at the heart of their achievements throughout the years. That of attending monthly municipal council meetings, during the citizen's question and answer period. While it became a key 'month in/month out' tactic for the coalition, the very existence of the municipal democratic mechanism (having citizen question periods during council meetings) can be understood as a 'periodical' local level window of opportunity that Coalition members made sure to capitalize on consistently in order to engage directly with municipal elected officials.

As the coalition was responding to the REM lock-in coming from the provincial level, one of its main allies in opposing the project, the Green Coalition, began going up against a real-estate development project in one of Montreal's last wetlands and bird sanctuary, Technoparc. Coincidentally, the REM's proposed route was planned to also pass by Technoparc, causing additional environmental damages to this sensitive ecosystem. Both empirically and theoretically then, the protection of Technoparc represented a situation where issues relating to both the socio-technical public transport system overlapped with policies for the protection of green spaces; with both transport and green spaces being core elements of a carbon-neutral city.

As such, we can consider that the fight to save the Technoparc wetlands from the REM and real-estate development projects was a 'double lock-in' challenge for the coalition, from the provincial level (REM) but also from the urban real-estate development regime. Hence, we see simultaneous lock-ins from different levels and scales overlapping. The coalition attended to this conjuncture by capitalizing on the REM studies that they had co-developed to present their case to the provincial BAPE consultation, as they also participated in as many relevant public consultations as possible, each representing a policy window to influence public policies for carbon-neutrality. Again, we see that a window of opportunity is not just a higher governance level event (such as an election or international climate summit), but it can also take the form of democratic mechanisms (monthly municipal council meetings, public consultations) that civil society actors can activate (and not just

wait for). By the end of 2016, the coalition already had their eyes on (and were getting ready for) an upcoming planned ‘periodical’ window of opportunity, that year’s upcoming municipal elections.

### 5.2.2.3 Clashes, Lawsuit and Municipal Elections (2017)

Table 12. Chronology of Empirical Events

| Year: 2017 | Key Events  |
|------------|---|
| January    | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Coalition Anniversary Event and McGill Panel on the REM   |
|            | BAPE throws a cold shower on the REM project  |
|            | Environmental groups clash over the REM   |
|            | Climate Test request for the REM is proposed to Provincial Environment Minister   |
| February   | Technopark and l’Anse-à-l’Orme Green Spaces are at risk   |
|            | Climate Reality is interested to replicate the MCC experience across other Canadian cities  |
| March      | MCC launches a lawsuit against the REM and accordingly incorporates as a non-profit   |
|            | City’s Executive Committee responds to the 2016 OCPM consultation report and MCC finally meets with city officials responsible for the city’s sustainability plan(s)  |
| April      | Technopark and l’Anse-à-l’Orme mobilisations, and public consultation for the latter  |
|            | Concordia Strategic Workshop  |
| May        | Quebec floods   |
| June       | REM bulldozing its way through; it’s anti-democratic and 2017 Annual General Assembly of the Coalition  |
| August     | U.S pulls out of Paris Agreement  |
| September  | City offers coalitions 2 back-to-back meetings during municipal election period   |
|            | Legal deposition is made against the REM  |
|            | Diffusion of the Roadmap ‘Realizing the Ecological Transition’  |
|            | 46 <sup>th</sup> IPCC congress takes place in Montreal  |
| October    | CDPQ announcement, partial victory!   |
| November   | <b>At the time of COP23</b> , Projet MTL wins municipal elections and comes to power. The Urban Left is born  |
|            | Lawsuit begins  |
| December   | New mayoress signs C40 charter in Chicago, aims for more ambitious GHG reduction targets and signs the C40 charter in Chicago <sup>161</sup> . CO2mètre is relaunched |
|            | Demand rejected by the courts and new Mayoress Valérie Plante won’t go against the REM  |

The new year kicked off with the Coalition’s 2<sup>nd</sup> anniversary event that was held at the Maison du développement durable<sup>162</sup>, packing the large conference room with approximately one hundred

<sup>161</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1071333/reunion-c40-montreal-signature-charte-chicago-climat>

<sup>162</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/events/687565138077114/?active\\_tab=discussion](https://www.facebook.com/events/687565138077114/?active_tab=discussion)

citizens and experts representing eighty-five organisations<sup>163</sup>. These included the Green Coalition whose members began mobilising in defense of the urban green spaces that were being threatened by the construction of the REM, mainly TechnoparcOiseaux<sup>164</sup>, l'Anse-à-l'Orme<sup>165</sup> and La Falaise Saint-Jacques<sup>166</sup>; along with Trainsparence<sup>167,168</sup> and Imagine Lachine-Est. The anniversary event was immediately followed by a panel conference entitled 'Réseau Électrique Métropolitain – Are We Missing the Train?'<sup>169</sup> <sup>170</sup> <sup>171</sup> that was co-organized at McGill University in collaboration with the youth branch of Canada's Green Party<sup>172</sup>; bringing together researchers and activists of the Coalition, elected officials from progressive parties at the federal and provincial levels, as well as experts, students and academic staffs to discuss the REM and its implications.

Four days later, the BAPE threw a cold shower on the REM<sup>173</sup> by not giving it their green light<sup>174</sup> <sup>175</sup>. After analyzing the 108 memoires that were submitted, the commission tasked to study the project concluded that the REM demonstrated to have '*incomplete documentation*', with '*several essential elements of the project which could not have been the subject of public debate or analyzed by the commission*'<sup>176</sup>. It also estimated that few motorists will abandon their cars to adopt this new mode of public transportation, while also raising architectural questions and the potential impacts the REM would have on other public transport (train) lines<sup>177</sup>.

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<sup>163</sup> See pictures 14 and 15 in Annex 30.

<sup>164</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/groups/TechnoparcOiseaux>

<sup>165</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/Sauvons-lAnse-%C3%A0-lOrme-1180411475317584>

<sup>166</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/sauvonslafalaise>

<sup>167</sup> <http://trainsparence.ca/>

<sup>168</sup> Trainsparence is a coalition that brings together transportation experts, environmentalists, unionists and citizens. Formed in May 2016, it requires a real debate on the REM; the BAPE rightly raises several of the arguments put forward by Trainsparence (Internal Document-Press Release in response to Quebec Premier's comment on the BAPE report, January 29th, 2017.

<sup>169</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/ConcordiaGreens/photos/gm.100230790485836/389785608035492/?type=3&theater>

<sup>170</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/events/100230773819171/?acontext=%7B%22source%22%3A5%2C%22action\\_history%22%3A\[%7B%22surface%22%3A%22page%22%2C%22mechanism%22%3A%22main\\_list%22%2C%22extra\\_data%22%3A%22%5C%22\[%5C%22%22%7D\]%2C%22has\\_source%22%3Atrue%7D](https://www.facebook.com/events/100230773819171/?acontext=%7B%22source%22%3A5%2C%22action_history%22%3A[%7B%22surface%22%3A%22page%22%2C%22mechanism%22%3A%22main_list%22%2C%22extra_data%22%3A%22%5C%22[%5C%22%22%7D]%2C%22has_source%22%3Atrue%7D)

<sup>171</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/events/382643162099605/?acontext=%7B%22source%22%3A5%2C%22action\\_history%22%3A\[%7B%22surface%22%3A%22page%22%2C%22mechanism%22%3A%22main\\_list%22%2C%22extra\\_data%22%3A%22%5C%22\[%5C%22%22%7D\]%2C%22has\\_source%22%3Atrue%7D](https://www.facebook.com/events/382643162099605/?acontext=%7B%22source%22%3A5%2C%22action_history%22%3A[%7B%22surface%22%3A%22page%22%2C%22mechanism%22%3A%22main_list%22%2C%22extra_data%22%3A%22%5C%22[%5C%22%22%7D]%2C%22has_source%22%3Atrue%7D)

<sup>172</sup> See picture 16 in Annex 30.

<sup>173</sup> [https://plus.lapresse.ca/screens/1aa865cd-8a95-446e-9d0e-8aa6cdc0cd59%7C\\_0.html](https://plus.lapresse.ca/screens/1aa865cd-8a95-446e-9d0e-8aa6cdc0cd59%7C_0.html)

<sup>174</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1012060/rapport-bape-critiques-reseau-electrique-metropolitain-rem>

<sup>175</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1012060/rapport-bape-critiques-reseau-electrique-metropolitain-rem>

<sup>176</sup> <https://www.bape.gouv.qc.ca/fr/dossiers/reseau-electrique-metropolitain-transport-collectif/>

<sup>177</sup> <http://trainsparence.ca/fr/sommaire-rapport-bape>



*The issues raised mainly concerned compliance with the guidelines and municipal authorities in terms of land use planning, governance of the public transport in the metropolitan area, the cost-effectiveness of the project, the layout and technology selected, greenhouse gases, changes to the supply of transport services collective, the development of pedestrian and cycling access, road access and integration with the existing and future services offered by transport companies in the metropolitan area. Other comments focused on the impact on living environments, the physical layout of stations and the location of some of them, the development of incentive parking lots, the development around stations and the architectural signature of the project. The economic and financial aspects were also the subject of several representations by the participants. The legal and financial architecture as well as the profitability of the project have been raised as well as the mechanism for capturing land appreciation, the economic benefits, tariff integration and the sharing of revenues and costs with municipalities. - BAPE report*

Its final position was that:

*In the absence of complete and detailed information on several issues, key questions raised by the commission remained unanswered, especially on the financial, ecological, justification aspects in terms of attendance, and impacts on regional planning and governance; the commission considers that it would be premature to authorize the completion of the REM project before all of this information is available. The commission judges that these missing elements of information are essential to an understanding of the many issues raised by this project and to an informed decision-making, a decision which, for the committee of inquiry, should be in adequacy with the principles enshrined in the Quebec Sustainable Development Act.<sup>178</sup> - BAPE report*

The report was quickly criticized by the CDPQ who attacked it by stating that: *‘It’s an analysis that ignores the facts and deforms reality’<sup>179</sup>* and that *‘certain reports CDPQ provided to the BAPE’s commission were not taken into account in the final report’<sup>180</sup>*. Given the BAPE’s non-constraining nature from a legal standpoint, the then minister of transport in Quebec responded, leaving it at *‘The BAPE has often made critical comments and recommendations, sometimes even outside its scope. They have the right to speak, and then they do’*, and which was backed up by ‘media mayor’ Denis Coderre who seemed to add oil to the fire with one of his infamous/trademark one-liners, stating that *‘the BAPE isn’t the Pope’* (translated from a play of words in French: *‘Le*

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<sup>178</sup> <http://archives.bape.gouv.qc.ca/sections/rapports/publications/bape331.pdf>

<sup>179</sup> <https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/rapport-du-bape-sur-le-projet-de-rem--une-analyse-qui-ignore-les-faits-et-deforme-la-realite-611498095.html>

<sup>180</sup> [https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/2017/01/23/reseau-electrique-metropolitain-bape\\_n\\_14332892.html](https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/2017/01/23/reseau-electrique-metropolitain-bape_n_14332892.html)

*BAPE ce n'est pas le Pape*<sup>181</sup>) and going on to add that 'you are with or against the REM'<sup>182</sup>. Despite the BAPE responding to its critiques<sup>183</sup>, Quebec's Prime Minister announced that the project would go ahead regardless of its negative environmental review<sup>184</sup>. Here is what key of Coalition member opposed to the REM had to say.

*We had hearings. Those hearings are supposed to be meaningful. They're environmentally important. The Caisse comes in and does not provide the information required. The BAPE comes out with a report saying, "We cannot make a recommendation because they haven't answered our questions and we have concerns." Denis Coderre and everybody and his dog went out of his way to say, "The BAPE overextended. We don't need the BAPE. The BAPE should mind its own business." Their own fucking institutions that they're now... because it doesn't suit them, are willing to destroy those institutions. Shades of Donald Trump. Someone gets in your way, you destroy them, even if. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*The problem is that its such a complex project that its impossible to explain in 5 minutes what's wrong with it, versus 'Its an electric train'. It's one phrase. It's an electric public transport project, there, you said it in one phrase. It's sold. It takes an hour to explain what's wrong with the REM. When on the news we are given 12 seconds to reply, and the one that sells the project got a minute (...) Even when there was the consultation on the law to accelerate the REM, it was just on invitation. And so as not to say that they blocked anyone, they said, all those against it, get together and you have 10 minutes. 5 people go to Quebec for a consultation, and in 10 min you need to deconstruct things, on just one aspect. You would need a full hour to explain the whole thing. It's complicated to explain that it's a bad project. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

Along with the coalition who published opinion articles in major newspapers asking 'what's the urgency?'<sup>185</sup> and deploring 'lets not rush into Montreal electric train'<sup>186</sup>, more and more people were beginning to question why top level politicians seemed to be rushing the project<sup>187</sup>; with one of the opposition parties at the provincial government (Quebec Solidaire) asking for the project to be put

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<sup>181</sup> <https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2017/01/27/le-bape-ce-nest-pas-le-pape>

<sup>182</sup> <https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/montreal/201701/23/01-5062252-pour-ou-contre-le-rem-resume-coderre.php>

<sup>183</sup> [https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/2017/01/23/rem-le-bape-defend-son-rapport-face-aux-critiques\\_n\\_14350288.html](https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/2017/01/23/rem-le-bape-defend-son-rapport-face-aux-critiques_n_14350288.html)

<sup>184</sup> <https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/couillard-insists-rem-will-proceed-despite-negative-environmental-review-1.3250340>

<sup>185</sup> <https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/lettres/490236/quelle-est-la-veritable-urgence>

<sup>186</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/opinion/columnists/opinion-lets-not-rush-into-montreal-electric-train-project?fbclid=IwAR2oeuOVzJehG6qldjeponhtQYq4NCVrFviCHHeaRxz0Klp-UzcS2WNnV3Q>

<sup>187</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1013781/rem-precipite-politiciens-presses-couillard-coderre-bape-caisse>

aside<sup>188</sup>; along with Valérie Plante<sup>189</sup> (the newly elected head of the official municipal opposition party Projet Montreal) clearly taking the side of the BAPE (below excerpt from a press article).

*We are being sold this project as THE transit project of the 21st century. Yes, but you must listen to what the experts have to say and that's why I don't understand the attitude of the mayor, who should want a good project," says Valérie Plante, head of Projet Montréal. The mayor believes that the real experts are opposed to the Caisse de depot.*

*Projet Montreal intends to mobilize the citizens of the west of the island to oppose the project as it is currently presented. "The route could have served more people in the West Island," said the head of the opposition.*

*As for the Caisse de depot's position on the report, Valérie Plante deplores the lack of information provided by them rather than the work of the BAPE. "The Caisse de depot is the first to not have given all the information and the BAPE has highlighted this in broad outlines."<sup>190</sup>*

It's at this moment that tensions began to be exacerbated between environmentalists opposed to the REM and more 'corporate' environmental groups supporting the project, highlighting an underlying schism within the environmental movement<sup>191</sup>. Right when we were beginning to witness the emergence of what could be deemed as a positive 'post-Cop 21' climate momentum in Montreal, the REM project polarised the environmental movement and pitted groups against one another<sup>192</sup>. For some, the REM was 'better than the status quo'<sup>193</sup> that Montreal had witnessed for decades in terms of investments in public transport system<sup>194</sup>, while for others (such as the coalition and allies the Green Coalition, Trainsparence and the Sierra Club); a better project for a rapid decarbonization and a greener city was not only possible but necessary, and it could be done for less money. By then, environmentalists were practically at war with one another, as illustrated by an email correspondence between the diverging groups as well as in internal discussion amongst coalition members opposed to the project<sup>195</sup>.

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<sup>188</sup> <https://www.ledevoir.com/politique/quebec/489804/rem-quebec-solidaire-veut-que-le-projet-soit-mis-de-cote>

<sup>189</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/valerie-plante-wins-projet-montreal-leadership-race/>

<sup>190</sup> <https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/montreal/201701/23/01-5062252-pour-ou-contre-le-rem-resume-coderre.php>

<sup>191</sup> <https://www.ledevoir.com/societe/environnement/490588/trois-organismes-environnementaux-appuient-le-controverse-projet-de-rem>

<sup>192</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/environmentalists-clash-over-rems-benefits/>

<sup>193</sup> Email correspondence between groups and internally ('Does this mean war?').

<sup>194</sup> [https://plus.lapresse.ca/screens/64b7beb2-9770-411a-bce5-bd917efd42b9\\_7C\\_0.html](https://plus.lapresse.ca/screens/64b7beb2-9770-411a-bce5-bd917efd42b9_7C_0.html)

<sup>195</sup> See Annex 17.

Here are what some Coalition members had to say about the disagreement on the REM within the environmental movement:

*When you have a coalition, it's difficult, because at the beginning they all have one thing in common and then as soon as you get into the details, they have differences. At the Front commun, we are living the same thing. It is difficult to build and maintain consensus. There are people all the time looking for the little issue so as not to get on board. This is the first challenge. The second is that when you go to established groups (Green Peace, Suzuki), they are businesses, they need money, they have employees and premises. They depend on public and private funding, donations. It puts certain obligations on them. They are not going to do things that will displease the city or the businesses. They need a lot of notoriety to have funds. They have to appear in the media [...] The groups collaborate but they want to maintain their notoriety. They are not going to merge into the collective, they will remain an entity of their own. They don't want to be too marginal either so as not to have their backs on the government. It limits their possibility of actions. - Jean-François Boisvert (Cofounder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*Those organizations that are more established, those that are dependent on government funding for example, from the establishment...CDPQ is the biggest game in the country, certainly in Québec, and to bite the hand that feeds you...you don't get fed, that is where things diverged. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*They're major donors (the provincial liberal government). You can see it in the annual report of Équiterre, and guess what, Équiterre endorsed the REM and their spokes person Steven Guilbault said yeah okay it's going to destroy 16 hectors of agricultural land on the south shore but you know we lose agricultural land in Quebec every year anyway and the benefits are so much better. Unfortunately I lost trust in David Suzuki Foundation and Équiterre, I don't think it can be independent if you have corporate bonus like that. The corporate donors get to tell you what to do. You have all the employees that the foundation has to pay and they have to pay the rent on the building or whatever. So they will not dare to say, well I'm going to oppose this thing... and it does color the way they... The Green Coalition doesn't have any money so... - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*There is a big problem right now. It's always related to money. There are several environmental groups that have a good reputation, but it is overrated because they get a lot of help, and they can afford good publicity. They are made to compromise themselves, they are given too much importance because of their subsidies etc. Resources must come from individuals and not from governments that removes their power and pressure. - Florien Stone (Transparence)*

And here is what two of the Coalition's central co-founders and permanent board members had to say about the impact that this had on the Coalition moving forward:

*The 3.0 declaration (post-consultation that included the four distilled overarching policy and governance orientations) did not include everybody that was on 2.0 (pre-consultation, general carbon-neutral vision for 2042) which was the broadest consensus around the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary.....but moving to 3.0 we lost some people (major environmental organisations) because as we moved to 3.0 we also sewed the government on the REM project and that turned off some people. So when people realized that okay, we're not signing (the 3.0 declaration) on hypothetical apple pie but we are actually going to action these if you are going to propose a massive project that is not aligned with the four proposed climate governance orientations; so we lost support on the declaration because we moved from the theoretical to something that was a bit more prescriptive and that we were ready to defend, and some people when it comes to moving from you know; apple pie to action, that's challenging and it comes into conflict with some of their funding sources, some of their allegiances; and to be fair when you make a decision like that, not everybody is going to tag along, it's understandable. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*We didn't loose them on the (four) principles which are solid, but we lost them when these had to be put into action and people got scared because of potential political and financial risks for their organization. It was like here are the principals, and by the way this is what is happening (REM). I don't know if anybody signed on the declaration that doesn't to some extent support those principles in action, and I know that all organizations that came back later and did in fact sign, it was because things had cooled down on the (REM) lawsuit front. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*Our first action was to do a consultation on reducing dependence on oil, fossil fuels. We wanted there to be as many groups as possible. But from the start, a lot of big players gave up on us. We never managed to build all of that again. We have more people than organizations. Organizations are more marginal. And I think that diminishes the influence we can have. For some we are an important player and for others we are just another group. And that's our failure [...] When it's a coalition you lose visibility. When you go ask for donations, people will wonder who we are. There is a competition for funding. The groups collaborate but they want to maintain their notoriety. They are not going to merge into the collective, they will remain an entity of their own. They don't want to be too marginal either so as not to have their backs on the government. It limits their possibility of action [...] The Coalition plays another role. Now there are a lot of citizens. Our flavor is to represent them, to represent citizen participation. The city is not going to invite us but Suzuki. First let's focus on what sets us (the citizens) apart to get things done rather than trying to do like Suzuki. Compared to them we are more independent. - Jean-François Boisvert (Cofounder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

Building on further research studies and reports that they developed as they analysed the REM from various angles (technical, financial, GHG emissions), the coalition co-developed with their member organisations a study entitled *'The Choice: A Skytrain named Delusion or Public Transit*

*Solutions that Benefit People?*<sup>196</sup>, in which they went on to propose an alternative project to the REM: A tramway system called ‘Le Grand Virage’ (‘The Big Turn’). Pretty quickly, the proposal was formatted in reader-friendly leaflets and flyers that could be easily and quickly distributed at key events and locations; comparing the merits of this new alternative project<sup>197</sup> that they were proposing in contrast to the REM, and beginning to organize panel conferences, roundtables and citizen assemblies to raise awareness on the socio-economical, environmental and climatic impacts of the REM’s and potential alternatives.

Nevertheless, and despite their efforts to present science-based evidence to their arguments, it didn’t take much time for the coalition to come to the realisation and conclusion that the only avenue left for them to try and stop the project was to file a lawsuit against it. In order to do so, they needed to become a legally incorporated entity. It’s in this way that the answer to their year long discussion around the question of whether to incorporate (bureaucratize) or not became self-evident<sup>198</sup>. Hence, it’s as an officially registered non-profit organisation that the coalition sued the provincial government over the REM<sup>199 200</sup> and wrote an official private letter to Hurltel, Québec governments’ then Minister of environment; requesting provincial policy makers to include climate tests as part of the province’s new 102 environmental quality law, and starting with the REM as an example in case<sup>201</sup>. This was followed a few months later by a public request in the media for the same (conducting a climate test on the REM<sup>202 203</sup>). The Coalition was indeed ‘putting their money where their mouth was’, ready to act upon the four overarching policy and governance orientations on which their vision and mission was built.

*It was important for us to defend the positions we staked out, those positions were very consensual, like you can't find anybody in the environmental movement or in the research space in Montreal that doesn't agree that we need to do these four things but nobody else was putting them on the table; so the fact that we defended them in this way was an important demonstration of our differentiation from groups that were simply apple pie and like "oh, that's good"; but we are a group who's going to take this to the bank and take you to task because le 3e lien it's not part of the plan,*

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<sup>196</sup> <https://coalitionclimatmtl.org/wp-content/uploads/Skytrain-Delusion.pdf>

<sup>197</sup> See Annex 18.

<sup>198</sup> See pictures 20 and 21 in Annex 30.

<sup>199</sup> <https://www.ledevoir.com/societe/environnement/494777/une-coalition-s-adresse-a-la-cour-pour-bloquer-le-projet-du-rem>

<sup>200</sup> <https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/coalition-heads-to-court-to-stop-rem-1.3339725>

<sup>201</sup> <https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/libre-opinion/507829/soumettre-le-projet-de-rem-a-un-test-climat>

<sup>202</sup> <https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/libre-opinion/507829/soumettre-le-projet-de-rem-a-un-test-climat>

<sup>203</sup> <https://coalitionclimatmtl.org/en/two-groups-ask-for-rem-to-be-subject-to-climate-test/>

*Transmountain pipeline, does not make sense if we are respecting a budget of carbon, the REM does not make sense, so that's the discourse we need to anchor our message in. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*From a communications' perspective our membership and perhaps the general public sees it as a loss (loosing the support of renown environmental groups), for us we see it as a very important thing to have done (gone against the REM) and the lessons coming from that, and the Cautionary Tale of that experience serves to justify our existence to this day because the same organisations that supported that problematic project are now writing the City's Transition/Climate Action Plan, so we need to, we need to make sure that ... those (four overarching policy and governance) principles are included in that plan (City's Climate Action Plan) because otherwise that plan serve to justify projects that are not empirically justifiable, that don't fit, but that look from a political perspective green enough to pass the smell test of the average ecological vote. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

Early spring, as Quebec was experiencing it's first major floods in decades, the coalition held it's first strategic workshop (in collaboration with Master students from Concordia)<sup>204</sup>, participated in the OCPM's public consultations on Technoparc and l'Anse-à-l'Orme (both being urban green spaces threatened by the REM's construction) as well as in Projet MTL's internal party congress (just six months prior to municipal elections); while also mobilizing in front of the trans-local Metropolis international Congress event that was taking place in Montreal (and presided by Metropolis president, Montreal mayor Denis Coderre) and organizing its annual general assembly at a community center in one of Montreal's most radical grassroots neighborhood: Pointe-Saint-Charles. Between the time the lawsuit was filed (end of march) and the court hearings began more than eight months later at the end of 2017, more and more local citizen groups joined the coalition's opposition to the project (Leapsters Vs the REM<sup>205</sup>, CN syndicate rallying behind the coalition's opposition to the REM) and bad press on the REM became a regular reality in the media.

*Then you have the environmental diversity arguments (against the REM), and then you have the wetland's argument. Well, that suddenly came up. All of a sudden that turned out to be really big. The flooding, turned out, it was always an issue, it has been for a long time. Suddenly, City Hall is underwater. Why are you building on this area? You keep doors and windows (strategies). It's the best way to get your arguments across to elected officials. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

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<sup>204</sup> See pictures 22, 23 and 24 in Annex 30.

<sup>205</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xoVdr-WA7og&feature=youtu.be>

Table 13. Studies and articles published on the impacts of the REM (Spring-Summer 2017)

|                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| 5 juin 2017       | D'importantes entorses à la démocratie sont commises pour réaliser le REM | <a href="https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/libre-opinion/500448/d-importantes-entorses-a-la-democratie-sont-commises-pour-realiser-le-rem">https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/libre-opinion/500448/d-importantes-entorses-a-la-democratie-sont-commises-pour-realiser-le-rem</a> |
| 8 June 2017       | Trampling on democracy to advance Montreal light rail project             | <a href="https://cupe.ca/trampling-democracy-advance-montreal-light-rail-project">https://cupe.ca/trampling-democracy-advance-montreal-light-rail-project</a>   |
| 22 août 2017      | Les libéraux disent non à un seuil minimal de contenu local pour le REM   | <a href="https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/2017/08/22/les-liberaux-disent-non-a-un-seuil-minimal-de-contenu-local-pour-le-rem_a_23158006/">https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/2017/08/22/les-liberaux-disent-non-a-un-seuil-minimal-de-contenu-local-pour-le-rem_a_23158006/</a> |
| 13 septembre 2017 | Climate Test Opinion Piece  | <a href="https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/libre-opinion/507829/soumettre-le-projet-de-rem-a-un-test-climat">https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/libre-opinion/507829/soumettre-le-projet-de-rem-a-un-test-climat</a>   |
| Nov 21 2017       | Environmental group asks court to halt REM light-rail train system        | <a href="https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/environmental-group-asks-court-to-halt-rem-light-rail-train-system">https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/environmental-group-asks-court-to-halt-rem-light-rail-train-system</a>                                   |

At the start of fall 2017, a year and a half after the OCPM had published its consultation report and with no concrete next steps taken by the city on the same (only one meeting had taken place since then between city officials and the MCC<sup>206</sup>); and while the IPCC were holding their 46th session on climate change in Montreal<sup>207</sup> and municipal elections were just a couple of months away, the city's administration offered the coalition two back to back meetings to (supposedly) discuss the implementation of the OCPM'S 15 recommendations to reduce Montreal's dependence on fossil fuel (especially in the transport sector)<sup>208</sup>. The coalition capitalized on these to present to elected officials how their declaration's four overarching policy and governance orientations, when applied to the REM, invalidated the project from the standpoint of deep decarbonization and the transition to carbon-neutrality. Moreover, active transport experts presented the city with a study and plan on how Montreal's cycling network could be expanded<sup>209</sup>. The electoral nature of these meetings undermined the extent to which concrete progress could be made on the coalition's demands, and the initial transition road map for Montreal that they outlined in their timely electoral report 'How to achieve the necessary social ecological transition in Montréal'<sup>210</sup>.

<sup>206</sup> See picture 30 in Annex 30.

<sup>207</sup> <https://enb.iisd.org/climate/ipcc46/6sep.html>

<sup>208</sup> See pictures 31 and 32 in Annex 30.

<sup>209</sup> See Annex 19.

<sup>210</sup> <https://coalitionclimatmtl.org/en/towards-a-carbon-neutral-and-sustainable-city/>



In November 2017, on the backdrop of the global #MeToo movement<sup>211</sup> and just one week prior to the COP 23 climate summit in Bonn-Germany, Montreal witnessed a major political event that very few had betted on or had predicted (even for the most unconventional of political pundits). Taking everyone by surprise, Montrealer's elected their first ever mayoress in a landslide election victory for the progressive 'green' opposition party of Projet Montreal<sup>212</sup>. A historical surprise for all of Montreal's environmental movement.

*I think one of the reasons Mayor Coderre lost the election was because of the Pit Bull; the dogs that look like Pit Bulls legislations, he wanted to put in. I really wish that all citizens movements could be as Pit Bull-like as they are. One time my friend and I were trying to gather signatures for the REM, we launched a petition a couple of years ago saying we want this land to be protected and we collected 20 thousand signatures over a couple of years. Compare that with the Pit Bull, the people who were apposed to the legislation that Mayor Coderre wanted to pass about dogs that look like Pit Bulls would have to wear muzzles. Within a couple of months they had over 100 thousand signatures. That really touched a nerve [...] they really socked him and he lost the election and yeah I think it was... another thing that we did, which was, we did a survey at the election where Mayor Coderre lost, the last election we asked all the elected officials what their position on the environment, their position on protecting natural spaces, would they favor protecting this space? We got a lot of answers and the only party that didn't answer at all was Mayor Coderre's party, and we had a press conference, we had Global News at Campbell's office and the press conference was broadcast and I like to think that that helped Mayor Coderre loose the election because most Montrealers are in favor of more natural spaces, need more natural spaces. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*We need to start acting like, yeah, we speak for the majority, if you (elected official) don't do this, you're toast in the next election; ultimately it has to come down to that...so in the municipal election, we put a great deal of effort not in supporting Projet Montreal but in raising issues and doing surveys, publishing reports, attending meetings, all of which was; which one of you candidates is pro-environment? or for L'Anse-à-l'Orme preservation? because we will support whatever candidate is going to do this. That turned out, it was Projet Montreal all the time and they got elected and it's not for nothing that they got elected. Probably the dog people first because you don't cross the line with the pit bull band, stuff like that. You really piss off a lot of people, that hurt Denis Coderre but also in the environment. I think a lot of people recognized that Projet Montreal really was the real deal. They really were going to do something, and that we ought to do what we can in order do it. Unfortunately, maybe at the end of the day we ended up with a very unique problem, which is how do we now deal with people we agree with in power. It's a different political problem but that was a very important element of it too, not to become party partisan but issue partisan, it's extrorodinaryly important because the*

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<sup>211</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Me\\_Too\\_movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Me_Too_movement)

<sup>212</sup> <http://en.projetmontreal.org/>

*biggest risk is that we support Projet Montreal and Denis Coderre stands up and says ok, Projet Montreal has another wing...Projet Montreal was not always pleased with that, we always told them, we will not come out to endorse you but we will endorse whoever does this, what they are suppose to do...if we're splitting hair, that's an important hair to split because we have to remain as an independent voice for the environment. The day we become a subsidiary of Projet Montreal is the day we cease to be effective. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

On December 12<sup>th</sup>, the coalition received the news that the courts had rejected their lawsuit demand, concluding (in sum) that the REM controversy was more of a political issue rather than a legal one, and that the courts' role isn't to arbitrate political debates<sup>213</sup>. With Montreal's environmental movement more than ever divided on the project, newly elected Mayoress Valérie Plante went on to surprise everyone yet again, as she took the final political decision not to oppose the REM<sup>214</sup>; and this despite her initial opposition (see her 2017 letter to Trudeau on the same and her support of the BAPE report). It seemed that in the span of just one month, since the lawsuit had been filed and Projet MTL's surprise municipal election victory, the possibilities of stopping the project had suddenly evaporated. The year ended with Montreal's newly elected mayoress signing the C40 climate charter in Chicago<sup>215</sup> and the coalition sending an email to all of Projet Montreal's newly elected officials. Entitled '*So that a real consultation can be undertaken for the REM*'<sup>216,217</sup>.

*When the mayoress was elected, they were talking about the REM project as if it had already been done. I ran into her on the metro and asked her a question about the project and she wouldn't answer me. I was really not happy; she had no respect for her constituents. I was naive. Because the province and the city were aligned with this project. She couldn't say no to the project somehow. She even sent a letter to Trudeau asking questions. - Florien Stone (Transparence)*

*She had very good reasons not to go against them. You get elected, you go against the biggest project that's ever been funded in Montreal, while Montreal is completely 100% reliant on what Quebec says they have to do. Not a smart political move. Plante has been skating. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*I find Projet MTL very good, they did one mistake, the fact that at the start of the mandate, when they were newly put in power, they didn't have the courage to say no to the REM. And now they're going to pay the price because for now, it's not evident, but Quebec government has committed to paying 80% of the operational cost of the REM over four*

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<sup>213</sup> See Annex 20.

<sup>214</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/not-too-late-to-send-rem-train-back-to-drawing-board-experts/>

<sup>215</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1071333/reunion-c40-montreal-signature-charte-chicago-climat>

<sup>216</sup> Email correspondence - Dated November 29th, 2017.

<sup>217</sup> See Annex 21.

years. This means that in 4-5 years, they're going to have a bill of 400,000,000\$ that's going to fall on the cities, which will then increase to 500, 600, even 700,000,000\$. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)

*She could have gone against the REM. Longueuil and Laval mayors were critical of the project. I met with the Laval mayor 3 years ago, we explained to him the REM and his reaction was like 'Oh my God', but he didn't want to be remembered for the mayor that blocked two projects, Energie-Est before, first... and now the REM if he went against it. He understood it was a bad project, and when you look at the BAPE, Longueuil, mayoress was very critical. Even though Plante was isolated, if she had been more critical, she would have realised that she could have gotten support from Laval and Longueuil. The 3 together could have blocked it. It didn't happen, because she needed to get her 300 buses part of her electoral promises. A first electoral promise taken care of. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

### 5.2.2.3.1 Theoretical Perspective (2017)

Table 14. Sequence of carbon lock-in's, windows of opportunities and landscape events contrasted with key coalition activities and strategies (2017)

| Type             | Event  | Date       | Level            | Sub-Case                 |
|------------------|--|------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| Lock-In          | Rising emissions, global warming and climate change  |            | Landscape        | Carbon-Neutrality        |
| Window           | BAPE report sanctions the REM  | 2017-01-01 | Provincial       | REM                      |
| Lock-In          | BAPE is non-constraining   | 2017-01-01 | Provincial       | REM                      |
| Lock-In          | Environmental movement is divided on the REM and clashes   | 2017-01-01 | Transition Arena | REM                      |
| Window           | Provincial opposition party against the REM  | 2017-01-01 | Provincial       | REM                      |
| Window           | Valerie Plante, head of municipal opposition party Projet MTL write to Trudeau regarding the REM | 2017-01-01 | Federal          | REM                      |
| Window           | Montreal Climate Coalition files lawsuit against the Quebec government                           | 2017-04-01 | Provincial       | REM                      |
| Landscape        | Quebec Floods  | 2017-05-03 | Provincial       | Carbon-Neutrality        |
| Window           | IPCC Congress in Montreal  | 2017-06-01 | International    | Carbon-Neutrality        |
| Lock-In          | U.S. Pulls out of Paris Agreement  | 2017-08-01 | International    | Carbon-Neutrality        |
| Window           | Municipal Elections  | 2017-08-01 | Municipal        | Elections                |
| Landscape        | #MeToo Movement  | 2017-10-01 | International    | Social Justice           |
| Positive Outcome | Projet MTL wins municipal elections  | 2017-10-01 | Municipal        | Elections                |
| Window           | COP 23 in Bonn   | 2017-12-01 | International    | Annual COP Summit        |
| Window           | Lawsuit begins   | 2017-12-01 | Provincial       | REM                      |
| Lock-In          | Lawsuit is rejected  | 2017-12-01 | Provincial       | REM                      |
| Window           | Montreal signs C40 charter in Chicago (Dec)  | 2017-12-01 | Municipal        | City of Montreal Actions |
| Lock-In          | Plante won't go against the REM  | 2017-12-01 | Municipal        | REM                      |

Table 14. Sequence of carbon lock-in's, windows of opportunities and landscape events contrasted with key coalition activities and strategies (2017) (*continued*)

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p><b>Coalition Activities :</b></p>           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2<sup>nd</sup> anniversary event (Jan)</li> <li>• REM McGill Panel (Jan)</li> <li>• Demands parliamentary commission on the REM (Jan)</li> <li>• Meets with city a year after the end of the public consultation (March), twice right before the municipal elections (Sept)</li> <li>• Annual General Assembly</li> <li>• Lawsuit against the REM (March)</li> <li>• Present to CN and get their support (Nov)</li> <li>• Co-organize CAP DD 23 event (Dec)</li> </ul>  |
| <p><b>Policy Entrepreneur Strategies :</b></p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be very curious and try to get to the bottom of things</li> <li>• Move knowledge, be an integrator, a silo buster</li> <li>• Don't hesitate to create new local groups and working groups</li> <li>• Connect with local (climate) researchers and experts</li> <li>• Organize and participate in 'knowledge brokering' events and activities</li> <li>• Know your rights, start and participate in public consultations</li> <li>• Develop and diffuse studies and reports</li> <li>• Write newspaper articles and op-eds</li> <li>• Meet with city officials and administrators</li> <li>• Collaborate with students looking for practical academic mandates</li> <li>• File lawsuits</li> </ul> |

Bringing the issues to their membership early 2017 during their (very successful) 2<sup>nd</sup> anniversary event, as well as to the general public during a subsequent panel conference on the REM at McGill, these events and activities reinforce the coalition's strategies of organizing 'knowledge brokering' events and networking diverse actors. All the while doing so, they continued to engage on the REM in the media (the tactic of publishing newspaper articles and op-eds), as well as writing swarms of petitions and official co-signed letters (another continuously mobilized tactic) demanding a parliamentary commission on the project.

As the BAPE report was published and ignored by Quebec's provincial government, we see that while a public consultation is a window of opportunity for civil society actors, the most often 'non-constraining' nature of public consultations is an important lock-in for advancing carbon-neutrality policies. Also, a rather unexpected lock-in emerged for the Coalition as they clashed with some of their founding members, the key environmental corporate/mainstream groups that were supportive of the REM (Mainly Équiterre, the David Suzuki Foundation, Greenpeace and Vivre en Ville). This is the rather counterintuitive occurrence, where smaller, independent local citizen-lead environmental groups can (and do) face major lock-ins from other more established and well-funded corporate

environmental groups. Again here, when the schism within Montreal's environmental movement was out in the public, we can quite evidently infer that in this point, mainstream environmental groups could be considered as being part of the 'regime' rather than the 'niche'; also understanding the situation as a kind of 'niche-niche' lock-in between two types of environmental groups. As such, this observation provides a refined understanding of the fluidity of actors (their shifting positions) as they sometime belong to one level of analysis, and at other times to another (regime and/or niche).

As the coalition now faced that additional lock-in from within the environmental movement itself, relevant (smaller) windows of opportunities opened at the provincial level with Quebec's opposition parties going against the REM, alongside a window at the municipal level as the new head of the city's opposition (Valerie Plante of Projet MTL) wrote an official letter to Canada's Prime Minister voicing her concerns with the REM. So while they simultaneously faced major multi-level lock-ins some potential windows of opportunities on the REM; in parallel the coalition was also dealing with a lock-in in terms of their efforts in advancing carbon-neutrality policies for Montreal, given that it took a year after the successful public consultation before the city finally offered them a moment to meet and discuss the next steps regarding the consultation's 15 carbon-neutrality recommendations. Hence, we see here an overlap of provincial level socio-technical transition lock-in's (in the transport system); along with a municipal lock-in at the level of policymaking processes for urban carbon-neutrality (lack of engagement from the part of the city's municipal administration).

Facing these multi-level and multi-system lock-ins and windows of opportunities, the coalition had to evaluate whether or not they wanted to go ahead with the possibility of employing an important tactic, that of taking the Quebec government to court over the REM. Such a move would open up a new and important window of opportunity to stop the REM but could result in the young coalition isolating itself from some key stakeholders that were in favor of the project, mainly the more mainstream environmental groups and the city of Montreal; and which had the potential to create/further reinforce policy lock-ins for urban carbon-neutrality. At this point, it's not hard to see that drawing a portrait of the intertwined web(s) of lock-ins and windows of opportunities across multi-level policy processes and socio-technical system dynamics is an extremely complex matter, hence we can not capture them all at once in some sort of complete overarching clear and evident synthesis, as certain lock-ins and windows will inevitably be left out and remain unaccounted for. In this way, and as we continue to delve into a thick account of the Coalition's

story over the years, the analysis provided in the subsequent theoretical perspectives does not pretend to catch all lock-ins and windows, but rather, the more evident ones that were identified during the analysis and that provide an overview, a general sense of the kind of social web that the Coalition has been part of.

As Quebec experienced its worst spring floods in decades (a landscape ‘focussing’ event), the coalition decided that it was part of their mission to ‘put their money where their mouth was’ so to speak, and not just be ‘apple pie’ or ‘lap dogs’ to elected officials (both terms taken directly from interview quotes), they demonstrated that they were themselves ready to abide by the overarching policy and governance orientations that had emerged from the public consultation and that they were pushing the city to adopt; mainly the Carbon Budget, Annual GHG inventories, Climate Test and Participative Democracy. Ready to defend and implement their policy proposals, they incorporated to have the legal status that would enable them to file the lawsuit(s); not for organizational imperatives. Quiet the contrary, they were initially reluctant to face the risks of bureaucratizing the coalition. This said, the tactic of not shying away from undertaking lawsuits is one of the coalition’s key approach in raising the political stakes in the mainstream media and influencing the general public perceptions and understandings of controversial urban projects that go against urgent climate mitigation.

Interestingly enough, and while the coalition had anticipated that they would be further marginalized by the city administration the minute that they would open the policy window of opportunity that the REM lawsuit represented, quiet the opposite happened. Despite the coalition taking to court Montreal’s biggest public transport project since the metro system in the 1960’s, and that was fully supported by Montreal’s then mayor Denis Coderre; elected officials responsible for sustainability at the city offered the coalition two back to back meetings in the short space of a few weeks (keeping in mind that it had taken them a full year before they got back to the coalition regarding the consultation’s next steps). The reason for this counterintuitive reaction from the city? The upcoming municipal elections of course, a window of opportunity for the coalition and somehow a lock-in for the city’s administration in power. Intentionally or unintentionally, the coalition seemed to have filed the lawsuit at the right time to limit potential backlashes (as the upcoming elections gave them some sort of power over the municipal administration); with discussions at the meetings with the city not revolving specifically around the REM but more

focused on the coalition's four overarching carbon-neutrality policy and governance orientations that pushed the coalition to oppose the project in the first place.

At this point, while the IPCC was holding its congress in Montreal (an international level window of opportunity manifesting at the local regime level), and just a few weeks before Montrealer's went to the ballot box to elect their new city mayor and administration; an utterly unexpected (and seemingly unrelated) event occurred in North America that was going to be a decisive factor in tipping the municipal elections in favor of the under dogs (Valerie Plante and her progressive 'green' party): The MeToo Movement. Capitalizing on the international controversy that represented a window of opportunity for her campaign, Plante rallied Montrealer's around the slogan 'Valerie, the Man of the Situation', in opposition to what many saw as Denis Coderre's outdated old 'Boys Club'. Representing not just a ground-breaking four-year window of opportunity for the coalition, Montreal's 2017 municipal elections that brought to power the city's first ever mayoress and progressive green party can be considered as a moment of 'Punctuated-Equilibrium' in the city's political history, and one that was potentially bringing with it a multitude of near future windows of opportunities for Montreal's transition to carbon-neutrality.

Coinciding a few weeks before the courts were to give their verdict in the REM case, it seemed that several windows of opportunities were aligning themselves in favor of the coalition (at the municipal with the surprise election of Valérie Plante and provincial levels with the REM court case). Nevertheless, 2017 ended with the courts rejecting the coalition's lawsuit, and the newly elected mayoress yet again surprising the political scene as she took the political decision of not opposing herself to the REM, despite that she had a track record of being unsatisfied with the project. Now in power at the head of the city and no longer the 'grassroots' leader of the opposition party, she was faced with what can be termed as the 'new political game'. If she wanted Quebec and Canada's support in order to materialize one of her key electoral campaign promises, the additional Pink Line for Montreal's metro, she had to 'play ball' with other levels of government by supporting the REM. This was Projet MTL's first major political concession as they kicked off their four-year mandate at the head of Montreal. Here we see a situation where what is initially a window of opportunity can quickly and unexpectedly transform itself into a lock-in. The opposite is also applicable, as the subsequent years went on to demonstrate that an initial socio-technical lock-in in the transport system (REM project moving ahead) could go on and contribute to opening

windows of opportunities for the coalition in the sphere of urban green spaces. Today’s lock-in in one socio-technical system can be tomorrow’s policy window in another socio-technical system.

#### 5.2.2.4 Playing the New Political Municipal Game and Provincial Elections - (2018)

Table 15. Chronology of Empirical Events

| Year: 2018 | Key Events  |
|------------|---|
| January    | New Era at City Hall <sup>218</sup> , coalition meets with new elected officials  |
|            | Transparence (citizens) considers appealing court’s ruling  |
|            | MCC looks to influence Projet MTL’s party position on the REM and officially meets the new city administration for the first time                         |
|            | Coalition’s 3 <sup>rd</sup> anniversary: allyship from elected officials within the new city administration   |
|            | Coalition participates in Projet MTL’s internal consultations to influence party position on REM at their annual party congress                           |
|            | Royalmount project is announced   |
| March      | Cities IPCC   |
|            | PQ reaches out to MCC: Birth of the ‘Grand Deblochage’ proposal   |
|            | Guilbeault comes out publicly against Transparence  |
|            | Plante symbolically signs MCC’s 400 <sup>th</sup> declaration   |
| April      | REM project is launched and beginning of impacts on Two-Mountain train services   |
|            | Citizens take their case to the Quebec court of appeal for the right to a fair public consultation <sup>219</sup>   |
| May        | Climate Test is published   |
|            | Lachine-Est public forum in anticipation of OCPM consultation   |
| June       | 2018 Annual General Assembly (Creole Center)  |
|            | ICLEI side event  |
|            | CAQ integrates tramway projects in its electoral platform   |
| July       | Quebec Heat Wave  |
| August     | Pre-provincial election Tramway documentary screening   |
|            | Meeting with city’s sustainability employees for National Climate League indicators   |
| September  | City adopts Carbon-Neutrality vision  |
|            | Demonstrations against the REM, including to stop works in Technoparc   |
|            | Coalition’s strategic weekend getaway in St-Rose  |
|            | Provincial Elections: CAQ (center-right) gets elected and announces details for tramway project   |
| December   | IPCC +1.5C Special Report   |
|            | <b>At the time of COP 24</b> , the city announces its Climate Action Plan project, with the David Suzuki and the Trottier foundations as funding partners |
|            | COP 24 Shift for Climate conference at HEC and the emergence of Extinction Rebellion  |

So here we were, at the beginning of 2018, with a new progressive ‘green’ municipal party at the helm of the Montreal. Immediately at the start of their mandate, on January 17<sup>th</sup>, a meeting was held between the new city administration and the Coalition. Surprisingly, while it would have been expected that it would be a positive meeting between a civil society organisation and the newly

<sup>218</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/opinion/columnists/allison-hanes-a-new-era-at-montreal-city-hall/>

<sup>219</sup> See Annex 22.



elected officials that they helped bring to power; the meeting that took place was a tense one. Not the kind of start to a new municipal mandate that one would expect. The below journal entry depicts the meeting ambiance that I experienced then.

*Overall, I would say it was somehow, an unexpected way by which the meeting developed. First of all the fact that Jean-François Parenteau cancelled at the last minute saying that he had emergency and that we were only told once we were in the meeting didn't help a good start to the meeting, a lot of coalition members were disappointed, and were quite verbal about that, such as Dimitri. It kind of set the tone for, I would say not the smoothest meeting since that there was, some level of intensity.... The ambience was relatively tense I would say and that was also somehow compounded by the fact that they were problems with opening the PowerPoint presentations which meant that we had to start the meeting without the PowerPoint, on the carbon budget Anthony was presenting without the slides, so that was not ideal either. I would say that it was an unexpected tense atmosphere to a certain extent, more than what I would have expected for its first meeting with the most progressive administration it in Montréal on something such as, something as important as climate change and reducing to emissions. Marianne Giguère who's known for being a strong militant activist in the Plateau, herself she was relatively tense as well, seemed stressed out...from her body language, and I think that was a combination of the fact that I guess lack of experience, novice in this position of power position versus militant in the neighbourhoods; and from the fact that Parenteau cancelled at the last minute and that did not make some of the coalition people too happy, and so she was also tense. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

In addition to officially introducing the coalition to the new city administration, the two main topics that were discussed in this first meeting were around mutual expectations on how work was going to take place between the new administration, the coalition and grassroots civil society organisations in general; along with the controversial REM issue.

*Everybody shared their different working groups, what they look to push forward with the city, it was kind of brief, it was expected, there was also the whole issue of the REM that came back within the transport file and Marianne clearly suggested to treat this separately from the discussion on climate change. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

*The message was clearly that we are expecting as a coalition, expecting the new administration to clearly show how they would like to work with the coalition, groups such as the coalition. Marianne asked us to clarify what we were expecting and how different the approach we are aiming for, how different it would be from what is already in place in terms of mechanisms in public consultations civil society and municipality collaborations, my feeling was that in her mind what is already in place is already good enough, it's about using them more and better rather than adding new mechanisms, or at least she wanted to understand what specific new mechanisms and*

*why and how. what was interesting to see is that although they are part of the C40, when asked the question about whether they are looking at what other cities are doing, are they looking at those details and trying to see what can be replicated here they seem to be, he replied in a very ambiguous kind of a not in general without saying no.*  
- Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)

*There was the discussion on the REM carbon budget, to have an info session to all elected officials to the caucus of project Montréal, which would probably be tough, it could take place for a more restricted group directly involved in this file that is the REM carbon budget, so not to all elected officials. In general, in terms of next steps, the idea is to send them now a letter recapping what we have understood from the meeting, basically the follow-up meeting to discuss about participative democracy and different mechanisms by which we want to collaborate as well as a next that regarding how we take forward the carbon budget work.* - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)

Nor the BAPE's critical report of the REM, nor the coalition's lawsuit, or even the surprise election of Montreal's first progressive 'green' mayoress; succeeded in stopping the project. Here is what I noted in my journal from Marianne Giguère's (elected official) closing note about the REM at the coalition's 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary event:

*The key message from her side was well said that they are not fully for the REM, they understand the issues that the coalition is bringing much they are in harassing this from the old administration and I was too much I think to go back to the drawing table and that they will make it a better REM project and she also said that they also wanted to better understand how they wanted to work with the coalition with civil society in general that they were thinking about that and you know they just arrived only been two months to give them time for them to see how they want to work with civil society to really move forward and that the sense she was looking forward to that that this was their intention to improve the way they could work with civil society and fact of the coalition for the work that they do.* - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)

Here is also an interesting testimony from one of Trainsparence's key active member:

*It's an injustice. It's a huge, huge injustice: number 1 to the Two Mountains people (who no longer can use their current commuter train that connects them to Montreal). 15, 18,000 people. They have to move, they have to change jobs, have to buy another car. Their lives are totally disrupted by this train taking over the tunnel. So, there's injustice there. And there's also big financial injustice too. It's going to cost Montréal and Quebec taxpayers a lot of money. So, on those two grounds alone it's really bad (...) the biggest hurdle is the Caisse which doesn't want this plowing through. It's not listening and they're just going ahead regardless. It's not paying attention to the public. It doesn't have to pay attention, because the Liberals protected it back in 2016 (...) They protected it from all*

*kinds of criticism, and they do not have to pay taxes. They kind of have a free ride with respect to accessing government facilities and so on. They can do what they want because the Liberals made it possible for them to do what they want. That's been very difficult. And plus, they don't listen, because they don't have to listen. So, what is our hope? Well, we're trying new tactics all the time (...) they'll make mistakes, and they will not finish on time. It will cost more than they said it was going to cost. And they will require public assistance publicly, they're requiring it under the table, ask for help publicly. And that will be an embarrassment to them (...) But right now it's really important given the aggressiveness with which the Caisse is moving to try to push back against that. I think we're in a fight with Macky Tall, to tell you the truth (he's the head of CDPQ-Infra, CDPQ subsidiary responsible for the projet). Yeah. I think we're in a fight with him. And I think he's responsible for the speed, for the kind of indifference to the public that is characteristic of the REM. - Laurel Thompson (Transparence)*

Nevertheless, while it did at first discourage the Coalition, it did not deter their determination to continue diffusing the studies they had generated on the impacts of the project, as well as continuing to develop further reports and analysis from a variety of different angles<sup>220</sup>; including a 12,000\$ grant to publish the REM's Climate Test study that points to the project's lack of contribution to GHG emissions reductions for a rapid decarbonisation and climate crises mitigation in Montreal<sup>221</sup>. In fact, just like a year before (winter 2017, after the BAPE's cold shower on the REM), winter of 2018 also ended up being one of the Coalition's most active period. As we will see, their tenacity was to be rewarded in unexpected ways.

With Projet Montreal now at the head of the municipal government thanks to Montreal's environmental movement that contributed to tipping elections in their favor, and as the REM was being officially launched<sup>222</sup>, coalition members intensified their efforts to convince as many elected officials as possible to support the BAPE's conclusion and publicly support the coalition's opposition to the project. One of the ways by which they did this was by inviting some of the city's key officials to the Coalition's 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary event<sup>223</sup> and participating in Projet MTL's internal party (borough level) consultations and annual congress<sup>224</sup>. The 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary demonstrated that the coalition was going to be able to count as allies key elected officials, starting with the newly

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<sup>220</sup> See Annex 23.

<sup>221</sup> <https://transparence.ca/sites/default/files/inline-files/Test-climat%20Synth%C3%A8se%20V32.pdf>

<sup>222</sup> <https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/rem-chooses-construction-firms-locations-for-26-stations-for-26-stations-1.3794929>

<sup>223</sup> See pictures 34, 35 and 36 in Annex 30.

<sup>224</sup> [http://www.projetmontreal.org/chantier\\_de\\_flexion](http://www.projetmontreal.org/chantier_de_flexion)

elected Mayoress of Lachine, Maja Vodanovic. This was a key point that I recorded in my audio journal entry at the time.

*Mainly three interesting take outs: First Maya, mayoress of Lachine; big supporter of the coalition who was there for the opening note, keynote for five minutes. Two key things which struck, one, she literally word for word said I come here as not as a representative of Projet Montréal, but as an elected official. My understanding is that she comes, so she can make things happen in line with what the coalition is trying to do, and with power in the sense that it's a more delicate situation and she kind of left it at that. The second thing she said was that what's great about the coalition is the way.... this is not word for word but more overall message, she said what's great about the coalition is that the coalition's power comes from the fact that they are independent, and that's why they are financed the way they are, they're not going to take money from anyone, therefore there are independent, therefore they have power and she encouraged the coalition to continue and saying that the work the coalition does is very important, and she's very involved with Jean François and Lachine-Est and she's against the REM, she did mention why she was against the REM, principally because of the fact that it doesn't serve her neighbourhood. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

Maja and Jean-François would go on to develop a tramway proposal for Lachine that they positioned as being complementary to Projet Montreal's 'Pink Line' metro project, one of the party's key electoral platform proposal<sup>225</sup>.

*Projet Montreal initially proposed not a network project (for the Pink Line) but a simple one-line metro, it was easier to sell the project this way. With one line it's less utopic, seems like more feasible. It's the first blueprint, there wasn't any connection with Lachine. Maja and I were at the microphone during Projet Montreal's congress to ask for the (Pink Line) connection to Lachine to be added (in the form of a tramway). - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

In parallel, the coalition never missed an opportunity to diffuse across their network the negative media articles that were being published on the REM, while continuing to develop their research studies that enabled them to further develop and consolidate their alternative 'Le Grand Virage' network of tramway project.

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<sup>225</sup> <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/projet-montreal-pink-line-metro-1.4135881>

Table 16. Studies and articles published on the impacts of the REM (Winter 2018)

|            |  |   |
|------------|--|---|
| 2018-01-15 | A very profitable project for the CDPQ, but extremely costly for Quebec taxpayers! | <a href="http://www.tramworld.net/rem.html">http://www.tramworld.net/rem.html</a><br><a href="http://www.nationalisonslerem.com/">http://www.nationalisonslerem.com/</a>  |
| 2018-02-08 | REM 2.0: a better project, but still not the best of projects                      | <a href="https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1082919/le-rem-2-0-un-meilleur-projet-mais-toujours-pas-le-meilleur-des-projets">https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1082919/le-rem-2-0-un-meilleur-projet-mais-toujours-pas-le-meilleur-des-projets</a>   |
|            | REM chooses construction firms, locations for 26 stations                          | <a href="https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/rem-chooses-construction-firms-locations-for-26-stations-1.3794929">https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/rem-chooses-construction-firms-locations-for-26-stations-1.3794929</a>   |
|            | Launched: Bombardier misses the train  | <a href="https://www.ledevoir.com/economie/519718/bombardier-ecarte-du-contrat-du-rem?utm_source=infolettre-2018-02-09&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_campaign=infolettre-quotidienne">https://www.ledevoir.com/economie/519718/bombardier-ecarte-du-contrat-du-rem?utm_source=infolettre-2018-02-09&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_campaign=infolettre-quotidienne</a><br><a href="https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/bombardier-warns-of-layoffs-after-losing-rem-contract-to-snc-lavalin-consortium-1.3809803">https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/bombardier-warns-of-layoffs-after-losing-rem-contract-to-snc-lavalin-consortium-1.3809803</a><br><br><a href="https://www.ledevoir.com/economie/519718/bombardier-ecarte-du-contrat-du-rem?utm_source=infolettre-2018-02-09&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_campaign=infolettre-quotidienne">https://www.ledevoir.com/economie/519718/bombardier-ecarte-du-contrat-du-rem?utm_source=infolettre-2018-02-09&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_campaign=infolettre-quotidienne</a> |

My below journal entry regarding a conference by CDPQ-Infra at the time is insightful as to the REM discussion in the media at the time.

*Conference on the REM, and what comes out is that Sabia says that it's not the taxpayers that will pay the cost of the project with high tariffs, that this will not happen because the project is profitable even with costs that have exceeded initial provisions, that these additional costs are acceptable within the limit of 5% for investors and that they're going to go get gains at the level of cost reduction in terms of operational costs that weren't initially anticipated, so they balance off and that in this way they won't need to increase the tariff in a way that it's taxpayers that will have to pay for the cost of the project. In terms of how SNC-Lavalin got the contract instead of Bombardier, a lot of questions on that from the journalists, they defended their process, but they did not reveal the actual selection process but assured the rigour of the process but that they are not ready to reveal how it happened. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

In March of 2018, six months prior to the provincial elections; a rather unexpected 'serendipity-like' event occurred which rewarded the coalition's perseverant efforts in the face of adversity. One of the Coalition's coordinating committee members and key artisan of the opposition to the REM and the development of the Grand Virage alternative, got contacted by the political attaché of Jean-François Lisé<sup>226</sup>, then head of the *Partie Québécois* (PQ) and one of the candidates running

<sup>226</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Fran%C3%A7ois\\_Lis%C3%A9](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Fran%C3%A7ois_Lis%C3%A9)

in the upcoming provincial elections for the post of Quebec's Prime Minister. The reason for the call? The PQ had come to hear of the 'Grand Virage' alternative to the REM and they were requesting a meeting for a presentation to be made to them.

*Luc and I managed to get hired in the team of Lisé of the Partie Quebecois, a small contract, and they took 5 tramway lines that we proposed, that were in their platform, and then the CAQ copied PQ and kept 3 lines. It means that the little work we did, it went quiet a long way, it was developed and then taken by someone else. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

This is how, on March 20<sup>th</sup>, a news conference by Jean-Francois Lisé was given at the Maison du développement durable<sup>227</sup> in which he unveiled what was going to be one of the Partie Quebecois' key electoral platform proposal: The 'Grand Déblocage' project of tramways, as an alternative to the REM in transforming Montreal's public transport system and resolving's the city's major traffic problems<sup>228</sup>. While Lisé did reply to a journalist's question by saying that the proposal hadn't just come out of the blue and was something that transport experts had been working on for a while, he came short of naming the individuals and organisations behind the idea (namely the coalition). He did however confirm that if he became Quebec's Prime Minister, that the REM project would be abandoned<sup>229</sup>. Suddenly, the Coalition's prospects of possibly stopping the REM were once again back on the table. Pre-election fever was already being felt as Montreal's transport battle began to rage on in the mainstream media.

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<sup>227</sup> See picture 37 in Annex 30.

<sup>228</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1090332/gouvernement-pequiste-remplace-rem-autobus-metro>

<sup>229</sup> <https://www.tvanouvelles.ca/2018/03/20/le-pq-ne-veut-pas-du-rem>

Table 17. Studies and articles published on the impacts of the REM (Spring 2018)

| Date          | Title of Article  | Link  |
|---------------|---|---|
| 2018-03-21    | Une entente prévoit un vaste monopole et du rabattage pour le REM   | <a href="https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1090750/societe-transport-collectif-rem-rabattage-monopole-entente">https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1090750/societe-transport-collectif-rem-rabattage-monopole-entente</a>   |
| 2018-03-21    | 10 arguments contre le tramway <sup>230</sup>                       | <a href="https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2018/03/21/10-arguments-contre-le-tramway">https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2018/03/21/10-arguments-contre-le-tramway</a>   |
| 2018-03-23    | REM: des ententes secrètes de monopoles territoriaux inquiètent     | <a href="https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/grand-montreal/201803/23/01-5158404-rem-des-ententes-secretes-de-monopoles-territoriaux-inquietent.php">https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/grand-montreal/201803/23/01-5158404-rem-des-ententes-secretes-de-monopoles-territoriaux-inquietent.php</a>   |
| 2018-03-23    | REM: Couillard demande plus de transparence à la Caisse de dépôt    | <a href="https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/politique/politique-quebecoise/201803/23/01-5158527-rem-couillard-demande-plus-de-transparence-a-la-caisse-de-depot.php">https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/politique/politique-quebecoise/201803/23/01-5158527-rem-couillard-demande-plus-de-transparence-a-la-caisse-de-depot.php</a>   |
| 2018-03-26    | Fin des discussions dans le dossier du REM selon Philippe Couillard | <a href="https://www.ledevoir.com/politique/quebec/523742/fin-des-discussions-dans-le-dossier-du-rem-selon-philippe-couillard">https://www.ledevoir.com/politique/quebec/523742/fin-des-discussions-dans-le-dossier-du-rem-selon-philippe-couillard</a>   |
| 5 avril 2018  | Le REM: quand la consultation et la transparence déraillent         | <a href="https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/alain-therrien/rem-consultation-transparence-derailent_a_23403808/">https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/alain-therrien/rem-consultation-transparence-derailent_a_23403808/</a>   |
| 6 avril 2018  | Opinion: Montrealer's have many reasons to rally behind the REM     | <a href="https://montrealgazette.com/opinion/opinion-montrealers-have-many-reasons-to-rally-behind-the-rem">https://montrealgazette.com/opinion/opinion-montrealers-have-many-reasons-to-rally-behind-the-rem</a>   |
| 6 avril 2018  | La Caisse peut-elle vendre le REM?                                  | <a href="https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/idees/524602/la-caisse-peut-elle-vendre-le-rem">https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/idees/524602/la-caisse-peut-elle-vendre-le-rem</a>   |
| 8 avril 2018  | REM: la facture d'Hydro-Québec gonfle de 43 millions                | <a href="http://www.lapresse.ca/affaires/economie/transports/201804/06/01-5160042-rem-la-facture-dhydro-quebec-gonfle-de-43-millions.php">http://www.lapresse.ca/affaires/economie/transports/201804/06/01-5160042-rem-la-facture-dhydro-quebec-gonfle-de-43-millions.php</a>   |
| 12 avril 2018 | REM: les libéraux se défendent de s'être ingérés dans les décisions | <a href="https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/politique/politique-quebecoise/201804/12/01-5160806-rem-les-liberaux-se-defendent-de-setre-ingeres-dans-les-decisions.php">https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/politique/politique-quebecoise/201804/12/01-5160806-rem-les-liberaux-se-defendent-de-setre-ingeres-dans-les-decisions.php</a>   |
| 12 avril 2018 | Les trains du REM seront construits en Inde                         | <a href="https://www.lapresse.ca/affaires/economie/transports/201804/12/01-5160814-les-trains-du-rem-seront-construits-en-inde.php">https://www.lapresse.ca/affaires/economie/transports/201804/12/01-5160814-les-trains-du-rem-seront-construits-en-inde.php</a>   |
| 20 avril 2018 | Des personnalités demandent l'abandon du REM de la Caisse de dépôt  | <a href="https://www.lapresse.ca/affaires/economie/transports/201804/20/01-5161900-des-personnalites-demandent-labandon-du-rem-de-la-caisse-de-depot.php">https://www.lapresse.ca/affaires/economie/transports/201804/20/01-5161900-des-personnalites-demandent-labandon-du-rem-de-la-caisse-de-depot.php</a>   |
| 24 avril 2018 | Le REM : privatisation et cadeau aux libéraux                       | <a href="https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/jean-michel-goulet/le-rem-privatisation-et-cadeau-aux-liberaux_a_23415318/">https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/jean-michel-goulet/le-rem-privatisation-et-cadeau-aux-liberaux_a_23415318/</a>   |
| 24 avril 2018 | La Caisse pourrait vendre le REM après 5 ans                        | <a href="https://www.ledevoir.com/economie/525978/la-caisse-pourrait-abandonner-l-exploitation-du-rem-apres-cinq-ans?utm_source=infolettre-2018-04-24&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_campaign=infolettre-quotidienne">https://www.ledevoir.com/economie/525978/la-caisse-pourrait-abandonner-l-exploitation-du-rem-apres-cinq-ans?utm_source=infolettre-2018-04-24&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_campaign=infolettre-quotidienne</a>                               |
| 26 juin 2018  | Le REM pourrait être neuf fois plus polluant que prévu              | <a href="https://www.ledevoir.com/societe/transports-urbanisme/531098/rem-le-projet-pourrait-etre-onze-fois-plus-polluant-que-prevu?utm_source=infolettre-2018-06-26&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_campaign=infolettre-quotidienne">https://www.ledevoir.com/societe/transports-urbanisme/531098/rem-le-projet-pourrait-etre-onze-fois-plus-polluant-que-prevu?utm_source=infolettre-2018-06-26&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_campaign=infolettre-quotidienne</a> |

<sup>230</sup> See Annex 24.

Nevertheless, and with a budget of 6.3 billion\$<sup>231</sup>, the REM moved full steam ahead with its official launch<sup>232</sup> and the begin of construction works in the area of Technopark, one of the island of Montreal's last wetlands and a very important, valuable and sensitive bird sanctuary ecosystem being defended by the Green Coalition and the MCC<sup>233</sup>. The REM further consolidated its presence through various events (such as Co-Motion), by diffusing information via the UMQ's newsletters, and involving citizens and future users in a design consultation pertaining to the aesthetic look of the train (providing them with 3 design choices to vote for). The launch was celebrated by corporate environmental group Équiterre with an article they published on their website that headlined: '*Our dreams become reality!*'<sup>234</sup>. As the work started on the REM, services on the two-mountain train line began to be impacted<sup>235</sup>, and users began to mobilise<sup>236</sup> to make their discontent heard.

Supporting the PQ's alternative Grand Déblocage project (that was based on the coalition's 'Grand Virage' study), the coalition published two new studies, one comparing the Grand Déblocage to the REM to '*unravel the true from the false in 9 points*'<sup>237</sup> and a first of its kind climate test on the project<sup>238</sup>. This was followed by a public screening and panel discussion at the Centre des Sciences on the Stephen Low's 3D Imax documentary '*The Trolley*'<sup>239</sup>, which was preceded a couple of months earlier with the screening of the documentary '*Cities Held Hostages*'<sup>240</sup>.

At this point, something interesting occurred. As the Partie Québécois were promoting their Grand Déblocage tramway system, one of their electoral opponents, the CAQ party (who were leading in voting intentions throughout the pre-election period) put forward their vision to economically revive the east part of Montreal. More specifically, they announced that a key element of their plan was the implementation of a tramway along Avenue Notre-Dame, a key artery that crosses the east part of the city from east to west<sup>241</sup>. Hence, whether from the Partie Québécois with its 'Grand

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<sup>231</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/montreals-6-3-billion-rem-we-will-start-work-almost-immediately/>

<sup>232</sup> [https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/2018/04/12/travaux-construction-reseau-express-metropolitain-rem\\_a\\_23409956/](https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/2018/04/12/travaux-construction-reseau-express-metropolitain-rem_a_23409956/)  
(see picture 39 in Annex 30)

<sup>233</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/watch-demonstrators-protest-against-rem-plans/>

<sup>234</sup> [https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/2018/04/12/travaux-construction-reseau-express-metropolitain-rem\\_a\\_23409956/](https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/2018/04/12/travaux-construction-reseau-express-metropolitain-rem_a_23409956/)

<sup>235</sup> <https://www.levuil.com/actualites/rem-de-premieres-perturbations-sur-la-ligne-deux-montagnes-fin-avril>

<sup>236</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/watch-demonstrators-protest-against-rem-plans/>

<sup>237</sup> <https://roulezelectrique.com/grand-deblocage-vs-rem-demeler-le-vrai-du-faux-en-9-points/>

<sup>238</sup> <https://transparence.ca/sites/default/files/inline-files/Test-climat%20Synth%C3%A8se%20V32.pdf>

<sup>239</sup> <https://www.stephenlow.com/project/the-trolley/> (see pictures 46 and 47 in Annex 30)

<sup>240</sup> <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/cities-held-hostage-who-owns-montreal-1.4234221>

<sup>241</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1108237/coalition-avenir-quebec-transport-montreal>



Déblochage' or the CAQ's economic revival of Montreal's East, now there was a concrete opportunity for a tramway project to materialise in Montreal in the coming decade<sup>242</sup>.

*I think it's a good project. The Notre-Dame Avenue can be requalified, it needs love. At the time, it was a highway project, the project never materialized, it's a big cycling path that nobody uses. So, it's perfect, it will allow people to identify with this new project. - Charles Grenier (Board member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*There is already guaranteed funding (\$ 800 million) for this project with fixed assets installed between 2020 and 2030. There was also a meeting with Justin Trudeau to talk about public transit. He was talking about 6 projects, and he did not talk about this project (Lachine Pink Line tramway). He spoke about the eastern tramway (on Notre-Dame Avenue), Quebec tramway, an opportunity study that will be carried out for Longueuil, a political project that would allow Chambly to be connected to another municipality by tram. This latest project comes out of nowhere. The pink line tram was not mentioned. It disappoints me, transport planning depends on politics in action, whatever's good for their politics. Political project before a project for the population. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

By the time Quebec's unprecedented summer heat wave went by<sup>243</sup> and election night came around, it had become evident that the provincial elections would not witness the kind of surprise that municipal elections had provided a year prior. As per poll predictions, the conservative center right CAQ party won the provincial elections with a majority<sup>244</sup>, consigning the PQ's MCC inspired 'Grand Déblochage' to remain nothing more than an electoral proposal. Nevertheless, the CAQ now had to live up to its promise of reviving the east part of the city and live up it did as they moved forward with their plan to build a tramway system in the area<sup>245</sup>. Following the PQ's unsuccessful election campaign, individual members of the Coalition and Transparence filed an appeal of the court's first lawsuit ruling<sup>246 247</sup>, claiming their right to a fair consultation on the REM<sup>248</sup>.

*The injunction we took out against the REM, we lost in superior court, we lost in the court of appeal. But the whole idea of that was to say, You have to go back to the BAPE. You missed a step here. You have cheated your constituents. We have a fundamental constitutional right to a healthy environment. And with that there has to be that... if*

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<sup>242</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1108237/coalition-avenir-quebec-transport-montreal>

<sup>243</sup> <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-after-54-heat-wave-deaths-quebec-shifts-focus-to-learning-lessons-for/>

<sup>244</sup> <https://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/quebec-elects-caq-majority-government-1.4115989>

<sup>245</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1132154/tramway-est-montreal-caq-deux-etapes>

<sup>246</sup> [https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/2018/04/09/rem-la-demande-dinjonction-est-portee-en-appel\\_a\\_23406749/](https://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/2018/04/09/rem-la-demande-dinjonction-est-portee-en-appel_a_23406749/)

<sup>247</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=16oSxqrHmwg>

<sup>248</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/rem-opponents-appeal-ruling/>

*there is a threat to the environment, we will be heard. You can't have a right to a healthy environment and not have the right to have a say when someone proposes to destroy it. If you undermine those institutions, then you are doing everybody a big disservice. In 30 years, everybody's going to be saying, Okay, where were you when you did this? I know where we were. But we try to get a court to say that they had to go back to the BAPE. They had stop everything and go back to the BAPE. We weren't asking them to be canceled. We were just saying, Go back to the BAPE! - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*We were hoping we could take it to the Supreme Court because we wanted to say, do we or do we not have the constitutional right to a healthy environment? and as part of that, do we have a constitutional right to be heard when it is being threatened? I could not find any senior attorneys who are willing to take it. This was not the chosen. That case has to be taken to the Supreme Court because the Supreme Court has to say yes or no. This is not the case to do it. We got as far as the court of appeal, we got banged out in both. We didn't go anywhere. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

Gradually, the MCC began handing over the REM file completely to Trainsparence; as it now aimed to retreat from the controversial REM spotlight and focus more on its carbon-neutrality agenda setting activities, especially now that we were entering Projet MTL's second year in power, with their adaptation/transition period (to their new role in power) well-behind them. The below excerpt from my journal entry illustrates how the REM file was becoming an uneasy one internally within the coalition.

*So this whole REM is still there, not to everybody's happiness I would say at the coalition, some people are not to happy that this file is still top of list and still being very much pushed, especially given the court hearing results and where the project is at today and where the general public is at today, that is the heavier and heavier file to carry I would say, from my impression. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entrey)*

Expectations were high since their election, and the newly elected administration had to start delivering on some of their progressive green promises, especially that Montreal wasn't on track to meeting even its most modest reduction targets<sup>249</sup> and that ICLEI was holding it's 2018 congress in Montreal at the end of spring<sup>250</sup>. Here are a few testimonies, including my own, that provide an indication of the coalition's state of mind/affaires at the time.

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<sup>249</sup> <https://www.lapresse.ca/environnement/politique-verte/201806/12/01-5185553-reduction-des-ges-montreal-nest-pas-sur-la-bonne-voie.php>

<sup>250</sup> <https://worldcongress2018.iclei.org/?lang=fr>

*The takeout of this internal meeting as we prepared for ICLEI's event in June, overall, how complicated it is, to be scientific about doing this work. So many methodologies, so many variables, little political will, no public openness to all of this, it's very complicated, a lot of work to be done. Considering the urgency of the matter and how complex it is, it's a huge challenge. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entrey)*

*I appreciated the political sophistication that the coalition has, and the closeness that they have to municipal leaders, and of course it's all changed actually. Goodbye to the old regime. And now, interestingly, with Technoparc, we're seeing it's a huge question, because now we've got are they going to be really different or not? - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*Understandably the first part of that time (mandate) you're settling in, unfortunately and I don't know exactly why it didn't happen earlier a year into their mandate, they decided to breakoff environment and climate change, so the new bureau transition resilience is its own department with its own head at the executive committee level, where previously it was headed up by a borough mayor who wasn't even part of the party, so that made the sustainability department, climate change action department kind of a lame duck, he wasn't keen on pushing it forward, I don't think he had a mandate from Projet Montreal to be ambitious and for whatever reason, administrative, it took them a while to shuffle their cards and then divide those departments in two, so that now there is an environment department, they take care of things from snow removal to air quality, to things like health and safety and restaurants, not sure about that, and now there is another department that focused on sustainable transition, ecological transition. It took them a year to do that. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*So a year into their mandate they did that (reshuffle internal sustainability and environment administrative structures), for almost a year, and then it took them another 4-5 months to hire somebody to lead that, and now it's only been you know 5 months or so that the person has been in place, so to be fair, you know it has taken them a long time to get to this stage, which I think is unfortunate, I think avoidable, I think administrations can circumvent some of the hurdles that traditional municipal structures put in there place, how do you get around that, you know...in ways that are creative, that say the law doesn't say I can't do this, so I'm going to do it. Push forward without ...by circumventing certain policies. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

Some positive signs had begun to manifest themselves, with Valérie Plante symbolically signing the coalition's 400<sup>th</sup> carbon-neutrality<sup>251</sup> declaration during the municipal council meeting of September 2018 and tweeting about it<sup>252</sup>. A few months later she announced during the Global Climate Action Summit in San Francisco that she aimed to set Montreal in the direction of carbon-

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<sup>251</sup> [https://twitter.com/Val\\_Plante/status/978393247985713152/photo/1](https://twitter.com/Val_Plante/status/978393247985713152/photo/1)

<sup>252</sup> See pictures 40 and 41 in Annex 30.

neutrality by 2050<sup>253</sup> (in contrast to the coalition's more ambitious 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary 2042 target date). With this vision, and with the IPCC +1.5 Special Report making world headlines, Montreal established partnerships with two renowned environmental non-profits and research centers to develop the city's 'Road Map to Carbon-neutrality'<sup>254</sup>: the David Suzuki<sup>255</sup> and Trottier<sup>256</sup> foundations. Clearly, and despite that concrete advancements from Projet Montreal were still to be seen, they're first year in office had brought a breath of fresh (carbon-neutral) air, as witnessed by some coalition members.

*Changing an administration, the political, it changed everything with Projet MTL for Lachine. It changed the dynamic, with people much more progressive, nevertheless, they're not all the same (elected officials). And that's fine, globally, they support the mayoress that has a very progressive vision. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

*The dynamic is much more, I think personal in the sense that a lot of us know that the counselors, that's one thing it's different because we have to figure out a way to make news about environmental issues and advance environmental issues in a way which is not confrontational. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*The climate issue is much more present. At the elected level, we talk about it a little more. In Montreal, the new administration feels more concerned. But we do not talk about it enough and not at the right level. - Jean-François Boisvert (Co-founder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

The Coalition's coordinating committee was active on several fronts that year, as they began by attending and participating in the CitiesIPCC summit taking place in Edmonton-Alberta<sup>257</sup> that enabled them to connect with internationally renowned climate scientists<sup>258</sup>. It's thanks to their participation at this event that they were able to get hold of the draft version of what was to eventually be published a couple of months later and become a milestone report in the global fight against climate change; the IPCC's +1,5C Special Report (discussed in the introductory chapter 1).

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<sup>253</sup> <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2018/09/12/news/montreal-wants-be-carbon-neutral-2050>

<sup>254</sup> <https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/collaboration-agreement-between-ville-de-montreal-c40-the-david-suzuki-foundation-and-the-trottier-family-foundation-701805651.html>

<sup>255</sup> <https://davidsuzuki.org/>

<sup>256</sup> <https://www.trottierfoundation.com/>

<sup>257</sup> <https://www.ipcc.ch/event/cities-and-climate-change-science-conference/>

<sup>258</sup> See pictures 37 and 38 in Annex 30.

They also went on to co-organising a Carbon-Neutral panel conference<sup>259</sup> on the sideline of ICLEI's World Congress<sup>260</sup> (given that tickets to the official event were often too expensive for most civil society organisations, a sideline program had been concocted for excluded actors to include themselves), participating in the launch of Climate Reality's National Climate League<sup>261</sup> initiative, taking the time for an off-site strategic weekend getaway<sup>263</sup>, and co-organising as well at the end of the year their annual COP conference that took place at HEC Montreal and that was entitled COP24 'Shift for Climate'<sup>264</sup>. The end of the year wasn't without any last-minute surprises, as the controversial urban development project Royalmount was back on the table<sup>265</sup> and the Quebec chapter of the newly established UK-based civil society group Extinction Rebellion<sup>266</sup> got in touch with the Coalition to discuss their upcoming launch plans for 2019; pointing to a new phase in climate mobilisations, not just in Montreal but across the world.

*The fact that civil society has moved forward on this project (opposing the Royalmount) is a consensus that I have rarely seen before. The reason is whether you are driving or walking, everyone agrees that this project will add a lot of cars. This will add 70,000 trips per day in an already crowded area, 540,000. 30 minutes more of traffic congestion.*  
- Jean-François Boisvert (Co-founder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)

*It can also precipitate the closure of other shopping centers around. A lot of people said it was going to compete with the entertainment district [...] it's done like any shopping center, at the crossroads of highways to attract the most consumers. Those with money travel by car. There is nothing that will stop this project because there is no will on the part of the Government of Quebec to stop this project. The one who could block it is municipality of Mont Royal, we're organizing mobilizations on December 16 at the municipal council [...] It all starts with political will. Without it, nothing happens. Mont Royal city are being pushed into the project because they are thinking of the land income they will receive, \$ 60 million. 35 million who will stay in the city, 25 in the metropolitan area. This is what they are looking at. I would like to see a change in that.* - Charles Grenier (Board member, Montreal Climate Coalition)

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<sup>259</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/events/163360511175819/?acontext=%7B%22source%22%3A5%2C%22action\\_history%22%3A\[%7B%22surface%22%3A%22page%22%2C%22mechanism%22%3A%22main\\_list%22%2C%22extra\\_data%22%3A%22%5C%22\[%5C%22%22%7D\]%2C%22has\\_source%22%3Atrue%7D](https://www.facebook.com/events/163360511175819/?acontext=%7B%22source%22%3A5%2C%22action_history%22%3A[%7B%22surface%22%3A%22page%22%2C%22mechanism%22%3A%22main_list%22%2C%22extra_data%22%3A%22%5C%22[%5C%22%22%7D]%2C%22has_source%22%3Atrue%7D)

<sup>260</sup> <https://worldcongress2018.iclei.org/?lang=fr>

<sup>261</sup> That encourages citizens to connect with their local elected officials; directly demand from them various key environmental performance parameters that are then collected to create dashboards of metrics that benchmark Canadian cities amongst each other on a variety of climate and sustainability indicators.

<sup>262</sup> <https://coalitionclimatmtl.org/en/national-climate-league/>

<sup>263</sup> See picture 46 in Annex 30.

<sup>264</sup> [http://www.shift-lab.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Programme\\_Symposium-SHIFT-FOR-CLIMATE-Les-forces-vives-en-action-vers-la-COP24\\_04122018.pdf](http://www.shift-lab.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Programme_Symposium-SHIFT-FOR-CLIMATE-Les-forces-vives-en-action-vers-la-COP24_04122018.pdf) (see picture 51 in Annex 30)

<sup>265</sup> <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/royalmount-mall-montreal-quebec-tmr-1.4551303>

<sup>266</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-48607989>

<sup>267</sup> <https://extinctionrebellion.ca/quebec/>

*It is so bad. The future is so dark for us as the people, a species. We need to use it. We use it to make them listen. I think we can. I think it's really, really good and that's why I really like Extinction Rebellion because they are saying, Disrupt. Business as usual. It's not working, so we disrupt. And I like that. The people in Trainsparence are not with me. They would not likely do what I would do. I'm more erratic than they would be. Not sure about Alison, but the others I sense would not be disruptive. But that's okay. Extinction Rebellion will do it. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

#### 5.2.2.4.1 Theoretical Perspective (2018)

Table 18. Sequence of carbon lock-in's, windows of opportunities and landscape events contrasted with key coalition activities and strategies (2018)

| Type               | Event  | Date       | Level                       | Case Element                        |
|--------------------|--|------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Lock-In            | Rising emissions, global warming and climate change                                  | -          | Landscape                   | Carbon-Neutrality                   |
| Lock-In            | REM work begin   | 2018-02-01 | Provincial                  | REM                                 |
| Windows            | Cities IPCC - Edmonton   | 2018-03-10 | International               | Carbon-Neutrality                   |
| Window             | PQ adopts Coalition's Grand Virage alternative tramway project (March)               | 2018-03-20 | Provincial                  | Elections (Tramway)                 |
| Window             | Valerie Plante's symbolic signature  | 2018-03-26 | Municipal                   | Carbon-Neutrality Policy Mix        |
| Window             | Projet MTL Congress  | 2018-04-01 | Municipal                   | Elections                           |
| Lock-In            | REM is officially launched   | 2018-04-01 | Provincial                  | REM                                 |
| Window             | Coalition members appeal the court's ruling  | 2018-04-01 | Provincial                  | REM                                 |
| Lock-In            | Corporate Environmental Groups Celebrate   | 2018-04-01 | Transition Arena            | REM                                 |
| Window             | Lachine-Est Consultation Announced   | 2018-05-01 | Municipal                   | Carbon-Neutrality                   |
| Lock-In            | Montreal not on the right track with regards to emission reductions                  | 2018-06-01 | Municipal                   | City of Montreal Actions            |
| Window             | ICLEI Congress in Montreal   | 2018-06-01 | International/<br>Municipal | Carbon-Neutrality                   |
| Window             | CAQ adopts tramway project in its electoral plans                                    | 2018-06-01 | Provincial                  | Elections / REM / Carbon-Neutrality |
| Positive Outcome   | Montreal wants to be carbon neutral by 2050  | 2018-09-12 | Municipal                   | Carbon-Neutrality                   |
| Window             | IPCC Special +1,5 Report   | 2018-10-18 | International               | Carbon-Neutrality                   |
| Lock-In            | CAQ wins provincial elections  | 2018-10-01 | Provincial                  | Elections                           |
| Positive Outcome   | CAQ confirms its plan to build a tramway line in the east part of Montreal           | 2018-11-01 | Provincial                  | Carbon-Neutrality / REM             |
| Window             | City establishes Climate Action Plan partnership with Suzuki and Trotter Foundations | 2018-12-01 | Municipal                   | City of Montreal Actions            |
| Lock-In/<br>Window | COP 24 Poland  | 2018-12-01 | International               | Annual COP Summit                   |
| Lock-In:           | Royalmount project is announced  | 2018-12-01 | Municipal                   | Built Environment                   |

Table 18. Sequence of carbon lock-in's, windows of opportunities and landscape events contrasted with key coalition activities and strategies (2018) *(continued)*

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p><b>Coalition's Activities :</b></p>           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Meeting new city administration (Jan)</li> <li>• 3<sup>rd</sup> Anniversary Event (Feb-Westmount Church)</li> <li>• Climate Test on the REM (May)</li> <li>• Annual General Assembly (June-Creole Center)</li> <li>• ICLEI side event (June)</li> <li>• Two documentary screenings (March and August)</li> <li>• Meeting with city administrators in the sustainability department (Aug)</li> <li>• Mobilisation against the REM</li> <li>• Lawsuit against REM in Technoparc (Sept)</li> <li>• St-Rose strategic weekend getaway</li> <li>• Co-organizes annual COP event: COP24 Shift for Climate (HEC Montreal)</li> </ul>   |
| <p><b>Policy Entrepreneur's Strategies :</b></p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be very curious and try to get to the bottom of things</li> <li>• Move knowledge, be an integrator, a silo buster</li> <li>• Don't hesitate to create new local groups and working groups</li> <li>• Connect with local (climate) researchers and experts</li> <li>• Organize and participate in 'knowledge brokering' events and activities</li> <li>• Know your rights, start and participate in public consultations</li> <li>• Develop and diffuse studies and reports</li> <li>• Write newspaper articles and op-eds</li> <li>• Meet with city officials and administrators</li> <li>• Collaborate with students looking for practical academic mandates</li> <li>• File lawsuits</li> </ul> |

At this point early 2018, the strategy that the coalition employed to deal with this double lock-in (court verdict in favor of the REM and Plante's support of the project) was to try to influence the mayoress and Projet MTL's position on the REM from within the party. By ensuring that some coalition members were members of Projet MTL, they participated in the party's internal consultations to sway the party's official position on the REM during their annual party congress. This clearly illustrates the coalition's strategy of engaging in direct dialogical conversations with elected officials.

While Projet MTL and the mayoress's position on the REM did not change, it did reveal that within the party in power at city hall, some elected officials of the party were comfortable criticizing the REM, while others preferred not to. Hence emerged several key elected official allies for the coalition from within the city's administrative apparatus, and that were to play an important role in future socio-technical transition dynamics related to Montreal's public transport and urban carbon-neutrality policies in the built environment. The best example is how the newly elected

mayoress of Lachine borough, Maja Vodanovic from Projet MTL, became a key coalition ally via Imagine Lachine-Est's carbon-neutral eco-district project.

Despite the coalition losing its battle to the REM (with pro-REM environmental groups celebrating the project), not only did their opposition to the REM enable them to open a new policy window of opportunity for carbon-neutrality with the Lachine-Est project; but also, the very moment that the construction of the REM began turned out to be amongst the busiest time for the coalition as they attended the CitiesIPCC summit in Edmonton (international level window of opportunity), got Valerie Plante to symbolically sign the coalition's declaration during a monthly municipal council meeting (a symbolic window of opportunity thanks to their consistent participation in the monthly municipal council question periods, both at the city and borough levels); all the while also appealing the court's initial decision on the REM (this pertains to their strategy to undertake lawsuits regardless of potential outcomes, as it raises media attention and hence the political stakes).

The organizational capacities that the coalition built during its opposition to the REM, whether in terms of the research studies and reports they co-developed and diffused (especially on their alternative 'Grand Virage' project) or the network of new connections that they catalyzed in the process; not only enabled them to counter balance the major carbon lock-in that the REM represented by opening new policy windows for carbon-neutrality (building allyship with key elected 'progressive' officials now in power); but their efforts were rewarded in unexpected ways with the 'Partie Quebecois-PQ' building part of their electoral platform on the coalition's Grand Virage alternative project to the REM. This is a 'critical turning point' in the case study, as we are provided with a clear illustration of the kind of positive outcomes that can derive when policy entrepreneurs are skillful enough to connect policymaking's problem, solution and political streams during well anticipated periodical windows of opportunity that elections represent; how 'serendipity' and 'chance' favor the bold. The below journal audio entry illustrates my interpretation of the event at the time, based on a discussion I had with the concerned person as we drove back to Montreal from the coalition's off-site strategic weekend getaway.

*But here's the interesting thing, I have thought that Jean François had been a great strategist and that through his political skills he was able to bring his ideas to the Partie Québécois, that was my assumption, but what I learned today when talking with him he said listen ... what happened was that one of the deputies heard about their critical work*



*on the REM and he had some concerns with the REM that he wasn't very at ease with, because of our work he contacted us and we presented to him, he then went to speak to Jean François Lisé head of the party who was running for prime minister, and then invited them to come and present their ideas to the caucus of the Partie Québécois, and they did this with other people also, but a lot of the ideas of the Grand Virage were adopted in the Grand Débloccage project of the Partie Québécois. All this to say that he had fortunately it kind of fell into his lap, he said listen for me is the first time that whatever I propose in the public space is adopted by a political party. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

Putting their weight behind the tram option, they had a 'ripple' or 'spill-over' effect during election period when the Coalition Avenir Quebec (CAQ) also integrated a tram project in their electoral promises. The coalition continued deploying their tactic of co-developing research studies; this time comparing both technological options (light skytrain vs tramways) and heavily promoting the latter by organizing 'knowledge brokering' events (such as the screening and panel discussion of the documentary: The Trolley). While the PQ never got elected, Quebec's newly elected prime minister (Francois Legault of la CAQ) rapidly unveiled his plan to build Montreal east's tramway project. This is a good illustration that as a civil society organisation, you might often lose some (the REM going ahead with it's construction), but by fighting for the sake of independent science-based orientations and plans, you can simultaneously win some as well (Tramway project now endorsed by Quebec's CAQ-led government). By the end of 2018, an important carbon-neutrality policy window opened up at the international level in the form of the IPCC's +1.5C Special Report.

The below excerpts from my field journal further provide an interesting perspective of my evaluation of the context at the time, following the elections, IPCC Special Report and considering some landscape focusing even; along with my evaluation of the Coalition's impacts and a perspective on the following year, 2019.

*Since the IPCC special report there is an important momentum, third wave, forth with the Paris agreement, and it's palpable on the field, you can practically touch it. A lot of people are calling the coalition to get involved, in Montréal there is the Pact for the transition that has made a lot of noise, also some major debates within the environmental movement regarding strategy, prioritizing behavioural change or unjust social structures, and on the approaches whether radical or more conciliatory. I think that we're not going to really need to go and get, convince people to join the coalition. These (provincial) elections have amplified the climate issue. I don't know where Liza saw this but apparently yesterday there was a tornado in Ottawa and there were 600 houses that were destroyed. Also, there were 5000 people that gathered today for the*

*climate, and today Dimitri was doing a forum on participative democracy with the city, the city has announced its vision for carbon neutrality 2050.... Things are just going to accelerate. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

*We cannot measure the cause-effect directly of the coalition's impact but let's not forget that they pushed for the consultation at the very beginning, they mobilized people, they engaged with the municipality, then they oppose the REM. Today, the REM was one of the main tools that the *Partie Québécois* was using in their campaign election, so they raised awareness around it to the point where it became part of their electoral platform. The third thing is that they contributed to bring about a progressive party at the city level. We cannot say that it's the coalition who elected *Projet Montreal*, but they got elected by the urban social movements of which the coalition is a part of, as they promote the values and the projects of *Projet MTL*. The city has announced its vision for carbon neutrality and the coalition were the first ones to ask for it, we cannot say that its just because of the coalition, there is also movement at the international level and the C40; but the coalition definitely gives them the legitimacy to pass a motion like that, and they know that they only have a core group of citizens that are active on this that they can activate at any moment. And this is over and above the education that happens every time the coalition talks about the climate issue. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

*The way I see it, 2019 we have to go with an incredible push, support *Projet Montreal* and break the dams, we have done some good work this year, things are in place, it's time to push and break the dams, make a wave.... Super important one...hence the importance of research and the coalition. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

### 5.2.2.5 Loosing, Winning and Everything in Between - (2019)

Table 19. Chronology of Empirical Events

| Year: 2019 | Key Events  |
|------------|---|
| January    | Royalmount mobilization (Notre 15/40 group created) and consultation  |
|            | Municipal opposition party Ensemble MTL passes a motion for Montreal to adopt a Carbon Budget and it's rapidly adopted by the city's administration   |
|            | Ensemble MTL Verdun workshop  |
| February   | Coalition's 4 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary Event (EMSB)  |
| March      | Lachine (Pre)Consultation Symposium and establishment of Laval Climate Coalition  |
| April      | Climate Spring and city administration receives a D for its environmental performance   |
|            | 2 mountain users demand a moratorium  |
| May        | Royalmount developer Carboleo will hold a public consultation   |
|            | Spring floods   |
|            | Luc Ferrandez resigns over city's environmental performance   |
|            | CDPQ's Otéra scandal, Plante & Legault disagree on REM extension and citizens propose to nationalise the REM  |
|            | CAQ's electrification plan  |
| June       | City advisory board is established for the city's upcoming Climate Action Plan  |
|            | MCC's 4 overarching policy guidelines/declaration pillars white papers are published at 2019 Annual General Assembly (HEC Montreal)                   |
|            | Pink Tramway  |
| August     | Amazon fires  |
|            | Great Urban Park in the West is announced along   |
|            | Lachine consultation report is published  |
|            | Coalition's Citizen Forum on Participative Democracy  |
| September  | New decarbonisation target of -55% by 2030  |
|            | Greta is in town at the same time as the federal election campaign begins   |
|            | MCC meets Carboleo, Royalmount developer  |
| Fall       | Series of meetings with city officials over their upcoming Climate Action Plan and the Eco-District Charter opportunity                               |
| October    | Coalition's 2 <sup>nd</sup> Citizen Forum on Participative Democracy  |
|            | Trudeau gets re-elected   |
|            | Two back-to-back meetings with city officials over their upcoming Climate Action Plan, along with pushing the Eco-District Charter opportunity        |
|            | MCC meets Ensemble MTL's caucus   |
|            | In preparation for the Namur-Hippodrome Consultations   |
| November   | Two mountain users meet federal minister and CDPQ CEO resigns amidst more bad press for the REM   |
| December   | REM Tunnel closure is postponed until March 30 <sup>th</sup> and Transparence looks at CDPQ operations in Colombia                                    |
|            | <b>At the time of COP 25</b> , the Transport Electrification Myth Report is published, and Imagine Lachine-Est meets with Quo Vadis private developer |

By the beginning of 2019, the Coalition's relentless and systematic participation in the city's monthly municipal councils paid off and carved the way for the opposition party's motion<sup>268</sup> that requested the city's administration to adopt a Carbon Budget to guide its carbon-neutrality transition work<sup>269</sup>; a motion that was quickly adopted by the city's executive committee. After the city's adoption of a Carbon-Neutral vision by 2050, this was another element of the Coalition's founding policy and governance orientation that was being officially adopted by the municipal government; something worthy of celebrating at the coalition's fourth anniversary event<sup>270</sup>. The Coalition's non-partisan approach was paying off, as they now had allies in both municipal parties; as demonstrated by the climate workshop they gave to the municipal opposition's borough councillors in Verdun at the beginning of the year; as well as to the party's caucus by the end of the year<sup>271</sup>.

*The role of the climate coalition is to provide training to elected officials, participate in this whole process to achieve carbon-neutrality and that it be done with civil society because if we were not there to implement drastic environmental measures, there would be a lot of resistance. We see it in France, with the yellow vests, it was basically an eco-fiscal environmental measure, taxing diesel more. There are very few cars here that run on diesel. There will have been little resistance from civil society. We manage to legitimize environmental measures. But we are also so late that we have to be drastic, but we still have to consult with the citizens. It's not the same political context. The media contribute to this division, but this is also how they go to seek their funding. - Charles Grenier (Board member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

By the time the climate spring strikes began to bloom across the world<sup>272</sup> and in Montreal, and Quebec experienced its second spring floods in three years<sup>273</sup>, some of the Coalition's board members launched yet another local citizen group, Laval Climate Coalition<sup>274</sup>; bridging the coalition's work with Montreal's norther suburbs.

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<sup>268</sup> <https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/montreal-s-opposition-calls-for-carbon-budget-1.4254554>

<sup>269</sup> <https://www.tvanouvelles.ca/2019/01/28/montreal-developpera-un-budget-carbone>

<sup>270</sup> [https://www.facebook.com/events/538167826692325/?acontext=%7B%22source%22%3A5%2C%22action\\_history%22%3A\[%7B%22surface%22%3A%22page%22%2C%22mechanism%22%3A%22main\\_list%22%2C%22extra\\_data%22%3A%22%5C%22\[%5C%22%22%7D\]%2C%22has\\_source%22%3Atrue%7D](https://www.facebook.com/events/538167826692325/?acontext=%7B%22source%22%3A5%2C%22action_history%22%3A[%7B%22surface%22%3A%22page%22%2C%22mechanism%22%3A%22main_list%22%2C%22extra_data%22%3A%22%5C%22[%5C%22%22%7D]%2C%22has_source%22%3Atrue%7D) (see pictures 52, 53, 54 and 55 in Annex 30)

<sup>271</sup> See picture 64 in Annex 30.

<sup>272</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/mar/19/school-climate-strikes-more-than-1-million-took-part-say-campaigners-greta-thunberg>

<sup>273</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019\\_Quebec,\\_Ontario\\_and\\_New\\_Brunswick\\_floods](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_Quebec,_Ontario_and_New_Brunswick_floods)

<sup>274</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/Coalition-Climat-LAVAL-720263095062610>

*There are three Lebanese elected officials in Laval where I live, and I am Lebanese. I attended several events. We are Catholics, we meet in our community. I talked to them about it, they told me how to do it so that we could do it. I am the only one in my community to be interested in these topics. I got a lot of appreciation from them. I took a year to submit my research for each of their fields. It took a lot of weight. They ask for my point of view, I send my research and that of my friends [...] What I understood from elected officials. They don't have time to research. They are very busy. My research is read when there is free time. But they are happy. It can give them a foresight of what is in reality [...] It gave a good vision of the Montreal climate coalition, to see what it is doing. And that's where we met the city twice and it's open but it's just that we see it presenting a work plan. This is a preliminary plan. We are working with la DUC (Déclaration d'Urgence Climatique) to install three sites of 11 sites. On January 14 we will go to the municipal council. They think that 3 sites must be installed in Laval to achieve carbon-neutrality. And then there is another network that is making the transition to Laval. They will join forces with us. This is our Laval social network in transition. They will join forces with us so that we have everyone by January 14 and that we go tell the city that here are the citizens who want change. Laval in transition they have formed circles, a circle that will work on forest and agriculture, another transport. They are engaged and educated citizens (...) I'm taking the experience of Montreal to put it all in Laval. We worked for 5 years, which is a lot with experts like you, like Jean-François Boisvert, like France Levert, like Eric Notebaert. The sciences have their place. Just with the citizens, we couldn't do much. But it is together that change is possible. Some things can be applied in Laval and not in Montreal and vice versa. It depends on each city and its system. - Amal Melki (Co-founder, Laval Climate Coalition)*

In addition, and in close collaboration with Lachine mayoress Maja Vodanovic<sup>275</sup> (one of their main allies at the city), they co-organised with her and Imagine Lachine-Est<sup>276</sup> a successful Lachine-Est pre-OCPM citizen assembly forum<sup>277</sup>; setting the stage for Montreal's first carbon-neutral eco-district project. Building on the Lachine-Est citizen-led consultations<sup>278</sup>, and inspired from practices in France, they began collaborating with city hall to develop an Eco-District Charter for Montreal. Here are some telling testimonies from Imagine Lachine-Est president and key coalition member.

*The coalition pushes where others are not, to push others to go further and plays the role of a collective, a federation, had the coalition not helped us, we couldn't have made the Lachine consultation a reality. The coalition has the network, 2,000-3,000 names on the mailing list is not nothing. Its capable of mobilizing. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

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<sup>275</sup> <https://montreal.ca/elus/maja-vodanovic>

<sup>276</sup> <https://coalitionclimatmtl.org/fr/sommet-lachine-est/>

<sup>277</sup> See picture 53, 54, 55 in Annex 30.

<sup>278</sup> See pictures 57 and 58 in Annex 30.

*They talked about the idea of organizing an event on the theme of eco-districts, informing the population and celebrating the 4th anniversary of the coalition. Several actors were invited to participate, in particular the president of the eco-neighborhood commission from France. He was also invited to an event organized at UQAM and there were two officials from the city of Montreal who were very interested in the project [...] and a delegation from Strasbourg that came to Montreal last November and we learned that the eco-neighborhood charter has been created thanks to our event, so we were very proud. Thanks to this event, there is a charter of eco-neighborhoods being prepared across the city of Montreal. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

*It's people who do things by conviction, and the question is, do we succeed to attain the change we want, do we succeed to see at the same time the political, the administrative, and the community leaders on the same ground/level for some particular thing. We are succeeding, what is changing, like the consultation in which you presented, and bringing an elected official from Strasbourg, the fact that it created a partnership between Strasbourg, Montreal and Lachine, some people from Montreal went to Strasbourg in the summer, in October there was also 3 people from Strasbourg that came to Montreal and who run the Eco-Districts, here it was administrative not political. In either case, people were well received, and the result is that now the director of urbanism and the general director and Lachine mayoress now accept the Eco-District project without cars, which was unimaginable a year ago. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

*What's good is that at a certain moment, when you don't know who has the paternity of something, it's a good thing, it means that many people appropriated the project or initiative. We have won collectively a double consultation, there was no consultation initially. 10% of the territory was sacrificed but then people woke up and say, let's save the rest. And now the promoter is more open to creating a carbon-neutral neighborhood without cars if we're able to make the tramway happen. This can sell [...] You find out that because we are changing things in a new way, there isn't really anyone who knows how to go about it. The advantage of this inconvenience, that it moves forward slowly and not well because its not well structured, the advantage is that in this case, we have better chances of grabbing the pencil and us the citizens and the borough (to shape the project). - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

*What is happening however, I think the coalition helps inspire politicians to be a little bit more ambitious but at borough level some really interesting experiments are happening, like borough mayors who maybe otherwise wouldn't have felt empowered or emboldened to stake out new grounds in public participation whether the participatory budget or in the case of Lachine-Est, a pre-consultation before a project was even proposed in order for citizens to say. we don't just want to change the project you are proposing we want to create a project from the ground-up, we want a school, we want affordable housing, we want car-free neighborhood, we want geothermal energy, we want 50% canopy cover, these are the things that are possible when you ask people ahead of time and not possible if you present them with a plan and expect that they rubber stamp it or basically change it superficially. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

Table 20. Studies and articles published on the impacts of the REM (Winter-Spring 2019)

|                 |   |   |
|-----------------|---|---|
| 27 février 2019 | Can the Lachine East Consultation Restore Trust?                                  | <a href="https://www.thesuburban.com/news/west_island_news/can-the-lachine-east-consultation-restore-trust/article_2ca36f68-f10a-5efe-a4cd-52a291079143.html">https://www.thesuburban.com/news/west_island_news/can-the-lachine-east-consultation-restore-trust/article_2ca36f68-f10a-5efe-a4cd-52a291079143.html</a> |
| 6 mars 2019     | Development of Lachine East to break new ground                                   | <a href="https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/west-island-gazette/development-of-lachine-east-to-break-new-ground/">https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/west-island-gazette/development-of-lachine-east-to-break-new-ground/</a>   |
| 9 mars 2019     | Lachine-Est Symposium   | <a href="https://coalitionclimatmtl.org/fr/sommet-lachine-est/">https://coalitionclimatmtl.org/fr/sommet-lachine-est/</a>   |
| 18 mars 2019    | Le modèle des ÉcoQuartiers: une « utopie réaliste »                               | <a href="https://www.ledevoir.com/societe/550081/le-modele-des-ecoquartiers-une-utopie-realiste">https://www.ledevoir.com/societe/550081/le-modele-des-ecoquartiers-une-utopie-realiste</a>   |
| 3 avril 2019    | Le promoteur du projet immobilier VillaNova se lance dans la co-construction      | <a href="https://www.tvanouvelles.ca/2019/04/03/le-promoteur-du-projet-immobilier-villanova-se-lance-dans-la-co-construction">https://www.tvanouvelles.ca/2019/04/03/le-promoteur-du-projet-immobilier-villanova-se-lance-dans-la-co-construction</a>   |
| 8 avril 2019    | Montreal real estate: Collaboration could be key to calm conflicts around project | <a href="https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/montreal-real-estate-collaboration-could-be-key/">https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/montreal-real-estate-collaboration-could-be-key/</a>   |
| 10 avril 2019   | Plusieurs propositions faites pour le développement de Lachine-Est                | <a href="https://journalmetro.com/actualites/2306274/plusieurs-propositions-faites-pour-le-developpement-de-lachine-est/">https://journalmetro.com/actualites/2306274/plusieurs-propositions-faites-pour-le-developpement-de-lachine-est/</a>   |
| 5 mai 2019      | Des nouvelles de Lachine-Est - Coalition climat Montreal                          | <a href="https://coalitionclimatmtl.org/fr/des-nouvelles-de-lachine-est/">https://coalitionclimatmtl.org/fr/des-nouvelles-de-lachine-est/</a>   |

As they pushed forward in Lachine-Est, they were also busy opposing a controversial carbon intensive urban development project on the periphery of the city, the Royalmount commercial center project<sup>279, 280</sup>. By creating a dedicated group of citizens (Notre 15/40<sup>281</sup>) to overlook this controversial shopping mall project, they connected with established environmental groups and other new local groups against the project (such as Royalmount - Royalement contre!<sup>282</sup>), that were also concerned with the projects' environmental, economic and cultural impacts.

*This is a citizens' group against Royalmount, 'royally against Royalmount', and it corresponds to the neighborhoods around the planned project, while Our 15/40 is a coalition of different organizations of civil society [...] I had contacted people from different groups. Then we decided to get together and create a small group. There are people from the coalition, from degrowth, from transparency, from the city of Mont-Royal.*  
- Jean-François Boisvert (Co-founder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)

*The good thing is that there were a lot of memoirs etc and most people were against the project. Those in favor were businesspeople who could profit from it. In the media, many journalists were against it. I was very encouraged at the time. But it deflated a lot.*

<sup>279</sup> <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/royalmount-mall-montreal-quebec-tmr-1.4551303>

<sup>280</sup> <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/royalmount-project-report-presented-1.4991114>

<sup>281</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/notre1540>

<sup>282</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/search/top?q=royalmount%20-%20royalement%20contre>

*Carbonleo said they heard us etc, but it's still a sleight of hand. We're going to do an ecological district and all that, but they still make a shopping center. The problem is still there, they haven't changed plans. We want to go against that, but the motivation for winter is gone. I had contacted a lot of people, but it was difficult to motivate them. The big players we don't have with us yet. When Carbonleo comes back with his project, everyone will talk about the project again and it will be easier to tackle the project again.* - Jean-François Boisvert (Co-founder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)

*The promoter took a collaborative approach. He wanted to improve his project due to criticism, but the project is basically bad. But he made concerted efforts with consultations.* - Charles Grenier (Board member, Montreal Climate Coalition)

By mobilising on the ground, capitalising on their carbon-neutrality research studies they were developing for Lachine-Est, and regularly attending several of Mont-Royal city's borough council meetings; they pressured the project's private developer (Carbonleo<sup>283</sup>) to hold a public consultation<sup>284</sup> (in which they participated), going to be being personally invited by the developer for a one-on-one meeting to hear out the Coalition's critiques of the project and the solutions they proposed. The work developed by the coalition on the Lachine-Est project and their opposition to Royalmount served as the basis for their participation in a public consultation around another major urban project, the Namur-Hippodrome carbon-neutral project<sup>285</sup>.

*Royalmount is a project that does not look good. Hippodrome is different, the city wants to create an ecological district. We will participate in the consultations; we will push them further. The mayor even said it was an anti Royalmount. She has a will to do better than the promoters.* - Jean-François Boisvert (Co-founder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)

*The city has already presented a vision for Namur-Hippodrome, with active transport, public transport etc. People can make suggestions. The city will then make a guideline. Afterwards, the promoters will develop the district and not the city, but they will have to respect the specifications. This is the ideal formula.* - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)

*The two problems of humanity will come together: technology and climate change. It's going to be frontal at some point. In my brief I mentioned it. We must not separate the functions, for the moment they are. We have to reduce our trips and if we combine the functions sometimes trips will not even be necessary. These are the 'negatrips', if you work/play at home you don't have to travel anymore. The goal is the village, everything is around, no need to take your car. That was my brief.* - Florian Stone (Trainsparence)

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<sup>283</sup> <http://carbonleo.com/>

<sup>284</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/montreal-real-estate-royalmount-to-launch-its-own-public-consultation/>

<sup>285</sup> <https://ocpm.qc.ca/fr/hippodrome>



While the city's Projet Montreal administration began to demonstrate some concrete actions for catalyzing transition processes for carbon-neutrality (adopting the 2050 carbon-neutral vision, passing the motion for Montreal to have a carbon budget, co-constructing with citizens the Lachine-Est carbon-neutral eco-district project), members of the Coalition (specifically the Green coalition) were dissatisfied with the lack of progress in regards to the protection and regeneration of green spaces. They decided to conduct a broad survey of environmentalists and environmental groups in the West Island, taking their pulse as to whether (to which extent) they were satisfied with the new city's administration environmental performance. The 'green and progressive' Projet MTL administration were given a grade of D by environmentalists for their environmental performance during the first two years of their mandate, a score that was related by the media<sup>286</sup>. The main reason(s) behind this poor grade? Plante's endorsement of the REM and the city's lack of concrete actions (thus far) in protecting vital urban green spaces, such as Technopark and La Falaise Saint-Jacques.

As if this was not enough bad press for the administration, and in a moment of serendipity for the disenchanted environmentalists, Montreal's political scene was taken by surprise when one of the city's administration most prominent figures, Luc Ferrandez (mayor of the reputed 'green' borough, le Plateau, and head of the city's department of parks and green spaces) resigned, as reported in the following news article<sup>287</sup> excerpt.

*Plateau-Mont-Royal Borough Mayor Luc Ferrandez has resigned from political life due to his environmental beliefs. The borough mayor confirmed the resignation in a Facebook post on Tuesday evening, saying he felt like an "imposter" because of what he sees as a lack of accomplishment on environmental issues -- a key mission for his party, Projet Montreal. Ferrandez said that while he believes Projet Montreal has a strong environmental record, "these actions will remain anecdotal if they are not part of a concerted plan to reorient and slow down consumption and development on the territory." He said his beliefs were unlikely to get him re-elected, and Mayor Valerie Plante agreed. "I think Mr. Ferrandez has reached his limitations working within the existing structure or system. I'm very proud of where we're at now and it's just the beginning," said Plante. "Of course, I'm disappointed Mr. Ferrandez is leaving right now, of course I'm disappointed, because I feel like we're putting all the pieces together." The Plante administration recently introduced a bylaw banning single-use plastics next spring, and heating oil by 2030. Ferrandez said that while those efforts have been a step in the right direction, "a real environmental program" would include at least the following measures: a 100% tax on 'on-street' and 'off-street' parking, taxing cars*

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<sup>286</sup> <https://journalmetro.com/actualites/montreal/2312809/protection-du-territoire-un-d-pour-projet-montreal/>

<sup>287</sup> <https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/plateau-mayor-luc-ferrandez-resigns-over-montreal-s-environmental-policies-1.4422216>

*entering the downtown area, reinventing trucking plans within the city, taxing foreign investments, taxing waste, lobbying to prevent the expansion of the airport, limiting the development of the oil activities in the port and taxing meat. "What I am proposing is nothing short of a war effort," said Ferrandez about his proposals, adding that he chose not to remain on the team because he was unable to influence the mayor and the executive committee. Plante accepted Ferrandez's resignation, as she wished him success.*

Valérie Plante and her administration found themselves being politically reprimanded by a considerable portion of their base, both internally and externally. Now in their second year in office, environmentalists and party members were starting to ask some serious questions regarding the administration's willingness and/or capacity to 'walk the talk' and deliver on their environmental election promises; as well as the numerous climate pledges they had been making since coming to office. Was it going to be all talk and nothing to show for?

*With Coderre it was obviously abominable, but interestingly this year in 2019, early in April of 2019 Projet Montreal didn't do much better and the complaint was, over and over again, the REM was one if you'd like, but over and over again it was, you guys talk a good line, but where's the beef? Haven't seen anything yet. So we published that and I think that had some effect, but I think that the really big effect was the departure of Luc Ferrandez, with the departure of Luc Ferrandez it left the environmental community, I think, with what happens now? - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*When Fernandez resigned, in his letter he was very concerned and wanted to make things happen, he was very aware. The changes are not deep and fast enough. I find it discouraging, it goes fast, and it will go faster and faster. It worries me, I don't know what else to do, we contact people, but we can't do everything. - Jean-François Boisvert (Co-founder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

The time had come for Valérie Plante and her administration to 'put their money where their mouth was' so to speak and put they did. By the summer, as amazon fires were making headline news<sup>288</sup> and around the same time as Greta's historical march on Montreal in the early fall of 2019<sup>289</sup> (which turned out to be of the biggest environmental marches in history with an estimated half a million people participating<sup>290</sup>), the city came out with three grand announcements. First, they announced

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<sup>288</sup> <https://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/images/145498/uptick-in-amazon-fire-activity-in-2019>

<sup>289</sup> See pictures 61, 62 and 63 in Annex 30.

<sup>290</sup> <https://www.independent.co.uk/environment/greta-thunberg-climate-march-montreal-canada-justin-trudeau-a9123991.html>

a tramway line in Lachine as phase one of Projet MTL's electoral Pink Line metro project<sup>291 292</sup>, followed by the 'Grand Parc' announcement, the protection and preservation of a large area of green spaces in the West Island that would be Canada's biggest urban park (bigger than Central Park)<sup>293 294</sup>; and third, that the city was raising its decarbonization ambitions from -45% to -55% by 2030<sup>295</sup>. Finally, the city also announced that it was putting in place an advisory board to oversee the development of their upcoming climate action plan. Along with the CAQ's tramway project in the East<sup>296</sup>. These announcements were excellent news that could rebalance Projet MTL's environmental performance halfway through their mandate. Here is what some Coalition members had to say about this specific period:

About the historical 500,000 people march:

*I don't know if currently there is an acceleration but people are ripe for it. 500,000 people walked for the climate. It's something.* - Eric Notebaert (Canadian Association of Physicians for the Environment)

*It's much more fun to go out with 500,000 people on the streets to demand action than to do anything. This is very good; it encourages the favorable climate. But there are fewer people to take action. We don't like being measured. This is our societal culture.* - Jean Fortier (Member of the Montreal Climate Coalition and Ex-President of Montreal's Municipal Executive Committee)

About the city's announcement of the 'Grand Parc de l'Ouest':

*Why is it that developers are allowed to speculate on land that might be inappropriate for development?" And it's a neocapitalist model that's unethical, but the boroughs are not able to resist it because, this is the way we're funded [...]Plante flagged that in making the first announcement of the park, and I thought, that's brilliant, because it shows the root problems. I haven't heard anything further about alternative municipal funding. It's a provincial issue and a federal issue, and I think that's something we could work on because I can't see anything changing that match.* - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)

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<sup>291</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/lachine-to-get-tramway-in-agreement-with-quebec-government/>

<sup>292</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/lachine-to-get-tramway-in-agreement-with-quebec-government/>

<sup>293</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/plan-to-build-canadas-largest-urban-park-in-west-island-underway-plante/>

<sup>294</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/plan-to-build-canadas-largest-urban-park-in-west-island-underway-plante/>

<sup>295</sup> <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-valerie-plante-says-montreal-will-reduce-carbon-emissions-by-55-per/>

<sup>296</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1132154/tramway-est-montreal-caq-deux-etapes>

*I think it's a pretty good study to see what Projet Montreal is doing right now to answer that question, it's got a lot of really sincere environmental activists in it. People really do believe and I think that the compromises they have to make in order to get any particular objectives really puts them on the other side of the fence. It can be really, confusing is not the right term, it can become hard because you know in politics that in politics you probably have to compromise and you don't always want to compromise on the environment and I think that the announcement about the Grand Parc in the West, is a really good case study in this. Why did they do that? That they went way out on a limb on that. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*They (the city administration) had an opinion from their legal department that they'd get sued for hundreds of millions but that they would win. They knew that there were political risks to doing that. They were drawing a line in the sand, that they basically had said they would draw on the sand when they got elected, and they had not apparently done very much up till then and two things happened. One is that the Green Charter every year, we the people who organize the forum had, did report cards on how the municipality was doing, how much they're continuously doing in putting into effect the principles of the Green Charter. Are they building on green spaces? Are they improving access? Is preserving green spaces integrated into their decision making process is number one. And so on each of those points and there's only about six of them, we would, we canvassed the environmental community on those. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*It's disappointing. The only advancement I see is the advancement of parks. In terms of measures that could make a big change, it is not there yet. The population is not all behind it. In Montreal, people get around more by public transport than other regions, but people are resistant to change. Maybe she does not know the destruction that this second metropolitan highway will do. To improve the city, you have to remove concrete, not add more. I want to do a project in Namur Hippodrome. In my interest, I must not be against the mayoress. Especially that in the end, it gets tiring to always be against someone. - Florian Stone (Trainsparence)*

About the Pink Line Tramway from Lachine to Downtown:

*There had to be at least one tramway project in Quebec for people to (re)appropriate it (the technology). We had to win one, we did (Lachine's Pink Line) and now we have to make it a success. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Co-founder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

With the city's upcoming Climate Action Plan under construction, the coalition were active in making their contribution as they launched in the summer their 400<sup>th</sup> declaration 3.0.1 four policy

orientation white papers at HEC Montreal<sup>297</sup>, organized in the fall two citizen forums on the theme of ‘citizen mobilisation, transition governance and participative democracy’<sup>298</sup>; while also going on to meet several times with the city’s administration and Bureau of ecological transition, including a closed door consultation to which they were invited by the David Suzuki foundation to exchange on ideas and suggestions for the upcoming climate action plan. At this meeting, the coalition shared with key city officials the outcome of their citizen forum<sup>299</sup>, with the aim to engage in a serious discussion on the kind of citizen involvement/mobilisation it was going to take to implement the city’s upcoming climate action plan and empower the transition, especially at the level of neighborhoods. Below are several testimonies that provide an in-depth sense of the coalition’s varying position(s) and perspective(s) when it comes to the role of participative democracy (the fourth overarching policy and governance orientation of their 400<sup>th</sup> declaration) in accelerating deep decarbonisation and transitioning Montreal to carbon-neutrality.

*We at the base, we are a citizens' group, the city is developing a roadmap and they are not making room for us (citizens groups). Which is a bit of a shame. - Jean-François Boisvert (Co-founder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*So it is just and only about power. And that's what you have to remember because a lot of people, and a lot of people who even participate in public forums and stuff like that, it's a trick that the City of Montreal, less so now, but the City of Montreal used to do all the time. You'd be invited to a discussion or a PowerPoint presentation or an explanation or a press conference by the City of Montreal on a topic of interest to you. And you get there, you get told what the city is doing. You were given no opportunity to respond or contribute. And at the end of the day you find that they are now, the City of Montreal is now publicizing this as a consultation which went very well. Thank you. That's a trick. That's a fucking trick that they play all the time. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*I know that when politicians want to get something done, they have more tools at their disposal than they initially potentially think they do, and a lot of those tools stem from public support. In Montreal we have public support in spades, we just had the hugest climate march in the history of America, so they're able, they should have found the political courage to get around some of these institutional barriers, but they didn't and therefore we are in a process right now of accelerating the development of the city's climate action plan without public engagement and I think that that political gamble will*

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<sup>297</sup> <https://coalitionclimatmtl.org/fr/assemblee-generale-annuelle-et-presentation-des-fiches-thematiques/> (see picture 56 in Annex 30)

<sup>298</sup> [https://www.eventbrite.ca/e/billets-forum-transition-ecologique-pour-toustes-les-montrealaises-75295022439?utm\\_term=attend&invite=MTc4NDUyMDUvbWF0dG1hbmlzQGdtYWlsLmNvbS8w%0A&utm\\_campaign=invitemodernv2&utm\\_source=eb\\_email&utm\\_medium=email&ref=enivte001](https://www.eventbrite.ca/e/billets-forum-transition-ecologique-pour-toustes-les-montrealaises-75295022439?utm_term=attend&invite=MTc4NDUyMDUvbWF0dG1hbmlzQGdtYWlsLmNvbS8w%0A&utm_campaign=invitemodernv2&utm_source=eb_email&utm_medium=email&ref=enivte001)

<sup>299</sup> See Annex 25.

*pay off in the short term, I don't think it will lead to the downfall of this administration in two years when they're up for election; but there will be some pestering anger, it will be polarized, and that's not a city I want to live in and it's not conducive to the kind of just transition that is necessary. It can't be drivers against non-drivers, centered districts against sub-urban district, it needs to be everybody together. We have examples of both Vancouver and Edmonton having done a good job of this consulting people extensively, and we could have started that process as soon as they were elected, even without reshuffling their cards, this process could have started immediately and it would have been nice to see in their election platform, I don't know for sure if it was in that platform or not, but its the kind of thing the party at least in principle supports, being a democratic party with members that vote on their party policies etc. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*When they come to us to ask for our support with citizen engagement, its like yes we can help you, we can help you push people towards public consultation on this and that, it's a frequent request from the city, like, make sure people show up to this consultation on this and that, make sure that we hear these people's voices at conseil d'arrondissement, conseil municipal. We need to hear voices of citizens speaking out on these issues, that's the only way right now we feel systematically across the island that they're calling on citizens to participate and I can tell you, it's not a very comprehensive strategy because it will only reach a small sliver of citizens who wanna show up and ask a question at municipal council or showup and participate in a public consultation, a formal public consultation process. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*I think our 4.0 declaration, when we get to detailing the demands and the pillars, I think that public participation, so far we have tried to come to a collective understanding of what you want the city, how we want the city to engage with the population in making decisions. I think part of that is enabling citizens to participate publicly and encouraging them, inspiring them, enabling them [...]The 4.0 declaration is, here's what we are recommending as a coalition to implement within participative democracy per say, we want to see a participatory budget in every borough, we want to see citizen committees for urban planning, for transit planning, citizen committees for cultural planning to educate the youth, to help bring citizen committees for a just transition in every borough of the city so that we've got a ton of volunteers, a ton of citizens to be able to participate in this transition and we have, technological tools exist now to do that kind of thing, so that's one example of what we could be demanding in a 4.0 [...]Part of the 4.0 is this big forum that is envisioned for early 2020, the objective of which being to come to some conclusions around what are we asking for in terms of public participation. There is a provisory plan, not confirmed and remains to be validated by the board of the coalition, and at that forum it could very well be that we extend that to the other pillars, it's not out of the question, it coincides with our 5th anniversary, it would have been 3 years since our common demand 3.0, so it's high time that we evolve towards more specific prescriptive demands and it's also a very good timing with respect to the city's plan because the city plan will be public by then and we will be able to take that plan and say ok, here's where we need to improve this, boom, boom, boom, boom [...]The city will finally have in a substantial way responded to the recommendations of the OCPM which previously the*

*response that the Coderre administration had provided was profunctory at best, very superficial, and not befitting of the of consultation and mobilisation that went into the creation of those recommendations, it was almost like a quick off-the cuff "Yeah, here is what we think, thanks for coming out" as opposed to "alright, we're integrating this into our you know, deeply into our next plan". But to be fair the results of the consultation came out just after the 2016-2020 plan was published, it was too late to impact that plan essentially and this will be the first plan that it's not too late to impact. The challenges is in the way they're using the recommendations later on. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*What we are doing with the forums for citizen participation, for me it is one of the fundamental roles of a coalition, it is to put people together to move things in a certain direction. It also presents difficulties, and one of them is that there are a lot of stakeholders now who arrive with other kinds of initiatives, but we have not integrated them more than that, whether it's the Front common, the climate emergency declarations. I don't know how they all connect together. There is a great desire to make changes, but this is going all over the place. The coalition could have a role like that (to bring together/connect different initiatives [...]) The city has a certain mandate to cover certain actions, but it cannot do everything [...]) How to maintain the link between individuals and groups. How to enrich it? This is in part why we're having these forums. We try to get people to work on citizen collaboration, in real partnership. There have been table discussions for some projects. How do you set goals? How do we work this? Which path to take, at what speed? What is going to be most important for Montreal? How do we mobilize young people? - France Levert (Coalition Coordinating Committee, representing the Réseau des femmes en environnement)*

*The most important is the quality of the message conveyed. I do not believe in democracy in this area, it is not the number. The number is wrong. When 95% of the population in Quebec was Catholic, that doesn't mean it was better. It is the law of the number and that only matters in societies where the number plays on military questions [...]) Today, the law of the number is not the most important [...]) You don't have to be political to have power and influence. Being political, you can't do everything. Not everyone is in the question either [...]) You must know how to manage policies. The messages need to be understood. I see a very rapid development. There is a favorable climate. It's not going to go down. - Jean Fortier (Member of the Montreal Climate Coalition and Ex-President of Montreal's Municipal Executive Committee)*

*How can the permanent commissions of city councils work more democratically more open to public participation? Because, the question is not public participation, the question is citizen decision-making. How do we become partners in making decisions together, I'm not saying we alone will make the decisions, that's a bit too radical for anybody except you and me, but how do you create an interaction between civil society and those who are divinely appointed by the Olympians or by the old testament or the new testament because they were elected by a minority vote and given a kind phony legitimacy by our electoral system that they have the right to decide for us. All that has to be sorted out. But short of that, how do we create an interaction, creative interaction between a lot of people, like you who has an expertise on many subjects, and Emilie, whoever is elected and to say look, we know certain things, we learn in our classes, the*

*things we read and thought about, and you may know a few things because you've read a few articles in Le Devoir and think you are divine and appointed by God, but we need to establish a new relationship, get serious otherwise you're going to have trouble. You always have to be ready to threaten at the right time.* - Dimitrios Roussopoulos (Co-founder of the Montreal Climate Coalition and Director of Black Rose Books Publishing House)

*If there's a World War II-style climate mobilization, it has to go all the way, and then some.*<sup>300</sup> - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)

At the time of COP25 in Madrid<sup>301</sup>, Trudeau's second re-election<sup>302</sup>, and the CAQ's work on the 'Electrifying the Economy' plan<sup>303</sup>; the year ended for the coalition with a meeting with Sidney Ribaux, head of the Bureau de la transition écologique<sup>304</sup>; discussing (in-depth) how the four overarching carbon-neutrality policy orientations white papers that the coalition had just published (carbon budget, the annual greenhouse gas emission inventories, climate test and participative democracy) were vital mechanisms and tools that needed to be integrated in the upcoming climate action plan; as well as presenting research and development work conducted by CADET<sup>305</sup> (member of the coalition) on an on-line collaborative climate dashboard and platform called CO2Mètre, as well as discussing with other close researcher collaborators of the coalition (mainly two professors from ÉTS university) that could help the city's administration in improving the annual tracking of GHG emissions and various other carbon metric tools and processes.

*[...] [at the meeting] it was like, okay. Greta Thunberg came to Montreal. She said a bunch of stuff, did any of you really get what she said? and they were like, well, we didn't know about that (the science-based carbon budget)... and Dominique Champagne, I should have mentioned that...but Dominique Champagne had Greta over to his place when she stayed in Montreal, she stayed at his place. And she sat with him with the IPCC +1,5C special report and they discussed the carbon budget and negative emission technologies...and she said, you got to understand this and now Dominique feels it's his obligation to do so and so he's on-board for establishing rigorous science-based carbon budgets across the board (federal, provincial and municipal).* - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)

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<sup>300</sup> Email title – September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2016

<sup>301</sup> <https://unfccc.int/cop25>

<sup>302</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2019/10/21/world/canadian-general-election-justin-trudeau/index.html>

<sup>303</sup> [https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/environnement/201905/26/01-5227598-legault-veut-electrifier-le-quebec-pour-reduire-lusage-du-petrole.php?fbclid=IwAR07sdBtZfmgIPBDyRzrLOa9ods1hgZsgBSapE-M\\_NPI49EfOA8DkagGrOQ](https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/environnement/201905/26/01-5227598-legault-veut-electrifier-le-quebec-pour-reduire-lusage-du-petrole.php?fbclid=IwAR07sdBtZfmgIPBDyRzrLOa9ods1hgZsgBSapE-M_NPI49EfOA8DkagGrOQ)

<sup>304</sup> See picture 62 in Annex 30.

<sup>305</sup> [http://www.coopcadet.org/?fbclid=IwAR2ZbnDFxKCNgxJk2ZcbK4FcNdHmk6x4rkeO3ZEt0NaVmUwipH4cnlVu\\_U](http://www.coopcadet.org/?fbclid=IwAR2ZbnDFxKCNgxJk2ZcbK4FcNdHmk6x4rkeO3ZEt0NaVmUwipH4cnlVu_U)



The table 21 recapitulates the coalition’s key 2019 activities and meetings with Montreals' city administration

Table 21. Key Coalition Activities and Meetings with the City Administration (2019)

| Date             | Activity / Meeting with the City  |
|------------------|---|
| 31 janvier 2019  | Ensemble MTL Verdun Workshop  |
| 23 février 2019  | 4th Anniversary Event at the English Montreal School Board (EMSB)           |
| 19 juin 2019     | Launch of 4 Policy & Governance Pillars White Papers & AGA – HEC Montréal   |
| 28 août 2019     | Transition Forum for Montrealers 1  |
| 17 octobre 2019  | Transition Forum for Montrealers 2  |
| 29 octobre 2019  | City Meeting #6 with Elected Transition Official - Laurence Lavigne-Lalonde |
| 29 octobre 2019  | Ensemble Montreal Caucus Workshop   |
| 17 décembre 2019 | City Meeting #7 with head of Transition Bureau - Sidney Ribaux              |

On the REM front, it was a time when key concerns of construction impacts were rapidly emerging in the public opinion and in the media; with the project continuing to receive bad press, two mountain users meeting with the Federal Minister of transport to discuss the REM’s impacts on their daily lives and launch a petition demanding a moratorium; and Plante involved in a public argument with newly elected Québec prime minister regarding the REM’s extensions and whether it would be up to ARTM or CDPQ to oversee these works<sup>306</sup>.

*Because of the REM, the Caisse de dépôt will seize the tunnel under Mount Royal, which will prevent projects from taking place as far as Quebec. They wanted to do a TGF (high frequency train) but they will not be able to do it as far as Quebec. There are a lot of inconsistencies. - Florian Stone (Trainsparence)*

The table 22 recapitulates the studies and press articles that were published on the impact of the REM throughout 2019.

<sup>306</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/quebec-looking-into-extending-rem-into-laval-east-end-montreal/>

Table 22. Studies and articles published on the impacts of the REM  
(Spring-Summer-Winter 2019)

|                   |   |   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| 7 mai 2019        | Plante opposes REM expansion  | <a href="https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/plante-opposes-rem-expansion-1.4411448">CTV: https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/plante-opposes-rem-expansion-1.4411448</a>  |
|                   | Plante fumes over REM extension   | <a href="https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/quebec-looking-into-extending-rem-into-laval-east-end-montreal/">https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/quebec-looking-into-extending-rem-into-laval-east-end-montreal/</a>   |
| 25 mai 2019       | Premier François Legault to force the Caisse to purchase REM trains made in Quebec              | GlobalNEWS: <a href="https://globalnews.ca/news/5315644/premier-francois-legault-to-force-the-caisse-to-purchase-rem-trains-made-in-quebec/">https://globalnews.ca/news/5315644/premier-francois-legault-to-force-the-caisse-to-purchase-rem-trains-made-in-quebec/</a>   |
| 28 mai 2019       | Une station du REM en zone inondable à Laval?   | <a href="https://www.ledevoir.com/societe/555404/le-rem-en-zone-inondable?utm_source=infolettre-2019-05-28&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_campaign=infolettre-quotidienne">https://www.ledevoir.com/societe/555404/le-rem-en-zone-inondable?utm_source=infolettre-2019-05-28&amp;utm_medium=email&amp;utm_campaign=infolettre-quotidienne</a>                     |
| 19 août 2019      | Trains de passagers: nous sommes des arriérés   | <a href="https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2019/08/09/trains-de-passagers-nous-sommes-des-arrieres">https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2019/08/09/trains-de-passagers-nous-sommes-des-arrieres</a>   |
| 19 août 2019      | Ce qu'on ne vous dit pas au sujet de l'impact du REM sur le métro                               | <a href="https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1254311/impact-rem-metro-stm-achalandage-ligne-orange-secret">https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1254311/impact-rem-metro-stm-achalandage-ligne-orange-secret</a>   |
| 27 septembre 2019 | REM will kill Mascouche commuter train, critics predict   | <a href="https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/rem-will-kill-mascouche-train-critics-say/">https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/rem-will-kill-mascouche-train-critics-say/</a>   |
| 2 octobre 2019    | REM construction moving along, but parking remains a question mark                              | <a href="https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/west-island-gazette/rem-construction-moving-along-but-parking-remains-a-question-mark/">https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/west-island-gazette/rem-construction-moving-along-but-parking-remains-a-question-mark/</a>   |
| 24 octobre 2019   | The REM is still on schedule, but some still have 'serious concerns'                            | <a href="https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/the-rem-is-still-on-schedule-but-some-still-have-serious-concerns-1.4654183">https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/the-rem-is-still-on-schedule-but-some-still-have-serious-concerns-1.4654183</a>   |
| 12 novembre 2019  | Sabia resigns   | <a href="https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/michael-sabia-leaving-caisse-to-head-university-of-toronto-s-munk-school-1.4681804">https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/michael-sabia-leaving-caisse-to-head-university-of-toronto-s-munk-school-1.4681804</a>   |
| 16 novembre 2019  | Les Trains à rabais en inde   | <a href="https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2019/11/16/interdit-dentree-sans-invitation">https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2019/11/16/interdit-dentree-sans-invitation</a>   |
| 28 novembre 2019  | Les écoles, grandes oubliées du boom immobilier aux abords du REM                               | <a href="https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1408155/ecole-marie-victorin-terrain-condos-longueuil-brossard?fbclid=IwAR2ME8AEsSPZs9Cb7rvZbjer6U32Um673DV7quXHUJWD9dUjHV8gWAsPY8s">https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1408155/ecole-marie-victorin-terrain-condos-longueuil-brossard?fbclid=IwAR2ME8AEsSPZs9Cb7rvZbjer6U32Um673DV7quXHUJWD9dUjHV8gWAsPY8s</a> |
| 9 décembre 2019   | 'Sadness, anger, mistrust' surrounds Montreal's proposal to name REM station after late premier | <a href="https://globalnews.ca/news/6272092/montreal-griffintown-rem-station-name/">https://globalnews.ca/news/6272092/montreal-griffintown-rem-station-name/</a>   |
| 17 décembre 2019  | Mount Royal tunnel's closure delayed to spring, but REM construction still on track             | <a href="https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/closure-mount-royal-tunnel-delayed-1.5399907">https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/closure-mount-royal-tunnel-delayed-1.5399907</a>   |
| 18 décembre 2019  | Le déficit de transparence de la Caisse   | <a href="https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/2019-12-18/le-deficit-de-transparence-de-la-caisse">https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/2019-12-18/le-deficit-de-transparence-de-la-caisse</a>   |

Transparence continued scrutinizing the project and CDPQ-Infra with regular monthly meetings and action plans, analyzing the REM's costs and a few months later diffusing the study 'REM vs

train' <sup>307</sup>, adding yet another study to the pile that served as a basis for a newspaper article that pointed to the root causes of Canada's lack of well performing passenger trains; all at a time that saw the Otéra scandal shed doubt on CDPQ's ethical governance and CDPQ CEO Sabia resigning from his post<sup>308</sup>. Below are some telling quotes of how citizens continued to be active on the REM front more than a year and a half after having been unsuccessful in stopping the project.

*We're also concerned about the state of the tunnel, because it's going to be really, hard on these Two Mountains people. And it's going to make it very impossible to have VIA Rail. VIA Rail wants a faster train to come across from Toronto to Montréal to Quebec City and it comes from the north. And the tunnel's going to be occupied by the REM. So, where's it going to go? Probably, they're going to have to build another tunnel, which is going to cost bundle of money. So, a whole bunch of issues. Even though the REM is moving now and it's going to probably take place, there's still a bunch of stuff to work on [...] with big infrastructure projects like this, things always cost more than they think that they're going to cost. And one of the things that they didn't count on when they bought the tunnel ... They bought the tunnel for \$500 million from the AMT back in 2017. AMT bought it from Canadian National. And one of the things that they didn't count on when they bought it was the state of the tunnel. It's old, it was built in 2012. And safety standards back in 2012 are not the same as they are now. And the consortium, that they chose to fix up the tunnel so that it could be electrified with the REM, discovered that it's a big fire hazard. And that they're going to have to build a wall between the tracks that are going and the tracks that are coming, I think that's right, because it's a huge hazard [...] And there's a law that says that you must give passengers certain number of minutes to get off the train that's on fire and get out of that space. And in order to have those six minutes, they need a security warning between the two tracks. And that's a whole other cost and a whole other time expenditure that they didn't count on when they originally made their bid. They originally said that we can do this \$5 billion. They should've paid attention to that [...] my guess is there's going to be other things like that, where they find that no, they can't do it quite the way in which they. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*We had some great people at the beginning. We had some wonderful people at the beginning, and then they gradually ... Many of them started to do other things. But we still have Luc Gagnon. And he's been very, very good for us. And I think we've been very good for him too. And we're still pushing. We're working, now, on the tariff. What's the tariff going to be once the REM is incorporated into the public system? And tariff is going to go up about 20% in order to incorporate all of the additional costs. So, we're working on that. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*Right now, I'm also working on a book where we're trying to gather together all of our research in one place and the tunnel, Two-Mountains Tunnel is going to close on January the 6th so that it will be transformed for the REM, it will be turned into a tunnel that can*

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<sup>307</sup> <https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2019/08/09/trains-de-passagers-nous-sommes-des-arrieres>

<sup>308</sup> <https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/michael-sabia-leaving-caisse-to-head-university-of-toronto-s-munk-school-1.4681804>

*handle computerized automatic trains. So that means they have to reset everything and fix it up so that they can take computers, automatic trains and that's a major event for the Two Mountains people [...] As you may know, they are not happy because they're having to change the trains. They're going to have to wait for a very long time. There's a train going from Two-Mountains into downtown. They're not going to be able to do that; they're going to have to take a bus, they're going to have to take all kinds of other things in order to get downtown to work. So, they're not very happy and we think all hell's going to break loose at the beginning of January when this occurs because they're not very happy and we don't know what they're going to do yet. So I'm aiming to get a book ready by then to have it right available when the tunnel closes and we'll just shoot it everywhere, as many things as possible [...] And then hopefully, we'll blast out the location and hopefully people will look at it. Because I think it's going to be in the news. The tunnel closing is going to be in the news on January 6th, so that's a time for us to let people know what's wrong with this project and why it still matters, which it does because it's privatization. So that's my strategy [...] The last chapter of our book is titled, "No Accountability." There's no accountability. No public accountability. No accountability to anybody [...] Yes. And it will be of very great interest to the rest of the world for two reasons. The Caisse wants to sell its model. New Zealand has already looked at it and have said they're not interested, because they can see what a sham it is. And number two: the Canada Infrastructure Bank. This is its first project, it's the REM. And the Canada Infrastructure Bank is a big, huge neoliberal scam. So, people across Canada will be interested in a book about the first Canadian Infrastructure Bank project. They'll be really interested in it. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*We have the idea that we are a citizen's group that monitors infrastructure. And it's my dream, we haven't got there yet, that maybe we will include the airport extension. That's the next big one that I'm looking at. And I can see us doing that. Maybe because I think we have it in our mandate as a non-profit to monitor infrastructure, and to examine it from the point of view of taxpayers. And that would mean not just the REM, but other big infrastructures. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*The big enemy is a mindset. It's an idea that has taken over thinking of government as well as businesspeople for the last 20, 30 years. And it's destroying everything around us. The public ownership of things, the environment. It's a bad idea. And it's based on stupid, false assumptions. When you make tax cuts for the rich, they don't invest in new companies, they invest in their own companies. They buy more stocks in their own company. It's worse. It doesn't trickle down. It stays with them. And the whole idea has allowed us to cut taxes, to cut social services, and to cut back on regulations. And we're now seeing the results of that. At the same time, the climate is getting harder and harder and harder. Neoliberalism has gotten more and more and more powerful, and that's what Naomi Klein says in her book. It's not a coincidence that things are worse now than they were 30 years ago, because we've embraced an idea that is killing the planet. So, yeah, neoliberalism is the cause. Definitely. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

As the year ended with what some deemed as the worse annual COP summit yet (see below interviewee testimony), the total closure (for the REM) of the 2 mountain trains was postponed

from the first week of January (right after the holidays) to March 30<sup>th</sup>, 2020<sup>309</sup> and Transparence began their book project ‘Caisse Washes Deeper and Greener’ (that also takes a look into the CDPQ’s operations in Colombia). Little did anyone know that something was already brewing in China, that would sweep the rug under the world’s feet, and that by March 30<sup>th</sup>, would tip Quebec and Canada into a totally unexpected and (until then) inconceivable collective experience in the form of a worldwide global pandemic societal lock-down. The below list of in-depth testimonies provides us with a sense of where key coalition members were at in terms of their strategic analysis, where it was that they stood in their climatic struggles at the end of 2019 (looking back), and what it was that they envisioned for the upcoming year of 2020 (looking forward).

Looking back:

*My first reaction is yes, we are accelerating, not because of concrete results, nor necessarily projects that have been started, but rhetoric... rhetorically we are accelerating and whether that turns into action will depend on how many people buy into that rhetoric. If it seems that everybody is on board and you are moving collectively forward with a common vision, then yes we are going to turn that rhetoric into action. If the city administration thinks that people marching in the street is all they need, is the only engagement from them that they need in order to move forward in a meaningful way, than I think we will not see this potential acceleration materialize and there has been some interesting announcements lately, banning of plastics, the big park in the West, the hippodrome being a carbon neutral community, more affordable housing but the administration is doing it unfortunately without a broad public participation and so that’s a small number of people responsible to make the change. We need all citizens to take their responsibilities as outlined in the Montréal’s charter of rights and responsibilities, we need to do more than just march. What are the other ways we can get involved? it’s in part the responsibility of the city to offer those alternatives to get involved. The coalition can get people involved, same for other environmental organizations, but the city needs to systematically develop avenues for citizen engagement and some neighbourhoods are doing good jobs. I mentioned before like public budgeting and committees or urbanism. You can have several committees at the scale of a neighbourhood, a borough, this is where they are missing the boat, they did some good consultations around the REV (network of cycling highways) even then it was the convinced people that showed up, and not the opponents and that is not the best way to do public engagement. Again, I would point to Edmonton as a very good example of a polarizing issue such as climate where they were able to come to consensus on through deep and meaningful dialogue and positions with diverse stakeholders. - Matthew Chapman (Co-founder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

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<sup>309</sup> <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/closure-mount-royal-tunnel-delayed-1.5399907>

*We're not nearly fast enough and on the really hard things, we're not doing enough at all on greenhouse gases. We're just not doing anything about that. But what I see happening, that has been happening over the last little while, last few years is I think is quite encouraging. Not enough of it, not fast enough, but it's happening and it's, and I think it is due to, again, politicians starting to understand that it's going to be very costly for them to be seen as on the wrong side of environmental action. That's a problem. - Campbell Stuart (President, The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*We have modestly contributed to changing the debate. However, I think we haven't done enough. We do things but we don't have the striking force we need. - Jean-François Boisvert (Co-founder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*And therefore, at every level, it matters, and I think the Climate Coalition's work at city level, it punches beyond its weight. I mean, now especially, because Montreal are seen as a leading city in the world, so let's step up to the plate. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*Finally, we are a coalition, there are several sympathizers, people who find themselves in the vision, in the mission. But the assets remain a small core. A core that has lasted, it's been almost 5 years, and these are the same people who are there. It carries more weight [...] That is to say, it is recognized by organizations. There are people who call us and who want to integrate our mission. They are students, doctoral researchers ... This is how I see it and how the city opens more doors to listen to us, now it is them who invite us [...] I see that we have opposed several major projects that were going to be set up and that we have managed to stop, with our briefs, with our ideas [...] The Royalmount, the REM partly. It's starting to be understood, people are starting to understand that it's not going to work. We claimed that before anyone and now there is a part saying that in Laval, for 4 years, the Two Mountain train will be closed, it will be expensive and then we are taking a tariff rise on transports. \$ 200 is a lot for one person: to take that load just for transportation. It is enormous. - Amal Melki (Co-founder, Laval Climate Coalition)*

*Cities are not adapted to this new reality (climate) and they are open because they live it, see it, smell it. They are open to listening to citizens in their proposals, which does not prevent them from having certain reservations because they are not alone, they must be with their teams, take the options and see what they can do to change the laws. It's together that we got there, I'm proud [...] At the beginning, we were kind of lost but now we know what we're talking about, where we have to go. The city is starting to change, it is more open. It signed on the budget; it wants to work on carbon-neutrality. - Amal Melki (Co-founder, Laval Climate Coalition)*

*I think the coalition needs the weight of numbers. Québec Zen are 70 partners. If you look at the list there is diversity and big partners. It brings more credibility. The coalition could seek more scientists, experts. The coalition has the benefit of the doubt through its young history. Of all our activities, there is always a good participation, and a good exchange of ideas. There is an opening, now is a good time. People have a form of trust because there is a form of hindsight, we are not the city, we are an interest group. We are committed to making things happen. Resources are a challenge. If you don't have enough resources, you exhaust people. There are plenty of organizations*

*going in this direction (climate mitigation), but it is too scattered [...] The Coalition must continue to strengthen its credibility, we are there, we represent something else, work with us. This is the message we need to get across. They must understand that they are going to miss something if they don't [...] The Coalition has some influence but when I see the mandates that we make, all the efforts they have made in the Coalition, it is not yet sufficiently recognized by elected officials for there to be continuous collaborative work [...] I think that there is advancement, but it is not enough. Personally, I am not convinced that we are aligned to achieve carbon neutrality in 2050 or the 55% reduction announced by Valérie Plante. It's not concretely visible in what's happening. - France Levert (Coalition Coordinating Committee, representing the Réseau des femmes en environnement)*

*For me, certain themes are not present currently, the whole consumption question. I looked again at the three themes retained by René's research chair at UQAM: living environment, food system and climate crisis. I think we are very focused on transport. Things are missing and needed, the things we do in everyday life, we eat, we have fun, we move. It's your whole lifestyle that needs to be organized so that your energy impact is reduced. But also, short circuits. Recreating urban villages, where you find all the services you need in proximity, with a quality of life, with the neighbors. It's not just technique. We work a lot with experts but when it comes to collective and individual choice, we work with humans. So, you must understand how to approach them. - France Levert (Coalition Coordinating Committee, representing the Réseau des femmes en environnement)*

Looking forward:

*A City has the right to defend the health of its citizens, that's the Canadian Supreme Court in the Hudson pesticide case. Very important precedent. Few people know that. If the supreme courts of Canada recognize that cities, large or small, have the right to act to protect the health of their citizens, corporations are fucked. What I'm saying to you is, it's all very well to organize citizen summits, conferences, and civil disobedience (Extinction Rebellion), but it doesn't preclude us from using the courts. We walk on three legs, not two legs. - Campbell Stuart (President, The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*It's all very well to criticize the corporations and to put glue on your hands and stick them on windows, I told Anthony, you let city hall off the hook. City hall is the place where you have to put the pressure on. Where are the several hundred people to occupy the building on Notre-Dame to say we're not leaving until there is a policy shift and here is what we want, 1,2,3. - Dimitrios Roussopoulos (Co-founder of the Montreal Climate Coalition and Director of Black Rose Books Publishing House)*

*So, the theme of the spring 2020 meeting should be, 'after the failure of Cop25 in Madrid, towards an ecological and democratic city'. What does that mean concretely? It means a conference, that defines what that means. And by that, the conference should have 5 or 6 components to it. What I'm talking about is bringing together all NGO's, all people of interest, who know that Madrid was an utter failure.... for the first time after 25 COPs they couldn't even come up with a statement at the end, nothing, you see what I mean? That's how grave the situation is. So, we all know, but not enough of us admit it, that we're at a serious impasse, the situation is more and more serious,*

*we're not fooling anymore, people know that, so the question is what to do about it? The movement of people of good intentions in the greater Montreal needs a broad vision of what an ecological and democratic city is all about. If it can be achieved, it will have a big impact on Projet MTL who do great things but hop from one thing to the other. You know, a great parc there, a metro station there, you know, pieces that don't always relate. - Dimitrios Roussopoulos (Co-founder of the Montreal Climate Coalition and Director of Black Rose Books Publishing House)*

*This is where the coalition should aim in the spring of the coming year, I propose in May, a very broad and inclusive conference which is shamelessly called: towards an ecological and democratic city [...] This will bring in people that you haven't been able to reach yet, because it deals with what Extinction Rebellion does not connect with organically enough which is climate justice, which is the whole social agenda of what that means, the institutional and power realignments that are necessary to make monsieur and madame tout le monde to say, it affects my daily life, it's not enough for me to put the recycling once a week, especially with the latter being a fraud and composting still a limited experiment. - Dimitrios Roussopoulos (Co-founder of the Montreal Climate Coalition and Director of Black Rose Books Publishing House)*

*Let's talk about the ecological and democratic city, but how does it relate to the concrete: Here are three major things: Who's going to decide that? What are the power interests behind that? Why are we not part of the discussion? [...] That's what the real estate industry is dying to have exclusive control over, the use of the land. [...] but it could be a year and a half before the next municipal election a real... [...] it's a year and ¾ from municipal elections and are we going to get serious, or the apparatus of Projet Montreal will roll all over us and we become reactive vs proactive. This is the question. It's important, the mayor of Lachine, the mayor of Plateau, the mayor of Parc Extension-Villeray, a number of them are troubled that they are not on the right road, lets put them together, see what they think, tell them what we think, so this proactive approach to debate is extremely important. [...] This spring is particularly important, because it will set the tone of what will happen by when we'll start in the fall, and we should not allow Projet MTL to think that everything is on their side and that no one will contest them. I told Luc, you have a year and a half to prove yourself otherwise you will be shot down at the knees and I'll make sure it happens [...] You always have to work, to say to them if you don't understand, or don't respond positively, you'll get hammered. You can only get things done if you have the capacity to threaten them. By threatening them, it implies you represent an alternative that can deliver. As for Ensemble Montreal, they're in disarray. - Dimitrios Roussopoulos (Co-founder of the Montreal Climate Coalition and Director of Black Rose Books Publishing House)*

*Like the Technoparc, it's a nerve point. They're sensitive to it [...] Everything around CO2 and other gas's reductions, they're sensitive to, and I know that there's a will to do it as well [...] But they (city administration) need that pressure to be maintained, and it needs to be an informed pressure, and it's a win-win, because in their back they're fearing the next election, so they need all the facts that we can give them as to why this is important and how it works, how it is working, and I think the Coalition can help by bringing the latest to them in probably better ways [...] Because they won't have time. They're doing with so many other issues. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*



*[Accelerating the transition] would come through a recession, it could go through economic changes. Because people swear by the economy. The people who have a voice in our society are economists, those of the Stock Exchange. Insurance companies, for example, will at one time tire of giving out premiums. The domain will be turned upside down. I saw this last winter before I went to Atlanta, I passed by where there had been historic hurricanes. Floods and fires etc can turn the insurance industry upside down. Migratory movements can also make a difference. Farmers will demand agricultural aid, saying that they are economic actors [...] Energy production is becoming more and more affordable. The price of a barrel of oil will drop to \$ 20. If political tensions go down, the barrel of oil goes down. There will be no hope there. - Jean Fortier (Member of the Montreal Climate Coalition and Ex-President of Montreal’s Municipal Executive Committee)*

#### 5.2.2.5.1 Theoretical Perspective (2019)

Table 23. Sequence of carbon lock-in’s, windows of opportunities and landscape events contrasted with key coalition activities and strategies (2019)

| Type      | Event   | Date       | Regime Level     | Sub-Case                  |
|-----------|---|------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| Lock-In   | Rising emissions, global warming and climate change   | -          | Landscape        | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| WIN       | Montreal adopts Carbon Budget   | 2019-01-01 | Municipal        | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| Lock-In   | Royalmount project  | 2019-01-01 | Municipal        | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| Window    | Lachine-Est consultation  | 2019-03-01 | Municipal        | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| Window    | Environmentalists give Projet MTL a D   | 2019-04-01 | Municipal        | Greenspaces               |
| Landscape | Climate Spring Strikes  | 2019-04-15 | Translocal       | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| Lock-In   | Provincial Government’s Electrification Plan  | 2019-05-01 | Provincial       | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| Window    | Plante opposes REM extension  | 2019-05-01 | Municipal        | REM                       |
| Window    | Public consultation on Royalmount   | 2019-05-01 | Transition Arena | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| Window    | Ferrandez Resigns   | 2019-05-14 | Municipal        | Greenspaces               |
| Landscape | Quebec Floods   | 2019-05-14 | Provincial       | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| Lock-In   | Trudeau cabinet approves Trans Mountain expansion project   | 2019-06-18 | Federal          | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| WIN       | Pink Tramway for Lachine  | 2019-06-26 | Municipal        | REM/<br>Carbon-Neutrality |
| WIN       | Grand Parc  | 2019-08-09 | Municipal        | Greenspaces               |
| Window    | Lachine Est: The OCPM Releases its Public Consultation Report   | 2019-08-13 | Municipal        | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| Landscape | Amazon Fires  | 2019-08-19 | International    | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| WIN       | Valerie Plante announces that Montreal wants to reduce its carbon emissions by -55% by 2030                   | 2019-09-23 | Municipal        | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| Window    | Greta Thunberg leads a 500,000 people climate march in Montreal: ‘We’ve become too loud for people to handle’ | 2019-09-27 | Translocal       | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| Window    | Federal Elections   | 2019-10-22 | Federal          | Elections                 |
| Lock-In   | Trudeau Reelected   | 2019-10-22 | Federal          | Elections                 |
| Lock-In   | COP 25 - Madrid   | 2019-12-01 | International    | Carbon-Neutrality         |
| Window    | Namur-Hippodrome Consultation   | 2019-12-01 | Municipal        | Carbon-Neutrality         |

Table 23. Sequence of carbon lock-in's, windows of opportunities and landscape events contrasted with key coalition activities and strategies (2019) *(continued)*

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p><b>Key Coalition Activities :</b></p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ensemble MTL Verdun workshop (Jan)</li> <li>• 4<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Event (EMSB)</li> <li>• Lachine-Est Consultation (March-April)</li> <li>• Creation of Notre 15/40 local group to oppose the Royalmount project (March)</li> <li>• Launch of policy orientation white papers and annual general assembly (June-HEC Montreal)</li> <li>• Two citizens forums on participative democracy (Aug and Oct)</li> <li>• Meets Carboleo Royalmount developer (Sept)</li> <li>• 3 Meetings with the city regarding upcoming Climate Action Plan (Sept-Dec)</li> <li>• Workshop to Ensemble MTL caucus (municipal opposition party) (Dec)</li> </ul> |
| <p><b>Key Coalition Strategies :</b></p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be very curious and try to get to the bottom of things</li> <li>• Move knowledge, be an integrator, a silo buster</li> <li>• Don't hesitate to create new local groups and working groups</li> <li>• Connect with local (climate) researchers and experts</li> <li>• Organize and participate in 'knowledge brokering' events and activities</li> <li>• Know your rights, start and participate in public consultations</li> <li>• Develop and diffuse studies and reports</li> <li>• Meet with city officials and administrators</li> <li>• Give workshops to elected officials</li> </ul>   |

With Projet MTL now in their second year of their four-year mandate, and with their first adaptation year of 'settling in power' under their belts, the new year of 2019 opened with growing expectations as to the kind of environmental performance the new party in power would (could) deliver; in line with their electoral promises. Would Projet MTL's coming to power truly be a period of punctuated equilibrium in Montreal's political scene, or would it rather turn out to be merely a moment of regime reconfiguration? Answers were somehow quick to come, and they were positive to say the least, as Valerie Plante made two positive back-to-back announcements that validated two key carbon-neutrality demands that the coalition advocated for month in and month out during the city's municipal council meetings. First that the city wanted to become carbon-neutral by 2050 and second, that it was adopting a motion put forth by the municipal opposition party (Ensemble MTL) for Montreal to set for itself a carbon budget.

Here it is important to stop and stress on the role that the coalition played in the fact that the opposition party proposed the city to adopt a carbon-budget. To a considerable degree, this the kind of positive impacts that citizen groups can generate when systematic and consistently participating in municipal council question periods, adopting a position of 'issue partisanship' rather than one based on 'party partisanship' when framing policies for carbon-neutrality. It's during those monthly 3 minutes and 2 questions asked to Montreal's entire municipal government that the

coalition's policy entrepreneurs have demonstrated to be skilful in connecting together the three streams of policy processes for key political decision-makers to take note of: the problem, policy and political streams.

*Identifying what the gap is, if it's a political gap, then it's rallying people to support whatever policy is on the table, if it's a policy gap and the policy is not there yet, Carbon Budget is a good example, the city was not talking about it a couple of years, we've helped them put it on their map, I think without our pressure it wouldn't be on the map for this plan that's coming up, certainly a climate test will not, so I think we are playing a pivotal role in filling those policy gaps but for example, La Planète s'invite, when they organise a march, they're not filling a policy gap but political gap, so in terms of policy entrepreneurship they've identified that there is a political gap there between what politicians need to be doing and what they are able to do or feel they are able to do, they need to be emboldened, so that ..that's policy entrepreneurship too, the gap is different. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

By consistently (month in and month out) playing into micro (political) dynamics of power within the municipal government and basing themselves on (their) independent research reports and studies; coalition's policy entrepreneurs force 'dialogical conversations' with key municipal elected officials. This is further illustrated by the eventual climate workshops that the coalition gave to the city's official opposition party (Ensemble MTL) upon their request, both at the neighborhood level (Verdun) and to the entire party caucus. These strategies have directly contributed to Montreal adopting a carbon budget, even though to this day much of the motion adopted has remained on paper (no official carbon budget has been adopted yet).

*The coalition mainly is the meeting with elected officials. We are going to meet elected officials in the Verdun borough, with the opposition for the carbon budget. Otherwise, we continue to participate in public consultations that directly or indirectly affect climate change on waste management, financial. - Jean-François Boisvert (Cofounder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

So while the CAQ's tramway project was on the rails and Montreal began to adopt policy orientations in line with the coalition's demands (carbon-neutrality vision and a city-level carbon budget paper), one of the coalition's key allies in the REM file, the Green Coalition, capitalized on a landscape window of opportunity in the form of 2019's spring climate strikes that were beginning to take Montreal and the world by storm; conducting a survey amongst environmentalists (especially individuals and groups in the west part of the city), asking them to grade Projet MTL's

environmental performance since their election. Mobilising the media, they revealed that Projet MTL's base in the west part of the island were utterly dissatisfied with the city's environmental performance, giving them a grade of D. The main reason? Their lack of green space protection, especially given their support of the REM which was already destroying an important ecosystem habitat (the eco-sensitive wetland of Technoparc).

While this could have made waves in the media for a day or two, it coincided with another moment of serendipity that rewarded the Green Coalition's policy entrepreneurs. The month following the article in the newspapers talking about the city's poor environmental performance in the eyes of a considerable part of the environmental movement, and as Quebec was yet again experiencing major spring floods for the second time in just 3 years (a landscape 'focussing' event at the local level) one of Projet MTL's main political figures and one of the most environmental politician on the scene, Luc Ferrandez (mayor of le Plateau neighborhood and head of Green Spaces and Parcs at the city), suddenly resigned; stating that he could no longer pretend that the city administration was being up to the task on the environmental front. This illustrates another important conjuncture in the case, with two windows of opportunities (one created by policy entrepreneurs with their survey and another opening at the municipal political stream) coinciding together and putting considerable pressure on Montreal's mayoress and her administration.

The city administration had to act fast because at this point, both their external and internal base (allies) were starting to show signs of considerable dissatisfaction and rebellion. By the time amazon fires were raging and making international headline news in the early parts of summer 2019 (landscape 'focussing' event at the international level), Plante made a series of positive announcements that demonstrated that after all, some of her key environmental promises were going to materialize. From the announcement of a tramway line in Lachine-Est (first part of her Pink Line Metro project, and a major win for the Coalition and its key Lachine ally; Imagine Lachine-Est), to the Grand Parc announcement (biggest Canadian urban parc in the west part of Montreal, and a major win for the Coalition and its key ally; the Green Coalition); as well as her announcement that she was raising Montreal's decarbonisation ambitions, these important wins for the Coalition came around the same time as Greta's historic 500,000 people march on Montreal that can be considered as representing a very large window of opportunity opening across all levels of the multilevel regime, especially at a time when Federal elections were also in full swing.

It's important to note here that the pink tramway line announced for Lachine-Est is a direct result of the coalition's work with one of its member organisations, Imagine Lachine-Est, who capitalised on the research they developed for the REM opposition and their Grand Virage alternative to spillover into the Lachine-Est eco-district project for which they had been able to get one of their main allies on-board, Lachine Mayoress Maja Vodanovic. As such, we can reiterate the observation that working on a carbon lock-in at the level of Montreal's socio-technical public transport system (opposing the REM) led to successfully opening and capitalizing on policy windows for carbon-neutrality in the built environment system (Lachine-Est Carbon-Neutral Eco-District).

In that year of 2019, it's also important to point to the various strategies that the coalition deployed on key policy fronts within Montreal's socio-technical built environment system. From leading the Lachine-Est public consultation for their vision of a first ever Carbon-Neutral Eco-District redevelopment project in Quebec, to creating a new locally group (Our 15/40) and teaming up with other local citizens groups to oppose the development of the Royalmount shopping mall project (that led to the real estate developer organizing public consultations on their project and inviting the Coalition for one-on-one meetings), to developing new research briefs (based on their work in Lachine-Est) in order to participate in the Royalmount and Namur-Hippodrome consultations; the Coalition demonstrated it's now mature and 'well oiled' array of tactics and strategies. From co-developing locally relevant carbon-neutrality policy and action knowledge, to presenting these during public consultations, creating new local groups to marshal independent voices, organizing direct strikes and knowledge brokering events, participating in municipal council meetings both the city and borough levels; as well as being regularly invited for meetings by elected officials from both municipal parties (Projet Montreal in power and the opposition party Ensemble Montreal), by the end of 2019 the coalition had considerably grown in credibility and was considered as an undeniable actor in Montreal's strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field.

### 5.2.2.6 Epilogue: The Dawn of a New (Ab)normal - 2020

Table 24. Chronology of Empirical Events in 2020

| Year: 2020 | Key Events   |
|------------|--|
| January    | Australian Fires and Davos Climate Calls<br>Urbanization is on the uptake in Montreal  |
| February   | Technopark/Green Coalition file lawsuit against the city of Montreal. Plante: Light & Dark<br>Scandal in Quebec: Green Coalition requests provincial inquiry into environmental permits<br>Two mountain users also consider filing a lawsuit against the REM<br>Namur-Hippodrome consultation<br>CAQ's Electrification Plan Paints Green<br>Transparence's 'Caisse Washes Greener & Darker' Book Project<br>Coalition's 5 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary (Lajeunesse) |
| March      | COVID-19<br>REM mobilisation with QS, Green Coalition's extraordinary conference and Grand Parc public consultation events are canceled<br>Launch of Atelier Lachine   |
| May        | City turns La Falaise Saint-Jacques into a parc, and wins Meadowbrook supreme court appeal<br>Royalmount is stopped for six months, and the developer asks financial aid from the government<br>Controversial Provincial Law 61 for relaunching Quebec's post-covid economy<br>2020 Annual General Assembly (Zoom)<br>Quebec's historic heatwave   |
| June       | Green Coalitions puts provincial government under house arrest for it's law 61<br>REM's airport station is at risk and may not materialise   |
| July       | Royalmount unveils its new revamped 'sustainable' project. A citizens' gathering in opposition is planned for September  |

The new year 2020 (year of the C40's Deadline 2020<sup>310</sup>) began as the world witnessed in shock, for weeks and months on end, Australia's unprecedented forest fires that were raging across the continent<sup>311</sup>; and which contributed to making the climate crises a key focal point at the Davos World Economic Forum <sup>312</sup>.

*This Sunday, it's the fourth Sunday of Advent. We've been talking about the four elements, earth, air, water, and finally fire, and I'm showing a video about forests that grow because of ... forest ecosystems that grow because of fires. It's a little bit of hope that Australia and California's terrible suffering has a silver lining, if and when it can be back to a normality. That's the huge if. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

As expert claimed that urbanization was on the uptake in Montreal<sup>313</sup>, and despite the city's Grand Parc announcement to create Canada's biggest urban park (and which had been celebrated by all

<sup>310</sup> [https://www.c40.org/other/deadline\\_2020](https://www.c40.org/other/deadline_2020)

<sup>311</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019%E2%80%932020\\_Australian\\_bushfire\\_season](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019%E2%80%932020_Australian_bushfire_season)

<sup>312</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2020/01/24/business/davos-2020-climate/index.html>

<sup>313</sup> [http://observatoire.cmm.qc.ca/fileadmin/user\\_upload/documents/2020\\_01\\_Note\\_observatoire.pdf](http://observatoire.cmm.qc.ca/fileadmin/user_upload/documents/2020_01_Note_observatoire.pdf)

the environmental movement without exceptions, especially the Green Coalition); the city had still gone ahead with the development projects that (along the REM station within the vicinity) were threatening Technoparc (as mentioned earlier, one of Montreal's last watershed and a major bird sanctuary<sup>314,315,316,317</sup>).

*The city is not the bad guy, so we need to leverage the position the city has put itself in for other things. So for instance, the press release that was released about this Grand Parc in the West and the press conference we had, what was in it was, and now thank you very much for doing this, but now we still have a problem with Technoparc and the city is the defendant. So we'd like to know what the city is doing so that the approach we're taking with Technoparc is. It's my law firm, which is handling the injunction. We went to the Technoparc people and the Green Coalition said, could you please put together a proposal for how they can do, they can reconstitute, rehydrate the wetlands [...] so that we can go back to the city and say, well, we'd like to settle the case. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

As a result, the Coalition's member group Technoparc-Oiseaux (part of Green Coalition) who had been opposing the development of the area since 2016, filed a new lawsuit on Technoparc's destruction, this time against the city of Montreal. Funded by The Legacy Fund for the Environment<sup>318</sup> and involving the same legal cabinet as in the REM lawsuit and groups of environmentalists who had given a grade of D to Valérie Plante's administration, they also published a media article entitled '*Plante: light and darkness*'<sup>319</sup> in light of Plante's refusal to settle the matter outside the courts<sup>320</sup>. As the court proceedings began, a surprising discovery was made

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<sup>314</sup> <https://mtltimes.ca/Montreal/social-life/montreal-times-environment-information/environmentalists-protest-technoparc-destruction-mayor-plante-refuses-to-settle-out-of-court/?fbclid=IwAR342XQZhb8L-BYxf7SziWSCNF-K-Rs9aa36DXKa9IFAK2yckpTicvN8iuI>

<sup>315</sup> [https://www.ledroit.com/opinions/votre-opinion/lavenir-de-la-biodiversite-passe-par-la-protection-des-milieux-humides-f4be44159aafa38bf856270e3c9cbc75?fbclid=IwAR2wfrHIu0pH6rXnH9Lfjfw\\_3wam-tfiOhxU9Ap6DIMPzSMBZCqJEKQqSI](https://www.ledroit.com/opinions/votre-opinion/lavenir-de-la-biodiversite-passe-par-la-protection-des-milieux-humides-f4be44159aafa38bf856270e3c9cbc75?fbclid=IwAR2wfrHIu0pH6rXnH9Lfjfw_3wam-tfiOhxU9Ap6DIMPzSMBZCqJEKQqSI)

<sup>316</sup> [https://www.westmountmag.ca/environmentalists-team-up-to-protect-technoparc-wetlands/?fbclid=IwAR2yyNRJfZPSyobKV8\\_ri33yzkrnlbzQ\\_0961YiKuSyvkXJCvBP2mChLes0](https://www.westmountmag.ca/environmentalists-team-up-to-protect-technoparc-wetlands/?fbclid=IwAR2yyNRJfZPSyobKV8_ri33yzkrnlbzQ_0961YiKuSyvkXJCvBP2mChLes0)

<sup>317</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wg\\_9e6IAIaw&feature=share&fbclid=IwAR2SAqnB5j8615J-oCM5BOt-3tNxiENhQl-aseiFO8UfECd2XtdB\\_hzMIMg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wg_9e6IAIaw&feature=share&fbclid=IwAR2SAqnB5j8615J-oCM5BOt-3tNxiENhQl-aseiFO8UfECd2XtdB_hzMIMg)

<sup>318</sup> <https://www.canadahelps.org/en/charities/legacy-fund-for-the-environment-lfefonds-dheritage-pour-lenvironnement-fhe/?fbclid=IwAR10mXLxt4P4XCFhVA5CyL7b7HwLSGHfiwpKTFUw-MVcekJZFCIJzmdPJUk#.XkcJ81WTOBM.facebook>

<sup>319</sup> <https://www.westmountmag.ca/darkness-and-light-montreal-its-environment-and-valerie-plante/?fbclid=IwAR153VpMR691Pq6807SMbdqYyOeis9yTDSHeTesp91EYgsxSXYU7LKfTivM>

<sup>320</sup> <https://mtltimes.ca/Montreal/social-life/montreal-times-environment-information/environmentalists-protest-technoparc-destruction-mayor-plante-refuses-to-settle-out-of-court/?fbclid=IwAR342XQZhb8L-BYxf7SziWSCNF-K-Rs9aa36DXKa9IFAK2yckpTicvN8iuI>

in the courts: it was revealed that Quebec's provincial ministry of environment had never (ever) refused to a developer a building permit based on environmental impact assessments!<sup>321</sup>.

*So there is a lucrative legal specialty in the environment, but it is entirely in the service of the developers. The developers hire lots of lawyers to get around environmental regulations, to get around them, not to enforce them. Governments often don't enforce them themselves. Very often governments are complicit. So there has to be serious resources out there to fight this. Citizens have to do it. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

As the CAQ government was publishing its annual budget that included investments in its electrification plan (criticized by the coalition<sup>322</sup>), and just weeks before the world was to be turned upside down by an unknown microscopic virus, the Green Coalition demanded a public inquiry into the practices of the provincial ministry of environment's permit issuance authority<sup>323</sup>. They planned for an extraordinary conference for March 14<sup>th</sup> at MDD which never took place<sup>324</sup>.

On Friday March 13<sup>th</sup>, the Quebec government announced that all educational institutions were to close for two weeks starting Monday March 16<sup>th</sup>, which ended up being a complete 3 months of social and economic confinement for the entire population; one as never witnessed at such a global scale in the history of mankind<sup>325</sup>. Hence, it's in this utterly unexpected context of the COVID-19 pandemic that the Green Coalition's extraordinary conference on the scandal at the environmental ministry of Quebec got canceled, as was the Grand Parc's public consultation<sup>326</sup> and the two-mountain train users' planned mobilisation that was planned for Sunday March 15<sup>th</sup><sup>327</sup> (and in which Quebec Solidaire's deputy Ruba Ghazal was to participate); all got canceled. As for the Coalition, it held its annual general assembly online, during which one of their most steadfast ally in city administration, Mayoress of Lachine Maja Vodanovic, requested to intervene at the beginning of the assembly to congratulate the coalition for their work on carbon-neutrality

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<sup>321</sup> <https://www.westmountmag.ca/scandal-at-the-quebec-ministry-of-environment/>

<sup>322</sup> Internal document : Électrification mythes réalités2020 V41.

<sup>323</sup> [https://www.westmountmag.ca/green-coalition-conference-2020-03-14/?fbclid=IwAR0\\_Nc5HQuD40nsudGFX9IRvw6YJbEfAzKC1XuDvduJauH\\_c-AAAs3\\_00QE](https://www.westmountmag.ca/green-coalition-conference-2020-03-14/?fbclid=IwAR0_Nc5HQuD40nsudGFX9IRvw6YJbEfAzKC1XuDvduJauH_c-AAAs3_00QE)

<sup>324</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/events/492375604974953/>

<sup>325</sup> <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/school-closures-quebec-universities-1.5496208>

<sup>326</sup> [https://www.realisonsmtl.ca/grandparcouest/news\\_feed/lancement-de-la-consultation-citoyenne-le-17-mars?fb\\_page\\_type=blog\\_post&fb\\_tool\\_id=30530&fbclid=IwAR2vAqZRWuA0Yd9GXosluBzjVq4cSNAi0Gba5Ka-BVz0rC5UavC-C3ZmWmc](https://www.realisonsmtl.ca/grandparcouest/news_feed/lancement-de-la-consultation-citoyenne-le-17-mars?fb_page_type=blog_post&fb_tool_id=30530&fbclid=IwAR2vAqZRWuA0Yd9GXosluBzjVq4cSNAi0Gba5Ka-BVz0rC5UavC-C3ZmWmc)

<sup>327</sup> <http://notretrain.info/le-comite-usagers-train-dm-vous-invite-a-une-assemblee-citoyenne-sur-les-impacts-de-la-fermeture-du-tunnel-mont-royal>



throughout the last several years; praising the coalition's vital 'independent think tank' work in favor of Montrealers and the common good. This was followed by a webinar that the coalition also organised on the topic of a 'Green and fair economic post-Covid relaunch'.

While the entire city of Montreal was in lockdown and Quebec experienced some of its most intense heatwaves ever recorded<sup>328</sup>; some good news emerged, with the city announcing that it would protect La Falaise green space and turn it into an urban park<sup>329</sup>. Along with the previously announced Grand parc de l'Ouest, this was yet another victory for the coalition (more specifically the Green Coalition); who's local citizen group Sauvons La Falaise had been fighting for several years so that the city would save La Falaise and who had also been the first to mobilise against the ravaging impacts that the REM will have on Technoparc's sensitive wetland biodiversity.

Moreover, and after several years of court battles, the city of Montreal won its Meadowbrook lawsuit case when Canada's supreme court took the decision that the city had the legal right to stop the private golf course project that had attempted to be developed in Meadowbrook, and that had also witnessed the fierce opposition of another of the Green Coalition's local member group, Les Amis du Parc Meadowbrook<sup>330</sup>.

*Same thing as saying Montreals committee on the new urban plan, the chemin d'amenagement, and they as a result of that announced that they were changing the designation of Meadowbrook, the golf course from residential to green. So basically that was a win for us. In the meantime, we'd gone to a number of different municipal commissions, Montreal municipal commissions, Lebreq commission. We went to the OCPM twice and we went and when PMED was put into place, we also work very hard to get them to align themselves with our view on this. So in 2015 at the beginning of the year, we got what we were after, which was the designation that was a green space and could not be built on. And if I might just put it in a footnote, there are two things. One is that after that victory, we changed our name to Les Amis du Parc Meadowbrook because the next phase is turning it into a park. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*That's just simply a power that the municipalities have and in the last few years, the courts, unlike the first one I mentioned, this one, they're now very consistent. This is a really, really, really big win, right up where, right up there with Projet Montreal getting elected. This was a very big win because since then we have in St-Anne de Bellevue*

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<sup>328</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/weather/2020/05/28/montreal-record-may-heat/>

<sup>329</sup> [https://globalnews.ca/news/6965891/montreal-land-parc-de-la-falaise/?fbclid=IwAR13VeJGHicLV\\_pEIna4vMDPM0lkMybdQ6ep19q\\_XnBflauZTP5-PEtD8yg](https://globalnews.ca/news/6965891/montreal-land-parc-de-la-falaise/?fbclid=IwAR13VeJGHicLV_pEIna4vMDPM0lkMybdQ6ep19q_XnBflauZTP5-PEtD8yg)

<sup>330</sup> <https://www.msn.com/en-ca/news/canada/montreal-wins-meadowbrook-golf-course-battle-in-supreme-court/ar-BB14rbk4>

*developers got banged out, on Meadowbrook the developers get banged up because when they Sue for hundreds of millions of dollars, everybody's frightened. Municipality often uses that as an excuse, the fear that they're going to be sued by the developer. It's the fear of being sued, which often makes municipalities cave and give in and say, well, they have rights too. They're going to sue us if we don't sell, let's give them the building permit. About four or five years ago, that changed because the courts are now saying no they can Sue, but they don't have the right to do it unless they've already got a building permit. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

At the same time that the OCPM was publishing the Namur-Hippodrome consultation report<sup>331</sup> and Lachine-Est was launching its innovative carbon-neutral governance structure, 'l'Atelier Lachine'; and despite being on hold for six months<sup>332</sup> and in financial trouble<sup>333</sup>, Royalmount went ahead and unveiled its 2.0 model (after the public consultation)<sup>334</sup> to which Plante remained unsatisfied<sup>335</sup> and citizens began (re)mobilizing in order to stop/further delay the project<sup>336</sup>.

*I'm waiting for the new version of the project so that I can analyze it, try to go to consultations to ask my questions. I am more in a pragmatic approach to projects; I am not in the confrontation. - Charles Grenier (Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

On the REM side of things, Transparence continued to hold their monthly meetings, now online given the confinement, and worked on their book while also looking into the option of proposing for the nationalisation of the REM. Articles were still being published in the newspapers on the REM, with the airports' REM station now in jeopardy due to a dramatic decrease in air traffic as a result of the pandemic, implying that the initial objective of the REM project (that of connecting Montreal's agglomeration with the Pierre-Elliott Trudeau airport) might not materialise after all<sup>337</sup>.

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<sup>331</sup> <https://ocpm.qc.ca/fr/hippodrome>

<sup>332</sup> <https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/grand-montreal/2020-05-23/le-royalmount-en-pause-pour-six-mois>

<sup>333</sup> <https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/grand-montreal/2020-05-23/le-promoteur-du-royalmount-demande-de-l-aide-gouvernementale?fbclid=IwAR1hh9p7watWYXZc8d8s8CQ0uruETVPILDL0LW4k1TMLSQGf7XxD8jyzP6A>

<sup>334</sup> <https://www.newswire.ca/news-releases/public-presentation-of-the-transformed-royalmount-project-801197981.html>

<sup>335</sup> <https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2020/02/25/royalmount-20--plante-toujours-insatisfait-1>

<sup>336</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/events/2727979194195998/>

<sup>337</sup> [https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1713082/coronavirus-traffic-aerien-qubec-ottawa-station-rem?fbclid=IwAR1L1HC\\_nR7VMRXPdZ-nqjsuWXqDDThJRq2XMTsmya-12Xk7uO9gUYUsFOI](https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1713082/coronavirus-traffic-aerien-qubec-ottawa-station-rem?fbclid=IwAR1L1HC_nR7VMRXPdZ-nqjsuWXqDDThJRq2XMTsmya-12Xk7uO9gUYUsFOI)

Table 25. Studies and articles published on the impacts of the REM (Winter-Spring 2020)

|                 |  |   |
|-----------------|--|---|
| 25 février 2020 | La Caisse de dépôt et les paradis fiscaux<br>Caisse de dépôt et les paradis fiscaux<br>La Caisse de dépôt et les paradis fiscaux | <a href="https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2020/02/25/la-caisse-de-depot-et-les-paradis-fiscaux">https://www.journaldemontreal.com/2020/02/25/la-caisse-de-depot-et-les-paradis-fiscaux</a>   |
| 18 juin 2020    | Il faut une solution pour la station du REM à Montréal-Trudeau   | <a href="https://www.lapresse.ca/debats/opinions/2020-06-18/il-faut-une-solution-pour-la-station-du-rem-a-montreal-trudeau">https://www.lapresse.ca/debats/opinions/2020-06-18/il-faut-une-solution-pour-la-station-du-rem-a-montreal-trudeau</a>   |
| 18 juin 2020    | La station du REM de l'aéroport Montréal-Trudeau compromise par la crise   | <a href="https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1713082/coronavirus-traffic-aerien-qubec-ottawa-station-rem?fbclid=IwAR1L1HC_nR7VMRxPdZ-nqjsuWXqDDThJRq2XMTsmya-12Xk7uO9gUYUsFOI">https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1713082/coronavirus-traffic-aerien-qubec-ottawa-station-rem?fbclid=IwAR1L1HC_nR7VMRxPdZ-nqjsuWXqDDThJRq2XMTsmya-12Xk7uO9gUYUsFOI</a> |

Three months into COVID-19 general lockdown, the CAQ announced its controversial law 61<sup>338</sup> that aims to curb environmental protection in order to accelerate more than two hundred infrastructure development projects across Quebec in order to accelerate the post-covid-19 economic relaunch (the Federal was also heading in the same post-covid economic recovery direction<sup>339</sup>). The Green Coalition criticizes the government<sup>340</sup>, accusing the minister of environment to be ‘the private developer’s pet’<sup>341</sup> and putting the Quebec government under house notice<sup>342</sup>. This contributed to the government backing down<sup>343</sup> from its proposed law (CAQ’s first big defeat according to some<sup>344</sup>) but stating that it will impose a gag (‘baillon’ in French) in the fall of 2020 if it needed to do so in order to pass the controversial law<sup>345</sup> (something that has become one of the CAQ’s key trademarks)<sup>346</sup>. It is in this unprecedented pandemic world (alongside the spectre of economic depression) that the COP 26 in Glasgow was postponed to November 1<sup>st</sup> 2021<sup>347</sup>. On

<sup>338</sup> <https://www.lapresse.ca/debats/opinions/2020-06-07/projet-de-loi-61-reliance-de-l-economie-et-concentration-du-pouvoir>

<sup>339</sup> [https://www.nationalobserver.com/2020/06/03/news/heres-every-environmental-protection-canada-has-been-suspended-delayed-and-cancelled?fbclid=IwAR23NMJfIZcbHtOr14OvKbMARxkdVNrAV\\_Yii1cuQLonmXsDPsF4WhJ5tUs](https://www.nationalobserver.com/2020/06/03/news/heres-every-environmental-protection-canada-has-been-suspended-delayed-and-cancelled?fbclid=IwAR23NMJfIZcbHtOr14OvKbMARxkdVNrAV_Yii1cuQLonmXsDPsF4WhJ5tUs)

<sup>340</sup> [https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/bill-61-tramples-environmental-safeguards-groups-say/wcm/3e44cf-e8-c30c-4dcc-9b34-e096a62140f6/?fbclid=IwAR1Rh4uGgF\\_Uo4MUm2isHifqDrvidTBOLf0Lg1I9oizyNL7OP6MR0fY-rMY](https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/bill-61-tramples-environmental-safeguards-groups-say/wcm/3e44cf-e8-c30c-4dcc-9b34-e096a62140f6/?fbclid=IwAR1Rh4uGgF_Uo4MUm2isHifqDrvidTBOLf0Lg1I9oizyNL7OP6MR0fY-rMY)

<sup>341</sup> [https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1709240/sous-ministre-environnement-promoteur-fonctionnaires?fbclid=IwAR1n\\_XmL4jsQfwLORnh14nnU11k0mjscVwQH67RoIC551K3RC9kxbxrg5zF8](https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1709240/sous-ministre-environnement-promoteur-fonctionnaires?fbclid=IwAR1n_XmL4jsQfwLORnh14nnU11k0mjscVwQH67RoIC551K3RC9kxbxrg5zF8)

<sup>342</sup> <https://journalmetro.com/actualites/national/2474769/reliance-economique-la-coalition-verte-met-en-demeure-le-gouvernement-legault/?fbclid=IwAR2yHIBS1QoPikxU2fRzIYkqqOEahzCUKyUq-ttYtqBMmsk81gDyaLCdOb4>

<sup>343</sup> <https://montrealgazette.com/news/quebec/bill-61-opposition-puts-the-brakes-on-caq-plan-to-relaunch-economy>

<sup>344</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1711730/reliance-economique-recul-defaite-caq-michel-c-auger>

<sup>345</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1718542/reliance-economique-quebec-pdl-61>

<sup>346</sup> <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1509568/refome-education-commissions-scolaires-quebec>

<sup>347</sup> <https://www.ukcop26.org/>

December 10<sup>th</sup>, the city of Montreal finally unveiled (eight months after the initial date) their Climate Action Plan that's structured around 45 actions; including the coalition's four overarching governance and policy orientations: the carbon budget, climate tests, annual GHG inventories and a stakeholders wide mobilisation strategy<sup>348</sup>. Five days later, and to most people's surprise, Quebec's provincial CAQ government and the CDPQ-Infra announced the extension of the REM in the east part of Montreal, replacing the CAQ's electoral promise of a Tramway<sup>349</sup>. Nevertheless, despite the complete overhaul of the world as a result of the pandemic and the high uncertainty that dwells above achieving deep decarbonisation and accelerating the transition to a carbon-neutral world; I would like to end my reconstruction, narration and interpretation of the MCC story with the below positive and optimistic testimony:

*We abuse our natural resources a lot. What are our resources, their capacities? This is what we can go and exploit. We must nature some leeway. We must understand nature and respect it. This is sharing with nature, respecting what she can give us. And I'm aware that the economy has taught us in an ad that "oh it's cheaper". You don't need to live off all this publicity. We don't need all this amount of food, we can leave a part for nature to regenerate, we can do it. People who make money need to understand. We did not understand until the emergence of several disasters. We understood that we do not have the right to exploit nature this way, and that we must respect it. It is our consciousness that will bring us back to the source. We are a system part of this wider system that is nature. With it we are stronger. The people who bought land, preserved the land, lived with their conscience, who brought back the animals. If we are careful, everything comes back in nature. It is our duty to love and respect her. She will be reborn. - Amal Melki (Cofounder, Laval Climate Coalition)*

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<sup>348</sup> <https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/grand-montreal/2020-12-10/plan-climat-de-la-ville-de-montreal/46-actions-pour-faire-face-au-changement-climatique.php?fbclid=IwAR13yD6koQdxTh2RC19Ez-PS1x52bbMJeXhnOKvK8BhZYtCsbkzWtV59VI>

<sup>349</sup> [https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/grand-montreal/2020-12-15/rem/un-train-toutes-les-deux-minutes-pour-le-nord-et-l-est-de-montreal.php?fbclid=IwAR2wq9rh\\_gM2K44DV6X3AzSmAfi0j7AXOZ64h04Z-fzWxIFUD4RL8JYrxEc](https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/grand-montreal/2020-12-15/rem/un-train-toutes-les-deux-minutes-pour-le-nord-et-l-est-de-montreal.php?fbclid=IwAR2wq9rh_gM2K44DV6X3AzSmAfi0j7AXOZ64h04Z-fzWxIFUD4RL8JYrxEc)

5.2.2.6.1 *Theoretical Perspective (2020)*

Table 26. Sequence of carbon lock-in's, windows of opportunities and landscape events contrasted with key coalition activities and strategies

| Type               | Event  | Date       | Level         | Case Element      |
|--------------------|--|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Landscape          | Rising emissions, global warming and climate change  |            | International | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Window             | Namur Hippodrome Carbo-Neutre Conhsultations   | 2020-01-10 | Municipal     | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Window/<br>Lock-In | Davos's 'Climate Call'   | 2020-01-10 | International | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Lock-In            | Urbanisation on the uptake in Montreal   | 2020-01-10 | Municipal     | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Window             | Green Coalition's injunction against the city regarding Technoparc (Feb)   | 2020-02-01 | Provincial    | Greenspaces       |
| Lock-in            | Scandal at Quebec's Minister of Environment (Feb)  | 2020-02-01 | Provincial    | Greenspaces       |
| Window             | Scandal at Quebec's Minister of Environment (Feb)  | 2020-02-01 | Provincial    | Greenspaces       |
| Landscape          | Unprecedented Australian Fires   | 2020-02-01 | International | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Window             | Royalmount stops for six months and ask for government financing (Feb-May)   | 2020-02-01 | Provincial    | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Lock-In            | Royalmount 2.0 on halt   | 2020-02-01 | Municipal     | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Window             | Royalmount 2.0: Valérie Plante unhappy with new 'greener' project proposition  | 2020-02-25 | Municipal     | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Landscape          | COVID-19 Pandemic Outbreak   | 2020-02-29 | International | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Lock-In            | Covid-19 Lockdown (March-June)   | 2020-03-01 | Provincial    | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Window             | Covid-19 Lockdown (March-June)   | 2020-03-01 | Provincial    | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Window             | Launch of Atelier Lachine as multi-stakeholder governance mechanism for the development of Lachine-Est Eco-District Carbon-Neutral project (March) | 2020-03-01 | Municipal     | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Lock-In            | CAQ's Post-Covid law 61 for economic relaunch plan that curbs environmental protection (July)  | 2020-05-15 | Provincial    | Carbon-Neutrality |
| WIN                | Montreal plans land for the development of 60-hectare Parc de la falaise at Saint-Jacques  | 2020-05-20 | Municipal     | Greenspaces       |
| WIN                | Montreal wins Meadowbrook Golf Course battle in Supreme Court  | 2020-05-22 | Municipal     | Greenspaces       |
| Landscape          | Quebec Heatwave  | 2020-05-28 | Provincial    | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Window             | Post-Covid green and fair economic relaunch (July)   | 2020-06-01 | Provincial    | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Lock-In            | Canada suspends, delays and cancels a multitude of environmental protection during COVID-19  | 2020-06-03 | Federal       | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Window             | Law 61 project: first major defeat for the CAQ provincial government   | 2020-06-12 | Provincial    | Carbon-Neutrality |

Table 26. Sequence of carbon lock-in's, windows of opportunities and landscape events contrasted with key coalition activities and strategies (*continued*)

| Type    | Event  | Date       | Level         | Case Element      |
|---------|--|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Lock-In | Supreme Court rejects Indigenous appeal of Trans Mountain pipeline approval                                  | 2020-07-02 | Federal       | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Lock-In | Scientists Revise Predicted Warming Range to Between +2.6C and +4.1C   | 2020-07-23 | International | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Lock-In | Glasgow COP25 postponed to 2021  | 2020-12-01 | International | Carbon-Neutrality |
| WIN     | City of Montreal unveils it's 46 actions as part of their new Climate Action Plan                            | 2020-12-10 | Municipal     | Carbon-Neutrality |
| Lock-In | Government of Quebec unveils the REM extension in the East part of Montreal, in place of the Tramway project | 2020-12-15 | Provincial    | REM               |

|                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <b>Coalition Activities :</b>     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Event (Feb – Lajeunesse)</li> <li>• Green coalition's partnership with Legacy fund for Technoparc lawsuit (Feb)</li> <li>• Post-covid relaunch online conference and annual general assembly (May)</li> <li>• Put provincial government under house warrant (June)</li> <li>• Mobilisation against Royalmount is planned for September (Sep)</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Key Coalition Strategies :</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be very curious and try to get to the bottom of things</li> <li>• Move knowledge, be an integrator, a silo buster</li> <li>• Connect with local (climate) researchers and experts</li> <li>• Organize and participate in 'knowledge brokering' events and activities</li> <li>• Know your rights, start and participate in public consultations</li> <li>• Develop and diffuse studies and reports</li> <li>• Write newspaper articles and op-eds</li> <li>• Meet with city officials and administrators</li> <li>• File lawsuits</li> <li>• Take direct actions</li> </ul> |

While the above epilogue is a glimpse at what was going on at the local level in Montreal at the start of 2020, it was occurring within key international landscape 'focussing' events as Australia was being ravaged by unprecedented climate related bush fires, as the Davos World Economic Forum was (for the first time in it's history) calling for unprecedented attention to the climate emergency and the need for urgent actions; and while the Chinese city of Wuhan was battling with a worrying epidemic of what seemed to be a new strain of 'Corona virus'. As this newly emerging virus was spreading to Iran, Italy and Europe; the coalition organized its 5<sup>th</sup> anniversary that, little did we know, was going to be the last 'in person' knowledge brokering event that the coalition would organize for a very long time. Around this time as well, additional positive outcomes materialized for the coalition. Lachine borough and Imagine Lachine-Est co-launched the 'Lachine Workshop', a roundtable committee to oversee the development, advancement and overall multi-

stakeholder governance of the Lachine-Est Carbon-Neutral Eco-district redevelopment project; with the OCPM publishing the results of the Namur-Hippodrome carbon-neutrality consultation.

So here we were, at the start of the new decade, ready for 2020 to be a year when Montreal's transition to carbon-neutrality could 'take-off' after several years of 'pre-development', as illustrated by this dissertation's 5-year longitudinal in-depth case study of the MCC and the emergence of a strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field in Montreal during the 'Post-COP21 moment' from 2014 to 2020. Montreal's first ever green and progressive municipal party was entering its 3<sup>rd</sup> year in power (out of a 4-year mandate) after having adopted the 2050 carbon-neutrality vision for the city, passed a motion to establish a carbon-budget for the city, created the Transition Bureau that integrated all sustainability services under one administrative authority, partnered with key environmental mainstream organizations such as the Davis Suzuki Foundation, went ahead in creating Canada's biggest urban park in the West part of the island, endorsed a first tramway project in Quebec connecting Lachine to downtown Montreal, and set the foundations for a first-ever carbon-neutral eco-district redevelopment project in Lachine-Est. Finally, the city was launched its 2020-2030 Climate Action Plan that ended up including the coalition's four overarching policy and governance orientation whitepapers: a clear evidence of the MCC's contribution and pertinence in mitigating climate change in Montreal's urban context. After several years of playing their roles of urban climate 'watch dog and guide dog' within Montreal's strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field, many of the city's carbon-neutrality advancements bore the coalition's imprints. They've built their capacities as a core group of policy entrepreneurs that develop considerably effective tactics and strategies to effect policymaking for carbon-neutrality while shaping urban sustainability transition processes and dynamics. In doing so, they've been able to build their credibility and legitimacy.

For both the city and the coalition, the key challenge that needed to be addressed starting the new year seemed to be that of 'grounding' the city's climate action plan at the 'hyper-local' level of neighborhoods, actually implementing concrete GHG reduction actions that could materialize a deep decarbonization of Montreal's urban context; especially as expert studies yet again demonstrated and warned us of Montreal's ever growing urban sprawl that's locking-in any possible advances in terms of deep decarbonization. This local governance challenge of implementing ambitious GHG reduction measures is directly linked to the coalition's 4<sup>th</sup>

overarching policy and governance orientation; the question of participative democracy and public participation for the kind of mass societal mobilization that's required to effect deep and lasting urban decarbonization transformations. Within a macro societal context rigged with political populism, post-truth and the traps of post-politization, the climate emergency question in the urban context fundamentally seems to be one of urban democracy and democracy in general.

While the MCC and the city were in solid positions to further develop their interactions, exchanges and collaborations in order to invest the maximum weight for the city's carbon-neutrality transition to take-off in 2020, it didn't stop one of the coalition's key ally, the Green Coalition, to file an injunction against the city's administration in the Technopark controversy that persisted. Thanks to there now familiar tactic of filing lawsuits to raise the political stakes and make the news on environmental issues, the court procedures revealed a major scandal at the provincial level: Quebec's ministry of environment had never (ever) rejected (on the basis of environmental evaluation) a real-estate developer's demand for a construction permit. This points to the now recognized bias that government authorities have for private interest developers, at the detriment of the common good.

By late winter/early spring, and with the coronavirus (a major landscape gamechanger) now on the shores of North America, Quebec went to a lock-down confinement period that lasted for four months. With the province and country coming to a standstill, the pandemic put the Royalmount project at risk. While the private developer and promoters announced their revised 'greener' project (following the public consultation they undertook after citizens and the coalition mobilized against the project), they were at the same time demanding for financial support from Quebec's provincial government; and as Valérie Plante made it publicly clear that she was unhappy with the developer's 'greenwashed' Royalmount 2.0 proposition. By the summer, and as social confinement restrictions began to be eased off and Quebec was experiencing a historical heatwave, Montreal announced two positive outcomes for the coalition; the creation of the 60-hectare Parc of La Falaise St-Jacques and Canada's supreme court decision in favor of the city's decision to create Meadowbrook parc, both having been the subject of fierce struggles by the coalition's key ally, the Green Coalition. Finally, as both the federal and provincial governments of Canada and Quebec respectively pushed to considerably curb environmental protection laws in order to accelerate a 'Post-Covid' relaunch of their economies; and with civil society groups mobilizing online to stop them from doing so,



Canada's supreme court dismissed indigenous communities' appeal of the Transmountain pipeline approval; and this as scientists were once again publishing an updated study that revised global warming predictions upwards between +2,6C and +4,1C. Finally, it's worth to mention as well that, due to the global COVID-19 pandemic, the Glasgow COP25 climate summit (during which countries are expected to provide their revised more ambitious GHG reduction targets, as stipulated in the Paris Agreement) got postponed to 2021.

What 2020 seems to demonstrate, is a confirmation of what we have seen throughout the case study. Mainly that:

- It's never easy nor simple to categorize a situation and/or event as a definite lock-in or window of opportunity for carbon-neutrality
- Often, situations and/or events can be both lock-in and window of opportunity simultaneously, depending on the concerned actor's outlook and perspective of the given situation and/or event.
- A lock-in or window of opportunity for carbon-neutrality is also a function of other carbon-neutrality lock-ins and windows at other levels of governance (international, federal, provincial, municipal and hyper-local level of city boroughs)
- Sometimes lock-ins are important as they can reveal other lock-in's and/or windows of opportunities for carbon-neutrality across levels of governance.

What we end up with is a reconstruction of the sequence of some of the key (carbon) lock-ins and windows of opportunities that emerged between 2015 and 2020 in Montreal's multi-level strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field. These sequences of multi-level lock-ins and windows touched on two socio-technical systems (public transport and the built environment) and two policy fields (carbon-neutrality and the protection of urban green spaces); while at all times being looked upon in relation to key recurring anchoring events, mainly the UN's annual international COP climate summits, as well as certain major landscape gamechangers and focussing events that have occurred throughout the case study. The thick narration and description of the case reveal five overarching key moments of activities for the coalition, along with nine periods of critical turning points/junctures<sup>350</sup>.

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<sup>350</sup> See Annex 26.

The urban socio-technical transition dynamics (in the public transport and built environment systems) and policymaking processes (for urban carbon-neutrality and the protection of green spaces) that the case reveals shaped (and were shaped by) the strategies deployed by the coalition's policy entrepreneurs over time (2015-2020). Hence, we get an overall 'sense-making' of the social 'fabric' that structured (led to) the identified empirical outputs or what could be considered as positive outcomes or wins for the coalition. It's important to note here that within a processual perspective and analysis, outcomes at particular moments in time are understood as 'ephemeral way stations' in the on-going, perpetual and never-ending flow of activities and events with a given social phenomenon that unfolds over time (Langley et al., 2013). In this way, and rather than end points in themselves, outcomes are best understood as 'inputs' that determine further activities, with performance being more complex than typically accounted for (Langley et al., 2013).

Supported by the coding of semi-directed interviews, the third result of the analysis (after the 5 visual map models and the in-depth case study narrative) is a typology of the strategies deployed and developed by the coalition in the face of the lock-ins and windows of opportunities that presented themselves to the organization over time. The following section develops on the same.

*Belonging to a territory is the phenomenon that needs to be rethought the most, and a new description of what is a territory, or 'terrain of life' must be carefully rearticulated. Learning new ways to inhabit the Earth is our greatest challenge, and the task of politics today is to bring us back to Earth. - Bruno Latour (2017)*

### **5.3 Typology of Strategies**

The typology is structured around 23 mechanisms and 5 overarching strategies. The table 27 summarizes these, followed by a detailed explanation of each, supported by empirical data in the form of interviewees' testimonies, including annex 27.

Table 27. Typology of Strategies and Their Corresponding Tactics

| Overarching Strategies   | Tactics   |
|--|---|
| <b>SCIENCE: CO-DEVELOPING URBAN CARBON-NEUTRALITY RESEARCH &amp; KNOWLEDGE FOR POLICY AND ACTION</b>                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be very curious, move knowledge and get to the bottom of things. Be an integrator, a silo buster. Tap into trans-local networks.</li> <li>• Organize &amp; participate in relevant 'knowledge brokering' public events, conferences and assemblies. Ask key questions to key stakeholders.</li> <li>• Connect (with) researchers, citizens, scientists, students and experts and (co)develop empirically valuable independent research studies, reports, white papers and manifestos.</li> <li>• Initiate and participate in relevant public consultations across all levels of government. Tap into official governmental studies and provide (technical) assistance.</li> <li>• Publish, share and diffuse independent research studies, reports, white papers and manifestos across elected officials, citizen groups, experts and the media.</li> </ul>  |
| <b>ELECTED OFFICIALS: ENGAGING DIALOGICAL CONVERSATIONS WITH (MUNICIPAL) ELECTED OFFICIALS &amp; DECISION-MAKERS</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consistently participate in monthly municipal council question periods, both at the city and borough levels. Keep track of conversations.</li> <li>• Engage directly with relevant elected officials and city administrators (especially at your local/neighborhood level and on social media). Meet with them regularly, offer them workshops, ensure they perceive you as necessary and valuable.</li> <li>• Relentlessly put independent research studies, white papers manifestos and public consultation recommendations under the nose of (municipal) elected officials. Be an 'added-value' pest.</li> <li>• Propose policies that are symbolic, politically interesting and technically feasible. Establish orientations, set realistic but ambitious goals and develop metrics.</li> <li>• Write (swarms of) petitions and official letters (co-signed from a diversity of groups) to elected officials at all levels of government.</li> </ul> |
| <b>CITIZENS: ACTIVATING &amp; FACILITATING ACTS OF CITIZENSHIP IN (DISEMPOWERED) INDIVIDUALS</b>                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Network (with) individuals in a way that joins their interests and create favorable contexts for facilitating and supporting volunteering/citizenship mandates and missions. Also, get to know your neighbors.</li> <li>• Invite citizens to join you at monthly municipal council meetings (city and borough levels) and suggest questions they could ask municipal elected officials. Facilitate and support this process.</li> <li>• Establish 'fluid' working groups and a solid coordinator(s). You're building a movement (making waves), not a company.</li> <li>• Organize and participate in rallies, they're also key moments and locations to distribute information (flyers) to citizens (and sometimes the media)</li> <li>• Start new campaign and citizen groups at the (hyper) local level and support existing ones in whatever way you can. Ideally start at your neighborhood level</li> </ul>  |
| <b>MEDIA: EMPLOYING A SPECTRUM OF FRAMINGS &amp; MAKING THE NEWS</b>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Raise a lot of funds to file a lot of lawsuits. Regardless of whether one wins or not, it's a key 'marketing' opportunity. It raises the visibility of an issue and its political stakes. It makes the news.</li> <li>• Develop contacts and relationships with journalists, issue press releases, hold press conferences, give interviews and get articles and op-eds published in the newspapers.</li> <li>• Employ a wide spectrum of framings on social media, neither contradictory nor complementary, in a dynamic and adaptive manner. Tag and converse with elected officials online</li> </ul>  |
| <b>THE DON'TS: NOT JUST ABOUT WHAT 'TO DO', BUT ALSO WHAT 'NOT TO DO'</b>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Don't be dependent on funding sources. Rely on a high number of volunteers working consistently 'off their desks and pitch for your funding need(s) on a project by project basis.</li> <li>• Don't be afraid to lose and don't be concerned with who gets the credit for positive impacts generated</li> <li>• Don't look for (or expect) approval from elected officials. Don't be a lapdog or apple pie</li> <li>• Don't be a party partisan, be an issue partisan</li> <li>• Don't aggregate voices, marshal them!</li> </ul>  |

Armed with the 5 visual map models, the in-depth reconstructed processual case study narrative with the theoretical perspectives, and the above typology of strategies; I begin to answer the research question: **how do civil society’s policy entrepreneurs’ frame the climate change problem in the urban context and scale their actions to accelerate the transition to carbon-neutral cities?** Each sub-section below (that develops on the strategies employed and deployed by the MCC over the years) begins with a table recapping the tactics and mechanisms (category 1 in coding) that compose each respective strategy (category 2 in coding).

*So how do you change paradigms? You keep pointing at the anomalies and failures in the old paradigm. You keep speaking and acting, loudly and with assurance, from the new one. You insert people into places of public visibility and power. You don’t waste your time on reactionaries; rather you work with active change agents and with a vast middle-ground of people who are open-minded. - Donella Meadows (Geyer, 2016)*

### 5.3.1 Strategy 1: Climate Science - Co-developing Urban Carbon-Neutrality Research & Knowledge for Policy and Action

*‘The stone the builders rejected has become the head cornerstone’ -  
Psalm 118*

Table 28. Key Tactics Employed for Strategy 1

| Tactics and Mechanisms:   |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be very curious, move knowledge and get to the bottom of things. Be an integrator, a silo buster. Tap into trans-local networks.</li> </ul>  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organize &amp; participate in relevant 'knowledge brokering' public events, conferences and citizen assemblies. Ask key questions to key stakeholders.</li> </ul>                          |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Connect (with) researchers, citizens, scientists, students and experts and (co)develop empirically valuable independent research studies, reports, white papers and manifestos.</li> </ul> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Initiate and participate in relevant public consultations across all levels of government. Tap into official governmental studies and provide (technical) assistance.</li> </ul>           |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Publish, share and diffuse independent research studies, reports, white papers and manifestos across elected officials, citizen groups, experts and the media.</li> </ul>                  |

From the very beginning of the case study, we see that the cornerstone of the coalition’s strategy is to firmly ground their work in climate science. From their first climate *‘knowledge brokering’* event with local citizens, climate researchers and policymakers in December 2014 at McGill

university, to the 2016 public consultation multi-sectorial and transdisciplinary briefs that gave birth to the Coalition, along with all the research studies they developed over the years participating in numerous consultations. One of the very first things they did as a newly established organization back in the spring of 2016 (after the public consultation and the announcement of the REM) was to find some funding sources to study the REM project from the angle of greenhouse gas emissions reduction, going on to developing alternative tramway projects. Producing research studies and reports on urban carbon-neutrality quickly became one of their leitmotifs. This is how they developed over the years the four-policy orientation white papers; the four pillars of the coalition's carbon neutral 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary declaration which they officially presented at HEC Montréal in June 2019. Over the years they have developed numerous research studies on a diversity of urban carbon-neutrality issues and challenges.

The main mechanisms they have employed to do this is by regularly organizing and participating in 'knowledge brokering' events and activities, conferences, citizen assemblies, workshops, documentary screenings and book clubs, has enabled the coalition to develop (and tap into) their network of citizen, university level lecturers, professors, researchers, practitioners and elected officials; and creating offline and online spaces for transdisciplinary and intersectoral collaborations between citizens, researchers, practitioners and often policymakers; all the while participating in all relevant public consultations across the multi-level regime, tapping into translocal networks (public and civic) and continuously circulating and exchanging information across their networks.

Exchanging with these diverse stakeholders and participating in the majority of carbon-neutrality relevant public consultations that took place over the years across all levels of government; and that are directly and or indirectly related to the objective of a carbon neutrality city of Montréal, the coalition has been contributing in co-developing local carbon-neutrality policy and action knowledge that responds to empirically identified and validated carbon-neutrality policy and knowledge gaps. The case study demonstrates how the coalition has catalyzed, supported and facilitated social dynamics and interactions that have resulted in local urban carbon-neutrality policy and action knowledge emerging and being part of the carbon-neutrality conversation in Montreal.

Such an approach based on volunteer time, pro bono, student projects and relatively meagre academic funding, enabled the coalition to maintain an independent position regarding the kind of

studies they undertook. Not accountable to funder and donor guidelines and criteria's, they provide themselves with the space to research the urban climate mitigation and urban sustainability transition subjects and issues they deem important to the carbon neutrality discussion, exempted from having to worry about potential political consequences if reports and studies brushed certain stakeholders in the wrong direction. Very curious individuals that want to get to 'the bottom of things', the coalition's policy entrepreneurs are 'silo busters', 'knowledge brokers' and 'integrators' that continuously 'move' knowledge across space and time. By taking it upon themselves to link relevant multi-stakeholders, they've nourished the organic co-development of locally emergent carbon-neutrality policy and action knowledge.

*So yes, storytelling is good to move public opinion, but in terms of policy in the right direction, you need more than public opinion because public opinion can be twisted into supporting projects that are not advantageous, therefore we need to be more rigorous about what we support as civil society and more demanding, okay you want to sell us a project that you're claiming is green, does it pass the test? - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*I would think truth is based on science, or science is based on truth, on what's real, what you can measure. How many tons of green house gases are likely to be emitted by the REM? Truth is everything, all the aspects of a situation or what might happen. Truth is reality, it's telling all aspects, all sides of something, not what just looks good and giving people everything they need to know to make a decision or to know about something. All the facts, all what you can measure, all that you can know, all the implications of a situation. I keep thinking about the REM, like for instance the REM, they say they're going to plant 100's of 1000s of trees to make up for the trees they've cut, but how big are the trees going to be and where are they going to plant them? Are they going to tend them? Are they going to keep looking after them until they are mature trees? How far apart are they going to plant them? [...] Truth is the absence of trying to fool people or convince people. I guess truth is everything. Everything you need to know about something. I think the whole REM thing, truth is transparency. Sometimes it's easier to say what it isn't than what it is. I guess truth is always kind of relative. Like trying to make yourself look good, it's natural. I guess everybody always does want to make themselves look good even if it's uncertain; unconscious urge to make yourself look good. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

### 5.3.2 Strategy 2: Elected Officials: Engaging Dialogical Conversations with (Municipal) Elected Officials & Decision-Makers

Table 29. Key Tactics Employed for Strategy 2

| Tactics and Mechanisms:  |
|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Consistently participate in monthly municipal council question periods, both at the city and borough levels. Keep track of conversations.</li> </ul>  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Engage directly with relevant elected officials and city administrators (especially at your local/neighborhood level and on social media). Meet with them regularly, offer them workshops, ensure they perceive you as necessary and valuable.</li> </ul> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Relentlessly put independent research studies, white papers manifestos and public consultation recommendations under the nose of (municipal) elected officials. Be an 'added-value' pest.</li> </ul>  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Propose policies that are symbolic, politically interesting and technically feasible. Establish orientations, set realistic but ambitious goals and develop metrics.</li> </ul>   |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Write (swarms of) petitions and official letters (co-signed from a diversity of groups) to elected officials at all levels of government.</li> </ul>  |

As local urban (context-specific) carbon-neutrality knowledge for policy and action is co-developed, the strategy that's deployed in parallel is that of engaging in 'dialogical conversations' with elected officials, with a key focus on the municipal level. Here the idea of dialogical conversation is taken as intended and developed by the French anthropologist and philosopher, Edgard Morin (1990), who defines it as a 'pragmatic philosophical discourse' where two logics and opinions are brought together; united in ways that maintains and preserves their complex 'duality' and 'opposition' rather than evacuating them under the illusionary pretext of (false) consensus. Inspired by Ancient Athens' *Polis* (the 'city-state'), the world's first known democracy, it's the democratic 'art of dispute' that's based on critical dialogue, authentic tolerance and intersubjective openness between mediating actors, individuals; but most of all, between genuine and wholesome 'citizens'. It's the 'language game' that allows for the confrontation and complementarity of different and opposing ideas that interact with one another in an overarching spirit of cooperation. Such an approach to human exchanges and communication makes it possible to nourish ethical rational discussions where no one has the absolute monopoly on the truth (Morin, 1990). This resonates with the American writer and novelist, Francis Scott Fitzgerald's (1945) famous quote: *'The test of a first-rate intelligence is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in the mind at the same time, and still retain the ability to function'*.

While participating in public consultations is one means by which to engage (indirectly) with policy makers and political decision-makers, a more direct and impactful way of going about it is by participating in the monthly municipal council citizen's question period. If there was one tactic from the coalition's toolbox to hold on to, it would be this one: relentlessly, month-in and month-out, asking direct face to face prepared-in-advance questions to Montreal's elected officials, and doing so in front of sixty-five council members. This is also true of borough level municipal council meetings, something the coalition has engaged in and supported others in doing as well. All coalition interventions at Montreal's municipal council meetings are summarized in annex 28. The coalition has attended approximately 66% of all municipal council meetings in the last 5 years, 43 out of a total of about 65.

In this way, the coalition's policy entrepreneurs co-develop urban carbon-neutrality research and knowledge for policy and action and 'puts it under the nose of elected officials', doing so by consistently participating in the monthly municipal council meetings, meeting with city officials, participating in relevant public consultations, and engaging with decision-makers at the borough level. By building on independent science and utilising democratic participative tools and mechanisms at the municipal level, the coalition's policy entrepreneurs who lack time, (financial) resources and political connections are nevertheless able to force and sustain dialogical conversations on carbon-neutrality with elected municipal officials. Such an undertaking also involves writing swarms of petitions and letters to elected officials; as well as tagging them on social media and sometimes through op-ed newspaper articles.

The number one reason why the coalition's policy entrepreneurs co-develop urban carbon-neutrality research and knowledge for policy and action is to first and foremost convince policymakers, elected officials and key decision-makers to adopt their preferred 'pet solutions'; whether it be the four overarching policy orientations of their 400<sup>th</sup> declaration, the tramway technology for public transport, the protection of urban green spaces or the Carbon-Neutral Eco-District Charter for urban development projects.

As (non-state) policy entrepreneurs that are part of a non-profit organization representing civil society, and contrary to the more renowned (state) policy entrepreneurs within institutions that have resources, time and political power; the coalition's case protagonists have very limited resources, time and political power. In order to overcome these barriers, they rely on credible local climate



science and specific municipal democratic mechanisms (mainly public consultations and monthly municipal council meetings at both city and borough levels) to ‘impose’ on-going ‘dialogical conversations’ with elected officials, key decision-makers and policymakers.

Importantly as well, while the municipal level of governance is their key area of focus, they also play into political power dynamics at the municipal, as well as higher levels of the multi-level regime. Below is a very insightful excerpt of my journal entry that somehow summarizes the typical approach by which the coalition’s protagonists engage with elected officials.

*And there was Marianne that the coalition had met prior on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Jan at the City Hall, she is responsible for sustainability and active transport, to refer back to that meeting and how it went and so she was there, even though, again the meeting was not the most positive on the 17<sup>th</sup>; nevertheless she was there on 9 February thanks principally to Matthew who attended the Monday evening civil council meeting where he asked a question, so she saw him there and he also ran into her at a local neighbourhood party, they live in the same neighbourhood, and he contacted her also by Facebook in an informal message to invite her to have coffee at some point to discuss in a more formal way how to take things forward together the coalition and the city, and then formally inviting as well other Projet Montréal, elected official, Craig Sauvé and Sophie both of the southwest and Sophie had said that she couldn’t make it because of family reasons, even though she ended up passing by, and so Marianne accepted the invitation and came to say the closing noted of the coalition’s 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

Relentlessly putting independent (co-developed) research studies, reports, white papers and manifestos under the noses of (municipal) elected officials, they initiate and participate in public consultations, attend and participate in monthly municipal council meetings at both the city and borough levels, while writing (and supporting) swarms of petitions and official (co-signed) letters addressed to elected officials and key decision-makers at all levels of government. In doing so, they propose policies that are symbolic, politically interesting and technically feasible; establishing orientations and setting realistic but ambitious goals and metrics to track progress. Their goal is to be pests that ‘add-value’ to elected officials, decision-makers and policymakers, especially at the municipal level. The case study reveals that while in the literature policy entrepreneurs as said to remix existing policy ideas when proposing new ones, rather than create new policies from scratch on a blank page; the MCC’s work on Montreal’s carbon budget and climate test policy instruments illustrates otherwise, as their challenge is indeed the very creation of currently in existing urban carbon-neutrality policies.

*The main activities of policy entrepreneurs is creating political space and creating or proposing specific policies, the only other word that comes to mind is technical, not political or policy but technological solutions. It doesn't it feel like a policy entrepreneur, a regular entrepreneur will be producing a new technology and will be part of a transition but is not policy entrepreneurship, but the other two, which is creating space for policy to move through, creating that window of public opinion that you can then drive that technology (electric car or bicycle) through that space, through that window, and the other one is not just creating political space as the coalition would do through organizing events, public education, but also concrete policy proposals, bring them from publication to implementation, putting them into action; taking JF's Lefebvre's research, taking your research, Luc's research and see how do we start a conversation around these proposals that will see them implemented if the conclusions are validated by a broad spectrum of stakeholders. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*As a philosophy, the target of our efforts is always the decision makers. There are different ways to get to the decision makers. It can be in the press, it can be other organizations, it can be lobbying, it can be just showing up and being a pain in the ass. But environmental action always has to focus, in my business, my philosophy, ultimately on the person or people who are making the decision. Everything you do has to have that ultimate goal in mind [...] So we select in our society, we select for politicians with a particular point of view and the particular point of view is that I'm responsible and I have to respond to my constituents. Well that is the royal road to getting to that person. That has to be the ladder you climb to convince that person to act the way you want [...] But at the same time, it is part of our job to ultimately convince the political masters that they're not going to do so well in the next election if they go against what you want. All of this stuff, the only reason you do any of this, the only reason you publish an article, the only reason you get an organization, the only reason you get a memorandum, the only reason you get these expert reports, the only reason you go to court ... Well, court's a little different. Courts, in theory, can actually force them. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*[...] in the same token that, the city's plan, even if it's the best plan in the world, the opposition will try to politicize it and attack its fault even if the plan is really really good; so the best plan will still be attacked by the opposition because the opposition was not around the table to help develop the plan. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*We want everything that they said in that meeting to be public. Every answer he gave me was... I could use at a later date. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

*In our system it's getting elected. Simple as that. Power resides in Montreal. Power resides in many different places, but mainly for our purposes. It resides in city hall, in the hands of the mayor and the executive committee and the various hangers on. That's where power resides for the purposes of our objectives, which is preservation. Say in this case, preservation of green space, or in the case of the Montreal Climate Coalition*

*it is in reducing greenhouse gases, etc. So where does the power lie? Who in whose hands or in what institution does the power lie to make those decisions and so, I guess the first step in the analysis is who holds the power and a direct crowley for that is that it is therefore about power. If the wrong people have power, you're getting nowhere. If the right people have power, and are making the right decisions, then you can foster the redirection of that power in the right channels. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

### 5.3.3 Strategy 3: Citizens - Activating & Facilitating Acts of Citizenship in (Disempowered) Individuals

Table 30. Key Tactics Employed for Strategy 3

| Tactics and Mechanisms:  |
|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Network (with) individuals in a way that joins their interests and create favorable contexts for facilitating and supporting volunteering/citizenship mandates and missions. Also, get to know your neighbors.</li> </ul> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Invite citizens to join you at monthly municipal council meetings (city and borough levels) and suggest questions they could ask municipal elected officials. Facilitate and support this process.</li> </ul>             |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establish 'fluid' working groups and a solid coordinator(s). You're building a movement (making waves), not a company.</li> </ul>   |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organize and participate in rallies, they're also key moments and locations to distribute information (flyers) to citizens (and sometimes the media)</li> </ul>   |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Start new campaign and citizen groups at the (hyper) local level and support existing ones in whatever way you can. Ideally start at your neighborhood level</li> </ul>   |

As urban carbon-neutrality research and knowledge is co-constructed, it enables for the involvement of individuals that most often would not have been included, such as non-activist researchers and students. Hence the coalition acts as an integrator, a silo buster developing interdisciplinary expertise that is then used to support citizen-led direction actions in the form of walkouts, strikes and marches; during which information in the form of flyers and brochures are distributed. Armed with well-documented and articulated locally relevant scientific research and knowledge, coalition members are then well-equipped to catalyze new local citizen groups that amplify lock-ins and potential keys to unlock.

As they network citizens, researchers, experts and practitioners and co-develop urban carbon-neutrality knowledge for policy and action that they continuously 'put under the nose' of elected officials and policy makers; the coalition's policy entrepreneurs activate, facilitate and support acts of citizenship in individuals that most often experience feelings and situations of disempowerment.

In their role of silo busters and social ‘integrators’, coalition policy entrepreneurs search for potential volunteers’ interests and sets of skills, and go on to connecting them with internal project mandates that can have a ‘fit’ between the volunteer’s interests, capacities and capabilities, while serving a specific organizational need for the coalition. Moreover, and where there is a potential ‘fit’, the coalition’s coordinating committee also suggest to potential volunteer’s external project mandates with a member (working) group of the coalition. For instance, at every annual anniversary event of the coalition, various member (working) groups present their work and needs to the event participants that can then choose to undertake volunteering work and mandates.

With the coalition itself functioning as a wide-ranging horizontal network of volunteers (no one involved earns direct revenue from their time and resources invested in the activities of the coalition), it’s very mindful of attempting to strike that very fine and blurry zone where organizational fluidity and structure meet. A key opportunity is to have a permanent coordinator who’s able to ‘keep things together’, as a lack of such a dedicated resource can lead to challenging meetings as highlighted in the below journal entry.

*There didn’t seem to be the general understanding from everyone, initially we were talking about planning for the next five years. Then when we talked yesterday evening it was like okay let’s think about the next two years. I think this didn’t tell help. Then the structure wasn’t very clear, and this is the challenge, how you organize yourself to work on this... And the things we didn’t finish it as well, as we should have, because it’s like we finished talking about everything.... It would have been nice to take the time to go around, say how do you feel about what we did and what were the key takeouts.... Sometimes I feel that Matthew likes to have structure but also to leave a lot to... Which is very good, but I think there needs to be some guidelines or techniques applied just to make sure more of some structure, check-in and checkouts, a roundtable.... What was good was that Emmanuelle was managing time and she was managing it well that was important, stuff like that it seems like nothing, but it helps get the maximum out of discussion, otherwise you end up being just a bunch of people talking about the things in your mind which is great but how do you capture it and then try to do something with it. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

*I want to talk about the fact that there needs to be someone as a coordinator that needs to be paid to coordinate this thing, as were all volunteers so there are limits to that... And sometimes just to have someone who can put a bit of time on this every day is just going to oil the machine better. We can do an online socio-financing campaign to get something around \$25,000 and pay somebody, and there is also a storytelling to be done about the coalition. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

While as a formally incorporated non-profit organisation, it's required by law to function according to specific parameters, such as having an active board of directors, the coalition has always attempted to 'build a movement, not a company'. This doesn't come without considerable challenges as reflected upon in my below journal entry after one of our meetings with the city.

*Messages from the coalition were very dense, a lot of things, maybe it could have been more specific, crystallizing around core messages, I think maybe they're trying to deliver too many messages even though that was not the idea, but that's how it came out. It brings me to reflect on, yes, to involve, to have a collective approach but then there are somehow limitations regarding the more short-term and urgent progress that needs to happen so the collective approach can inhibit this sometimes I feel, this is what somehow happened today for example... Each one going back to talk about his/her projects, which is fair enoughs but they're not here to listen to our individual projects, why would they care to put time on our individual project, yes, they are part of and an addition to carbon neutrality, but I feel there is more to do, to be very strategic in these meetings and I think we're not always able to do it because everybody wants to participate in these meetings, everybody wants to push their message, it becomes a "Broche à foin". These are the insights I take from this meeting. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

Coordinated around a central coordinating committee that exchanges bi-weekly over conference calls and continuously via a centralised google drive (and to a certain extent Slack, though not very successful), the coalition's approach to supporting citizenship implies that volunteers need to have a relatively solid level of autonomy and self-dependence, that they're able to work in an entrepreneurial fashion, learning and building on one another's action in a rather informal manner.

While volunteers are expected to be able to work rather autonomously, they nevertheless provide with tools and opportunities to develop their capacities in undertaking acts of citizenship. First, they are introduced to municipal (but not only) democratic tools, mechanisms and institutions that are at the disposal for anyone to mobilise but that often citizens (turned consumers) rarely know about, even less utilise; such as the monthly municipal council meetings (at both city and borough levels) that citizens can attend and directly pose questions to their elected officials, the 'right to initiative' that provides Montrealer's with the power to force the city to hold a public consultation on any topic that gathers the support of at least 15,000 citizens, along with public consultations in general at any level of the regime.

Another way by which coalition's policy entrepreneurs active, facilitate and support acts of citizenship is by starting as many (hyper) local (working) groups, the minute an issue is perceived as controversial (Transparence, Notre 15/40) and requiring a 'watch dog' and/or when an idea needs to be promoted and it requires a 'guide dog' (Montreal Climate Coalition, Imagine Lachine-Est, Laval Climate Coalition). Moreover, coalition's policy entrepreneurs are very often themselves very active at the hyper(local) level, in the neighborhoods where they live and / or work, participating in local citizen-led groups and sometimes even contributing to creating these along with their immediate neighbors. This strategy also serves to encourage and support citizens to discover and develop the habit of participating in their local borough municipal council meetings, public consultations whenever they occur, and building direct relationships with their elected officials at the borough level. Finally, they support and encourage citizenships thanks to the information they diffuse online and offline during knowledge brokering events and/or rallies. Here are some very insightful testimonies that reflect who the actors are as individuals, how they perceive what they do and the challenges that they face.

*It's a bit of politics without being a politician. It is intensive social involvement. I'm building up debt that I'm going to have to pay off. And at that point I'm going to have to go get some money. I can't find a job that would interest me. I do applications but I don't have a baccalaureate. I can't seem to position myself. It's been 10 years since I haven't worked within the standards. I can't go back to college because I have a student debt that I have to pay first. I'm in a vicious cycle (...) It's a personal commitment, and I love meeting interesting people. It's a great intellectual stimulation. I was bored with my parents; they weren't intellectually stimulated. - Florian Stone (Transparence)*

*It's hard to be interested sometimes, when you have a family it's hard to take the time [...] We are used in a consumer society to consume things and then we try as little as possible. When I started working, I was lucky I got big jobs straight away, I had a car provided etc. My parking lot could not be further than 100 feet because I came to dinner every noon. It is the law of least effort. Now my bike is there and the more I work the more I try. A person is like a bicycle when it stops it falls, but as long as it moves well. I finally understood. But we are based on the law of least effort. With the phone you use voice recognition instead of typing. Whereas it is more complex to use the voice. We sell this idea there with voice it aids people at home. - Jean Fortier (Member of the Montreal Climate Coalition and Ex-President of Montreal's Municipal Executive Committee)*

*A wonderful asset is Michael Fish. He's 83 years old. He's a former architect. He fought to save Windsor Station. He fought to save many, many old buildings in Montreal. He's really experienced in fighting. And he's absolutely, totally pissed off at the Caisse about this project. And he's wonderful, he's really diligent, he comes to every meeting. He comes to every meeting. He walks across the street slowly, he's got arthritis. It's hard for*

*him physically. And he's always there, to answer questions. He knows a lot about how things work in Montréal. He knows a lot. So, he's really, really keen. Luc Gagnon is really, really keen. He's stuck with us. He produces wonderful papers that are really valuable, and he lobbies the government. He goes right up there against, and he talks. He goes to the ARTM, he goes to the Ville de Montréal, he goes to the ministers. And he's stuck with us. So, Luc Gagnon is super. And he's a really, really good economist. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*Then we have people who are just loyal. Jean-François Lefebvre always comes to meetings. And this is another thing, Campbell Stuart he's an advocate with Colby Monet. He's wonderful. He has given us a room to meet in, adding finitum. He's always there. He makes coffees for us. He attends our meetings. He's supporting us, I think, with the Legacy Fund [...] We're one of the groups that he would finance with money from the Legacy Fund, which he's trying to build now. He's a really, really determined environmentalist, who believes in groups like ours as being important players in the landscape in Montreal. So, he's incredibly helpful. And then there's Allison Hackney. She's absolutely loyal and does great work. She really helped me get the screening of The Trolley. We saw it at the Montréal Science Center two summers ago. She was a godsend to get that done. She really helped me a lot. And so those people close to me ... And I'm not quitting. So, there's a core of us that's not going to quit. And even though other really, really good people like John and Lisa and Jean-François Lefebvre and Patrick Barnard. Even though they don't come to meetings anymore, they're pretty good. So that's what keeps it going. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*Well, I know I'm retired, so I have more time. Whereas, back in 1990 I was still working, so it was much tougher to do this, because it takes a lot of research. But now I'm retired and ... I mean, I have other things that I'm working, I have other projects, but I really care about this and I'm not going to lie down just because I'm retired. In fact, I'm going to do more, because I can do more. I don't have to work, unlike other people. I have enough money to live and so I can afford to spend all my time on it (...) And I care too much about the planet. And I think transportation is a very important issue. It's really key to a lot other stuff [...] I'm an activist. And it's really interesting because I know people who are not activists and I tried to think of what's the difference between them and me. I got bit by something. And for some reason it really bugs me. And other people, I see them, and they're not bothered yet, something hasn't got them. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*I should say that I'm somewhat struggling with Trainsparence because, as I said, there's a core group of people that are loyal to it and so on. But it's not always easy to get them to do stuff. They don't want to do the stuff that I want to do. It's hard to get them to be more active. It's one of the temptations of groups like ours for people to go to the meetings and just talk. Just talk. Which is wonderful and talking about issues that I really care about. And I always learn something. I always learn a lot from our conversations, but then getting people to actually act can be difficult sometimes. Really, I should say this, because this is something that Alison and I have talked about. There may be a little bit of sexism too. Of not wanting to embrace ideas by a woman. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*There's a bigger factor that I think determines things and makes responding to that question quite difficult, and that's an anthropological context where volunteering to anything community wise is on the decline. If you talk to scouts and cubs, meals on wheels, I think the food banks might be the exception but I don't know, but I know that the memberships of Scouts Canada has fallen drastically, dramatically, and that parallels the church, and it's important to realize that because you wouldn't necessarily make the connection. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*It just seems hard for citizens that are concerned about the environment to be heard. I feel like a lot of times, they have a tiny little voice and I'm shouting against a big wind storm and well I'm reading a book called the...not sure anymore, and its about how all the costs are always pushed off to someone else. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*I didn't have time to watch much. But in our organization for 20 years, there were about ten of us involved. For a year we have been 200. There has been an explosion of young doctors who wanted to do things. - Eric Notebaert (Canadian Association of Physicians for the Environment)*

*I'm pessimistic, and it's back to this sort of, the breakdown of the mindset of Montrealers. There's a whole segment that are disinterested in politics. That's not going to change, and it leaves then the minority who are. Or they're egocentric, they're trying just to get on their own lives, have more disposable income. They're still in a modernist, world is unlimited, my dream is a double garage, please. They're still in that, so. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*And now you see this is a message in many pretty mainstream political campaigns and it only took a few voices to make that shift because these are voices that are resonating with people's needs and actually planetary needs. So I think we can mobilize people. And my concern is that how do we get this message and experience and opening of the imagination to actually take hold with people so they have the courage to actually make a change. - Monika Firl (Member of the Montreal Climate Coalition, representing Cooperative Coffees).*

*If I was going to use the words, who are we fighting against, my first impulse is to say ourselves, because I think there's always a tension between your income and all the things that consummation society brings, consumer society. We're all very dependent on that so I think there's kind of a struggle there to renounce to a certain level of comfort and give up things. I do see a link between all those studies and those campaigns. Like the Montreal Climate Coalition campaign which would have a carbon neutral city. It's in a way a campaign to internalize the cost of our society, ultimately to kind of have the world that we aspire to. I guess we have to internalize those costs but it's kind of a scary thought too. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*You have to remember always that they don't have to be there. This is all about motivation because if they don't like it, they're not going to come back to another meeting. So you need to know, and this is kind of like knowing how to run a meeting.*



*You have to know, you have to be able to find out, you have to be able to get people to take a piece of the problem so that they'll run with it. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*I think that one of the biggest challenges is ambiguity, a lot of people, a lot of volunteers aren't comfortable working in ambiguous setting, they want clearly defined tell me what to do and I'll do it, because they've been fed pre-chewed opportunities for so long that you hand them something that requires risk, requires uncertainty, and they're like you didn't tell me what to do, it's not clear, and its like....no it's not...we can get better at making it clear, I can say we can improve, but we can't get to the point where...nor do we want to get to the point where it's a turn key operation and they don't have to think they just have to show up and push a button, like send an email to that official....it requires them to take it on as a meaningful part of their identity practically, and when that happens, there is a certain intrinsic value that goes beyond just sending email, or doing something very superficial and it gets into the "I'm making a difference in that little area, it's my little area and I'm moving it". - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*You don't want people to be discouraged from acting because they fall into a group, the group itself. They want people to feel empowered, that they don't have to wait for one person to say, "Everything's okay." They can do it on their own if they want to. Just as long as, I suppose, they don't bad mouth the wrong people, or become a public nuisance. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*Well we don't really have any resources except for our brains. Our main resource is our brains and each other, I would say. The links we have with each other, the... like we're sort of a 'brothers in arms' or whatever you call it. For me the resources we have are, our wits, our brains and even the link we have with each other and where we body spirits. Seeing others do and put so much effort into it, for me it inspires me to do the same and I learn a lot from people like Sylvia Ulterabar from the Green Coalition. Who, just is so alert to any news item and knows what's been going on for years and years and years and years and makes links and connections about why things happen and know the parc saragay which is fenced in and its been belonging to the city of Montreal for decades and no one can go there. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*I think it's always going to be a small percentage you think of the smallest level of government right now is the moral and within the borough you have maybe 100,000 people and can you really engage more than a couple hundred people, can you engage a thousand maybe it still and will always be a couple percentage of people that can realistically be engaged, we need to engage that 1% but can it be for everybody or are we still too narrow in our perceptions that yes my model replicated for everybody and I think the answer is no, there will still be people that don't want to participate, I just want to go about their daily life but for those people that do, they are going to be the early adopters, trendsetters, policy entrepreneurs than others will be like okay this is a good cultural thing to do, the current is moving in this direction, now I'm going to let myself go with the current, and what you are doing, whatever else it is I'm doing with my life. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*Right now it is a subset of the population that can afford to act on their ethical values because not everybody can figure it, financially its a sacrifice, a personal sacrifice after work working 35 hours 40 hours a week going home and devoting more time to something, it can be exhausting, so there is a piece around you know, being fortunate enough to for example as I have done in the past, and I am doing right now, which is reducing my hours of work in favour of having more time to do what I am passionate about, in this case it is ironically the same thing but I am able to do less work at Climate Reality because I have reduced my hours and I am able to do more work for the coalition which is not remunerated but it needs to be done and I don't think it's not going to happen if I don't do it kind of thing, I feel add more value to the coalition then I add value to climate reality although I certainly do add value at Climate Reality and I do appreciate my role there. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*Extinction Rebellion and Rapid Decarbonization. It's really not much of a living. If I had an extra 10 hours, I'd be comfortable. But right now I'm at like 30 hours a week. But, that's how I'm earning a living. But maybe soon I'll have another contract and then I will be able to... If I can get money to do aviation work, then I'd be set because then I would just be full time and I wouldn't have to worry about money. That's kind of how I'm doing it. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

*When we're missing resources, there are limits to what volunteer groups can do. I'm lucky because I'm well paid for a part time job (lecturer). With a PhD, I could find a job at 100,000\$ somewhere, however, I have 10,000 per course lectured, I'm at the top of the ladder. Here I have 3 courses coming up. For now, it's paradise, but...if I have 5 courses, with 2 in the fall, 5.5 in the year, and I go get funds from contracts as consultant, I don't need 100,000\$, it's a lot of hours, but it can be interesting in terms of having time to do other things. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Cofounder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

### 5.3.4 Strategy 4: Media - Making the News & Employing a Spectrum of Framings

Table 31. Key Tactics Employed for Strategy 4

| Tactics and Mechanisms:  |
|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Raise a lot of funds to file a lot of lawsuits. Regardless of whether one wins or not, it's a key 'marketing' opportunity. It raises the visibility of an issue and its political stakes. It makes the news.</li> </ul> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop contacts and relationships with journalists, issue press releases, hold press conferences, give interviews and get articles and op-eds published in the newspapers.</li> </ul>                                  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Employ a wide spectrum of framings on social media, neither contradictory nor complementary, in a dynamic and adaptive manner. Tag and converse with elected officials online</li> </ul>                                |

A fundamental tool to engage in dialogical conversations with elected officials, as well as citizens/the grand public in general, is of course democracy's fourth pillar: the media. Surprisingly enough, one of the mechanisms used to 'make the news' is to raise enough funds to file as many lawsuits as possible, regardless of the chances of winning them or not. In this way, filing lawsuits is seen as a 'marketing opportunity' to 'be the news' and open windows of opportunities to have your analysis, perspectives and points of views published in the mainstream newspapers. In doing so, coalition's policy entrepreneurs have been able to raise the visibility of their concerns and in doing so raising the political stakes involved in their efforts to oppose projects that go against the kind of urban decarbonisation necessary to achieve the Paris Agreement targets and in proposing alternative pathways and (policy) solutions. Over time, the coalition's policy entrepreneurs have developed contacts and relationships with journalists, enabling them to (rather easily) issue press releases, hold press conferences, give interviews and have their articles and op-eds published. An additional way they also make the news is by organizing and participating in direct actions of mobilisation and protests. Here too their contacts of journalists come in handy.

*And, for example, the one in Deux-Montagnes was packed. And many of the people were in the audience were Deux-Montagnes people. They weren't outsiders like me. So, it was important for that reason. And also, some of the speakers from the audience told personal stories about how their lives were going to be totally amended by this event of the closing of the tunnel. I was not saying that I was saying a more theoretical thing [...] When Trainsparence goes to testify, we make moral arguments, or economic arguments. And they have an answer to that. But when real people come along to these events, not that I'm a real person but I'm not ..its not always directly affecting me. When people are directly affected, it's much more effective. So, it's definitely worth going to those things. It's just that you're not going to persuade them to change their mind, but you might be able to get some press coverage if you tell a really sad story. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

Over and above their management of mainstream media, and like most organisations in our day and age (especially civil society and social movements), the coalition has developed their social media communication channels, mainly Facebook, and Twitter (as well as frequent email newsletters to support citizen's actions). Importantly as well, it relies heavily on diffusing their messages through the personal social media accounts of members of its coordinating committee and board of directors; especially regarding LinkedIN (a platform on which the Coalition doesn't have an official account).

What's interesting to observe here is that the coalition frames the climate change problem in the urban context with a diversity of framings, across a wide 'spectrum of framings'; that are neither contradictory nor complementary, and doing so in a dynamic and adaptive manner. For instance, while their framings on Facebook can be considered as more radical by focusing on cultural solutions (degrowth-centric), their framings on Twitter and LinkedIn focus more on technological solutions (renewable energies) and the co-benefits involved in the reconfiguration of socio-technical systems and the economy in general. Importantly as well, coalition's policy entrepreneurs do not hesitate to tag elected officials on social media, which can also be considered as part of their strategy to engage in (online) dialogical conversations with them. This is especially evident and most pronounced on their Twitter account. Two journal entries of mine point to and illustrate these tactics:

*At the same time there was Dimitri and Jean Fortier both from the coalition, one being radical left anarchist and the other one being a more centrist to the right; and so Jean didn't appreciate the Dimitri criticized the previous administration and voice that in the meeting while Dimitri was away on a bathroom/phone break I imagine, that showed a lack of cohesion within the coalition. Of course the way In the meeting isn't too much of a big deal for first meeting to introduce ourselves but yet it could be understood as showing the diversity political positions and I would think political epistemologies that exist within the coalition so it's not a one dogmatic group that is super aligned on their political stance but it's more a diversity of perspectives and positions yet the mission of reducing emissions of Montréal and making the city carbon neutral, what was also interesting element I thought. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal entry)*

*The challenges internally, it's like lost in translation, that's why... Having certain pillars to be able to navigate the lost in translation. And the importance of understanding what each one means by, by different concepts, the diverse perspectives on sustainability, there are a lot of frameworks involved. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal entry)*

*Interesting thing also, someone posted something on Facebook regarding participative budgeting happening in the Mascouche, and why not in Montréal and tagged Valerie Plante's, and Benois Doré and Laurence Lavigne-Lalonde, the person responsible for participative democracy at the city and Valérie and Laurence liked the post and so there is this whole thing I think, on how to use social media to interact with municipal government and how do we get conversations going and how do we nurture them, nourish them, social media really is a key tool for participative democracy, with challenges and opportunities. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal entry)*

Making and being in the news also involves a considerable presence on social media. This is done primarily through Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn; with each providing a medium through which various framings of the urban climate problem can be disseminated. While Facebook promotes more radical framings the issues at hand, such as the degrowth perspective; LinkedIn provides a platform to circulate a more 'optimistic' green growth framing and Twitter provides the opportunity to engage with key decision-makers and influencers. By making it to the news when required and employing a diversity of framings across social media outlets to diffuse their knowledge, they reach the usual as well as unusual suspects (citizens) that they then encourage to get informed, involved and acting according to their interests, competences and time on their hands. The aim for newcomers is to, in their turn, engage in dialogical conversations with elected officials at both the city and borough levels. Hence, by directly engaging with elected officials via democratic means and empowering otherwise disempowered citizens, the coalition adopts a 'two flanks' approach to growing/feeding the '800-pound gorilla' that civil society movements represent according to some coalition members.

*For instance, with Meadowbrook we had engineers, we had architects, we had people writing reports, lots of articles in the newspaper. We had someone sew 15 animal costumes so that Les Amis and Meadowbrook can March in every parade you can think of. I'm the fox, there's a squirrel, there's a skunk, there's all these things. That's another way to do it. Anyway, on and on. You keep trying to find a different way to say it so you can become news because at the end of the day, if you keep saying the same thing all the time, you don't get any news, you don't get in. But if you can come in from another angle, you can say, "Okay, well, this is a health issue." We have the health department for the City of Montreal come and do a talk on the health issues of preserving green spaces. They did a magnificent job on. Another way to do it. You circulate that, on and on. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*You go on the website and you send a little link with the video of question period and you send that to all your friends and tweet it and Facebook it and everything. So that the elected representatives know that, the stupid thing they said or hopefully an intelligent thing, you're going to spread it around and tell everyone you know and maybe call a journalist. Maybe send a link to a journalist and say, "Well you know, all they're doing at the city of Montreal for the people. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*So framing, I can talk about the hypothetical framing, and what actually happens. In my mind and, the answer should come out of the communication sub-committee of the Coalition and that strategy should be validated by the board so those functional pieces in a, you know, well structured organisation are not functional at the moment and so I would say that there is ambiguity around how we frame it, I don't think it's consistent across platforms, one person manages Twitter, another one largely Facebook, the same*

*person that does Facebook does the newsletter, and the one that manages Twitter does occasional op-eds publications via email, and occasionally in the press. I would say that we split the framing, the Facebook and newsletter tends to be a little bit more realistic, realist...a little bit more dampened in it's optimism for change without significant behavioral sacrifices, let's put it that way, like a voluntary, simplicity, degrowth type of change. The discourse happening on Twitter and in these other op-eds it's a little bit more rosy, it's a little bit more polyana-ish, and it focuses more on "it's not so bad leaving you car behind, here's a city that's done it", "It's so bad having a more energy efficient home, you will save money", "it's not so bad buying less junk, you don't need it to feel satisfied"...that's the kind of message that's being pushed in those other channels is a bit more "co-benefit" message, like, imagine all the time you would have if you don't have to maintain all the junk advertisers say you need, so it's like more on "your life can get better doing this" kind of message. I think there are two, I would not say complementary, nor competing, but there are two frames being advanced by the coalition and yes, I wonder to what extent that's maybe hurting our consistency, credibility, if people recognises it, I think it's nuances, it's not pronounced, so ...without a really deep kind of look into those communication channels, I don't think it's hugely perceptible. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

### 5.3.5 Strategy 5: The Don'ts - Not Just About What to Do, But Also What Not to Do

Table 32. Key Tactics Employed for Strategy 5

| <b>Tactics and Mechanisms:</b>  |
|---|
| • Don't be dependent on funding sources. Rely on a high number of volunteers working consistently 'off their desks' and pitch for your funding need(s) on a project by project basis. |
| • Don't be afraid to lose and don't be concerned with who gets the credit for positive impacts generated  |
| • Don't look for (or expect) approval from elected officials. Don't be a lapdog or apple pie  |
| • Don't be a party partisan, be an issue partisan   |
| • Don't aggregate voices, marshal them!   |

Interestingly, what emerged from the case study is that for the coalition's policy entrepreneurs, what you don't do is as important as what you do. The coalition's foundation 'safety rail' against the possible risk of detrimental cooptation of their transformational potential by the multi-level regime (especially at the municipal level) is to remain a financially independent non-profit organisation that requires little individual/membership funding; only enough to cover the cost of basic coordinating activities that stands today at around 3,000\$ annually. Regarding the funding

of their research studies, these are mainly via the coalition's academic members that link their academic research interests, projects, courses and grant applications in line with the knowledge and research that the coalition requires to develop policy recommendations with its extensive network. As for lawsuits, both the Montreal Climate Coalition and the Green Coalition have both relied on the recently established Legacy Fund for the Environment, a non-profit organisation that was founded by a renowned Montreal-based law firm and lawyer (as well as ex-borough mayor in the west island) and whose mission is to considerably grow a 'legacy fund' dedicated to legally fighting for the environment, mainly the preservation and protection of green spaces (but not exclusively). Also, some of the lawyers linked to this initiative work pro-bono/as volunteers.

*The funding model of environmental organizations which really anchors them to a political allegiance and I think that is unfortunate and problematic so, the measure of their success should be how many people are they empowering to the that for me is a good measure of success on the people have come out of your organization have gone on to take a leadership role that they would not have done otherwise not having had the experience of engaging with your organization whereas right now we are having vanity metrics like retreat social media engagement with and not getting deeper into capacity building programs that have done that the past have been discontinued by Suzuki to some extent Equiterre, I wouldn't see discontinued, support of this decentralized groups have been stopped or curtailed significantly and I think this is where the future is but the funding model of those groups does not let them to do that because if you engage 50 people deeply into trying to change their city all of a sudden their time and energy emanations flow to that effort as opposed to yes, send all the money for the head office here and we will take care of things, my feeling is that there funding models lock them into dependency on the owners and they are not willing to work on a smaller budget and focus on decentralized organization. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*An example of that is if you participate in one of their decentralized events, town halls, the people who organize those debates locally never get the contact information of the people who attended those debates and so the power of who can contact to his being put in a few national database and so's database that would enable next year or next month to go back and say hey what about a donation what about this opportunity so instead of warm mentality of 100 organizations doing 100 different things and they be not all super strategic but that chaos theory you don't have to go to the coordinated work and in fact it's probably more rescinded if you are diverse approaches and in your tactics and your messaging because you are going to appear necessary, that everybody is coming at me from on the different places as opposed to local I've met with this director of this organization and I can count of the support of all their members I think that's an antiquated model of making change that needs to be explicitly questioned and some of those differences of opinions about how organizations should be around are coming to the fore in my work because I am now in sort of small organization but under the auspices*

*of the larger organisation and I'm implicitly calling out there broken model and say can we do this better please please please but there is no easy Avenue to make those kind of comments you know if you ask for feedback there will be very careful to ask for feedback that is the kind of feedback that they want to get I attended an event that asked for that kind of feedback, and I can forward you the response that I sent to the animator of that event basically saying cool events you ask the wrong questions if you want feedback here are the questions that you need to ask and here's how engage people meaningfully and not just like, superficially. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*I have been very lucky at Climate Reality to have a very entrepreneurial mandate like decide how to spend my time where the strategic answer for it has gone well which means more funders more reporting to more people I have to justify decisions that might not be obvious outside and that may be risky for the organization because I think it is in the best of our movement so the more that people are scrutinizing my decisions more I'm having to say, the more I will have to admit that this and this is not for climate reality I'm not doing this for I understand that this is not adding value to the brand, adding value to our institution but I think it's important that our institution is selfless to an extent, and say yes I am willing to help you even if I don't get something directly in return as an institution and I like that models like small is beautiful support others whereas that appears as though we are shifting towards a model about bringing in more staff more reporting more employees more accountability, accountability is good so long as you can articulate your objectives and why those objectives sometimes don't seem to be aligned with the organizations best interests perhaps. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*Well, Transparence, the Green Coalition, Sauvons l'Anse-à-l'Orme do not have corporate sponsors, they operate on a shoe string. That's really important that allows them to maintain their independence. I'm sorry to say it but the Suzuki Foundations, that endorse the REM, who heartedly and so did Équiterre, and one of Équiterre's main corporate donors is Caisse de dépôt. The Ivanohé Cambridge is the real estate section of the case. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*Have more money, hire more people. But when you have money, you become less independent. You may have to ask yourself where people are going. Maybe the students, the young people who start working have children, it's complicated. So maybe go find some retirees with knowledge and experience. The big problem is availability. Sometimes you need certain skills, so when you get requests for volunteers, it's hard to find the right resource. People have goodwill but sometimes it's frustrating. - Jean-François Boisvert (Cofounder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

With the intention of 'making waves' in society, that is, building a 'movement' rather than a 'company'; and enabled to do this thanks to their lack of accountability to any funder, they're not afraid to lose battles, neither are they concerned about who gets the credit for the job done. The aim is that whatever needs to get done is done (for rapidly decarbonizing the urban context), and



as we're seeing with the case study, loosing battles (the REM) also involves winning battles (tramways, advancing carbon-neutral policy agenda, protecting green spaces).

This is a very interesting core 'safety rail' in the way the coalition operates. Through the case, we see how they play (across space and time) two main roles. That of a 'watch dog' barking in the face of lock-ins, and simultaneously, that of a 'guide dog' capitalizing on windows of opportunities by nurturing spaces for the co-development of knowledge, actions and policy recommendations and proposals. Even when the city announced in the fall of 2019 the creation of Canada's biggest urban park in the West part of the island, and which was publicly very well applauded by the coalition and its allies; still, less than a year later, the Green Coalition filed a lawsuit against the city's administration because of its failure to support their demand to stop the destruction of Technoparc, one of the city's last wetland and a highly sensitive bird sanctuary. In this way, both watch dog and guide dog roles are not contradictory, but instead, they provide the means to adopt a 'non-compromising science-based' attack (and defense) in the face of the urban development regime (private developers and multi-level legislations) that have been driving urbanization in the last decades.

*The Green Coalition just refuses to compromise and says we just never approved any building on natural spaces. We're kind of dogged and determined about that, and that's really essential to... If we would start to compromise who knows where it would end up. Also, if we would say, "Well yeah, that's okay," then who knows for the next proposal of development. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*I think you have to do both; you have to claim and also propose things. By claiming, you establish relationships with elected officials and the city. You know some information. I would like to promote concrete projects with the coalition. - Jean-François Boisvert (Cofounder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

This 'non-compromising science-based' posture also implies that while coalition members are most often also members of various political parties across the different regime levels (federal, provincial and municipal), there is a tendency for reflexivity amongst the coalition's policy entrepreneurs that ensures that they're more issue partisans than party partisans. Importantly as well, they view party membership not as an end in itself, but more as a means to accessing important spaces of political deliberations where they can influence election candidates, elected

officials, decision-makers, influencers and policymakers; and hence potentially the course of policy making in their areas of interests and concerns.

*So yes, that's it. So then hit up the mayors. We have the calendar of city council, so we're going to hit up those and I joined Projet Montreal and I got the stuff they gave me the status and reglementations just a couple days ago. So the idea is we're going to develop the strategy to influence the party from the inside and get them tackle the aviation, but also for a change of reduction targets [...] I'm a member of the party. Just because I can influence the party from the inside. They're aligned with my values. I just think that they should be more ambitious. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

In the already mentioned aim of building a movement and not a company (highly structured organisation), and given the coalition's freedom from having to provide a 'return on investment' (of any form) to any funder/investor (they're not on the look out for kudos and making sure that they're given credit for their work); and by encouraging the creation of (hyper)local groups, its efforts are always geared to 'marshalling voices' and not 'aggregating voices' under one banner. Rather, the coalition banner serves the purpose of providing a common vision, direction and the co-construction of ways to move forward; never to centralise and control. Hence, while from a legal standpoint the coalition is a non-profit civil society organisation (CSO), in practice we see that its operational fluidity gives it the shape of a social movement.

Whether during public consultations, monthly municipal council meetings, rallies or for signing petitions and letters; coalition members are always requested and encouraged to bring forward as many organisational entities and groups as possible, to raise as many voices as possible and not to consolidate them under a smaller number of larger groups. Again, this is at the core of their strategy when creating (hyper)local group.

*Independent thinking means, kind of analyzing it for ourselves, but also means deciding what fights can be won and not won. We fought a lot of fights that you can't win and sometimes, as in the case of Le Grand Parc de l'Ouest, which is exactly on the area that the developers of Cap Nature wanted to put their development. It looks like we're going to win because the Plante administration, as you know, has declared the the Grand Parc de l'Ouest. Independent thinking; yeah, it's essential for the Montreal Climate Coalition, for the Transparence, for the Legacy Country Environment. Yeah, it's kind of being loyal to your own objective. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*Second criticism I might have an environmental organization generally, and it's a very mild criticism because the people who are doing the work are marvelous. They are visionaries. They are the the people who are leading the way. Those people, however often, sometimes themselves are not acting like the majority, their formation was when they were on the fringe and they're still acting like that. We need to start acting like, yeah, we speak for the majority. If you don't do this, you're toast in the next election. Ultimately it has to come down to that, Right? - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*We are the 800 pound gorilla. We have the power. We just have to exercise it because there's not a politician on the planet who is going to do something contrary to what he or she thinks their constituents want [...]. All we really need to do is convince the politicians that we speak for the majority. We are the majority, we are the 800 pound gorilla. We have to learn how to act like that, with the assurance of that. We are in the 800 pound gorilla but we just aren't acting like it. Everybody (elected officials) goes to bed worried about this. Some people go to bed and worry about this and whether or not they can escape responsibility for it, but everybody goes to bed worrying about it. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*Don't fool yourself. It's not about being right. It really isn't about being right. It's about being powerful. Politics is only about power and we're seeing it played out in the United States in the most fantastic way. Being right is almost meaningless in that debate, almost meaningless. It's about power. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

Based on the above typology of strategies, I propose a theorization model of their dynamics, making sense of the ways by which they emerged (A.M. Brown, 2017) and were deployed by the coalition between 2015 and 2020; and with each arrow representing the relational intensity that bounded the main categories of actors: coalition members, municipal elected officials and policymakers and citizens (Montrealer's) in general. Here the concept of 'emergent strategy' (A.M. Brown, 2017) is used to describe how actors mapped, assessed, felt, and learned of (and from) the twisting and turning flows of processes and patterns that structured their social environment; doing so in order to continuously better apprehend, understand and influence them. A visionary invocation in attempting to transform that which ultimately transforms them (and us) (A.M. Brown, 2017).

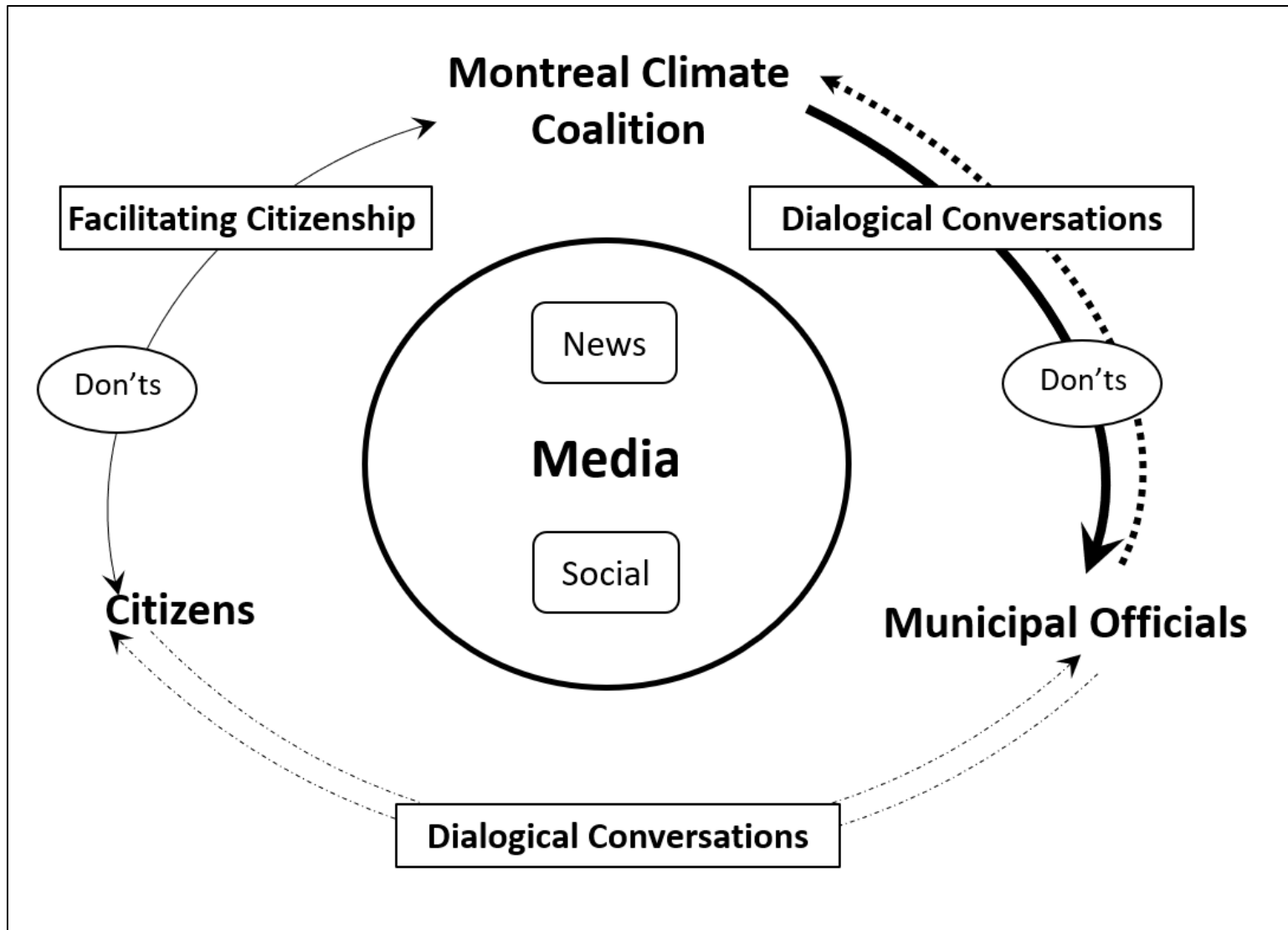


Figure 8. Theorization Model of the Montreal Climate Coalition's Deployment of Strategies Over time (2015-2020)

The thickest arrow, from the MCC to municipal officials, illustrates that the prime concern of our policy entrepreneur protagonists is to directly/personally engage with (and influence) local municipal elected officials. The latter are for the MCC what we can consider as their ‘targets’; on which the policy entrepreneurs focus the majority of their time and efforts on, to engage with them in dialogical conversations that form the very construct of social interactions, processes, what some define as the niche-regime dynamics, or more importantly, the micro-politics of policymaking for urban sustainability transitions to carbon-neutrality. As MCC’s policy entrepreneurs mobilize local municipal democracy tools and mechanisms, such as the right to initiative and citizen’s question period at monthly municipal council meetings; local elected officials are forced to respond to citizens. If the policy entrepreneur regularly participates in the monthly citizen question period during municipal council meetings (both at city hall and at the borough levels), then he/she has the opportunity to follow-up on the elected official’s response to his/her initial question, by asking a new question that forces the elected official to provide yet another answer. Through sequences of questions (citizens) and answers (elected officials), citizens can (they have the opportunity) to converse directly with elected officials, and this in a completely public and transparent manner as such exchanges occur in front of the entire municipal government and are recorded and archived on the city’s website for everyone’s viewing.

Moreover, what also tends to happen is that elected officials that get asked a question often go on to ask to have a word with the concerned citizen outside council meeting room. As such, exchanges between citizens and elected officials very often can continue ‘in the hallways’ of city hall, where professional cards are exchanged, and meetings planned. These fertile moments and spaces also often enable citizens to get in touch with other important actors of the strategic carbon-neutrality action field, and who are somehow undervalued in practice; the multiple ‘political attachés’ of municipal elected officials. Assigned to (attached to) an elected official, their primary role is to monitor the issues that relate to the elected official’s area of responsibility. For instance, the municipal elected official responsible for sustainability at the city will have a political attaché that needs to have, at any given point in time, a good picture and understanding of what’s happening in the socio-political strategic sustainability action field where actors define the problem, think around (policy) solutions and then engage (in a multitude of ways) with elected officials across the multi-level regime, municipal but also provincial, federal and international. Political attaché can hence

been understand as continuously taking ‘the pulse’ of the concerned strategic action field, and in doing so civil society’s policy entrepreneurs are important actors for them to be in touch with.

Even though municipal election cycles and government/administrative reshuffles imply that municipal elected officials and their attachés rotate often (but not always), still, by consistently attending citizen’s question period at monthly municipal council meetings over time; citizens have a continuously existing/permanent local window of opportunity to force meaningful dialogical conversations with the municipal political apparatus and in doing so develop their relationship with key centers of decision-making power. While the central objective of the coalition’s policy entrepreneurs is to engage in dialogical conversations with local municipal elected officials (hence the bold arrow), the reciprocated communication from the elected officials back to the policy entrepreneurs cannot be said to be of the same intensity, focus and frequency; hence the dotted arrow from municipal elected officials back to the MCC. Through these dialogical conversations that are structured by the institutional context (public consultations, municipal council meetings), information is exchanged and local carbon-neutrality knowledge for policy and action is co-developed and constructed.

In parallel to investing local municipal institutions in engaging with elected officials, the coalition’s policy entrepreneurs also invest their time and efforts to engage, exchange and network with citizens, researchers, experts and practitioners across the strategic carbon-neutrality action field; pulling together/co-developing the kind of local carbon-neutrality research and knowledge they require to support the dialogical conversations that they simultaneously undertake with elected officials, decision-makers and policymakers. While the qualitative nature of reciprocal interactions between policy entrepreneurs and elected officials is not the same (bold arrow from policy entrepreneurs to elected officials, and dotted arrow the opposite way from elected officials to policy entrepreneurs), the qualitative nature of reciprocal interactions between policy entrepreneurs and citizens can be considered to be similar in both directions (one bi-directional line). This can be considered as ‘niche-niche’ dynamics rather than ‘niche-regime’ dynamics. The qualitative nature of these dynamics will differ.

A third type of relation dynamic is between citizens (the general public) and elected officials, as citizens are encouraged by the coalition to activate and practice their citizenship rights at the municipal level and empowering them with local knowledge that they can continuously co-develop

in relation to elected officials and Montreal's urban context. Hence, as citizens learn to also engage in dialogical conversations with elected officials (and in a certain way begin themselves to explore and to take on the role of policy entrepreneurs for carbon-neutrality and a rapid decarbonization of the urban context), it can be considered that from an overarching perspective, the coalition's policy entrepreneurs continuously engage in a sort of 'double flank' strategy in engaging dialogical conversations with municipal elected officials: From one flank as they themselves directly target elected officials, and from the other flank as they support other citizens to also target elected officials with their climate (mitigation)/carbon-neutrality concerns and proposals. In doing so, the coalitions can be understood as catalyzing and facilitating acts of citizenship in advancing actions for urban carbon-neutrality in Montreal.

Nevertheless, the second (indirect) flank strategy is not as firm and imposing as the first (direct) strategy that the coalition's more experienced policy entrepreneurs undertake. Of course, in the urban context of (most) industrialized cities, we can assume and consider that citizens and their municipal elected officials are continuously in dialogical conversations (explicit or implicit), even though these are usually 'thin' and 'fragile'; not as consistent and pronounced as the ones created between the coalition and Montreal's municipal government. At any given point in time, these three forms of social interactions and communication between these three heterogeneous groups of actors are mediated by democracy's fourth pillar, the mainstream news media and (in our day and age,) social media as well. The below interview quotes provide a general overview of how the various strategies employed by the coalition overlap and are imbricated, how they mutually reinforce one another in a holistic approach.

*I still believe because we only made the news when suing the government, holding the consultation and its results, and around the REM, these were the times big times when we were in the media space; a lot of our impact has been at the elected official level and then at the citizenship level its harder to say how much of the capacity building we're doing among people and like inspiration building and encouragement to keep on fighting, keep on pushing, how much of that community goal, that's really hard to pin point, the only anecdotal evidence is when people respond to our messages with very encouraging words of like 'thank you for what you are doing, this is awesome', we get a lot of that through the form when people sign the declaration, they're every complementary and uplifted, and in terms of the science piece I would say that we have held three or four science-focused events in the last five years, and how much new research we've pulled together, a little bit, I would say there is definitely a lot of consultation briefs that have been submitted....my feeling is that, the most of value in*

*terms of the way we were able to change the way officials think, who change policy, came yes, at the elected official level. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*So showing up at municipal council for me is still like, for every hour invested the biggest return on your investment, when you submit a public consultation brief, you know, you might be sending that brief to a panel of expert who will then go on to include pieces of your brief, maybe, into a document that will be presented to elected officials later on, so there is like a lot of dilution, that happens between presenting the brief and it actually getting to the ear drums of somebody who's going to make a decision, and you know, the fact that they will probably never actually read your brief is just another 'huh....' kind of 'bemol'. So, and the media piece, we could reliably and effectively get in the media on a regular basis but it takes news worthy stuff, it needs to involve big money when big money is involved, which we never had need of and which we never really sought after so, we didn't have like 'oh, there is a new 2 million dollars to be invested in this thing to make it better', like that wasn't our place, whereas the Trottier foundation for example, or Suzuki etc they've made a whole bunch of these announcements over the last three or four years, and that's been one of the ways they're in the media, another one being that they'll have one of their scientists, whether its expert in transportation at Équiterre, or an expert in insects-related diet..the word escapes me, so like the big organizations they have the ability to put new science out there a bit more frequently than we do and gain credibility for it or gain media attention for it. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition).*

*The citizenship piece I don't feel its reported on much, but it's like essential, it's the foundation upon which everything else is built on, and then pushing those citizens, encouraging those citizens to go to their borough council meetings, and go to the municipal council meetings, and the agglomeration council meetings, and the CCM regional council meetings, that is like where I feel, like at almost every time something big has happened, we have been usually for many months ahead of time making a lot noise at council meetings and that's something quite honestly that is not well documented, however, when we go there, and it's not just us, there are you know, maybe 25 people asking questions on any given council meeting, invariably, a third or more of those questions are related to sustainability, climate change, you know...so they're getting the message from citizens, you know...and we're playing a part of that role but it's not just us, and I think an analysis of, I think you can quiet easily download the minutes from those meetings and then key word search them for Coalition Climat Montreal and you will find all of the times that we posed a question and roughly the content of that question [...] From my perspective, yeah, the strategy that paid off, yeah, we'll have to go event by event to say 'what did we impact on the REM', what role did we play in changing the minds of elected officials to think that they could be more ambitious than they thought they could, you know, and it's not always that we're asking for exactly the thing that they're going to do, it's that we're shifting their perspective of like the realm of possibility, like what is going to fly by in the public, and its only really useful to do that if you also have the public backing the recommendations that you put forward. So if the Coalition is showing up there and saying things that its members are not supportive of, then the next election comes around, obviously Projet Montreal will*



*get their clocks cleaned because you know, they were listening to befringed voices that weren't giving them 'l'heure juste' (the right time) so it's really important for the coalition, yes have a public voice, but also be doing the outreach work and the engagement work to keep the grassroots people active in their neighborhoods, active in their projects, and active at their borough council meetings. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition).*

*I've strategized for the airport expansion, that will proceed in couple of steps. We ask the city council to refuse Corsair their offsets. We ask them to put a tax on petrol, and if they don't do that, we do something. We ask them to put a tax on tickets, say. They refuse to do that, we do something. And gradually we move up to a blockade of the airport. I would go that far. I would do that. And so, Extinction Rebellion has opened another door for activists. Mass actions. Mass sit-down. Mass occupations. I mean, it's taken Occupy seriously, which is the thing I think we need to do. I think we've got to start. They're not listening to us, so we've got to start having a big, huge actions with large numbers of people. I would do that. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*Well, I've been talking to Anthony and to Kate [inaudible 00:35:23], who you may also know. And we got together, I'm not sure how it happened but I got wind of the expansion, and I asked a question at City Hall. And I got the contact with Beaudry and got us an appointment and I must've been talking to Anthony before then because he must've told me that that was an issue he was interested in too. There is also this womsan who has been pursuing this thing about airplanes for actually quite a long time. And I've always wanted to get into that issue, but I never did, largely because of the emissions. Twice, three times the emissions of a train. And it's made me stop flying as much I possibly can. I don't fly much at all on account of the emissions. And she was lobbying ... We've got two entities here in Montréal: Corsair and AIBV. Corsair which is the group that tried to get people to offset their flights by buying offsets. And also, the big organization of airlines is here too in Montréal. So, this is a super place to be lobbying against the expansion of the airlines. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*And so, because of the location of the two groups, because of Claire, and because of Anthony, I got thinking. And I also read that the Airport Authority, Philip Granville, who is the head of it, he predicts that air traffic in Montréal is going to get really, really big over the next 20 years. Therefore, we should expand the airport because it's not big enough to handle all these tourists. he's the head of the ADM, the Airport Authority of Montréal, I think it's called ADM. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*We asked him to come out against the airport expansion and he said he was not prepared to do that yet. And then we said, "Well, can we get a meeting with the executive committee?" And we're working on that. We gave him a lot of material. What was his thing? He said that it's not yet decided. Projet Montréal is on the fence about the airport expansion; but Anthony knows from a source inside Projet Montréal that they've come out in favor of it. So, Beaudry saying that Projet Montréal is on the fence is a sign that he's on the fence perhaps. And he's the key person. He's the one in charge of the airport. So that's a little bit of hope for us, if we can work on him. And we also talked to somebody called Jeremy Waters, he's a young gentleman and he's in charge of*

*something to do with airport emissions. we talked to them and we're trying to get another meeting. Our plan is to lobby members of Projet Montréal, and to go out into our very small [inaudible 00:40:32] and tell them about local Projet Montréal, educate them about the issues. And to get them onboard. I mean, some of them will be in favor of the expansion, but there'll be others who aren't. We need to educate them basically. So that's our next step. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

The identification of 23 tactics/mechanisms, categorized into 5 overarching strategies, that were employed by the coalition's policy entrepreneurs; and the way by which they emerged (A.M. Brown, 2017) and were deployed across time and space, answers the research question: how do civil society's policy entrepreneurs frame the urban carbon-neutrality problem and scale their actions to accelerate the transition to carbon-neutral cities?

*'There is a crack in everything, that's how the light gets in' - Leonard Cohen, Singer and Songwriter (1956-1968)*

What is revealed are the MCC's emergent (A.M. Brown, 2017) acts of 'entrepreneuring' that they've engaged in with the aim to deeply decarbonize and transition Montreal's urban context to carbon-neutrality. Entrepreneuring is a verb (rather than a noun) that points to the entrepreneurial effort or the 'doing' in entrepreneurship; not just to chase opportunities, but also to remove and overcome perceived intellectual, psychological, social, institutional, cultural or economic constraints in actor's environments (Rindova et al., 2009). It's the effort of creating new social, institutional, cultural and economic structures and environments through the activities and actions of individuals and groups (Rindova et al., 2009; Steyaert, 2007). Instead of being a noun, entrepreneuring is a verb that points to the entrepreneurial effort or the 'doing' in entrepreneurship (Rindova et al., 2009).

In deploying these emergent strategies (A.M. Brown, 2017) over time, we can also infer that the MCC engaged in processes of 'emancipatory' entrepreneuring (Steyaert, 2007) for urban sustainability transitions, in the sense that their entrepreneuring is geared in the search for '*freedom and autonomy relative to an existing status quo*' (Rindova et al., 2009 p.478); attempting to be as 'autonomous' as possible by 'authoring' and by 'making declarations' (Rindova et al., 2009). Its '*the act of setting free from the power of another*' (Rindova et al., 2009 p.478), of eradicating constraints to create the necessary social conditions for the formation of more emancipatory conditions of what's possible (Tobias et al., 2013).

Autonomy is a goal of emancipation described as *'breaking free from the authority of another to pursue one's own path in the world'* (Rindova et al., 2009 p.480) and it implies two different yet connected processes; 'breaking free' and 'breaking up' (Rindova et al., 2009). Whereas the former implies the aspiration and intention to make *'one's own way in the world'*, the latter points to the struggles and challenges involved when (re)imagining and creating (in practice) a better world (Sarasvathy et al., 2003). Although a Schumpeterian outlook views 'creative destruction' as the means of entrepreneurship (Kivimaa & Kern, 2016), an emancipatory standpoint acknowledges as one of its objectives; emphasizing that entrepreneurship involves *'creating and amplifying cracks in otherwise stable and rigid social and economic relations that enforce their oppressive traits and in doing so constrain certain forms of activities that entrepreneurs and members of their social world/network(s) also value'* (Rindova et al., 2009 p.481).

Seen through an emancipatory lens, entrepreneurship also includes 'authoring-defining relationships'; or the *'arrangements and rules of engagement that preserve and potentially enhance the change potential of a given entrepreneurship project'* (Rindova et al., 2009 p.481). Authoring can thus be understood as the activities that structure the entrepreneurship process exhibited by entrepreneurs as they activate and employ economic and social resources in order to protect, institutionalize, and develop the social base of their entrepreneurship process (Rindova et al., 2009). The emancipatory perspective emphasizes authoring *'as a process of protecting the emancipatory potential of new ventures'* (Rindova et al., 2009 p.484).

In addition, an emancipatory view of entrepreneurship recognizes the creation and expression of declarations, explained as *'unambiguous discursive and rhetorical acts regarding the actor's intentions to create change-as an important part of the change creation process'* (Rindova et al., 2009 p.485). In the same way that authoring illustrates the necessity of placing an entrepreneurial project within a system of interactive relationships that involves individuals and groups with varying types and degrees of resources, making declarations underlines the necessity to place the initiative or project in the 'webs of meaning' through which stakeholders understand and make sense of the 'product' worth (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994; Rindova & Fombrun, 1999). An emancipatory approach to declaration is close to Michel Foucault's work on parrhesia, 'critical', 'courageous' and 'free' speech that can be used by any individual to 'speak the truth to power' and in so doing removes the 'constraints of imagination' (Foucault, 1983). In this way, 'disruptive truth-telling'

becomes the generative mechanism of emancipatory entrepreneuring that seeks to ‘break free’ from the collective status quo and inertia of the ‘orthodox social imagination’ that limits our ability to think ‘otherwise’, doing so by exposing and problematizing the boundaries of collective imagination and to engage in creating ‘possible worlds’ that, in the case of the coalition, prefigure ways of urban life that are consistent with the climate emergency and the need to transition urban contexts towards carbon-neutral cities. With disruptive truth telling actualizing possibilities for imagining future realities that seem impossible from the standpoint of dominant and hegemonic imagination, changes and transformations in collective imagination become authentic entrepreneurial accomplishments (Dey & Mason, 2018).

Hence the concept of ‘making declarations’ points to a number of paths for entrepreneurship research. First, it raises the issues of ‘*what should be said and how should I/we say it?*’ (*Signaling and disclosure*), ‘*who gets to stay and who am I to say?*’ (voices), and ‘*who out there cares?*’ (audiences) (Rindova et al., 2009 p.486). This underscores the importance of systematically analyzing the making of declarations in order to enrich our understanding how broad stakeholders are mobilized to support transformational change-oriented entrepreneurial projects (Rindova et al., 2009). By putting our attention on the importance of declarations, an emancipatory view of entrepreneuring also allows the researcher to consider more thoroughly the unavoidability of contestations and conflicts emerging once declarations are made, and as such shaping the scope and force of stakeholder support that a ‘transformation for transition’ project can potentially catalyze; and hence the chances of entrepreneurial efforts to deeply change ‘*societal beliefs about the very nature of things*’ (Rindova et al., 2009 p.486).

An emancipatory form of entrepreneuring can also be considered as a process of ‘subversive organizing’, a path to ‘becoming other’. Performed through processes of de-institutionalization at the organizational level and de/professionalization at the individual level, it’s a social rebellious desire to resist fixed institutional boundaries and engage in entrepreneuring as a social practice of creation; a non-linear pursuit of discontinuity, change and ‘intuitive futures yet to come’. Rather than try to resolve the tensions and challenges of entrepreneuring; it promotes and sustains them. Tension is what is aimed for, both as a mean and as an end (Kauppinen & Daskalaki, 2015). The Coalition’s entrepreneuring illustrates the subversive dynamics that aim to transform dominant regimes and systems and accelerate urban sustainability transitions. Such dynamics are not just a

sign of the desire to politically revolt (Bureau, 2013), but also signs of collective engagement to create alternatives.

The case study hence contributes to examining the notion of emergent (A.M. Brown, 2017) ‘collective subversive practices’ and how they create new organizational forms, especially in places where there wasn’t an initial organization to begin with (Bureau, 2013; Bureau & Zander, 2014). How the potential to implement a desired subversion can be translated into its productive form (creating a new and emerging organization) with the aim to ‘break from what is already there’ and move towards ‘what is yet to come’. A processual approach to emergent (A.M. Brown, 2017) emancipatory entrepreneuring or subversive organizing enables us to explore the core issue of destabilisation processes that reinforce and accelerate change (Kauppinen & Daskalaki, 2015), answering calls to understand entrepreneuring as a social force that transforms society’s shared collective interpretative frameworks and the corresponding ‘facts we otherwise accept’ (Hjorth & Holt, 2016); with the coalition case study illustrating how vital and inventive ways of speaking can be used to intentional disturb the status quo with new collective goals and visions (Dey & Mason, 2018). Moreover, the case study answers calls to study entrepreneuring not just in one organization but across organizations, as initially intended when adopting a ‘distributive agency’ analysis approach that points to how actors pool their complementary resources to create the necessary conditions for more emancipatory forms of imagination and action (Akemu et al., 2016).

The MCC’s emergent (A.M. Brown, 2017) emancipatory entrepreneuring has played a key role in shaping the way that Montreal’s climate change mitigation problem is being framed, how policymaking strategies have been scaling; and in so doing has influenced the direction and speed of urban sustainability transition processes in the urban context of Montreal. MCC is influencing how citizens, groups and communities in Montreal are thinking about (and are concerned) about the climate emergency, and how they’re looking to assume and carry out the required and essential actions to accelerating the transition to a carbon-neutral city of Montreal. In this way, the dynamic theorization model proposed illustrates how the coalition engaged over time in emergent (A.M. Brown, 2017) emancipatory entrepreneuring (Rindova et al., 2009; Steyaert, 2007) strategies that have contributed to shaping Montreal’s emerging multi-level strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field, and in doing so, contributed extensively to developing ‘practical wisdom’ (phronesis knowledge) for catalyzing local ‘Montreal-specific’ urban transitions for carbon-neutrality.

Taking the Multi-Level MaP (lens) reconstruction, interpretation of the case and the insights that answer the research question, I transpose unto these the Multi-Stream Approach (MSA) filter<sup>351</sup> in order to dig further in making sense of the highly complex, ambiguous, uncertain and chaotic policy processes and transition dynamics that ‘fabricated’ the empirical events. Drawing our attention to specific ‘streams’ flowing through the strategic carbon-neutrality action field (the problem, solution and political streams); we are able to tease out further elements of insights on how urban carbon-neutrality and green space policy issues made it onto the political agenda at the local municipal level in Montreal, how alternative courses of actions emerged in the socio-technical transport and built environment systems (Tramway projects and Lachine-Est Carbon-Neutral Eco-District), and why some issues and/or alternative options never ‘broke through’ (Kingdon, 1995; Zahariadis, 2008).

This enriches our understanding of the underlying nature of the coalition’s emancipatory entrepreneuring and the role it played in the emergence of a strategic carbon-neutrality action field in Montreal; as the multiple streams structured windows of opportunities across time, the strategies deployed by the coalition in response to those windows, the influence they had on the windows (sometimes creating new ones), and how the strategies themselves were shaped by (and shaped) the three streams that structured local carbon-neutrality policymaking processes and municipal political life in general. While the MSA can not tell us everything about policy processes, still, it guides us in making sense of the spontaneous, chaotic and socially constructed nature of policy making. By applying the MSA filter to the case study, I was able to tease out (over and above the typology of strategies and the theorization model of how the coalition’s protagonists deployed them over time) three additional insights and understanding as to the nature of the coalition’s entrepreneuring; pointing to how the coalition has been setting the carbon-neutrality agenda in Montreal during the five years from 2015 to 2020 thanks to the ‘policy mix’ (policy strategies, actors, instruments and outputs) that were employed, deployed and developed as actors went about doing what it is that they do. The three key insights derived from the application of the MSA filter to the theoretical lens are the following:

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<sup>351</sup> See Annex 29.

1. Beyond just policy entrepreneurs, the coalition actors demonstrate to be continuously undertaking multiple entrepreneurial roles simultaneously, this is their *'jockeying'* roles when entrepreneuring for urban carbon-neutrality transition policies.
2. Beyond just waiting for (and anticipating) windows of opportunities to connect the three streams at the 'right moment' in order to push their pet policy solutions, coalition actors are continuously *'coupling'* the streams. In doing so, they contribute to creating a favorable context (fertile ground) from which their solutions have a chance to be pushed forward. To a considerable extent, this is done regardless of windows of opportunities.
3. Through their *'politically argumentative'* coupling, what coalition actors have been undertaking is that they've been continuously *'weaving'* together policy processes for urban carbon-neutrality with transition dynamics in certain socio-technical systems, mainly the urban public transport and built environment systems.
4. Through their political *'entrepreneuring as coupling'* approach, the Montreal Climate Coalition can be understood as a local socio-political space where practical wisdom and knowledge for urban carbon-neutrality transitions emerge; organically co-developed at the nexus of science, policy and citizenship.

## **5.4 Setting the Urban Carbon-Neutrality Agenda**

### **5.4.1 Beyond Just Policy Entrepreneurs, the 'Jockeying Roles' of Entrepreneuring**

#### 5.4.1.1 Problem Broker in the Problem Stream

Reconstructing a multi-level, multi-actor and multiple streams model of the Montreal Climate Coalition case study reveals that the coalition's policy entrepreneurs were not just engaged in entrepreneurial activities linked to policy proposals and potential solutions, rather, their entrepreneuring activities also touched upon the multiple facets of policy making processes. First and foremost, undertake entrepreneuring activities is linked to the problem stream, given that actors are mainly concerned with the framing of certain social conditions as being of a 'public concern', and convincing policy makers to accept the framings they propose. Here the entrepreneur's objective is to influence the way the problem is defined in society (Robert & King, 1991), and

doing so by mobilizing knowledge, values and emotions and having access to policy makers. In the case of the coalition, the initial 2016 public consultation was a key initiative and moment in the way the nascent coalition initially framed the urban climate mitigation and carbon-neutrality problem in Montreal, and which has influenced the way they continued framing the problem through-out the subsequent years. This is empirically encapsulated in the way that the coalition's 400<sup>th</sup> declaration has evolved over time, from the initial declaration of a carbon-neutrality 'vision' for Montreal at the time of the COP 21 at the end of 2015, to the second version (2.0) that presented the four overarching policy orientations (Carbon-Budget, Annual GHG inventories, Climate Test, Participative Democracy) that were distilled from the public consultation and that filled a 'governance gap' in the OCPM's final consultation report; to the launch at HEC Montreal in the spring of 2019 of the four whitepapers that elaborated on each of the overarching policy orientations (declaration 3.0); and finally how these were to varying degrees adopted by the city of Montreal in the recently published 2020-2030 Climate Action Plan.

Firmly grounding itself in climate science, and rather than adopting a rigid, dogmatic and monolithic position on the super wicked problem of carbon-neutrality and climate mitigation in the urban context, the MCC employs a highly nuanced spectrum of framings; from the mainstream techno-centric managerial green economy based on renewable energy, to radical eco-centric de-growth, indigenous and anarchist political schools of thought and social movements. In this sense the coalition is very diverse, a place where you will find middle-aged individuals working as sustainable development consultants in big firms exchanging with younger radical anarchist activists and retired schoolteachers. Such conversing moments of highly diverse paradigms/institutional logics on urban carbon-neutrality and climate mitigation result in the coalition adopting various framings that are 'neither contradictory nor complementary' in a dynamic and adaptative manner depending on the specific situation and context; the specific micro-issue being looked at and the individuals that are involved.

Moreover, coalition actors also demonstrate to hold seemingly contradictory views at their respective individual levels. For instance, it's not unusual for a coalition member to be professionally working in corporate sustainability during the week and be an active member of Extinction Rebellion in the evening and on weekends. This approach to framing the urban carbon-



neutrality and climate mitigation problem is reflected on the coalition's social media platforms, as confirmed by the below testimony.

*So framing, I can talk about the hypothetical framing, and what actually happens. In my mind and, the answer should come out of the communication sub-committee of the Coalition and that strategy should be validated by the board so those functional pieces in a, you know, well structured organisation are not functional at the moment and so I would say that there is ambiguity around how we frame it, I don't think it's consistent across platforms, one person manages Twitter, another one largely Facebook, the same person that does Facebook does the newsletter, and the one that manages Twitter does occasional op-eds publications via email, and occasionally in the press. I would say that we split the framing, the Facebook and newsletter tends to be a little bit more realistic, realist...a little bit more dampened in it's optimism for change without significant behavioral sacrifices, let's put it that way, like a voluntary, simplicity, degrowth type of change. The discourse happening on Twitter and in these other op-eds it's a little bit more rosy, it's a little bit more polyana-ish, and it focuses more on "it's not so bad leaving your car behind, here's a city that's done it", "It's not so bad having a more energy efficient home, you will save money", "it's not so bad buying less junk, you don't need it to feel satisfied"...that's the kind of message that's being pushed in those other channels is a bit more "co-benefit" message, like, imagine all the time you would have if you don't have to maintain all the junk advertisers say you need, so it's like more on "your life can get better doing this" kind of message. I think there are two, I would not say complementary, nor competing, but there are two frames being advanced by the coalition and yes, I wonder to what extent that's maybe hurting our consistency, credibility, if people recognises it, I think it's nuances, it's not pronounced, so ...without a really deep kind of look into those communication channels, I don't think it's hugely perceptible. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

The various groups (MCC, Green Coalition, Transparence, Imagine Lachine-Est) and individuals from science, academia and bureaucracy (Goyal et al., 2019) involved in the case have demonstrated to be active problem brokers at all times (Bahadur & Tanner, 2014; Mukherjee & Howlett, 2015). While coding the eleven semi-directed interviews and audio analyzing the other ten, some of the key framing words that emerged are: 'Precautionary Principle', 'Ecology', 'Relocalize the Economy', 'Social Justice', 'Resist Capitalism', 'Post-Growth'. As such, while a spectrum of framings is continuously mobilized, there is a bigger weight towards more radical solutions that deeply question the dominant economic growth-centric model. Moreover, and as the problem stream is made up of a multitude of problem brokers continuously (re)framing the problem(s), the problem stream can be considered as the 'background'/'backdrop' upon which the MCC has developed policies (policy stream) and positioned them politically for adoption.

It's worth to mention an important point here regarding the nature of the coalitions' problem brokering entrepreneurship or framing. Several of the coalition's co-founders, part of the initial group of citizens that got connected on Avaaz back in 2014, have at some point attended and participated in Climate Reality's international climate leadership training that's led by previous U.S. Vice President, Al Gore. So, while the climate mitigation framing of a global climate organization such as Climate Reality can be said to be part of the coalition's genes, this 'renewable energy/green economy' paradigm went on (thanks to the MCC) to connect locally with Montreal's local urban ecology and anarchist social movement; starting with the coalition's successful work prior to, during and after the moment that 2016 public consultation on reducing Montreal's dependence on fossil fuel. Who introduced them to this permanent window of opportunity at the local municipal level? Non-other than Montreal's longstanding radical political activist and intellectual, Dimitri Roussopoulos, founder and director of Black Rose Books publishing house and IPAM, Montreal's institute of alternative politics. Hence the coalition's framing of carbon-neutrality and urban climate mitigation is to a considerable extent the fruit of a crossbreed between two rather different/opposing paradigms, the tech-centric renewable green growth economy (Climate Reality) and the relocalised eco-centric post-growth just economies (Social Ecology, Communalism and Anarchism). Both framings and their respective nuances co-exist simultaneously and mutually reinforce one another.

#### 5.4.1.2 Policy Entrepreneur in the Policy Stream

Here on the other hand, and as the use of the word 'policy' suggests, the individual focuses on generating far-reaching policy alternatives and promotes unique policies to 'solve' a policy problem that is linked to a multitude of different framings in a given area of policy (Boasson & Wettestad, 2014; Kalafatis et al., 2015). Coalition actors have demonstrated sharing new and reliable information and knowledge about a proposed project (the REM), along with designing alternatives (Le Grand Virage network of Tramways) (Navot & Cohen, 2015), increasing the appeal of a given policy alternative by framing it as part of the dominant policy paradigm (PQ's Grand Deblocage) (Béland, 2005), presenting it as better, essential and feasible (PQ's Grand Deblocage) (Brouwer & Huitema, 2018; J. R. Palmer, 2015), linking it to the political agenda (2018 provincial government elections) (Mukhtarov & Gerlak, 2013) and exploiting a window of opportunity for short or long-term advantages (hyper-local windows of opportunities at the

municipal/borough level – monthly municipal council meetings, East-Lachine carbon-neutral eco-district project).

When taking on the role of policy entrepreneurs, coalition actors have developed policy instruments (carbon budget, annual GHG inventories, and participative democracy), scientific theory (climate tests), produced and published data (research studies, white papers, benchmark reports and consultation briefs), framed political issues (monthly municipal council meetings, election periods, within political parties) and built a coalition. Having done so throughout the last five years, they've considerably contributed to setting the urban carbon-neutrality agenda in Montreal.

#### 5.4.1.3 Political Entrepreneur in the Political Stream

The coalition's protagonists have also demonstrated to engage in 'politicizing issues' (Hysing, 2009), a key role for the public opinion to be mobilized (Roberts & King, 1991) and for policies to be adopted (Zohlnhöfer et al., 2016). As an advocacy coalition (Mukherjee & Howlett, 2015), affiliates of the coalition (such as the Green Coalition, Trainsparence, Imagine Lachine-Est and Notre 15/40) share a specific belief system and reveal a considerable degree of coordinated activity over time (Sabatier, 1988) as they collectively engage in politically emancipatory entrepreneuring that shifted the status quo in Montreal's carbon-neutrality policy community (Mintrom, 2013). Doing so, they challenge powerful segments in society (Schneider & Teske, 1992) and influence the direction and flow of urban climate and transition politics (Christopoulos, 2006; Schneider & Teske, 1992).

Over and above their dynamic roles of problem broker, policy entrepreneur and political entrepreneuring that they're constantly jockeying, the MCC's protagonists also play (in some instances) the role of '*technological innovators*'. As was the case with the REM and the alternative tramway project that they developed, they played an addition role; that of technology innovators, within what can be considered an addition 'technology stream'. As they promoted a technological solution (tramway) to a societal need and supported it by joining together recurrent political windows of opportunities (provincial and municipal elections) and a policymaking processes at the (hyper)local level (A. Smith & Raven, 2012) (for instance in the built environment with the Lachine-Est carbon-neutral eco-district project); they combined together social, policy, political and technological knowledge. In highlighting their role of technological innovators at times, the case study sheds some light on what is, thus far, a theoretically underdeveloped role/stream in the

MSA literature (Goyal et al., 2019). Finally, and considering the ‘facilitating’ role that the coalition has had with some of its key milestone events throughout the years, such as the 2016 public consultation and the East-Lachine consultation, they have demonstrated time and time again that they also play the role of ‘process facilitators’ or brokers.

Throughout the case, coalition actors played these dynamics roles as they attempted to connect the streams every time they developed and diffused independent research studies, attended city hall municipal council meetings, participated in public consultations and made the news; whether it be on advancing carbon-neutrality policy mix, opposing the REM and certain urban real-estate development project, protecting greenspaces proposing and proposing tramways and carbon-neutral development projects. Mobilizing these multiple roles of problem brokers, policy entrepreneurs, political entrepreneurs, technological innovators and process brokers; coalition actors have demonstrated their entrepreneuring willingness, persistence and credibility in aiming to soften, ripen or mature the various streams (problem, policy solutions, politics, technology and process) as they attempt to connect them in order to push forward their pet policy proposal(s); doing so not just at specific critical moments/windows of opportunities (election periods for instance), but more importantly, doing so day in and day out ‘off their desks’ within their respective fields of work and interests (participating in public consultations for instance) and extensively on a monthly basis at municipal council meetings.

In this way, and beyond just policy entrepreneurs, the case study analysis highlights the dynamic ‘jockeying’ roles and dynamics of the MCC’s emancipatory entrepreneuring; providing a better understanding of the diverse dynamic, fluid and always ‘in the making’ roles that civil society actors play in policy processes, with the aim to accelerate Montreal’s transition to carbon-neutrality.

*I think entrepreneur is a fitting descriptor because you're looking at a gap in the market place, in this case the policy market, maybe that's a political gap, a technical gap, it could be that you know, they don't have researchers surrounding them to implement the best practices that exists, it could be a gap, a policy gap, a technical gap of a solution, a technical solution that's not being implemented and what the volunteers can do is expand the capacity of the city. A case in point, the only person responsible in my knowledge looking around the world for best practices at the city is a part-time intern, and that persons' role could be multiplied, I mean the capacity can be multiplied 10 folds by engaging volunteers to help them and say ok, you're going to look at waste management policy best practices, you're going into this, you into that, the city is not engaging those people and this is where the Coalition and entities like it say, here are some best*

*practices, we have people on that....yes, entrepreneurs identify needs in the market and they create solutions or creatively propose solutions that fill those gaps and serve those needs.* - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)

Similarly, to the problem stream, the policy and political streams are also ‘filled with actors’ continuously proposing policy solutions and politicizing issues; and they’re important not just because they support actors in identifying and capitalizing on (grabbing) windows of opportunities; but they’re also important because these multiple streams themselves are (through the actors embedded in them) the very components that structure windows of opportunities. As chronologically unfolding empirical events that shape (and are shaped by) the entrepreneurial activities of actors, the multiple streams in policymaking is the context that provides the protagonists with a diversity of signals and indications that enables them to ‘take on’ specific roles in specific given situations; and in doing so construct and manifest forms of emancipatory entrepreneurship.

#### **5.4.2 Beyond Just Windows of Opportunities, Continuous (Political) ‘Coupling’**

Coupling (Kingdon, 1984) represents the most crucial interaction for a policy entrepreneur, it’s the moment when all three streams are mature and a window of opportunity can be said to have opened for actors to quickly join or ‘couple’ together all three main streams (problem, policy/solution and politics) in ways that promotes his/her preferred policy solutions (Dolan, 2019); with success measured as the entrepreneur’s capacity to get the attention of busy policymakers and convince them to assign part of their already limited time to their policy proposals. The level of attention that policymakers offer to an issue, problem and/or solution is crucial in understanding how the streams evolve and ‘ripen’, with the entrepreneur’s aim being that of increasing his/her chances that their concern will move from the policy agenda to the decision agenda for implementing actions based on the adoption of policy legislations (Dolan, 2019). Zohlnhöfer et al. (2015) theorise two ‘nested processes’, one for ‘agenda setting’ and the other for ‘decision-making’, with official institutions playing a bigger role in the latter, as the political stream becomes a priority during decision coupling because of the following key question: will the policy entrepreneur get the majority he/she needs to have their pet proposal, idea or project adopted? Here, political parties often have a decisive role and position in influencing an interested audience in a specific ‘problem-solution package’.

Policy entrepreneurs are continuously connecting the problem and policy streams together (something that's confirmed by the case as highlighted by the coalition's network-constructed research and knowledge co-development) and it's only during specific windows of opportunity opening in the problem and/or political stream that they connect all three streams so as to capitalize on the window of opportunity. The crucial 'final coupling' is when the policy solution has been coupled with a problem or political opportunity, followed by the effort to combine, connect or tie the two to the remaining stream and hence 'complete the circle' so as to effect policy change outcome. Whereas problem windows trigger coupling processes aimed at finding solutions to address a problem ('substantive coupling'), political windows such as elections are said to favor 'doctrinal coupling' processes where the party in power seeks opportunities to apply their preferred and chosen policy solutions, often resulting in rather 'symbolic policy making' (Goyal et al., 2019).

The case study confirms the literature that considers the concept of 'windows' as being a highly ambiguous one, given that windows can contain and/or evolve into lock-ins at different levels of the multi-level regime, and lock-ins can involve and/or evolve into windows also at different levels of the regime. Moreover, and since windows represent opportunities for action and do not represent action themselves, it is difficult based on the type of window to forecast and anticipate whether a given coupling will succeed. In the case of the climate crisis for instance, waiting for a landscape focusing event to ripen/mature the problem stream increases the risk of experiencing cascading failures and consequent catastrophes with permanent and irreversible impacts. Amongst other things, the uncertain future climate conditions and the high potential for possible maladaptation to the climate emergency hinders efforts aimed at defining the problems and formulating possible remedies that are economically, technically and politically viable and achievable. In the political stream, actors who are in power are not politically interested in working on long-term issues whose impacts and possible benefits accumulate and manifest after their term in office finishes. If streams are resistant to ripening/maturing, how is it possible then for entrepreneurs to couple them? '*Final coupling*' of the three threads is a considerable challenge for issues such as climate change (Dolan, 2019). Compared to the concept of windows, coupling has the advantage of pointing to concrete empirical actions. In this way, policy entrepreneurs are considered as the 'structural elements' of coupling (Zahariadis, 2016).

What is evident in the case of the MCC is that, while windows of opportunities are important to be aware of and anticipate; civil society's jockeying approach to the multiple roles that they have to assume ('all in one' entrepreneurs - problem broker, policy and political, technological innovator and process broker) enables actors to, not just attempt to capitalize on 'recurrent' or 'episodic' windows (or even create new ones); but more importantly, their emancipatory entrepreneuring aims to continuously connect or 'couple' the different problem, policy, political, technological and process streams together. What it also demonstrates is that to connect these diverse streams, civil society's entrepreneurs in the case of the MCC did not wait for a specific window of opportunity to present itself in the problem or political stream. Rather, they connected the various policymaking streams on a monthly basis during citizen's question period at municipal council meetings. These can be said to represent fixed institutional recurrent (monthly) local windows of opportunities that coalition actors systematically exploit and capitalize upon at the municipal level.

As such, the case reflects the more messy and chaotic nature of policymaking in real-life context versus the 'cleaner' occasional window of opportunity waiting to be 'inseminated' by a policy entrepreneur who's able to couple all streams at the right time; with all three types of 'partial couplings' coexist simultaneously as they connect several problems, policies or political opportunities to each other in a loose and 'ready to be reconfigured' state. Hence the streams are always 'loosely coupled', with acts of coupling regularly attempted by the change agents, and not just when it's time for final 'window enactment' (Kingdon, 1995). Distinct from the result of whether or not an attempted coupling succeeds or fails to promote an issue and/or policy proposal on the policy agenda, the process of 'on-going partial couplings' as a loosely connected collection of components that can be easily repackaged through political rhetoric (Dolan, 2019) 'softens up' the policy process for policy change; and in doing so it prepares the ground for final couplings by shortening the list of ideas that are being developed in the policy field. As our case study demonstrates, time is essential for a given proposal to take its due course during its 'gestation period' (Kingdon, 1995).

*'Argumentative coupling'* is about connecting the problem, policy and politics concerns through argumentation; making policy-oriented arguments based on knowledge about a problem, with both policymakers and scientific experts considering politics in the way they framed a problem. Argumentative precoupling is an essential piece of the policy process in order to ensure that the

streams are ‘coupleable’, a step before the ideas and proposals are retained as part of the policy agenda, towards ‘final coupling’ (Blum, 2018). What is crucial are the arguments that can demonstrate the solidity of the coupling between the different elements (Zittoun, 2013). Argumentative coupling hence investigates how the links between the different streams are argumentatively developed, this is the black box of policymaking, where policy is routinely deliberated and ‘manufactured’ (Blum, 2018). If ‘argumentative coupling’ is said to ‘prepare the terrain’ (DeLeo, 2018) for the ‘coupleability’ of streams, then it can be considered as a part of the ‘agenda-setting’ process or step 0. In this way, an entrepreneur engaging in argumentative coupling can also be said to be taking on the role of a what was identified earlier, that of ‘process broker’ within the recently added ‘process stream’ in MSA literature.

With argumentative coupling directly linked to one of the main pillars (yet often neglected aspect) of the MSA, that of ‘institutional ambiguity’ (Zahariadis, 2016); political argumentative coupling (the political coupling logic of arguments) is based on the premise that political knowledge is the primary consideration that enables the concerned actor to sell or stall ideas, with ‘linking issues’ being a key strategy to do this. In the case that all three streams are not ripe/mature for a single issue (a core climate policymaking challenge), policy entrepreneurs can link their pet issue to one or more related issues that reinforce one another in specific aspects. While individually, on their own, the issues would probably fail; together they improve their chances of succeeding. This corresponds to the policy entrepreneur’s strategy of ‘issue linking’ (Mintrom, 2000; Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2016) which connects problems, policies and politics across multiple issues. This can be done for strategic coalition building and support; as well as ensuring resources by embracing diverse framings and interests.

For instance, the MCC has employed knowledge brokering events as a strategy to promote their favored policy solutions by integrating additional problems, solutions and/or elements into those initially identified. When issue linking is used as a coupling strategy, the linked issues have higher possibilities of getting onto the policy agenda as policy entrepreneurs rhetorically link all three streams through multiple partial couplings. This raises the political stakes, increases the chances of agenda change and can result in richer outcomes for all when policy entrepreneurs connect all three types of partial couplings. In addition to substantive and doctrinal couplings discussed above, political coupling plays a pivotal role in ‘tying the knot’ and resulting in a positive policy output.



Hence it is said that institutional ambiguity (Zahariadis, 2016) favors ‘spillovers’ when entrepreneurs are able to transfer successful coalitions across issue areas, with accomplishments in one field (area) initiating/opening new policy window(s) in another (Ackrill & Kay, 2011); something that has been evident in the case of the MCC. In this way, it can be said that the MCC has been contributing, via its agenda setting for urban carbon-neutrality, in (re)politicizing municipal politics. While the intrinsic uncertainty in policy content did serve multiple objectives in the case of the coalition, processes were interactively shaped by dominant municipal institutional forms and mechanisms (public consultations, official meetings with the city’s administration, participating in monthly municipal council meetings) that simultaneously supported and constrained policy content, processes and outcomes (Zahariadis, 2016).

The empirical case of the MCC confirms Dolan (2019)’s suggestion that crises that are slow to emerge and that lack clear and explicit indicators (such is the case for climate change) will more strongly shape the political stream where policy entrepreneurs will be more successful if they brought attention to long-term policy issue through the issue linking strategy in order to connect to an urgent short-term issue; and in so doing, potentially catalyze very diverse coupling dynamics. On the other hand, the case contradicts/complements Dolan (2019) on how different policy windows (problem or political) impact policy outcomes (substantive or symbolic). What might seem like symbolic coupling (‘a solution finding a problem’, such as when the *Partie Québécois* adopted the *Grand Déblocage* policy proposal right prior to the 2018 municipal elections) might actually be grounded in substantive ‘problem finding a solution’ if it’s based on previous unknown policy work (as initially developed by the coalition as part of their *Grand Virage* policy proposal).

The coalition constructed its on-going partial argumentative political couplings thanks to their five ‘cultural/institutional and structural’ entrepreneuring strategies (Boasson & Huitema, 2017) that emerged from the timeline map models, the analysis of semi-directed interviews and the in-depth case study; and that are comprised of 23 different tactics deployed by actors over time. The in-depth case study is an eyewitness reconstruction of a continuous flow of sense-making about the world, an association between the problems that require attention and the policies that propose a solution; all the while continuously taking on the political-strategic issues and not just when a window of opportunity presents itself (whether periodic or spontaneous).

*Case in point, right now there is not a standardized way to evaluate projects based on their climate impacts, so there isn't a climate test that is standardized, if Montreal were to adopt a climate test it would be staking out new ground, it would be taking a test that's applied maybe in other countries, or maybe at the Federal level, there is an environmental assessment process, and it would have to strike out on its own to propose something and try to make it work, experimentally in Montreal and what we are asking for at the Federal level, our Federal MP's, that they provide the resources to produce a standardise methodology so we don't have to guess, that we all have to experiment but that we can all start from the same working book, same methodology, let it evolve over time, but that's one of the three key recommendations that's come out of the climate caucus, the CAN-RAC city caucus, in that respect we are trying to open policy windows for the city at the Federal level, and we are doing something similar at the Provincial level with the Front commun's Zen, again advocating some of our pillars within their Quebec Zen Road-Map, internationally I wouldn't say that we have any irons in the fire, although through our position paper that was published with Can-RAC they are able hypothetically but I don't think in practice they have capacity to do this, they would hypothetically be able to take those policy recommendations to the international space and advocate on behalf of Canadian NGO's, to say "hey ICLEI, UCLG, C40, these are resources that cities around the world should have access to, standardize methodologies, robust public participation, best practices, digital platforms" the kind of thing that you cant develop at the scale of a city in a cost effective matter, but at the scale of an international body that becomes more interesting if you know that there will be more than 100 cities using this tool, methodology. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

### **5.4.3 'Weaving' Policy Processes and Transition Dynamics for a Carbon-Neutral City of Montreal**

By manifesting entrepreneuring as an 'on-going partial argumentatively political coupling', coalition actors have demonstrated to have had simultaneous influence on both urban policymaking processes for carbon-neutrality and green spaces; and socio-technical transition dynamics in the urban public transport system (REM, alternative Tramway projects) and built environment (East-Lachine, Royalmount). The table 33 illustrates how different processes of policymaking (for carbon-neutrality and green spaces) and dynamics of transitions (in the transport and built environment) intertwined in the context of Montreal; how they were interwoven across time and space.

Table 33. (Inter)dependent Policy Processes and Socio-Technical Transition Dynamics

|   | Processes/Dynamics   | Subcases   | Description  |
|---|--|--|--|
| 1 | Policy Mix Processes for urban carbon-neutrality and the protection of green spaces                | Carbon-Neutrality Policy Proposals: 400 <sup>th</sup> Declaration  | The Coalition’s research and development for urban carbon-neutrality policy orientations       |
|   |  | Lachine-Est Carbon-Neutral Citizen-Led Eco-District project in partnership with the local borough administration | Co-developing Montreal’s first carbon-neutral eco-district redevelopment project               |
|   |  | Greening the City through the Fights and Struggles of the Green Coalition  | Advancing the protection of urban green spaces and the REM controversy                         |
| 2 | Socio-Technical Transition Dynamics in the urban public transport system and built environment and | REM Public Transport Project Controversy   | The REM controversy and the fight to stop the project  |
|   |  | Alternative Tramway Projects   | The emergence of the alternative tramway solution and it’s adoption by the regime              |
|   |  | Royalmount & Namur-Hippodrome  | Opposing urban carbon-intensive real-estate development project and guiding new carbon-neutral |

The coalition actors have been entrepreneuring to couple the multiple streams flowing through the strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field, or putting it in a metaphorical way, they’ve been ‘weaving’ together the multiple ‘threads’ (Howlett et al., 2016; Parsons, 2004) of urban carbon-neutrality policymaking processes and the emerging and coevolving socio-technical transition dynamics in the urban public transport and built environment systems. By positioning themselves as an integral stakeholder of municipal council meetings, the coalition and its key allies (the Green Coalition) have been able to continuously weave together the various problem, policy, political, technological and process brokering threads that has enabled them to set Montreal’s carbon-neutrality urban agenda.

In the art of weaving, a ‘loom’ is a frame whose purpose is to enable the weaver to ‘interlace’ two or more sets of threads (or yarns) to form a cloth. Thanks to openings in the frame or sometimes hooks (depending on the type of loom), the weaver can ‘couple’ threads unto the frame and begin weaving (continuously coupling other threads). When looking at how the coalition coupled it’s various policymaking threads every month during municipal council meetings, we can begin to understand Montreal’s municipal context as the institutional ‘loom’ that was used by the coalition’s ‘weavers’ to weave (month-in and month-out) the urban carbon-neutrality agenda by interlacing

policy processes for carbon-neutrality and green spaces with sociotechnical transition dynamics in the public transport and built environments.

In the same way that weaver artists possess tools to diversify their methods and techniques of weaving (the multiple types of knots they can weave), so do also the coalition's 'policy weavers'; with the tools at their disposal being the depicted typology of strategies. From research studies and reports, public consultations, citizen meetings and assemblies, workshops, conferences, the media, protests and lawsuits. What remains constant and consistent over time is the frame or the local institutional structure (monthly municipal council meetings and public consultations) that they use to couple the threads.

By revealing the MCC's structural (networking, coalition building) and cultural/institutional entrepreneuring strategies (framing, paradigms) (Boasson & Huitema, 2017), the MMAP-MSA framework (lens) reveals the qualitative composition (fabric) of Montreal's strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field; made up of policymaking processes for urban carbon-neutrality and the protection of green spaces, intertwined with socio-technical transition dynamics in the urban transport and built environment systems. By identifying some of the key lock-in's and windows of opportunities that coalition actors faced across time (from 2015-2020) within these multiple, diverse, contextualized and overlapping social interactions; we were able to shed some light on the messy, complex and chaotic nature of the micro-politics (micro-fabrics) of urban policymaking processes for a carbon-neutrality transition. Staying with the weaving metaphor to describe the coalition's entrepreneuring or on-going partial argumentatively political coupling, the five strategies and twenty-three tactics identified in the research study represent the weaver's weaving 'techniques'. This said, it's essential to note that while the advantage of metaphors is to simplify complex ideas for more parsimonious understanding, their limits is that they also conceal important details (Dolan, 2019). They do not reveal everything about an empirical phenomenon.

In this way, the empirical case study of the MCC analyzed under the dissertation's MMAP-MSA theoretical framework/lens, enriches our understanding of the jockeying agency of civil society actors as they go about entrepreneuring in an emancipatory fashion to ensure the continuous politically argumentative partial coupling of multiple streams, weaving together urban policymaking processes and transition dynamics; and in doing so, they create and maintain spaces for societal learning (Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014) where phronesis knowledge or 'practical

wisdom' for urban carbon-neutrality transitions is continuously prepared and collectively developed at the nexus of science, policy and civil society/citizenship. In this way, it can be considered that the coalition demonstrates to have been 'punching above their weight' in Montreal's strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field as they 'politicized science' and 'scientized politics' (Weingart & Lentsch, 2009) at the local municipal level. Beyond strategies for successfully capitalizing on windows of opportunities 'out there', the coalition's continuous 'tortoise' leaning emancipatory entrepreneuring has been building political 'preparedness' in (and as part of) Montreal's strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field. It has been building the locally embedded socio-political space or stage upon which periodical or spontaneous windows of opportunity can then be fitted. The results of the interactions occurring upon this stage is the setting of Montreal's carbon-neutrality policy agenda and the organic co-development of phronesis (practical wisdom) knowledge for urban carbon-neutrality transitions; once again at crucial nexus of science, policy and citizenship (CitiesIPCC, 2018).

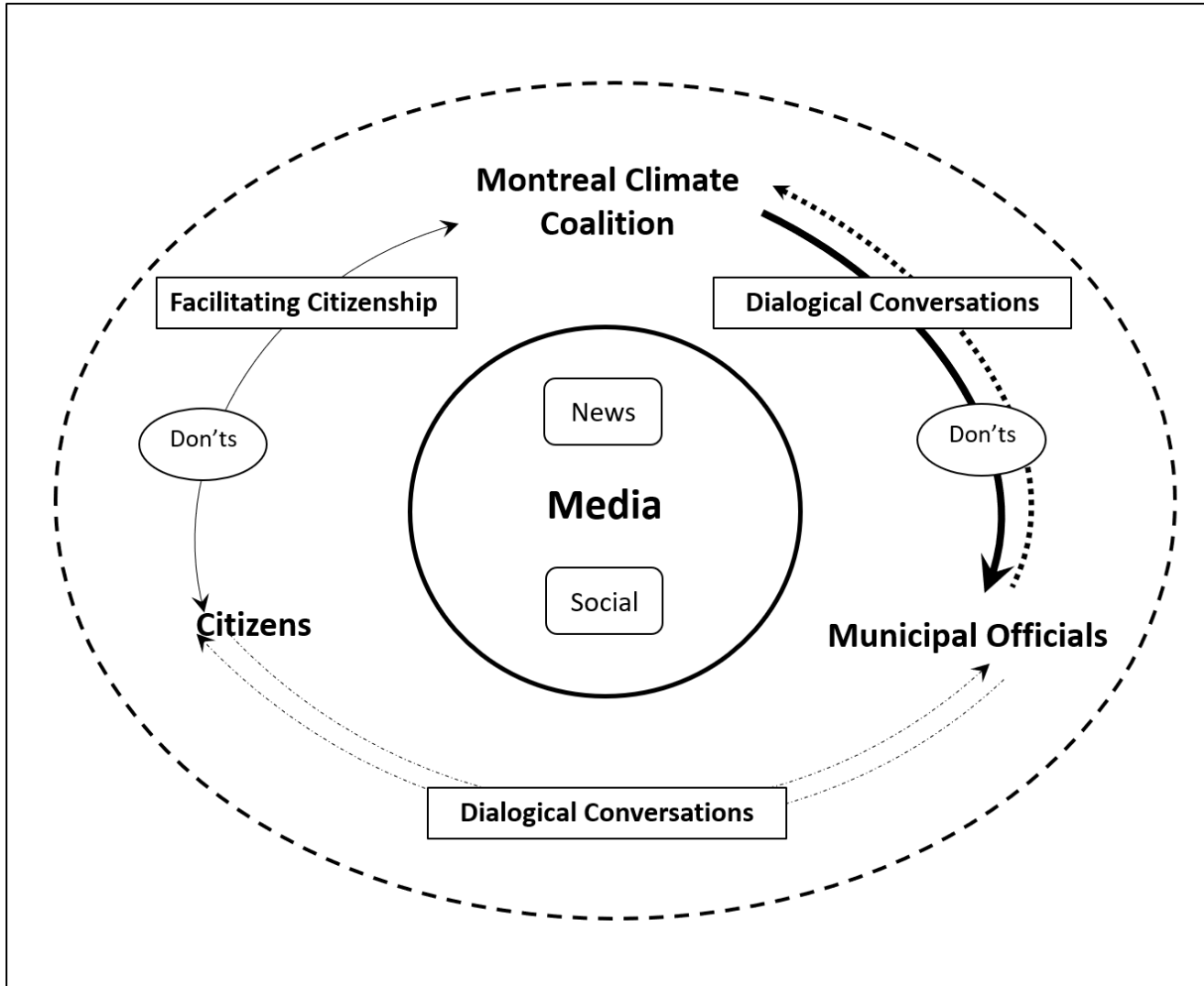


Figure 9. Setting the Urban Carbon-Neutrality Policy Agenda & Co-Developing Phronesis Knowledge for Urban Sustainability Transitions

So now the question that poses itself is the following: what has been my role as a researcher-activist in this locally emergent strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field that was structured by (and shaped) the coalition's emancipatory entrepreneuring? How have I been shaped (professionally, academically and personally) by this engagement at the nexus of urban climate mitigation (carbon-neutrality) science, policy and citizenship? In the following section, the last of this chapter on the research's results and insights; I undertake a self-reflexive exercise by empirically reconstructing my researcher-activist involvement within the coalition case study, touching upon my academic and activist endeavors, activities and projects throughout the years from 2015 to 2020.

This provides me with an overview of the chronological chains of (academic and activist) events that shaped and structured my researcher-activist involvement, and that mutually influenced one another; co-evolving together 'within me and through me' so to speak. While a descriptive narrative of my involvement in the case study is important (in a way it implies that my involvement can be understood as a sort of embedded 'sub-case' in itself, within the larger coalition case study); what's also important in my reflexive undertaking is to look at, reflect upon and share my researcher-activist experience not just as a set of 'cold' empirical events that 'mechanically' describe my involvement, but more importantly as well, analyzing them 'emotionally', reflecting (in retrospect) on how I view, understand and explain the evolution of my 'self' throughout the research experience. From how I cognitively constructed my perspective of myself at point A (at the beginning of the PhD endeavor), to how I cognitively (re)constructed this same view of myself today at point B (at the end of my PhD endeavor). This reflection adopts as its anchoring point the initial empirically based research question that led me to undertake PhD studies in the first place, as well as my own understanding of my contribution to the emergence and development of the MCC; contributing overtime to the development of practical wisdom (phronesis knowledge) for urban carbon-neutrality transitions in the context of Montreal, and what this implies for me moving forward, at both the professional and personal levels.

## 5.5 A Journey in Search: A Climate Researcher-Activist's Reflexive Praxis

*'I live on Earth at present, and I don't know what I am. I know that I am not a category. I am not a thing - a noun. I seem to be a verb, an evolutionary process' – an integral function of the universe - R. Buckminster Fuller (1895-1983)*

*'The society that separates its scholars from its warriors will have its thinking done by cowards and its fighting by fools' - Thucydides (460-400 B.C.)*

*'Say not, "I have found the truth," but rather, "I have found a truth." Say not, "I have found the path of the soul" Say rather, "I have met the soul walking upon my path."'* - Gibran Khalil Gibran (1883-1931)

### 5.5.1 From Corporate Executive to Social Entrepreneur, to Researcher-Activist

Before taking the time and the space to reflect upon my involvement in the Montreal Climate Coalition over the years since 2015, it's important for me to take a step back and briefly share my personal journey that led me to undertaking studies at the PhD level and how I came across the Montreal Climate Coalition.

Born in Beirut-Lebanon in the year 1979, what renowned Lebanese writer and historian Amin Maalouf calls '*a bookmark in the great ledger of time*' given that this year is also considered as the birth year of neo-liberalism in the U.S. (with President Ronald Reagan) and in the U.K. (with prime minister Margaret Thatcher) (Maalouf, 2020); and that went on to transform the world in the subsequent decades. Raised then in war-torn Lebanon throughout the 1980's and 1990's (except for three years, from 1989 to 1992, when my family and I lived in Cyprus); my father is Lebanese, and my mother is Quebecoise. They met in Val D'Or in 1974 when my dad taught history and geography there at the local high school, while my mum was born and raised in this mining town of Abitibi-Témiscaminge. My dad was born and raised in Beirut.

At the age of seventeen I graduated from High School (American educational system), and while my wish was to undertake my undergraduate studies in journalism at the University of Concordia



(Since little I always wanted to live in Montreal at some point or the other in my life); I ended up doing my undergraduate studies in management at the Lebanese American University (LAU) in Beirut. At the time, the courses that I had a genuine interest in were the elective classes, cultural studies, political science and Greek history. In 2001, at the age of twenty-one, armed with my bachelors' degree and the responsibility to financially support myself (and to a certain extent my family), I did what most young Lebanese men and women did at the time (and to many extent still do today), I left my country of origin and everything I knew up till then and I went to go work in Dubai. Ironically enough, it wasn't I that had applied to the job, it's a good friend of mine that had done it for me. That's how excited I was entering the job market.

Recruited by Transmed Overseas Inc., the regional distributors for Procter & Gamble and one of the most respect Lebanese companies in the region, I worked and lived in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) for close to nine years, from 2001 to 2009. During this time, I climbed up the corporate ladder, starting as an entry level sales representative and finishing my corporate experience in the role of regional key account director at Procter & Gamble itself, covering the region that comprised the Arabian Peninsula, Levant, North Africa and Pakistan. Disenchanted by the corporate world, torn with existential questions, and wanting to connect with my mother who had moved back to her home nation of Quebec after 30 years in Lebanon, as well as with my Quebecois family and roots that I didn't really know; I left Dubai in 2009 and settled in Montreal with my girlfriend and future wife where we both embarked on a one-year full time MBA program at HEC Montréal.

Inspired by just a few of the courses give at the MBA, mainly ethics, (social) entrepreneurship, corporate social responsibility and sustainable development; and amongst other things, books by Muhammad Yunus that I read and a unforgettable conference by Montreal's Serge Mongeau and his guest the famous French ecologist Pierre Rabih who gave a talk on De-Growth; I knew that I wasn't at all excited about going back to the corporate world. What I did know was that, at the dawn of a new decade in my life (early 30's), I wanted to deepen my understanding of sustainability and finally get the opportunity to explore life's horizons in search of what it was I wanted to truly do with (and in) my life. With the guidance of two professors I had met during my MBA year, and that would go on to becoming my PhD thesis director and co-director, I enrolled in a certificate program (still at HEC Montreal) in 'Managing Sustainability'. In 2011, and as part of my diploma internship, I participated in an international cooperation agriculture project in Mali that was

sponsored by the Quebec government. After living for four months in the remote village of Kamaka in the Sahel region north of the country, my perspective on life was forever transformed.

Back to Montreal, and in the framework of my ‘Managing Sustainability’ certificate, I co-authored a sustainable community development case study on my experience in Mali. Later that year, and along with my partner who was undertaking a ‘Permaculture Design Certificate’ at the time; we pitched a social business model project at Concordia’s social enterprise start-up competition. By winning the first-prize grant of 7,500CAD, our permaculture-based community development project caught the attention of Le Credil; the same NGO with whom I had gone to Mali. Supported by their interest to return to Kamaka-Mali to test our permaculture design model as part of the project’s second phase, my partner and I co-founded (again with the support of my professors) a Montreal-based not-for-profit social enterprise called Gardens Without Borders. While the initial plan was to go back to Kamaka-Mali to continue what had already been started, at the time (mid-2012) we had to redirect our project to Senegal given that the security situation in Mali’s northern region had become highly volatile as a result of the Libyan conflict that was spilling over with an influx of armed extremist groups.

It’s in this way that in 2013, we got the opportunity to undertake the permaculture project in collaboration with the village of Baback-Sérère in the region of Thiès, in the eastern part of Senegal. At the time of our return from Senegal four months later, and as spring was returning upon Montreal, the urban agriculture scene in the city was in effervescence; catalyzed by the 2012 public consultation that had gotten the relevant actors and stakeholders around the table for the first time, thinking collectively about how to develop urban agriculture for the city.

At the time this led our young non-profit social enterprise to be involved in (and explore) permaculture design in the urban context of Montreal, working with a diversity of Montreal-based citizens and community groups on various urban permaculture garden projects and initiatives (both public and private); as well as developing in the winter a series of practical hands-on workshops and conferences on ecological living. Over a period of four years, these experimental initiatives we developed and tested got us to collaborate and work closely with local ‘transition’ groups, such as Transition NDG and Coop Le Milieu; as well as groups and organizations abroad, in Ecuador and Lebanon (where we co-founded the country’s first permaculture organization: Soils Permaculture

Association Lebanon)<sup>352</sup>. Amongst other things, Gardens Without Borders we became part of the global permaculture network when we attended the international convergence in Cuba in the early winter of 2013 and as we were exploring collaborations with local Transition groups part of the international transition network<sup>353</sup>.

Very much inspired by what I was learning (permaculture design, ecological living, transition towns) throughout my social entrepreneurship experiences, one key question concerning social change seemed to be continuously present in the back of my mind: *'Can a growing multitude of local citizen-led transition groups, projects and initiatives lead us, as a society, towards a 'Great Transition' and an ecologically-based society?'*. Combined with the key existential question of *'what is it exactly that I want to do with my life'* that I had been chasing since my corporate executive days in Dubai, and for which the contours of possible answers were beginning to emerge, I decided to continue studying (after one year of MBA and two years of certificate in Managing Sustainability) and enrolled myself in the applied human sciences program at the University of Montreal. There was also a very practical 'entrepreneurial' element to this decision to undertake PhD level studies, which was that by being able to continue counting on government student loan, I could continue exploring life. Finally, I understood that by having a PhD degree, one could have the means to explore for life, reconciling the pleasant with the useful. At least this is how I interpreted the work of the professors I was working with. They inspired me to consider pursuing my studies.

Looking back now at the various seminar works I did part of my initial steps in the PhD path, whether for the seminar on epistemology, methodology or interdisciplinarity; as well as the synthesis exam before I starting to work on my research project, at the time I formulated my research question in the following way: How are the actors of the 'Great Transition' movement in Quebec performing 'institutional work' in advancing their societal project?.

Clearly not realizing at the time what it was exactly that I was getting myself into, especially in regards to the kind of intellectual challenge that a PhD program can represent for someone who's master level studies took the form of an MBA (which does not involve a research memoir or thesis work, rather it's

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<sup>352</sup> See published case study on Jardins sans frontiers.

<sup>353</sup> <https://transitionnetwork.org/>

a business program of study based on practical business fieldwork); nevertheless, and because applied human sciences and sociology in general were totally new worlds and bodies of knowledge for me, I thoroughly enjoyed my first and a half year of doctorate seminars where for the first time I began delving into social theory that could help me to deconstruct my world in order to better (at least that should be the aim) reconstruct it. I have to say that my initial doctoral phase of deconstruction (understanding sociologically the world around me for the first time thanks to the works of Durkheim, Weber, Bourdieu, Foucault, Geertz, Giddens, Bilge, Lahir, to name a few) was extremely intense emotionally and psychologically destabilizing. Combined in parallel to my exploration of deep ecology through my entrepreneurial work with Gardens Without Borders which involved the practice of radical societal paradigms and esoteric worldviews and cosmologies (as part of our work with Gardens Without Borders, I had the chance to live a few months in the jungles of Costa Rica and Ecuador); the years 2014 and 2015 were a period of intense ‘identity crisis’ during which I felt alienated (to a certain extent) from some of my closest friends and family members. By the time of my synthesis exam in the summer of 2015, I had (emotionally and psychologically) hit rock bottom, I found myself in pieces. With the initial ‘social deconstruction phase’ of my doctorate experience completed, it was time for me to pick up the pieces and begin reconstructing my ‘self-understanding’ with new pieces, but also old ones of my own intentional choosing. I had to reconcile my previous ‘I’ with my newfound ‘dynamic self’ that was shedding light on some of my core existential questions.

It’s around this same time, when I was beginning to pick myself up again, that I met Matthew Chapman again (the first time was in 2014 when he invited, in my capacity of lecturer at HEC, to be part of the MBA sustainability competition as one of the judges); and who this time around presented to me the ‘Right to initiative’ that he and fellow citizens from the Montreal Climate Action group were working and mobilizing to get the city of Montreal to conduct a public consultation on climate change mitigation, right on time for the COP21 Paris Climate Summit conference. Here was a group of citizens who aimed to work at the institutional municipal level to transition their city of Montreal to carbon-neutrality; a societal ‘Great Transition’ objective. Though the Montreal Climate Coalition was still very much in a pre-embryonic phase (it was just a citizen idea, an intention); the initiative resonated with my question on whether or not (and to what extent in scale) local citizens and their initiatives can shape a great societal transition. I quickly realized (more like an intuition) that Matthew’s project could be an interesting and pertinent research field for my research question.

As such, it's as a doctorate student and a social entrepreneur with a financially ailing non-profit organization, that I responded favorably to Matthew's invitation to participate in the 2016 public consultation, representing (along with others) Montreal's urban agriculture community. Already anticipating a form of participative (action) research project that resonated with the kind of research project that I wanted to undertake and experience, I was (from the early onset of my research project) aware of the importance of my own position as a researcher in such an endeavor. Nevertheless, it's worth to mention here that it wasn't until Montreal's municipal elections at the end of 2017, with Projet MTL's surprise victory and the beginning of the REM's construction in early 2018; that I felt confident that I now had a substantive and interesting enough story/case study for a PhD thesis that looks at the role of civil society actors in urban sustainability transitions. Hence, it's in 2018 that I became aware that could slow down my activist approach (I had contributed to establishing the organization) and I could now begin to look at things with more of a researcher's eyes.

### **5.5.2 From Activist to Policy Entrepreneur Apprentice, to Researcher**

The 2016 public consultation on the reduction of Montreal's dependence on fossil fuels was the first public consultation in which I ever participated. For the first time, my eyes were opened to the practice of (municipal) democracy. Not knowing exactly what was to become of the emerging 'post-consultation' Montreal climate coalition and wanting to contribute to Montreal's transition movement (especially that Gardens Without Border's activities had considerably slowed down, for both financial and personal reasons); and more important with an empirical PhD research project that awaited to be undertaken, I took it upon myself to invest my heart and mind in contributing to sustaining the coalition's activities. No longer just focused on social entrepreneurship in developing a non-profit social enterprise (Gardens Without Borders), I was now experiencing activism within a nascent urban climate movement in Montreal.

For the next three years, from summer 2016 to summer 2019, what I experienced between my active involvement in the coalition's coordinating committee (as well as board of directors for two years) and the development of my academic research project can be traced to two bodies of work (data sources). First, what I've come to develop 'in practice' over the years as I participated in key coalition events and initiatives (the 'practice track' of the research project or 'process-oriented sustainability science'), and what I've simultaneously come to learn and develop 'in theory' (the

‘academic track’ of the research project or ‘knowledge-first science’); both continuously feeding off one another through my (un)conscious and (un)intentional mediations with myself and others. Table 34 summarizes the key events and initiatives that I’ve participated in across the last 5 years as I walked the road of the researcher-activist, illustrating the weaving of theory and practice with the aim of transformation at both the individual and collective levels.

Table 34. Researcher-Activist’s Practical and Theoretical Involvement

| Date              | Event/Activity/Conference  | Track                         | Type of Science                         |
|-------------------|--|-------------------------------|---|
| 15 août 2015      | Examen Synthèse  | Academic                      | Knowledge-First Science                 |
| Winter 2016       | Public consultation - phase 1  | Practice (Coalition)          | Process-Oriented Sustainability Science |
| 16 June 2016      | Coalition’s Annual General Assembly  | Practice (Coalition)          | Process-Oriented Sustainability Science |
| 1 décembre 2016   | CAP COP 22 (HEC Montreal)  | Practice (Coalition)          | Process-Oriented Sustainability Science |
| February 2017     | Coalition’s 2 <sup>nd</sup> Anniversary Event  | Practice (Coalition)          | Process-Oriented Sustainability Science |
| 20 février 2017   | Forum Environnement (UdeM)   | Academic                      | Knowledge-First Science                 |
| 4 avril 2017      | 18e Colloque CRISES Students (UdeM)  | Academic                      | Knowledge-First Science                 |
| 7 avril 2017      | CRISES International (UQAM)  | Academic                      | Knowledge-First Science                 |
| 28 avril 2017     | 2nd PhD NEST Conference Lausanne   | Academic                      | Knowledge-First Science                 |
| 17 mai 2017       | Sustainability Transitions Course Alborg   | Academic                      | Knowledge-First Science                 |
| 2 juin 2017       | Sustainability Transitions Symposium (UQAM)  | Academic                      | Knowledge-First Science                 |
| 15 novembre 2017  | CAP COP 23 (MDD)   | Practice (Coalition)/Academic | Both                                    |
| February 2018     | Coalition’s 3 <sup>rd</sup> Anniversary Event  | Practice (Coalition)          | Process-Oriented Sustainability Science |
| 23 mars 2018      | 19e Colloque CRISES Students (Sherbrooke)  | Academic                      | Knowledge-First Science                 |
| 19 mai 2018       | La Grande Transition   | Academic                      | Knowledge-First Science                 |
| Juin 2018         | ICLEI Carbon-Neutrality side event   | Academic                      | Knowledge-First Science                 |
| Juin 2018         | 2018 AGA   | Practice (Coalition)/Academic | Process-Oriented Sustainability Science |
| December 2018     | Shift for Climate COP 24 (HEC Montreal)  | Practice (Coalition)/Academic | Process-Oriented Sustainability Science |
| February 2019     | Coalition’s 4 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary Event  | Practice (Coalition)          | Process-Oriented Sustainability Science |
| 29 mars 2019      | 20e Colloque CRISES Students (St-Jerome)   | Academic                      | Knowledge-First Science                 |
| Juin 2019         | Launch of Policy White Papers and 2019 AGA (HEC Montreal)                                | Academic/Practice (Coalition) | Both                                    |
| 24 juin 2019      | International Sustainability Transitions Annual Conference – Carlton University (Ottawa) | Academic                      | Knowledge-First Science                 |
| Fall 2019         | Marlei’s group presentations   | Academic                      | Knowledge-First Science                 |
| 26 septembre 2019 | Climate Justice Dawson   | Practice (Coalition)          | Process-Oriented Sustainability Science |
| February 2020     | Coalition’s 4 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary Event  | Practice (Coalition)          | Process-Oriented Sustainability Science |
| 20 mai 2020       | Coalition’s 2020 AGA   | Academic/Practice (Coalition) | Both                                    |

Process-oriented sustainability science that aims to create spaces for societal learning differs from the more conventional knowledge-first science in four different ways: ownership, sustainability, power and action (Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014). I build on this typology model of process-oriented sustainability science research characteristics, to reflect upon my own participation as a researcher-activist in the case study. Table 35 recapitulates the model and the different dynamic roles that a researcher-activist can experience in a transformation research project such as this one.

Table 35. Summary of Researcher-Activist’s Role in Transformation Research  
(Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014)

| Characteristic of process-oriented sustainability research | Description  | Researcher’s Dynamic Roles   |
|--|--|--|
| <b>Ownership</b>   | Who is involved and part of the problem, the process, outcomes and possible perpetuation? Linked to the strength of stakeholder involvement. Very dynamic over time, not static. Researchers facilitate processes by analyzing, initiating, selecting, facilitating and empowering   | <p><b>Reflective scientist:</b> Analyze dynamics and actors</p> <p><b>Process Facilitator:</b> Initiate, select (participants) and facilitate processes</p> <p><b>Change Agent:</b> Motivate and Empower</p>   |
| <b>Sustainability</b>                                      | Sustainability development is an open-ended highly contentious value-laden process (Miller, 2013). Researcher needs to be self-reflexive on how he/she shapes the process and its outcomes (Wittmayer et al., 2013) as they catalyze and participate in a sustainability learning journey and support making sustainability contextually meaningful.   | <p><b>Change Agent:</b> Participate in a journey</p> <p><b>Knowledge Broker:</b> Contributes to creating space for learning and contextualizing sustainability</p> <p><b>Reflective Scientist:</b> Provide theoretical knowledge</p> <p><b>Self-Reflexive Scientist:</b> Self-reflexive regarding own normative orientation</p>                              |
| <b>Power</b>   | Power-free spaces do not exist; hence researchers need to consider the influence of power dynamics on spaces for societal learning. Researchers have to ‘work the political system’ (Coghlan & Shani, 2005) as he/she selects, facilitates, encourages, analyses and networks  | <p><b>Process Facilitator:</b> Select, facilitate and encourage</p> <p><b>Knowledge Broker:</b> Mediate varying perspectives</p> <p><b>Reflective Scientist:</b> Analyze outcomes</p> <p><b>Change Agent:</b> Network with stakeholders outside the group</p> <p><b>Self-Reflexive Scientist:</b> Self-reflexive on internal and external power dynamics</p> |
| <b>Action</b>  | The distinguishing feature of process-oriented approaches to sustainability science as researchers actively facilitate research processes with the objective of nurturing concrete real-world actions for change; with action considered as the ‘only sensible way to generate and test new knowledge’ (Greenwood & Levin, 2006). Researchers facilitate an iterative process of ‘transition management’ / ‘Transition experiments’ (Van den Bosch, 2010). Facilitating and actively participating beyond collaborative or participatory research. Creating interdisciplinary research teams, being a knowledge broker, informing policy formulation and creating paradigms for sustainability (Loorbach et al., 2011) | <p><b>Process Facilitator:</b> drives experimentation</p> <p><b>Change Agent:</b> Participate in experimentation and support policy formulation</p> <p><b>Reflective Scientist:</b> Observe, reflect and analyze actions</p>   |

At the coalition's citizen form in April 2016, right after the 'genesis' consultation, one of the coalition's key instigators (and renowned Montreal intellectual and militant-ecologist), Dimitrios Roussopoulos; requested me (in my capacity as PhD student and lecturer in social innovation and sustainability at HEC Montreal) to research what a carbon-neutrality roadmap for Montreal would look like. In this instance, my professional and academic credentials bestowed upon me from the very beginning of my adventure with the coalition, the role of the *'reflective scientist'*, one that I would carry throughout my years with the coalition.

During summer 2016, I was excited to be involved with a new group of passionate and knowledgeable individuals that were so driven in bringing about the rapid decarbonization / carbon-neutrality transition that was required in Montreal. While the embryonic Montreal Climate Coalition seemed to me at the time as a case study with a high potential to shed light on the general question that so boggle my mind, mainly: to what extent do (can) civil society actors actually contribute to a Great Transition? still, after the consultation I had no idea to what extent (and in what organizational shape/form) the coalition was going to continue existing.

Therefore, in many ways, I decided to be involved in the coalition beyond just the public consultation in order to help ensure that the coalition would stay alive and persist so that the perception (intuition) that I had (that it could make a fertile ground for a PhD research field work) could actually materialize! In a sense, I got involved out of fear of losing my research terrain (looking back at this now seems absurd, in the sense that many case studies would have been pertinent in providing me elements of answers to the research question that I posed myself). While over sixty organizations had signed the coalition declaration and were considered as members of the coalition, I quickly realized that it was going to be just a few people that were going to have to be consistent enough in their interactions to sustain the existence of the organization. In this way, my initial steps with the coalition were based on a feeling of *'ownership'*, to help make the emerging coalition a reality in the short, medium and long-term.

This feeling of ownership to make the coalition come alive was evident as I hosted one of the first coalition coordinating committee meetings at my home<sup>354</sup>, personally co-organizing a workshop

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<sup>354</sup> See picture 11 in Annex 30.



on ‘Transition Culture’ at the World Social Forum that took place in Montreal in August 2016<sup>355</sup> in order for the coalition to be represented at the event, proposed coalition mandates to the teams of students from the social innovation class that I was co-lecturing that fall, and participated in my first ever monthly municipal council meeting<sup>356</sup> so as to ensure that there was someone who was going to ask the city’s elected official responsible of sustainability what it was that he, and his administration, were going to do with the consultation’s 15 recommendations to reduce Montreal’s dependence on fossil fuel. Through these different initiatives, I played the role of ‘*process facilitator*’ and ‘*motivator*’, as also highlighted in my journal. Here is an excerpt from my journal that provide some indications of what was going through my mind as I was discovering participation in municipal politics.

*There is work to be done with elected officials, showing up at municipal and borough council and use those tools that institutions provide you to try to influence policymaking, for the right thing, this idea of policy entrepreneurs... Matthew does it very well, Anthony does it very well... And I want to start doing it. It is to be done, it's interesting. And you can do it quite simply especially if it's linked to your work, your expertise.... You're sharing what you are doing. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

It’s important for me to share that, during this time as well, I had an overall uneasy feeling about the potential success that the coalition could have, I was very much mitigated; especially as the coalition immediately went up against the REM. Not yet having any clear understanding of the REM studies that were being developed (nor key instruments such as carbon budget and climate tests that were being discussed internally, completely new knowledge for me), it was initially very much counterintuitive to me that environmentalists/ecologists would decide to go against Quebec’s biggest public transport since Montreal’s metro system in the 1960’s; especially an electric transport project. What would the chances be for a very young non-profit organization, such as the embryonic coalition at the time, with no resources, visibility or notoriety, to succeed with something as complex and novel as urban carbon-neutrality? And doing so all the while going up against renowned environmental groups and the government that supported the REM? For a while there I was worried that, regarding my PhD field work, I was maybe putting all my eggs in one basket. Nevertheless, the coalition’s ‘underdog’ position and its vision of a carbon-neutral city of

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<sup>355</sup> See picture 12 in Annex 30.

<sup>356</sup> See picture 10 in Annex 30.

Montreal (which no one else at the time discussed) inspired me and pushed me to invest even more of my time and energy. During the summer of 2016, at the time that my son Enzo was born, the idea of contributing to Montreal's carbon-neutral transition (in the form of an academic transformation research) as a legacy to Enzo and his generation, resonated tremendously in me.

By early 2017, and with my two key objectives in mind (helping the coalition to develop 'in practice' a carbon-neutrality roadmap for Montreal, and for this to be part of my 'theoretical' PhD research project, I connected the coalition's coordinating committee with a group of master students in organizational design at the University of Concordia who were interested in doing their diploma consultancy project with (on) the coalition. Organizing a strategic brainstorming workshop<sup>357</sup>, I felt that this was a good opportunity for the coalition's core team to take some time away from the action and to strategically brainstorm the way forward, something that seemed to rarely happen given that time was a scarce resource for everyone who was involved in the coalition on the basis of volunteering. Here for instance, I again played the role of *'process facilitator'*, but also *'knowledge broker'*.

While the day-long strategic workshop organized by the students to help guide the committee's strategic workplan did indeed (in my opinion) provide pertinent 'food for thought', it was interesting to see that for one of the coalition's co-founders (and most active and skilled member of the coordinating committee), the strategic workshop was in his view useless, that the time we were spending on brainstorming plans needed to be invested instead on actively working to stop the REM and attend to more 'concrete' matters in the field. Combined with the fact that this strategic workshop was never debriefed by the coalition's core team, this gave me an initial indication of the inherent tension within the coalition, between operating as an 'organization' and/or as a 'movement'. The high expectations I had built regarding the strategic workshop demonstrated my lack (at the time) of self-reflexivity, as I imposed my own normative orientations upon the rest of the group. I then understood that I had to probably ease off my conventional 'managerial' reflexes when collaborating with such a decentralized and fluid group as the coalition.

During that year of 2017, I also got the chance to participate (at the invitation of the Coalition president) in a rather impromptu meeting with Saint-Laurent's borough mayor, Alain D'Souza. As

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<sup>357</sup> See pictures 20, 21, 22 in Annex 30.

my first ‘private’ meeting with an elected official, I was positively surprised at the kind of access that some of the coalition’s members had vis-à-vis certain elected officials, and that enabled them to ‘pull some strings’. I participated in the meeting primarily to personally experience such a meeting for the first time, and I remember having gone unprepared and unaware of the topic that was to be discussed; only to find out there and then that it was regarding the development projects that threatened the Technopark wetlands. As I was unprepared and felt like an imposter, I just stuck to asking questions without any concrete interventions from my end. Nevertheless, it was an opportunity for me to discuss with Mayor D’Souza topics linked to citizen participation, ecology and sustainability transitions (a research field I was slowly beginning to grapple with). In such an instance (meeting with elected officials), it seemed that my HEC Montreal and PhD student credentials were welcomed by both the coalition and the elected officials. Here I asked myself whether I was perceived as representing a civil society ‘niche’ organization (the Montreal Climate Coalition) or rather representing the academic sector of the dominant ‘regime’ institutions (HEC Montreal and the University of Montreal). I guess both. Here I seemed to have experienced what is talked about in the literature, the need to avoid over schematizing categories of actors as in practice, actors can belong to both simultaneously. From that moment on, I understood that this was a kind of ‘power’ I could play with.

By the end of the year, I was requested by the coalition’s coordinating committee to draft an email on the REM to all of the city’s newly elected Projet MTL administration. Capitalizing on my role as reflective scientist (who has access to sustainability transitions research - theory) in order to facilitate processes with key decision-makers, while also participating in ‘knowledge brokering’ events as both participant and guest speaker; 2017 was an intensive year as I took part in several academic events and activities in order to develop my knowledge of sustainability transition science. This included participating in a PhD student conference in Lausanne organized by the Sustainability Transitions Research Network (STRN), a PhD seminar course on Sustainability Transitions at the University of Aalborg in Copenhagen, and co-organizing Canada’s first Sustainability Transitions’ Symposium at UQAM in Montreal with two of Canada’s leading researchers and professors in Sustainability Transitions, Professor René Audet at UQAM and Professor Blake Poland from the University of Toronto<sup>358</sup>.

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<sup>358</sup> See pictures 23, 24, 25 in Annex 30.

This period of back-to-back academic conferences, seminar and symposium (see table 36) enabled me to develop my understanding of the field of sustainability transitions, and in doing so, build my capabilities and confidence in my role of reflective scientist with (for) the coalition. Moreover, it enabled me to develop my network outside of the coalition, supporting me in my role of *'change agent'* that was participating in a sustainability journey with the coalition. Finally, these academic engagements, that I undertook in parallel to my involvement in the coalition's activities and actions, provided the adequate and necessary space for me to take on the role of *'reflective scientist'* as I began to more and more observe, reflect and analyze my own actions and involvement in the events unfolding before me, with me and through me. Table 36 recapitulates the key academic events that I attended in 2017.

Table 36. Key Academic Events attend in 2017

| Date            | Event/Activity/Conference                                | Track    | Type of Science         |
|-----------------|--|----------|-------------------------|
| 20 février 2017 | Forum Environnement (UdeM)                               | Academic | Knowledge-First Science |
| 4 avril 2017    | 18e Colloque CRISES Students (UdeM)                      |          |                         |
| 7 avril 2017    | CRISES International (UQAM)                              |          |                         |
| 28 avril 2017   | 2nd PhD NEST Conference Lausanne                         |          |                         |
| 17 mai 2017     | Sustainability Transitions Course Alborg-Denmark         |          |                         |
| 2 juin 2017     | Co-organised Sustainability Transitions Symposium (UQAM) |          |                         |

In parallel to exposing myself to the academic research field of sustainability transitions theory, being involved with the coalition opened the doors for me to discover Montreal's urban left, a network of radical grassroots (political) communities. Organized (amongst other things) around a monthly 'book club' led by Black Rose Books publishing house and IPAM (Montreal's institution of alternative politics); I began familiarizing myself with the groundbreaking works of political ecologists and anarchist intellectuals such as Bakunin, Kropotkin and Murray Bookchin. From an ontological standpoint, my study and exposure to their exhaustive political work and legacy on social ecology, communalism and direct democracy has highly influenced my understanding of the urban context, of the phenomenon of urbanization, the ambiguous concept of 'The City', taking stock of 'citizenship' in our day and age and thinking about the contours and content of what an authentic and genuine ecological vision of the city must entail. With a social ecology/direct democracy ontology nourishing the core framing of my evolving understandings of 'The Political',

I was now better equipped to better self-reflect on the internal and external power dynamics that shaped my researcher-activist actions (and that my actions shaped in return); and on the overall influence my normative orientations were having on the activities of the coalition.

During 2018, I continued to have a role of process facilitator as I represented the Montreal Climate Coalition at the Green Coalition's Annual General Assembly, prepared the board of directors quarterly meeting, and got the coalition and Pôle IDEOS-HEC Montreal to collaborate together as they submitted a 'Carbon-Neutrality Roadmap for Montreal' governance project as part of the 'Fond de soutiens à la collectivité – FSC' grant. Also, and whereas the previous year I had played more of an ownership role when I organizing the one-day strategic workshop with the Concordia masters students, this time around I left the strategic weekend getaway to be organized without me and I intentionally took on the role of the reflective scientist (for the first time since the beginning of my involvement with the coalition), as I formally communicated my more 'observer' position to the board of directors as I tried to pull myself away from the meeting discussions. A challenge at the beginning as illustrated by the below journal entry that refers to the coalition's 2018 September strategic off-site getaway weekend.

*At the beginning I was more, I really wanted to just listen to their conversations without me intervening, which is great, but at the same time I would wait for the moment when maybe I want to talk about something, regarding this fact or the other. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

By taking down notes continuously, I also had a role as process facilitator given that, in doing so, I helped the group compile the meeting notes and I provided them with a synthesis report that included key take-outs from the strategic weekend getaway as well as the action plan that was derived from the work. While taking on this role did not always seem pertinent, it did help the coalition run its annual strategic activity while at the same time providing me with the opportunity to assimilate the key issues that the coalition was dealing with, both internally and externally. The below two journal entry excerpts testify to the same.

*So finally, what came out was that I'm going to see my notes again. I was taking notes with Matthew, and I recorded everything, which is a lot... I'm really going to see how we can use this differently to make sure that we have all the information of what happened, and the whole idea and this is how we can tap into the harvest of the meeting in the best possible way to move forward. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

*I had proposed a certain way, maybe that wasn't also very pertinent but I had shared the impact's gaps canvas because even though I myself didn't get the chance to do the exercise really, but the Impact Gaps Canvas is a list of questions that help you to think about, what's the global compact, understanding how situations are converging and are there windows of opportunities that we need to identify and realize that there are some shots that can not be missed, we need to have more rigour, be more pertinent.... It's all about organization, its fascinating... - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

By summer of 2018 I felt confident enough that after two years of the coalition's existence, I had a substantive case study/story to begin writing in the form of my PhD thesis. Hence, I decided to resign from the board of directors and remain attached to the coordinating committee. That's when I began doing preliminary/exploratory interviews with key coalition actors in order to better inform the MMAP theoretical framework that I had started to develop. While these initial interviews came before my ethics committee approval, there are not part of the research's official analysis. Nevertheless, they have informed the development of my theoretical framework and overall thesis proposal. At the same time, and thanks to a couple of discussions I had with a colleague of mine (Professor Anna Kim, with whom I was co-authoring a case study on Gardens Without Borders), I came across the literature on policy entrepreneurship. In a moment of eureka, I suddenly deepened my understanding of what it was that I, and my fellow coalition activists, had been up to since 2016. From corporate executive to social entrepreneur, I was now involved in policy entrepreneurship activities, while having to also make sense of my role as a researcher as I began to enjoy wanting to 'get to the bottom of things'. From then on, policy entrepreneurship became a common term employed by the coalition's coordinating committee to describe what it was that we were engaged in. The below two journal entries testify to the same, with the second a clear demonstration of the 'transformation' element in transformation research, when theory seems to constructively pollinate practice.

*I keep telling him that he inspires me, as a researcher and as an activist and as someone who is capable of influencing politicians, how does he do it? Of course he has a knack for it; but he said, 'listen maybe I just want to do research to go in depth into things, beyond ideology, I want to talk about the details, of things in order to make the most enlightened decision, my role in society is to put the details forward in the public space because often we are so superficial and we don't know what we get ourselves into. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

*It was interesting because as I was mentioning to them, mentioning the concept of policy entrepreneur, it's interesting because I felt that they were like 'alright yeah, I get it, I get what I'm doing. I thought that was interesting. Alright, okay, now we can surf on that term. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

Whereas in 2016 and 2017 my role focused very much on the 'ownership' aspect of this process-oriented sustainability research that I was involved in (taking on the responsibility of contributing to sustaining in 'real-time' the activities of the coalition), 2018 was the year I began to more thoroughly grasp the added-value of the coalition's work, and in this way deepening my trust in the research project I was nurturing, in both practice (my activist involvement with the coalition) and theory (as a PhD researcher). With the coalition still functioning despite its loss to the REM, and as it began gaining credibility within the Montreal's strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field that it had helped catalyze since the 2016 public consultation; I too began to appreciate my growing academic knowledge-first science (theory) learnings and now well attuned sensitivity to the power dynamics that played out in the practical 'process-based science' aspect of the research.

Both the coalition and my own learning curve seemed to be maturing considerably, coinciding as well with the city of Montreal's acting upon some of their (electoral) green promises in early fall of 2018, when they announced that it was adopting the 2050 carbon-neutrality vision for the city. Both organizational (coalition) and institutional (city of Montreal) capacity building seemed to be moving in parallel and in the right direction. By the end of 2018, and with two solid years of existence for the coalition and my involvement in it, I now had to finalize my thesis proposal to get on with the ethics committee approved data collection. Here are some excerpts from my journal that illustrate how I was 'thinking out loud' the Rubik cube-type intellectual sensemaking processes that I was engaged in at the time as I weaved together practice and theory as part of my dissertation/thesis proposal methodological work. It's also interesting to note how in the first quote, I seem to 'intuitively' understand at the time the 'jockeying' role of the protagonists that eventually emerged from my data analysis.

*These agents of change, they are working at their own individual levels, working at the political level, working at the public policy level, they are working as sustainability entrepreneurs... They are involving a huge array, diversity and plethora of entrepreneurship styles, and taking on different roles at different times and styles of entrepreneurship, maybe the hypothesis is that all these are diverse forms of emancipatory entrepreneurship depending of course on how they are articulated, but*

*that in their essence, fundamentally this is the impact they have because what they have in common is the fundamental transformations of the system. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

*So, the case study helps us to understand the polycentric multilevel and multi-actor dynamics by understanding the story of the Montréal climate coalition, a single Case study.... One year, two years, three years, four years ...let's four years for chunks, the genesis of the case, then the public consultation, then their watch dog approach, what were their challenges, organizationally speaking, the incorporation.... The whole thing on the REM, it wasn't clear what was their approach. Okay they are against it but what was their approach, their reasoning, how they framed the problem, how they tried to scale to get more people, that's the REM.... It is also blocking them, at the same time the city is not responding to them, and the challenge of getting themselves organized, mobilizing, and trying to build understanding, research.... And always these kind of challenges with the more corporate ecological groups like the David Suzuki foundation, Greenpeace and Équiterre, so I guess the third block would be...the Projet Montreal piece. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

*I talk about the case study, then about what data I have, a big part of the weekly coordinating committee weekly calls, whole bunch of them, I have eight interviews and should go up to 20, have half or two thirds between coalition members and city of Montréal, and I have all the internal documents, the whole Google drive, artifacts, annual general assemblies, board meetings, 2 to 3 of each. Coalition interventions at municipal and borough council, secondary data from the Metro and Le Devoir newspapers to highlight provincial and federal level developments. Some of my own journal entries, I'm going to do more of these, as part of my reflexive practice and techniques to talk and listen to what I am saying and reflect on what I'm saying to be able to have a clear as possible understanding of how I'm integrating things and formulating them, that's the reflexive part.... Tell the story in an interpretative way, this must be explored further.... And then my theoretical contributions.... Also, a revision of the introductory chapter on urban climate governance... The background and motivation, something crisp. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

2019 was the year during which I undertook the most number of concrete policy entrepreneurship initiatives and actions, at the same time that it was for the coalition a year that can be said to be the year of reckoning as carbon-neutrality policies began to be established by the city's administration and some socio-technical transition dynamics going the way of the coalition (see the city's adoption of the motion to adopt a carbon budget, the pink tramway line in Lachine, the Grand Parc de l'Ouest announcement and a the city's revised more ambitious GHG emission reduction target from -45% to -55% by 2030). On my end, I collaborated with my borough councilor on a hyper-local decarbonization transition action plan (part of her Federal election campaign), was invited by Lachine's mayoress to discuss with her governance approach on the Carbon-Neutral Eco-District



project that she's co-creating with Imagine Lachine-Est and private developers; as reported in my below journal entry which also highlight some interesting administrative challenges that my discussion with her brought, how I reflected upon them at the time, and how I had the chance to share with her and her cabinet director elements of my research:

*She shared with me how they are going to work with a collective governance for the carbon neutrality eco-district, they are calling their initiative the Lachine workshop (Atelier), she shared how there is a certain gap sometimes between City Hall and the borough, so the workshop is like a governance table, they will be meeting once a month, they're going to work to launch a development plan by next summer and set it based on the eco-district charter, she wants to preside the roundtable but other stakeholders are a bit defensive about it. Her idea is that she really wants to, she says she wants to make sure that really, it's a transparent process to really accelerating things, she really wants everybody to be on the same common ground, ensure an effective governance processes, this is what she says, but again there is the implicit power struggles that we will have to see how they play out, she has the right intentions, but I understand how people can be defensive about her presiding the workshop. She brings the point of going beyond divisions and people really working together with developers, it will be interesting to see how it plays out. So now implementing it, the governance structure, it's not very clear. This can be the challenge of working on the very long term. There is an urbanism plan at the city level and the borough level, she really stressed the fact that, there is a disconnect at times between the city and the boroughs. The table of mayors they meet once a month, it was more informal previously without any agenda but yesterday for the first time there was an agenda, and the clear topic to be discussed was transition, and basically asking who wants to do what, it was led by Laurence Lavigne-Lalonde. Also, the administrative personnel, her cabinet director wants to go from a reactive mode to a proactive mode. Maja talked about changing norms but not just changing norms also removing norms. This idea of not just doing new things but on doing all things. She also spoke about the media crises, and how there is a missing link with information to the grand public. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

*Overall, I shared with her the transition management framework, copies of it with her and her head of Cabinet. It was interesting, she did emphasize on how to materialize the transition, that nobody really spoke about governance and how-to bring citizens into the process. The city doesn't seem to be really looking at engaging citizens, hopefully citizens don't become defensive. For me, it seems that the city seems to see this still as a gradual thing, and within the same model of development, better but they are not at the radical vision in terms of urgency, timeline and depth of transformation. - Joseph EL-Khoury (Audio Journal Entry)*

After this meeting with Maja Vodanovic, I co-led the meeting discussions with the city's Bureau of Ecological Transition on their upcoming Climate Action Plan. Both the coalition and I had steadily grown into greater confidence, credibility and legitimacy; with the city's administration having made

some groundbreaking announcements and taken important decisions as they geared themselves on the transition tracks to ambitiously decarbonize and begin moving towards their newly established vision of a carbon-neutral city of Montreal.

With the coalition now firmly anchored and recognized in Montreal's strategic carbon-neutrality action field, and along with the other decarbonization action plan that they've been working on at the provincial level with one of their key allies, the Front commun pour la transition énergétique<sup>359</sup>, Montreal's upcoming Climate Action Plan at the municipal level, the international C40's 2020 Deadline and the Paris Agreement's year of revised/more ambitious national targets; during a beginning of new year 2020 that opened with Australia's worst bushfires in history making headline news, we were well on our way for 2020 to be a crucial year in accelerating the transition to carbon-neutral cities. Below is an insight as to how the coalition contributed to the Front commun's provincial decarbonization plan and the kind of challenges that they anticipated for the year ahead.

*I joined them this year in the Front commun's coordinating committee, involved in the Québec ZeN project which is the roadmap for energy transformation. I am also in logistics (database, website). Lots of little things. Their short-term project is their roadmap. The front commun has 10 criterias for the transition including, for example, the just transition. It is not just an ecological approach, it is also a social, economic, political approach. And this is important because with the transition there will be changes in all of these areas. There are three big unions with us. It is important that citizen groups are there to represent people. We try to cover the whole territory. We also go by sector, the roadmap establishes parameters for each level [...] We do not put a focus just on certain actors, it's everyone. I think this is the most comprehensive approach that has been taken. It's realistic. We must reduce our consumption etc. They did not actually tell us the word degrowth, but it can be felt. With this approach, I think the transition will be successful (...) Yes on September 26 there was a first version, then until the end of March there are improvements. At the end of March, the new version will be adopted by the General Assembly. Then we will launch version 2.0, we are targeting April 22, 2020. Then to follow up on the launch, there will be the whole implementation, we will want to build resilient communities. People who will really implement it [...] The front commun's strategy is to join forces with groups in each city. We would bring the roadmap to Montreal. It can be adapted in Sherbrooke for example, adapted for each environment (...) The first step is to make it known, diffuse the information. Then there is the work of mobilization, get citizens involved. Then we must also bring all this to the municipal administration. We must present it to the city, see how it wants to participate. The roadmap is at all levels, this is very important, creating local groups to promote them to district town halls, to people. It would depend on their neighborhood reality (central districts etc.). Identification of priorities according to their districts. - Jean-Francois Boisvert (Co-founder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

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<sup>359</sup> <https://www.pourlatransitionenergetique.org/mission-vision/>

The Coronavirus had other ideas in mind and decided to reshuffle the cards entirely. It wasn't until seven months later that the Front commun's carbon-neutrality road map for Quebec was finally launched, on November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020<sup>360</sup>; and in which I attempted to get a section published on the carbon footprint of information and communication technologies, an axes of research that I have become particularly interested in, as governments have been actively rolling out technologies such as 5G without seemingly being concerned about how it fitted or not in the urgent need to rapidly and drastically decarbonize our society and economy. In addition, regarding this new interest of mine for better understanding the environmental impact of technologies in general, I capitalized on my 'practicing democracy' experience and learnings with the coalition over the years to initiate some fellow tech-concerned citizens that I recently met to the city's monthly municipal council citizen question and answer period. Hence, and derived from my own experience, we can see how the coalition's work in activating citizenship in otherwise disempowered individuals to get them to engage in dialogical conversations with elected officials clearly worked in my case, as I now passed on my experience and knowledge to other citizens.

From end of 2019 (the time I conducted my final official semi-directed interviews) to the end of summer 2020, I pulled out of all activities with the coalition, dedicating and focusing my researcher-activist role to that of a reflective and self-reflexive scientist as I began analyzing the data collected and writing what would become, nine months later, this PhD dissertation. As a researcher-activist, I have actively facilitated and participated in learning processes and actual experimentations (creation of paradigms and lifestyle icons of sustainability), supporting urban carbon-neutrality policy formulation; all the while observing, reflecting and analyzing actions with respect to the coalitions' (and my own) set of visions, goals and targets (Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014). By participating in the first five years of the coalition's sustainability journey, by facilitating and motivating, connecting my network with that of the coalition and supporting experimentations and policy formulations, it can be considered that I've taken on the role of an '*independent change agent scholar*', someone who's able to be resourceful and motivated enough to pursue research and scholarship outside of traditional academia (Gross, 1982; Stein-Smith, 2020). While it's difficult to evaluate the extent to of how successful I was in doing this, nevertheless, by the end of the year 2020 I did receive the following SMS message from Maja Vodanovic: '*Hello Joey, would you be interested in a position at Lachine borough on our big urban projects?*'

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<sup>360</sup> [https://www.pourlatransitionenergetique.org/wp-content/uploads/QcZeN-Feuillederoute\\_v2.pdf](https://www.pourlatransitionenergetique.org/wp-content/uploads/QcZeN-Feuillederoute_v2.pdf)

### **5.5.3 Moving Forward: The Meditative-Researcher-Activist and Christian Anarchism as Life Politics**

The role of a researcher-activist is a very challenging one, especially when one cannot count on substantial financial resources or grants in undertaking the research project, and that he/she has to continuously work several jobs in order to make ends meet; further inhibiting the time that can be invested in the researcher-activists' undertakings. Throughout my doctorate journey, I had to carve the road as I walked it, 'learning to learn' on what a researcher-activist posture meant and implied within transformation research, from both practice and academic perspectives. Throughout the years, since the start of my PhD studies in the fall of 2013, there has been considerable moments of doubt, confusion, lack of confidence, anxiety and fear that too much 'sunk costs' (in terms of time, expectations from others) had been invested to just give up on my PhD project, with the end of it nowhere in sight.

This journey, intertwined with events in my personal life such as going through a difficult emotional spell at the start of my PhD program in 2014 and the more joyous but challenging experience of becoming a father in 2016; tested my emotional, psychological and physical abilities to self-regulate in ways that could enable me to pursue the path in a constructive manner, and not self-destruct (and my young family with me). Around the end of 2018, I seriously considered giving up on my PhD studies. However, two key questions (and their answers) enabled me to go on and pursue what I had so eagerly started. I continuously asked myself: *'Do you feel like you're learning and growing? If yes, that's a good sign, keep going. Are you doing this for the process or for the so-called honors? For the process. Then keep going and trust yourself in the process. After all, you and the world around you are just processing in the making'*.

Also, and amongst many other moments of personal insights and deep learning, a little story that I read about from Saint Francis of Assisi inspired me and taught me a valuable idea: The basket weaver must always be willing, at any moment, to burn his most beautiful basket. The moral of this? Never get attached to what you create, the most important thing is (again) what you get out of the process of creation, it's not about the final 'ephemeral' product. Also, that earthly matters are second in priority, behind matters of the soul. Finally, what also enabled me to go on in my PhD endeavor is the simple lifestyle of economic restraint that comes with being a PhD student

responsible for a little family, especially as the educational choices my partner and I have chosen (until now) for our son is that of homeschooling (or rather unschooling), which implies that one of us (my partner for now) must consider not having a full-time employment for a while. Such family lifestyle decisions have reinforced our need (and willingness) to adopt (as much as possible) a way of life made of voluntary simplicity, with the conviction that less (consumption) is more (in terms of time, quality of life and hopefully.... health and happiness). Incarnating a simple and ecological permaculture-based lifestyle is a continuous journey of discovery, and my PhD project fitted very well in nourishing this positively. Fulfilled at both the personal and professional levels and thriving as my PhD experience was enabling me to (re)construct my initially deconstructed identify, I pursued my research head on; excited at what I began to understand as the most rewarding part of the journey: writing the final thesis.

In this way, and more than anything I have ever experienced before in my life, the stupendous and intense roller coasters of experiences and emotions associated with my PhD journey from 2013 to 2020 (most of my 30's) pushed me into an inner voyage into my soul, during which I've been blessed to discover, touch upon, explore and better understand my-self, my essence. As much as my PhD endeavor has been an intellectual voyage, it has also been for me a spiritual journey, fulfilling like nothing else before that unescapable 'Dubai void' that represented the very beginning (the genesis) of my intellectual (turned spiritual) 'emancipation' journey that has provided my existential questions with some fundamental elements of answers that have, in the process, transformed me as an individual. As such, it's to this spiritual growth that I also associate the patience, faith and perseverance that have enabled me to persist despite many odds.

More than anything, this PhD journey has taught me profound humility (the more you know, the more you realize that you don't know), revealing itself to me as an essential 'balancing' ingredient in dealing with the kind of challenges that a researcher-activists faces when investing time, extensive efforts and resources in attending to super wicked problems of social and environmental justice. Through this process, I've come to be intrigued and inspired to go a step further and explore the pertinence (in our Anthropocene era) of the '*meditative-researcher-activist*' (M. M. Egger, 2018) role in academic research. The kind of future research that I would like to undertake, that resonate with me today, is a form of academic and intellectual research where I can continue to weave the intellectual, political and spiritual elements and dimensions of my being and my quest

to understand the world around me, the world within me, and how they mutually shape one another through on-going processes and dynamics of continuous ‘micro-transformations’. Such is the intention that I have for the second part of my life, one of conscious and intentional ‘Life Politics’ (Kim, 2012; Sörbom & Wennerhag, 2012) that can be an inspiring example to my son and to students that I will have the honor to work with in the coming years. A life politics that begins with *Christian Anarchism* (Ellul, 1988; Tolstoy, 1894; Van Steenwyk, 2012) as a synthesizing paradigmatic worldview worth exploring.

By anarchism, I don’t imply the pejorative violent stereotype that mainstream media and traditional politics have made us understand, but rather, a pacifist, antinationalist, anticapitalistic and moral anarchism; one that acts by persuading and creating small groups and networks of individuals that explicitly condemn lies, untruths and oppression, with the aim of profoundly toppling all forms of authority from the bottom-up as new found citizens speak up and organize themselves (Ellul, 1988). In the words of the famous leftist pastor and theologian Christoph Blumhardt: *‘I am proud to stand before you as a man; and if politics cannot tolerate a human being as I am, then let politics be damned! This is the true essence of anarchism: To become a human being, yes, but a politician, never’* (taken from Ellul, 1988 p.8). The idea at the core of anarchist political thinking is that we should denounce, not just the abuses of power, but we need to denounce power itself; and only anarchy explicitly aims for this. *‘The more the power of the state and bureaucracy grows, the more the affirmation of anarchy is necessary as the sole and last defense of the individual, that is, of humanity. Anarchy must regain its pungency and courage. It has a bright future before it. This is why I adopt it’* (Ellul, 1988 p.23).

Having been born in 1979, I’m a late comer to Generation X, those individuals born between 1965 and 1980. Stuck somewhere between the more distinct Post-WWII Baby Boomers (1945-1960) and the Millennials (Generation Y-1980’s to late 1990’s/Early 2000), it seems like my generation has always been searching for its position and role in history’s unfolding, trying to fill that unknown X in its appellation. After much soul searching, and especially in our current pandemic world and climate emergency, I like to think that maybe, after all, the X in Generation X has come to imply ‘Peacemakers’. Yes, I like that, I belong to ‘Generation Peacemakers’. That is my generation’s destiny in humanity’s advancement in the face of darkness. Halfway through our lifetime, for most of my generational contemporaries, history calls us for taking on the humble yet most fundamental role of peacemakers. Isn’t that after all the destiny of all generations?

*'I had never thought of myself as an anarchist. Today, I've understood that I had always been one' - Isabelle Attard (1969-)*

*'To understand the heart and mind of a person, look not at what he has already achieved, but at what he aspires to' - Gibran Khalil Gibran (1883-1931)*

*'The game is not about being somebody, it's about becoming nobody' - Ram Dass (1931-2019)*

*'The older I get, the better I get' - Zlatan Ibrahimovic (1981-)*

## Chapitre 6 – Discussions & Contributions

Having presented the results and insights of our in-depth longitudinal qualitative case study that retraces the emergence and development of the Montreal Climate Coalition from 2015 to 2020 (throughout our ‘post-COP21’ moment), in the following chapter I will link the insights that have emerged from the analysis to the literature gaps that were identified in the literature review. First, I begin with a recap of key insights:

- Civil society’s entrepreneuring strategies for urban carbon-neutrality transitions.
- Beyond policy entrepreneurs, actor’s dynamic ‘jockeying agency’: Problem and process brokers, policy entrepreneurs, political entrepreneurs, and at times technological innovators and process brokers.
- Beyond windows of opportunities, on-going partial argumentative political coupling of multiple streams across multiple levels:
  - Building ‘preparedness’: step zero in the process of agenda-setting
  - Capitalizing on institutional ambiguity through issue-linking and spillovers
- Weaving together urban carbon-neutrality policy processes and socio-technical sustainability transition dynamics across (multi-level) policy fields and socio-technical systems.
- The role of the researcher-activist in creating and maintaining spaces of societal phronesis learning for urban carbon-neutrality transitions.

Applying the conceptualized MMAP-MSA framework (lens + filter) unto the empirical case study of the Montreal Climate Coalition from 2015 to 2020, enabled us to thickly reconstructed, narrate, describe, explore and interpret the chronological sequence of dynamic interactions between macro landscape, meso lock-ins and windows of opportunities that emerged across the multi-level regime, and actor strategies at the micro-level; and the empirical outputs that resulted from the social dynamics between actors in Montreal’s strategic carbon-neutrality action field over time, and the way by which the multi-level regime context shaped (and was shaped by) Montreal’s strategic carbon-neutrality action field.



Looking at the MCC case study by empirically applying the ‘integrative’ MMaP-MSA framework that was conceptualized for the research, the research enables us to look at the role and strategies of civil society actors in policy processes for urban carbon-neutrality transitions; answering calls to better address the involvement of civil society actors in the politics of policymaking for urban sustainability transitions to carbon-neutrality, something that is often missed out on with the research field’s core Multi-Level Perspective (MLP) framework (Hess, 2016). In doing so, it sheds light on the two black boxes derived from the literature review and that this thesis initially set out to explore:

- **Black Box 1:** Who are civil society actors in urban sustainability transitions, what are they doing, and how are they doing it?
- **Black Box 2:** What do policy processes in urban sustainability transitions exactly look like? What is the act of ‘coupling’ made of exactly? How do they structure windows of opportunities?

In addition to exploring and shedding light on these two theoretical black boxes, the research makes two methodological contributions. First, the MMaP-MSA framework supports the call to extend in scope policy process approaches and frameworks (such as the employed MSA) when being applied within a broader interdisciplinary analytical framework (MMaP); enabling for the cross-fertilization between transition theory and policy studies, and providing more attention to policy processes (Markard et al., 2012) in transition research and the application of policy theories in extending our understanding of (urban) sustainability transitions. The model also proposes a refined understanding of an element thus far rather neglected in the MSA, the role and impact of institutions in relation to the period and length of windows, the scale of policies and unique institutional configurations.

Second, this transformation-based research provided the opportunity to unpack ‘in practice’ the role of the researcher-activist in transformation research for urban carbon-neutrality transitions and begin an initial conceptualization of the ‘engaged meditative climate researcher-activist’.

## **6.1 Black Box 1: Civil Society Actors in Urban Sustainability Transitions**

This research that began with the objective of looking into civil society's policy entrepreneurship in urban sustainability transitions, contributes to enriching the current lack of knowledge and understanding of actors in urban sustainability transitions, especially regarding civil society and social movements (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016). It sheds light on how civil society's relations are changing within the multi-level and multi-actor socio-political strategic carbon-neutrality action field in which they operate (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016), how they occupy different positions vis-à-vis the institutions they aim to change by balancing between autonomy and participation, and how the multi-level regime shapes their efforts, actions, and strategies (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016; Frantzeskaki et al., 2016). By looking at the successes and failures of civil society's policy entrepreneurs in urban sustainability transitions (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016), the thesis unpacks how the different roles civil society actor's play out in complex configurations of interactions and agendas. Elaborating on the patterns and mechanisms in the multi-dimensional political struggles of everyday life, the micro-politics of urban sustainability transitions for carbon-neutrality, we get a better understanding of how the 'intentional and purposeful' (Audet, 2014, 2016) efforts, actions and strategies of civil society's is (can) influence the initiation, direction and speed of urban sustainability transitions (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016; Frantzeskaki et al., 2016).

By better understanding of how certain underlying transition processes and conditions are changing over time in the context of Montreal, the research contributes to filling the knowledge gap on the potential and the tensions of civil society actors in urban sustainability transitions, as well as a careful analysis of the endogenous and exogenous forces that drive these outcomes. This enriches our understanding on the possibilities and limits of civil society's contribution to desired carbon-neutral transitions (Bulkeley, 2015; Ehnert, Kern et al., 2018; McCormick, 2014). In this way, the dissertation answers calls for greater attention to how civil society pursues freedom and autonomy in the face of persistent inertia, business-as-usual and the status quo; as well as the means with which urban change agents (Hölscher et al., 2018) imprint their inspirational and inventive visions on the 'reality that surrounds them', on the forms of agency that challenge powerful sectors in society (Rindova et al., 2009). In doing so it supports a better understanding of how certain underlying transition processes and conditions changed over time in the context of Montreal (from

2015 to 2020) and enriches our understanding on the possibilities and limits of civil society's contribution to desired carbon-neutral transitions (Bulkeley, 2015; Ehnert, Kern et al., 2018; McCormick, 2014). This is in line with transformation research's aim of developing 'practical wisdom' (phronesis) knowledge that can better inform policy and community practices for sustainability in urban environments. Fundamentally, this involves local democratic institutions and transparency in governance processes. I will come back to this point on governance in the subsequent conclusion chapter when I touch on the research's contribution to practice.

## **6.2 Black Box 2: Policy Processes in Urban Sustainability Transitions**

With research over the years tending to focus solely on research outcomes while extensively exploring and developing the concept of windows of opportunities; it is yet unclear how exactly windows are constructed and fabricated, and what it is exactly that they're 'made of'. In this way, coupling, as the mechanism of linking between the problem, policy and politics stream has been overlooked (Blum, 2018) is very much still considered a black box of the MSA, an overlooked element of MSA (Dolan, 2019), with scholars only beginning to explore the actual 'mysterious' process of coupling. Researchers need to better understand how issues make it onto the policy agenda, how policy designs come about, how policies are packaged, and how (why) they are considered or not by policymakers, key decision-makers and elected officials. This research endeavor does just that.

By illustrating how civil society actors (MCC's protagonists) continuously construct coupling 'in the making' by taking on multiple entrepreneurial roles simultaneously in the urban strategic carbon-neutrality action field, the theorized entrepreneuring model developed enables us to better understand policy entrepreneurs, their strategies, and their coupling logic with regards to policy windows (Jones et al., 2016) and beyond. In doing it answers calls to empirically examine the relationship between indicators, agenda setting and policy change (DeLeo, 2018). By looking at the process of coupling, we get a better understanding and approximation of the dynamic, complex and chaotic nature of policymaking (Zahariadis, 2014) for carbon neutral cities, better identifying less obvious moments when coupling or the blocking of coupling occurred beyond formal government activities (Dolan, 2019). Hence the study adds to the works of Dolan (2019) and Blum's (2018) in unpacking the very act of coupling in policy processes, enriching our

understanding of how messy and chaotic policy mixes emerge, develop, and transform over time (mainly how policy actors, strategies, processes, instruments and outputs interact); as well as the (un)intended impacts/consequences that this has on policymaking processes and the politics of (urban) sustainability transitions (Capano & Howlett, 2020; Edmondson et al., 2019; Rogge & Reichardt, 2016).

Shedding light on how civil society continuously weaves the conditions for partial couplings in a politically argumentative fashion, how they not only capitalize on periodic windows of opportunities, but also for bringing about sporadic windows of opportunities; along with the necessary conditions to unlock lock-ins. What civil society change actors have basically been doing in the Montreal context is weaving urban carbon-neutrality policy processes with socio-technical transition dynamics. Through their emancipatory entrepreneuring, their on-going politically argumentative partial couplings influence urban policies for carbon-neutrality and urban socio-technical transformations in ways that begin to lay down the scientific, policy and citizenship foundations that can catalyze deep decarbonization policies and actions at the local urban context. In this way, we deepen our understanding of how civil society actors continuously weave urban policy processes for carbon-neutrality and socio-technical transitions in the urban public transport and built environment systems; as well as the enabling and constraining role of the local municipal institutional context and the multi-level regime in which they're imbricated.

Moreover, and given that coupling is not just an abstract concept, it can actually be empirically observed in the form of 'coupling arguments' made by policy entrepreneurs, the thesis yield insights on how policy entrepreneurs employ persuasion and framing in the very uncertain context of long-term policymaking; elucidating the dynamics of complex policy situations that involve a multiple of overlapping issues, lock-ins and windows of opportunities (Dolan, 2019). In doing so it also contributes to calls to unpack the meaning of urban carbon-neutrality and explore the ongoing and experimental nature of decarbonization negotiations; alongside the development of powerful sociotechnical 'imaginaries' that (can) invest institutions and infrastructure (Tozer & Klenk, 2018b) and shape today's emerging decarbonization transition pathways.

Contrary to the majority of studies that describe and develop insights into how individual policy instruments and the politics surrounding them can influence and shape the politics of transition dynamics and processes; the research is an example of a case that extends the scope of analysis to

that of policy mixes. Rather than explaining the development of single policies, policy mixes explicitly address the chaotic and disorganised real-world of interactions between policy instruments, strategies and goals; allowing us to explain the various policy effects and impacts on socio-technical change, and the consequent ‘feedback mechanisms’ shaping further policy processes that support the development of other/new policy mixes (Edmondson et al., 2019). Beyond just the interaction of policy instruments, policy mixes are multiplying in the climate policy field (Gunningham & Sinclair, 1999), with impacts of policy processes and outputs on socio-technical change being rarely considered so far in the literature (Rogge et al., 2017).

By focusing on policy mixes and policy processes, the research helps to better understand how policy mixes and their processes influence and shape socio-technical changes, and how modifications in socio-technical systems also shapes the progression of policy mix processes; and how the interdependent dynamics between the two, their mutual impacts on one another influence the speed and direction of urban sustainability transitions (Edmondson et al., 2019). This is the core underexplored research gap in the field of sustainability transitions that this dissertation explores, providing insights that it hopes can enhance policy recommendations for urban carbon-neutrality and the overall governance of urban sustainability transitions (Kern & Rogge, 2018). By unpacking civil society’s emancipatory entrepreneuring strategies in weaving the multiple threads of policy processes in urban sustainability transitions, the research enables us to unpack the micro-politics of urban sustainability transitions and hence better understand the following:

- Have a better idea of civil society’s heterogenous distinctiveness from within, and their ‘distributive agency’ of actors that are in a constant ‘state of becoming’, their identities constructed over time; with categories of actors continuously ‘in the making’.
- How they develop public support for regime destabilization, the phasing out of unsustainable technologies and practices, changing the way people think about sustainability and transitions; and overcome regime resistance to sustainability transition policies. How policy mixes emerge, develop and change over time, and with what exact consequences.
- How civil society’s policy entrepreneurs can tackle problems of such magnitude as climate change given the inherent tensions and conflicts between civil society actors and their structural/institutional context, and the conditions under which they play an

important role or are instead marginalized. Who wins or loses when innovations develop? and which vision(s) of sustainability dominate in determining the direction of sustainability transitions? Specifically, who gets what, when and how?

- Sheds some light on the how, why, and to what degree institutions affect the actions of policy entrepreneurs.
- Deepen our understanding of how agency, as a dynamic and complex phenomenon; shapes social change, stability, or preserves a taken-for-granted context. Enrich our understanding of how agency can be engaged and empowered so that change agent networks can ‘act otherwise’ (Giddens, 1984).
- Improve our understanding of the complex politics of policy processes and transition dynamics. Search for new insights and ideas to enrich our understanding of how to navigate away from unsustainable lock-in’s; and how to organize, rally and enable disruptive systemic innovations towards desirable (urban) sustainability transitions (Markard et al., 2012).
- How CSO’s and social movement catalyze and influence the pace, speed and direction of sustainability transition dynamics and processes in the urban context.

Enriching our understanding of how the coalition’s protagonists respond to the imperative challenge of realizing deep decarbonization of the urban context and catalyze/accelerating urban sustainability transitions (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016) for carbon-neutrality (Bulkeley, 2015; McCormick et al., 2013) provides us with insights on how their emancipatory entrepreneuring influences the pace, speed and direction of urban carbon-neutrality transitions (Loorbach et al., 2017); as well as on the possibilities and limits of urban sustainability transitions in general (Ehnert, Kern et al., 2018). In doing so, the research enables us to better understand the ways by which the highly diverse urban publics in urban contexts are participating in the societal debate about what comprises a fair, just and equitable response to climate change looks like, the alternative arrangements of urban climate governance that are manifesting in the context of cities; and the kind of urban climate actions and mechanisms that can contribute to actually achieving sustainable carbon-neutral cities (Bulkeley, 2015).

### **6.3 Methodology: Interdisciplinarity & The Engaged Climate Researcher-Activist**

While there is a necessity for critical reflections on the role of researchers in a transformation research approach to urban sustainability transitions, so far, the roles of researchers in process-oriented methods for sustainability science have not been granted enough attention (Lang et al., 2012). The dissertation also answers calls to further investigate, challenge, test and expand the diverse roles that transformation researchers play (Wittmayer et al., 2018) in urban sustainability transitions. From a methodological perspective, the theory-practice nexus is a pertinent research direction to engage in, and researchers are being encouraged to fill some of the gaps that currently exist (Wittmayer et al., 2018). This also calls for reflections on the kind of academic institutional structures and programs to better support the training of transformation researchers, as well opening their career opportunities. It involves challenges in integrating sustainability and transformation considerations in academic curricula, as well as involving the need to rethink funding structures (Wittmayer et al., 2018).

Moreover, and regarding methodology, the dissertation answers calls to advance the application of the MaP as a transdisciplinary ‘facilitation tool’, not just for theoretically understanding transition politics; but moreover, for a transdisciplinary research approach to transition governance (Avelino & Wittmayer, 2016), contributing to both improved theorizing of policy processes for climate mitigation and to guidance for advocacy practices. Finally, the dissertation answers calls to further develop in scope and apply policy approaches and frameworks, in this case the Multiple-Streams Approach (MSA); as part of a broader interdisciplinary analytical framework (Edmondson et al., 2019), such as the Multi-Level Multi-Actor Perspective (MMaP) conceptualized in this research endeavor. Overall, I contribute to shedding light on two key focus areas that have remained understudied aspects of the efforts of policy entrepreneurs to address climate change: framing and scaling strategies (Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017).

# Chapitre 7 – Conclusions

## 7.1 Contribution to Practice

The thesis's contribution to the practice of sustainability transitions in the urban context can be looked at from different vantage points or actor perspectives. The research's practical implications are most pertinent in the case of civil society actors who aim to tackle super wicked problems of social and environmental justice. Operating at the interface of science, policy, practice and community; the strategies and tactics (weaving toolbox) employed by the MCC, and their emancipatory entrepreneuring (or the ways by which they deployed their weaving toolbox of strategies over time); can serve as food for thought, inspiration, and reapplications to 'experiment with' for those groups and individuals concerned with effecting deep transformations in society's dominant regimes and institutions, and engage in socio-technical, socio-political, socio-economic and/or socio-ecological system(s) transitions. An in-depth reconstruction, narration, understanding and derived theoretical insights of (into) the coalition's work can also serve as a basis for catalyzing, within the coalition, reflexive organisational discussions 'that matter' in supporting insightful organisational decision-making; along with more effective coordination with external actors within Montreal's strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field. At the more individual level, the case study can inform the work of groups and organisations involved in civic education, as well as policymaking, forms of governance and ways of organising urban life that can better support (disempowered) individuals in 'acting out' acts of citizenships.

For elected officials and policymakers in general, the research provides a differentiated/nuanced policy process-oriented perspective on the role of citizens and scientists (Pielke, 2007) that can yield an enhanced understanding of the role and activities of civil society's change agents (Hölscher et al., 2018) for urban carbon-neutrality, and better inform their reflexivity when looking at urban climate governance and the design of participative democracy tools and mechanisms that can more effectively connect local municipal institutions with civil society's destabilizing 'creative destruction' (Kivimaa & Kern, 2016) when setting the urban carbon-neutrality agenda and guiding transition dynamics. Providing key questions linked to the design of the institutional 'loom' for



supporting civil society policy ‘weavers’ (Parsons, 2004), it can point to possibilities for ‘opening up’ and democratizing municipal policymaking and politics in general.

By analyzing urban transition policy processes for carbon-neutrality, the hope is that the transdisciplinary practical wisdom or phronesis knowledge developed can support policy and governance recommendations that are based on a deeper understanding of the politics of policymaking and policy implementation, hence possibly increasing the chances of being espoused and sustained (Rogge & Reichardt, 2016; Edmondson et al., 2017) thanks to the design of prescriptive co-designed recommendations and dynamic policy mix recommendations that can escape inertia and the status quo (Boasson & Huitema, 2017; Kern et al., 2016; Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017) so as to shape desired urban sustainability transition (Frantzeskaki et al., 2016) to carbon-neutrality. By better targeting strategies developed in multi-actor networks that can catalyze and scale context-specific transformative solutions (Loorbach et al., 2017), the aim should be to empower Montreal’s ‘context-specific’ transformative innovations towards desired urban sustainability transitions (Kern et al., 2016; Loorbach et al., 2011).

Also, private sector actors (especially emerging entrepreneurs operating in the strategic action field of carbon-neutrality) can benefit from better understanding what certain civil society non-profit climate organisations do; as these provide an interesting platform for start-up/young social impact enterprises to be exposed to the ‘backstage’ of policymaking ‘in the making’; something that can, be an added-value for the private enterprise’s business intelligence strategy to positively contribute to positive policy changes for carbon-neutrality, but also for the consistency of the overall strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field in Montreal.

## **7.2 Limitations and Prospects for Future Research**

The main limitation is not having explicitly integrated and developed on the central concept of ‘Power’, which is implicitly present throughout the dissertation but that’s never brought up to the surface and ‘dealt with’. If we are dealing with weavers weaving policy processes and transition dynamics, then we must better understand what can be understood as the weaving ‘needles’ of power relations. A second limitation is that it would have been ideal, had I had the time and resources, to also conduct semi-directed interviews with some of Montreal’s municipal elected officials. While I did make a few contacts in this direction in order to test the receptivity of some

potential interviewees, these solicitations didn't yield any concrete positive responses. Finally, and with more time on my hands, a historical overview of Montreal's environmental movement would have been an added value in providing further depth to the case study's historical background.

As for future research, I see my dissertation as directing me towards more in-depth and targeted exploration of elements pertaining to climate policy mixes, especially policy implementation; along further scrutiny of the complex dynamics between policy processes and transitions dynamics and the elaboration of practice-based urban transition governance. Also, I'm excited at the prospect of further digging into the politics of urban sustainability transitions by linking the research field to radical political streams and schools of thought, such as social ecology, communalism, and anarchism; elements/dimensions that seem to be quasi-inexistent for the moment in the field of transition studies, even though recent critical articles and papers have started to explicitly deal with 'Capitalism in Transitions' (Feola, 2020). Finally, I'm interested in exploring the role of spirituality and religious traditions in the politics of everyday life; and how these inform a profoundly new and deeply ecological paradigm and cosmology of what it means to transition to authentically emancipatory carbon-neutral cities in our era of the Anthropocene. I foresee for myself a future research path based on the posture of the engaged 'meditative-researcher-activist', an 'independent change agent' embedded in radical urban sustainability transitions processes with the aim of bringing to life authentically just, fair and equitable carbon-neutral cities.

From a practice-based perspective, and given where Montreal's strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field seems to be at currently, and faced with the imperative challenges and opportunities to implement/root Montreal's carbon-neutrality transition at the hyperlocal level of neighborhoods, boroughs and districts (the first 'elephant in the room' of climate change: governance); I would be thrilled if I had the opportunity to facilitate a Transition Management (Loorbach & Rotmans, 2010) decarbonisation pilot project in collaboration with one of Montreal's boroughs, ideally the one where I live (the South-West borough); and where I've developed solid dialogical conversations and relationships with my local elected officials. Such an initiative in reflexive local governance experimentation has recently been launched in the borough of Rosemont-La-Petite-Patrie<sup>361</sup> and could be very well replicated across the cities' various neighborhoods.

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<sup>361</sup> [https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/grand-montreal/2020-11-02/transition-ecologique/rosemont-passe-a-la-vitesse-superieure.php?fbclid=IwAR1QCNDfsy5t90X14P47PC9DKaKpfMijfZxlHKvJYEJPh7Ys\\_xcGAnS8m3g](https://www.lapresse.ca/actualites/grand-montreal/2020-11-02/transition-ecologique/rosemont-passe-a-la-vitesse-superieure.php?fbclid=IwAR1QCNDfsy5t90X14P47PC9DKaKpfMijfZxlHKvJYEJPh7Ys_xcGAnS8m3g)

### 7.3 Concluding Remarks

The genesis of this doctorate thesis is grounded in my practice of social entrepreneurship that explored permaculture design and the global transition town movement; with this continuously present question in the back (and front) of my mind: How are (can) the actors of the ‘Great Transition’ movement in Quebec transform dominant institutions in advancing their societal project, and to what extent are they (can be) successful? Coming across a group of citizens looking to advance Montreal’s carbon-neutrality transition, I had the intuition that their efforts could be an interesting case study in providing me with some of the answers I was looking for. Myself being rather illiterate at the time on matter of urban carbon-neutrality and climate mitigation in general, I immediately got involved with the nascent MCC in order to learn for myself, as well as contributing in the best possible way that I could at the time in sustaining this civil society organization across time, making it ‘live’ and survive in time so that I could have a potentially substantial and interesting case study on which to build my doctorate research endeavor. At the same time as my adventure with the coalition began, I came across the research field of transition theory, which from the very beginning informed my actions and served as the theoretical basis of the thesis.

Adopting a multi-level and multiple streams (MSA) approach to the Avelino’s multi-actor perspective (MaP), I developed the Multi-Level MaP lens with an MSA filter. Applying this MMaP-MSA framework to the longitudinal empirical case study of the Montreal Climate Coalition (MCC) in a processual and abductive manner, and with myself heavily involved in the case study as a researcher-activist; I analyzed actors, their interactions and their context over time as they went about setting the urban carbon-neutrality policy agenda in Montreal.

What is revealed is a theorization model of the way that coalition actors dynamically developed and deployed over time 23 tactics and 5 overarching strategies as they reacted to (and shaped) sequences of carbon lock-in’s, windows of opportunities and landscape events as they operated in Montreal’s strategic carbon-neutrality action field that’s structured by the multi-level regime at the municipal, provincial, federal and international climate governance levels. What is revealed is that, over and above the role of policy entrepreneurs (as initially conceptualized), coalition actors are seen to continuously jockey between different roles, from problem broker to political entrepreneur, technological innovator and process broker. Hence, beyond a defining role or roles, what’s more

important is our understanding of civil society's emancipatory entrepreneuring for achieving deep decarbonization and accelerating urban sustainability transitions for carbon-neutrality.

Beyond just building capacity to strategically and effectively respond to (and create) windows of opportunities, actors are seen as continuously entrepreneuring to couple (weave) the various streams (threads) of policy making for urban carbon-neutrality; from the problem to policy solutions, the political elements of policymaking, technological innovations and the processes required to prepare the terrain for agenda-setting. This coupling is primarily about on-going partial argumentative political coupling strategies that emerge from actors as a function of the endless and never ceasing flow of contextual dynamics, events and happenings. Actors' emerging strategies then shape and form urban carbon-neutrality imaginaries that influence other 'targeted actors' in the strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field, urban policy processes for carbon-neutrality, and ultimately elements linked to the direction and speed of urban sustainability transition. While it's challenging to be precise about the impact generated by the case's protagonists on Montreal's transition to carbon-neutrality, nevertheless, some positive outcomes in the case study have been explicitly linked to the coalition's work over the years, and the setting of the carbon-neutrality policy agenda at the municipal level in Montreal.

The core insight that's revealed is how civil society's actors contribute to weaving together (in unsuspected ways) policy processes for carbon-neutrality with socio-technical transition dynamics and doing so across several policy fields (carbon-neutrality, green spaces) and socio-technical systems (public transport and built environment). As such, they can be said to indeed 'punch above their weight', that is, their initially 'perceived' weight. Empirically, the case study illustrates how their 'weight' can be considered as that of a '800-pound gorilla', more than what is generally assumed; and that has enabled them to contribute to the pre-development phase of Montreal's urban carbon-neutrality transition pathway but who's imminent 'take-off' has been considerably jeopardized by the global COVID-19 global pandemic. Importantly, the MCC has been able to achieve this by relying considerably on local municipal institutional infrastructures, mechanisms and tools (the right to public consultations and monthly municipal council meetings); and overall institutional ambiguities that favor entrepreneurs' issue-linking strategies that at times generate policy mix spillovers across institutional logics within the strategic urban carbon-neutrality action field. Overall, the thesis enriches our understanding of structure-agency dynamics in urban

sustainability transitions for carbon-neutrality, with insights shedding light on the role of skilled civil society policy entrepreneurs in urban sustainability transitions, the nature of policy making for urban carbon-neutrality transitions and removing part of the veil from the act of coupling in policy processes for urban carbon-neutrality transitions.

From a practice-based perspective, the research informs the practice of various transition practitioners, whether from the third sector, the public and/or private sector; as well as in academia, especially those concerned with and involved in policy processes for urban carbon-neutrality transitions. Finally, the research provides an interesting and pertinent example of a researcher-activist undertaking a transformation research project that contributes to practical wisdom/phronesis knowledge that supports the manifestation and materialization of urban sustainability transition processes for carbon-neutrality.

*'Away with your noisy hymns of praise. I will not listen to the music of your harps.  
Instead, I want to see a flood of justice, an endless river of righteous living' -  
Amos 5:23-24*

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## Annex 1 – Summary of Semi-Directed Interviews

|                        | Name                     | Board of Directors | Coordinating Committee | Affiliated Organisation / Dossier  | Area of Expertise / Sector / Community         | Interview Date  | Minutes Recorded |
|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|--|--|-----------------|------------------|
| 1                      | Matthew Chapman          | President          | X                      | Realité climatique Canada  | Advocacy, Public Policy and Mobilisation       | Oct. 28th, 2019 | 137              |
| 2                      | Jean-Francois Boisvert   | Vice-President     | X                      | Réseau simplicité volontaire Québec, Notre 15/40 and Front commun pour la transition énergétique | Lifestyles and Cultural Sustainability         | Oct. 30th, 2019 | 92               |
| 3                      | Mathieu Corriveau        | Secretary          | X                      | Coalition climat Laval   | Industrial Ecology                             | Nov. 7th, 2019  | 120              |
| 4                      | Amal Melki               | Treasurer          | X                      | Coalition climat Laval   | Built Environment                              | Dec. 3rd, 2019  | 66               |
| 5                      | Charles Grenier          | X                  | X                      | Imagine Lachine-Est, RoyalMount and Namur-Hippodrome   | Housing and the Built Environment              | Dec. 19th, 2019 | 73               |
| 6                      | Derek Paul               | X                  | X                      | Coalition climat Montréal  | Physics and the Economy                        | Nov. 7th, 2019  | 114              |
| 7                      | Monika Firl              | X                  | X                      | Coop Café  | Coffee Industry and Regenerative Agriculture   | Oct. 24th, 2019 | 66               |
| 8                      | France Levert            |                    | X                      | Réseau des femmes pour l'environnement   | Corporate Sustainability                       | Oct. 24th, 2019 | 88               |
| 9                      | Anthony Goulifaris-Auger |                    | X                      | Groupe décarbonisation rapide and Extinction Rebellion   | Carbon Science, Public Policy and Mobilisation | Nov. 8th, 2019  | 100              |
| 10                     | Jean-Francois Lefebvre   |                    | X                      | Imagine Lachine-Est  | Transport, Built Environment and Public Policy | Jan. 3rd, 2020  | 90               |
| 11                     | Nathalie Berthelemy      |                    | X                      | CADET  | Industrial Ecology                             | Dec. 5th, 2019  | 100              |
| 12                     | Dimitri Roussopoulos     |                    |                        | IPAM (Institut des politiques alternatives de Montréal)  | Participative Democracy and Municipalism       | Dec. 20th, 2019 | 120              |
| 13                     | Shaen Jonston            |                    |                        | Montreal Climate Coalition and Trainsparence   | Global Trade, Mobilisation and the Arts        | Nov. 13th, 2019 | 110              |
| 14                     | Neil Whitehouse          |                    |                        | Westmount Park United Church   | Theology, Religion and the Spiritual           | Dec. 20th, 2019 | 96               |
| 15                     | Éric Notebaert           |                    |                        | Association Canadienne des medecins pour l'environnement - ACME                                  | Health   | Nov. 13th, 2019 | 120              |
| 16                     | Sue Satsho               |                    |                        | Green Coalition and L'Anse-à-l'Orme  | Green Spaces                                   | Nov. 24th, 2019 | 120              |
| 17                     | Alison Hackney           |                    |                        | Green Coalition and Trainsparence  | Transport, Green Spaces and the REM            | Nov. 29th, 2019 | 86               |
| 18                     | Laurel Thompson          |                    |                        | Trainsparence  | Transport and the REM                          | Dec. 16th, 2019 | 83               |
| 19                     | Anonymous (FL)           |                    |                        | Trainsparence  | Housing, Built Environment and Architecture    | Dec. 16th, 2019 | 101              |
| 20                     | Campbell Stuart          |                    |                        | Meadowbrooks and The Legacy Fund   | Law, Municipal Politician and Green Spaces     | Nov. 27th, 2019 | 120              |
| 21                     | Jean Fortier             |                    |                        | Ex-President of Executive Committee at City of MTL   | Administrator and Municipal Politician         | Nov. 18th, 2019 | 120              |
| <b>TOTAL (Minutes)</b> |                          |                    |                        |  |  |                 | <b>2 212</b>     |
| <b>TOTAL (Hours)</b>   |                          |                    |                        |  |  |                 | <b>37</b>        |

# **Annex 2 – Semi-Structure Interview Guide**

## **Interview Guide: Participation, Roles and Challenges**

### **Person introduces him/herself:**

1. For the record, please state your name and briefly introduce yourself.
2. In general, can you retrace for us your professional and personal life trajectory?

### **Non-Profit sector/environmental organisations:**

1. How did you come across the Montreal Climate Coalition and why did you get involved?
2. What is the Montreal Climate Coalition for you? What is it about?
3. What is its role as a non-profit organization, and more specifically in the climate/environmental movement?
4. How is it different than other environmental and climate organizations in Montreal, QC, Canada and internationally?

### **Transition Arena:**

1. How has the discussion around Montreal's transition to carbon-neutrality evolved in the last years?
2. Has there been any developments/advancements in your view? If yes, to what degree, which ones exactly and what has contributed/made these developments/advancements possible?
3. If the answer is no, why hasn't there been any advancements? What has inhibited/is inhibiting progress? What are the obstacles and barriers in your view?
4. Where are we at today in the transition to a carbon-neutral city of Montreal? Is it materializing in your view? If yes, how? If not, what is hindering it from materializing?
5. In your view, can we claim that it's accelerating? Why or why not? If it's the latter, what is maintaining the status quo in your view?
6. What are the challenges and opportunities to transition to a carbon-neutral Montréal?

### **Polycentric Climate Governance:**

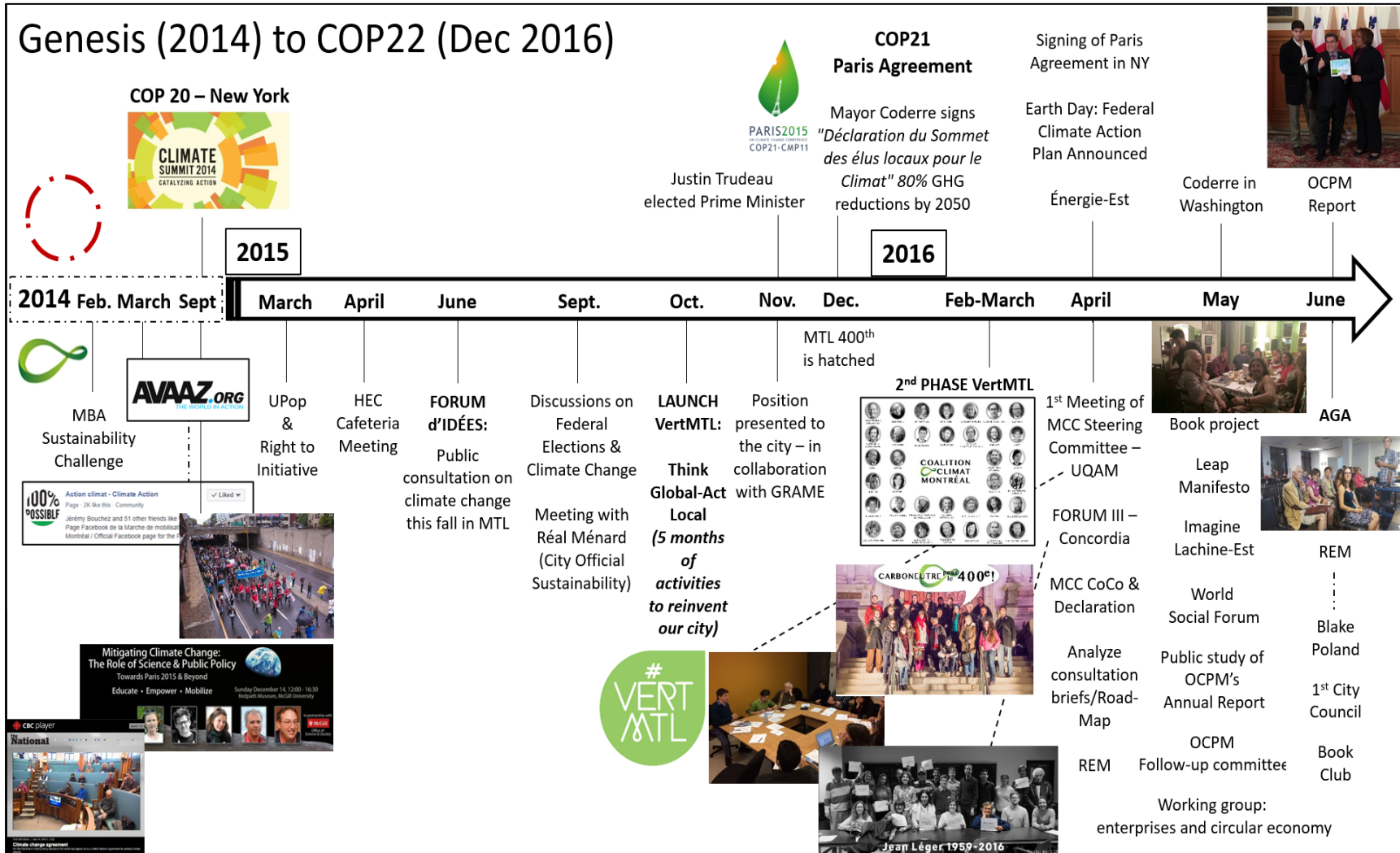
1. How are provincial and federal levels of government influencing Montreal's transition to carbon-neutrality?
2. How do these levels of government catalyze, support and/or inhibit Montreal's transition to carbon-neutrality?
3. What are in your view the most pressing issues in this regard?
4. How do you foresee Montreal's transition to carbon-neutrality in the short (2020), medium (2030) and long-term (2050)?

**Strategies:**

1. How does the Montreal Climate Coalition comprehend and explain the climate crisis? As well as the ways by which it can be tackled?
2. How does the Montreal Climate Coalition initiate, diffuse and scale its activities and actions? How does it work towards joining as many people as possible and diffusing its ideas and recommendations?
3. How would you say that the Montreal Climate Coalition forms its strategies? Through what kind of process?
4. What's your feeling and perspective about this process/the way by which the Montreal Climate Coalition develops its strategies in pushing for a carbon-neutral Montréal?
5. In your view, are there particular moments in time that are more conducive (than others) in translating ideas into actions?
6. In your view, to what extent do you feel the Montreal Climate Coalition has been successful thus far in achieving its mission? What are the elements that contribute to success, as well as to failure?
7. What do you foresee for the Montreal Climate Coalition in the short, medium, and long-term? What is it that you (and the MCC) aim to achieve moving forward?

Overall principles and guidelines of MTL's transition to Carbon-neutrality

# Annex 3 – Visual Map Model 1





# Genesis (2014) to COP22

World Future Council  
(Matty in touch with)

Trump Election



**COP 22  
Marrakech**

Provincial Government announces plan for Law 120 to centralise MTL, (more centralised power to the city)

The Climate Mobilisation (Anthony)

International Climate March  
- المسيرة الدولية من أجل المناخ

McKenna's Carbon-Neutral Targets

Oslo in the news

KinderMorgan Announced

Montréal Durable 2016-2020

Federal Public Consultation (Papineau)

Energy-East Conference (Bonin)

Reform of Federal Environmental Evaluations

Valérie Plante elected head of Projet MTL

Coderre at C40 Summit of Mayors (Mexico)



Loi 106 (QC)

Pan-Canadian Framework on Climate Change



**2016**

**July**

**Aug.**

**Sept.**

**Oct.**

**Nov.**

**Dec.**



Le Train est en marche

(Lisa Mintz & Stuart Campbell)

SLACK

WSF:  
Naomi Klein

WSF:  
Transition Culture, VertMTL  
Eco2Fest, Political Ecology:  
Beyond Environmentalism,  
Public Consultation @  
ÉcoSphère, Climate Café-  
Westmount Park Church

Coalition Sauvons l'Hôtel-Dieu

Le RAM

Letter to Coderre

MCC Legal Status Discussion

Énergie-Est: Front Commun

REM through Technoparc  
issue raised

HEC course collaboration

FAQDD proposal

Back from Greece (Dimitri & Nathan)

Aviation Industry – Red Flagged (Shaen)

José Bové Conference

CAP sur la COP22 Preparations

CCM Legal Structure & Membership

City relations

Road Map Benchmarking

REM Mobilisation

City Meeting?  
(meeting being postponed)

À qui la rue?  
La sécurité des piétons et cyclistes

Public consultation:  
L'aménagement des bâtiments dans une perspective de DD

Convergence Assembly – World Kobane Day

Meeting with City (Ménard) Finally!?

Sit-in @ Marc Garneau:  
Rejection of Kinder Morgan Pipeline

MUNF3C and IPAM Events

Assemblée Front Commun

Sortons la Caisse du carbone!

Public consultation:  
West Island Transportation

City council questions:  
Pierrefonds, RoyalMount, REM in line with GHG reduction targets?

LE RAM Vs Law 120

11 Months to Municipal Elections

CAP sur la COP 22

# Year 2: 2017



Indigenous Pipeline Mobilisation



OCPM: Technopole Angus

Left Forum – NY  
XIIe Congrès mondial de Metropolis - MTL

OCPM: Étude publique du rapport annuel

IPCC in Montréal  
Municipal Elections

TEQ Consultations  
Election of Projet MTL



City announces ambitious GHG targets

Jan. 2017      Feb.      Mars      April      June      Aug - Sept.      Nov.      Dec.

2<sup>nd</sup> Anniversary (MDD)



Strategy and financing of the Coalition

HEC class collaboration 2

BAPE jette une douche froide sur le REM

BAPE on REM  
REM opposition intensifies

CP: Sécurité routière

Technoparc event



City Meeting 1 !!!



Villery Debout!



REM Lawsuit  
L'Anse-à-L'Orme

Executive committee responds officially to vertMTL recommendations

Strategic Facilitation Workshop



Launch of Community Climate Hubs



Quartiers en transition

2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Board Meeting



Sustainability Transition Symposium



Satoshi PhD Meeting

City Meetings 2,3  
Smart City & Active Transport



Launch of Community Climate Hubs



Proposed electoral campaign demands and questionnaire

BRB: Free Public Transportation Book Launch

REM Legal Deposition



REM Lawsuit

The Urban Left



Board Meeting

CAP COP 23



Projet MTL REM Lobbying

Co2Mètre Re-launch

# Year 3: 2018

Paris Plans a Suburban Forest  
Five Times the Size of Central Park



Sommet pour une transition énergétique juste  
(Palais des Congrès)

Le Climat, L'État et Nous

+1,5C IPCC Report



COP24-KATOWICE 2018  
KONFERENCJA NAJWYŻSZY SZPIK KLIMATU

**COP24 Poland**

Extinction Rebellion

MTL, Suzuki, Trottier partners

Quebec Provincial Elections



ICLEI World Congress 2018  
19 - 22 June • Montréal, Canada  
Together towards sustainable cities  
Integrate • Collaborate • Innovate

Montreal adopts Carbon neutrality

Quebec Elections: CAQ Tramway

Office of Ecological Transition

La Planète s'invite au Parlement



Jan. 2018

Feb & March

April

May

June

July

Aug.

Sept.

Oct.

Nov.

Dec.



3<sup>rd</sup> Anniversary



City Meeting 4

Meeting with Trottier Foundation

Projet MTL internal strategy

Urban Left: Environmental Group

Relaunching the working groups

REM: Creation of Transparence

Benchmarking Project

Unprecedented coalition raises alarm over NAFTA and the environment

Cities IPCC



Plant's symbolic signature



Launch: Frugal MTL

Documentary showing: Cities Held Hostage

Guilbeault comes out against Transparence

4 fiches project launched

National Climate League

3<sup>rd</sup> General Assembly Urban Left

REM in the news

Green Coalition Annual Assembly

4<sup>th</sup> General Assembly Urban Left

GreenMTL: Measuring What Matters (Esplanade)

Laval Carbonneutral

ICLEI Grand Public Side Event



3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Board Meeting



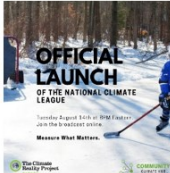
Laval Carbonneutral

ICLEI Grand Public Side Event



City Meeting 5: admins

Launch: National Climate League



Le Tramway Film Projection

Climate March



Strategic Off-Site Meeting

Comparing provincial election Platforms

4<sup>th</sup> General Assembly Urban Left

4<sup>th</sup> General Assembly Urban Left

4<sup>th</sup> General Assembly Urban Left

4<sup>th</sup> General Assembly Urban Left

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4<sup>th</sup> General Assembly Urban Left

Climate Justice Action: ICAO

Measuring What Matters (MDD) Carbocount!

Marie-José Parent (Ensemble MTL) contacts MCC

FSC application (Pôle IDEOS)

Carbon-neutrality Road-Map Project to move

Colloque Lachine-Est RoyalMount

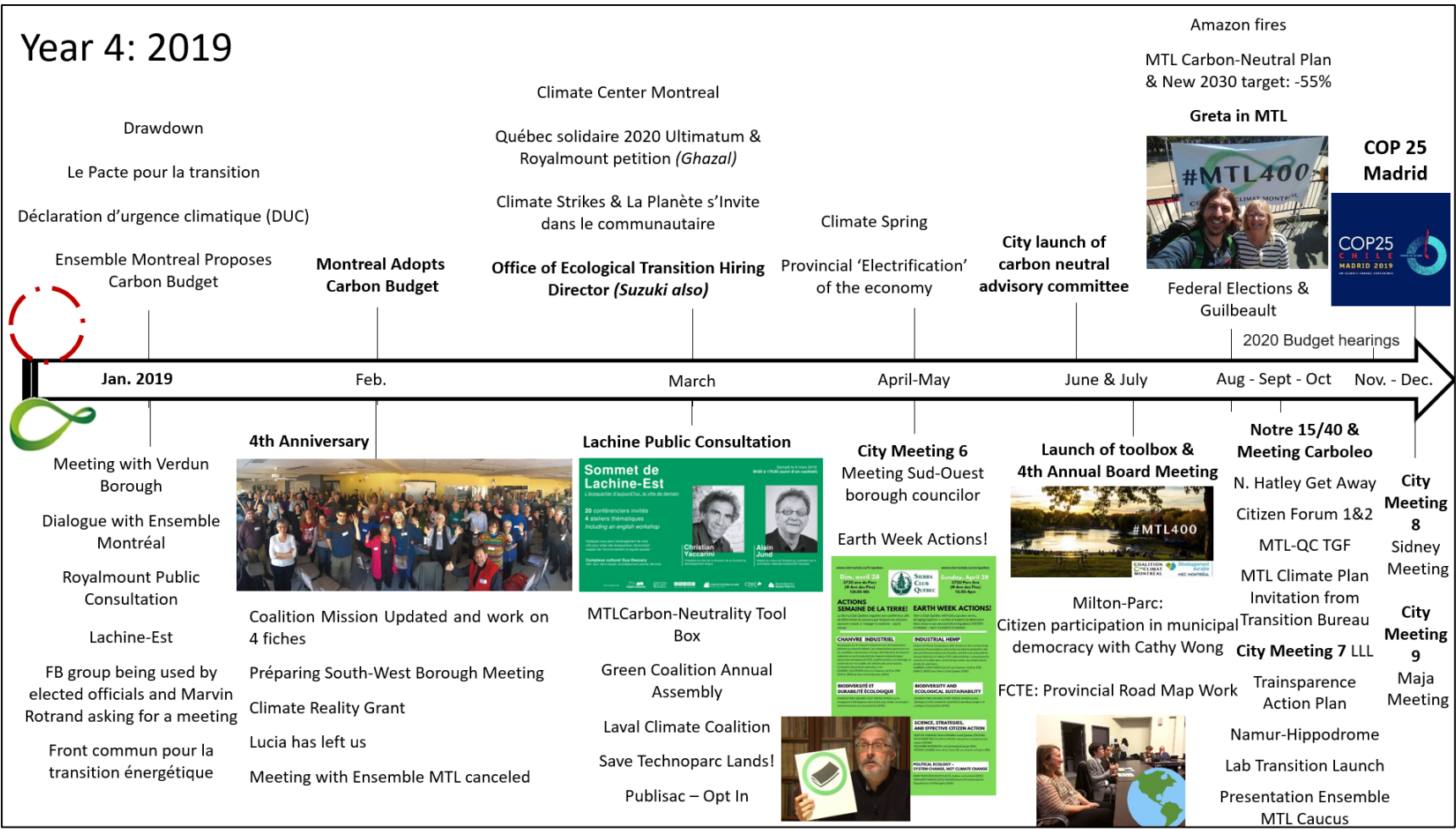
"SHIFT FOR CLIMATE" LES FORCES VIVES EN ACTION VERS LA COP24

4<sup>th</sup> General Assembly Urban Left

4<sup>th</sup> General Assembly Urban Left

4<sup>th</sup> General Assembly Urban Left

# Year 4: 2019





## Annex 4 – Visual Map Model 2

Legend:



Landscape Game Changing Events



Key Events Linked to the International Scene



Key Events Linked to Federal Government



Key Events Linked to Provincial Government



Key Events Linked to Municipal Government



Key Events Linked to the Urban Development Regime



Transition Arena/Policy Field



Key Montreal Climate Coalition Events & Activities














Key REM Controversy/Opposition Events & Activities














Approx. Number of Strategies Deployed by Montreal Climate Coalition's Policy Entrepreneurs



Key Actions & Contributions as 'Researcher-Activist'

|    | April<br><b>2016</b>              | May                   | June   | July                            | August                          | Sept.                               | Oct.                            | Nov.   | Dec.                                      | Jan.<br><b>2017</b>  | Feb.                               | March   |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|--|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|---|--|------------------------------------|---|
|    | Earth Day & Paris Signing         | Standing Rock         |  |                                 | World Social Forum              | Oslo in the news                    |                                 | Trump Elections & Climate March                    | COP 22 Marrakech                          |  |                                    |   |
|    | Climate Action Plan Announced     |                       |  | McKenna's Cabon-Neutral Targets | Public Consultation (Papineau)  | Climate Action Plan Follow-up       | Environmental Evaluation Reform | Kinder-Morgan Announced                            |   |  | Indigenous Pipeline Mobilisation   |   |
|    | Énergie-Est                       |                       |  |                                 | Énergie-Est (Front commun)      | Law 106: Politique énergétique 2030 |                                 | REM Debate (QS)                                    | Law 120: Disposition municipale           | Law 102-Env. Qlty + Fonds Vert Hurltel Climate Test. PQ vs REM |                                    | Bill 121 & 122: Increase powers of MTL & local municip., Exct. Committee responds to VERTMTL Report |
|    |                                   | Coderre in Washington |  | MTL Durable 2016-2020           | World Social Forum              |                                     |                                 | Valérie Plante Elected Projet MTL                  | Mayor Coderre at C40 – Mexico. GHG Report | Valérie Plante writes to Trudeau                               |                                    |   |
|    | REM Announced                     |                       | Public Transport Hype                            |                                 |                                 |                                     |                                 | Public Consultation: Built, BLDGS & Sustainability | Pierrefonds & RoyalMount                  |  |                                    | Risk of Transport Privatization (IRIS)  |
|    | End of OCPM Consultation          | Imagine Lachine-Est   | OCPM Report Published                            |                                 | Technoparc issue raised         |                                     |                                 |  | Sortons La Caisse du carbpne              | Environmental Groups Clash                                     | Technoparc Event                   | L'Anse-à-l'Orme   |
|    | 1st Post-OCPM Meeting             |                       | 1st Anniversary                                  | Campbell Stuart                 | Incorporation under discussion  | Aviation Flagged                    | Legal Structure & Membership    |  | 11 months to Elections                    | 2nd Anniversary MDD  | Climate Reality wants to replicate | City Meeting 1 & Incorporation  |
|    | Project Unveiled                  |                       | Lisa Mintz REM Meeting                           | TheTrain has Left the Station   | Suzuki & Co. in favor           |                                     | Mobilisation                    |  | Public Consultation W.Island Transport    | BAPE's Cold shower   | Opposition intensifies             | Lawsuit   |
|   | Fund Research Study               | <b>0</b>              | <b>7</b>   | <b>1</b>                        | <b>4</b>                        | <b>4</b>                            | <b>5</b>                        | <b>4</b>   | <b>8</b>                                  | <b>9</b>   | <b>4</b>                           | <b>10</b>   |
|  | Road Map Mission given by Dimitri |                       | 1st City Council Q&A Period. PROCESS FACILITATOR | Meeting at our place            | WSF Transition Culture Workshop | HEC Social Innovation Class         |                                 |  | CAP COP 22                                | HEC Social Innovation Class                                    |                                    |   |

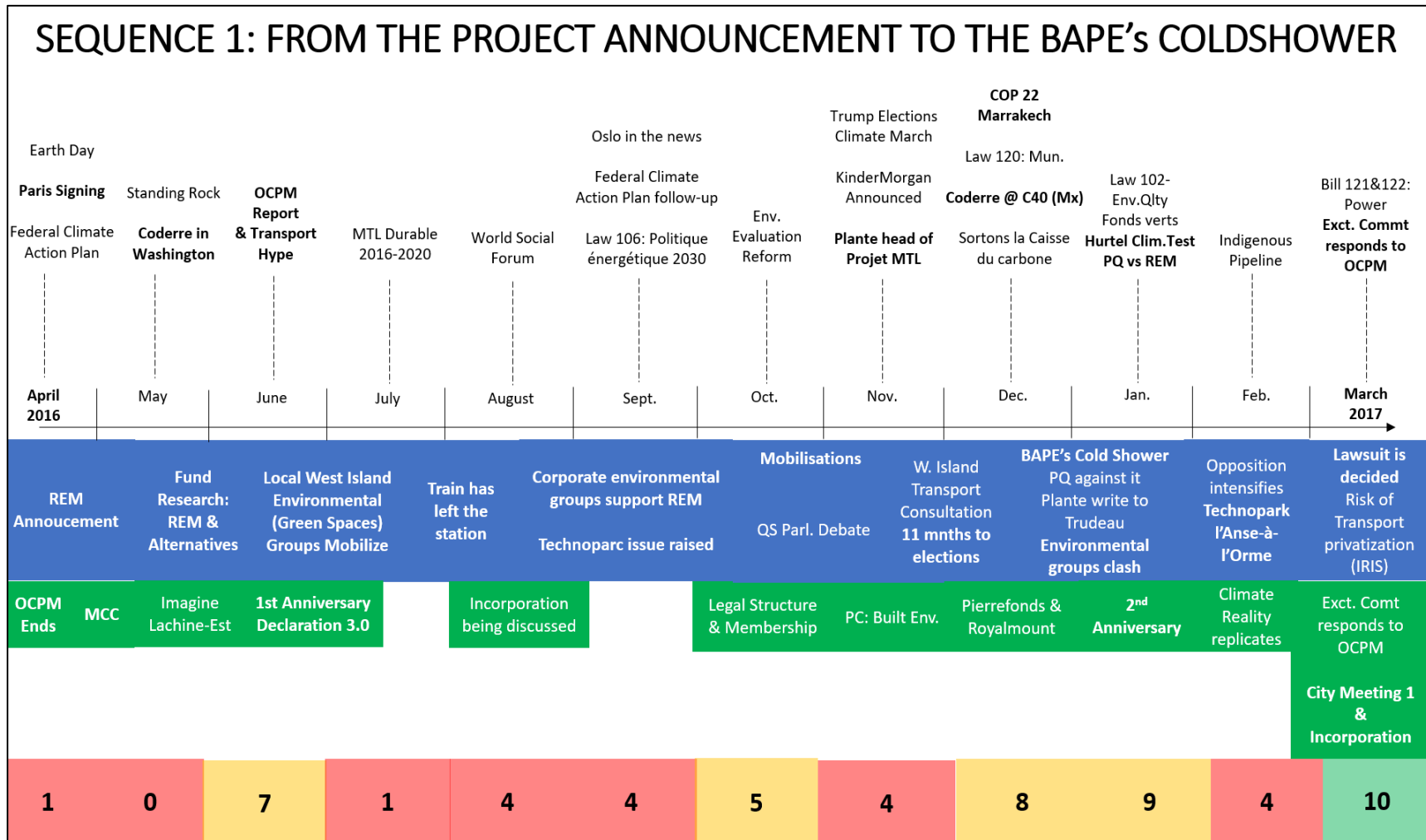
|   | April<br>2017                            | May<br>Quebec's<br>Spring Floods                  | June                                    | July  | August   | Sept.  | Oct.  | Nov.  | Dec.   | Jan.<br>2018                             | Feb.                                   | March   |
|--|--|---|---|---|--|--|---|---|--|--|--|---|
|   |  |   | U.S. pulls out of Paris Agrmt.          |   |  | IPCC in MTL                                  |   | 1,500 Scientists raise the alarm bell         | COP 23 Bonn  |  | Paris Suburban Forest                  | Cities IPCC                                   |
|   |  |   |   |   |  |  |   | Demand McKenna for REM Env. Evl               |  | Nafta comes under fire                   |  | Cities IPCC Edmonton                          |
|   |  | <b>Provincial Govt. Commission</b>                |   |   | No to minimum local REM suppliers              |  | Reply to climate test demand. Energie-Est dropped | "No chance to stop REM"                       | TEQ Consultation                                     |  |  | Elections: Le Grand Déblocage. Lisé           |
|   |  | Projet MTL's 400 Propls. Congress                 | XIle Congrès mondial Metropolis         |   |  | Elections                                    | Elections   | Plante WINS! Won't go vs REM                  | Signs Chicago Climate Charter: Ambitious GHG Targets | Projet MTL's party strategy              | Projet MTL Green Borough Consultations |   |
|   |  | Projet immobilier en zone inondable financer REM? |   |   |  | Planning Sustainable Devlp. Around REM (MDD) | Free/social tarif, Pink Line REM                  | Postponment of REM consortium                 | De nouveaux nuages au-dessus du REM                  | Meeting Trottier Foundation              |  | Guilbeault Vs Transparence                    |
|   | OCPM: Technopole Angus + l'Anse-à-l'Orme | Launch of Climate Hubs                            | REM & Democracy (Le Devoir)             | Impromptu meeting MCGill Metro                              | Leapsters Vs REM                               | Realizing the Transition Report (JF-L)       |   | Ppt to CN AGA. Meet FMPF                      | Urban Left: Watch Dog/Guide Dog                      | Urban Left Env. Working Group. MEAC      | Real REM Costs (Réjean)                | Cities Held Hostage                           |
|   | Concordia Strategy Workshop              |   | 2 <sup>nd</sup> AGA (Pointe-St-Charles) | Alternative Canada Day Milton-Parc                          | City Meeting 2                                 | City Meeting 3. Climate Test for REM         | Press Release on Lawsuit                          | Réjean revises MCC report                     | CAP COP 23 CO2MÈTRE                                  | City Meeting 4. 3rd Anniversary (Church) | Volunteers. CO2mètre                   | Plant signs symbolicaly                       |
|   |  | <b>REM: Bulldozing everything</b>                 | <b>Mobilisation at Metropolis</b>       | <b>Asking judge's recusal based on conflict of interest</b> |  | <b>Legal Deposition</b>                      | <b>CDPQ Announcement. Partial Victory!</b>        | <b>Lawsuit begins &amp; REM recruits</b>      | <b>Demand rejected by judge. Barsoum &amp; Éric</b>  | <b>Lawsuit. Transparence</b>             | <b>Bombardier misses the train</b>     | <b>Radio-Can: REM Monopole GES vs Options</b> |
|   | <b>5</b>                                 | <b>10</b>   | <b>4</b>                                | <b>2</b>  | <b>3</b>                                       | <b>5</b>                                     | <b>8</b>  | <b>8</b>                                      | <b>3</b>   | <b>9</b>                                 | <b>12</b>                              | <b>6</b>                                      |
|  | Meeting at our place                     | Copenhagen Trip Fund REM Lawsuit                  | Sust. Transition Symposium (UQAM)       |   | Matty and I meet with D'Souza St-Laurent Mayor | LinkedIN REM Post Article FRQSC              | Léa Héroux Case Study                             | REM email to all Projet MTL elected officials | End of year perspective & Planning City Meeting      |  | Book Club                              | CRISES & Secretarial job                      |

|  | April<br>2018   | May  | June   | July                                      | August                               | Sept.   | Oct.   | Nov.   | Dec.                                  | Jan.<br>2019                            | Feb.  | March   |
|--|---|--|--|---|--------------------------------------|---|--|--|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|
|  |   |  |  |   |                                      |   |  |  |                                       |   |   |   |
|  |   |  | ICLEI  |   |                                      |   | IPCC Special Report +1.5C                      |  | COP 24 Poland                         | Drawdown                                |   |   |
|  |   | Transmountain                                  |  |   |                                      | Sorry for being pessimistic                                   |  |  |                                       |   |   | Climate Center MTL                                  |
|  | Steven Scott NDPQ Candidate. Grand Déblockage             |  | Le Climat, L'État et Nous. Obligations Verte REM |   |                                      | Elections   | CAQ elected                                    |  |                                       |   |   | QS 2020 Ultimatum. Vs RoyalMount                    |
|  | Projet MTL Congress                                       | Maja & REM                                     | ICLEI. Suivi plan de réduction                   | UMQ integrating REM                       |                                      | Adoption of Carbon-Neutrality                                 |  | Climate Action Plan: Suzuki & co.                        | Ensemble MTL (MJ Parent)              | Ensemble MTL Proposes Carbon-Budget     | Motion for Carbon-Budget Adopted                |   |
|  | REM Letter from 4 Liberal Ministers                       | Summit for a just energy transition            |  | Co-Motion                                 |                                      | REM work to begin in Technopark                               | ICAO Summit MTL                                | Environmental Groups                                     | RoyalMount                            | RoyalMount Public Consultation          | REM: Transformative Project for MMC (Chitilian) |   |
|  | Green Coalition AGA. National Climate League              | Great Transition Urban Left: Maachouf          | Carbon-Neutral Laval                             | ClimateAble                               | Launch of National Climate League    | Climate March   | La Planète s'invite au parlement               | Urban Left: Facing the CAQ                               | Extinction Rebellion Colloque Lachine | Le Pacte pour la Transition             |   | Climate Strikes. Laval Climate Coalition            |
|  | Redevances REM 11 billion. Citizens appeal court decision | For a more ecological & inclusive city         | ICLEI Side Event & 3rd AGA                       |   | 4 Fiches to English. City Meeting 5  | Handover to Transparence. CA St-Rose                          |  | Road Map Preface   | Shift for Climate. Measuring (MDD)    | Meeting with Verdun Elected Officials   | 4th Anniversary (MSC Skyview) Reality Grant     | Lachine Eco-District Symposiu.                      |
|  | Alot of bad press & appeal press conference               | Usagers Deux-Montagnes. Works begin            | Climate Test (9x) & 10 Good Reasons              | REM Design Consultation                   | Documentary: The Tramway. Technopark | Report: financing work to begin in Technopark. Users Mobilize | Reopen agreement. Right to a real consultation | Impact on UdeM Community                                 |                                       |   |   | Exo censoring media (PQ)                            |
|  | 10  | 14   | 5  | 0   | 8                                    | 5   | 4  | 3  | 2                                     | 0                                       | 1   | 5   |
|  | I attend Green Coalition's AGA                            | Ppt Great Transition & asked to be interviewed | I present at ICLEI Side Event. LinkedIN          | I prepare CA while team seems demoralised |                                      | St-Rose. Learning Anthony. Following JF                       | FSC  | Process Facilitator Knowledge Broker Reflexive Scientist | FSC. I present at Shift (HEC)         | I contribute to Royalmount consultation | Preparing South-West Borough Meeting            | Present at Lachine. CRISES Suzuki & city Recruiting |

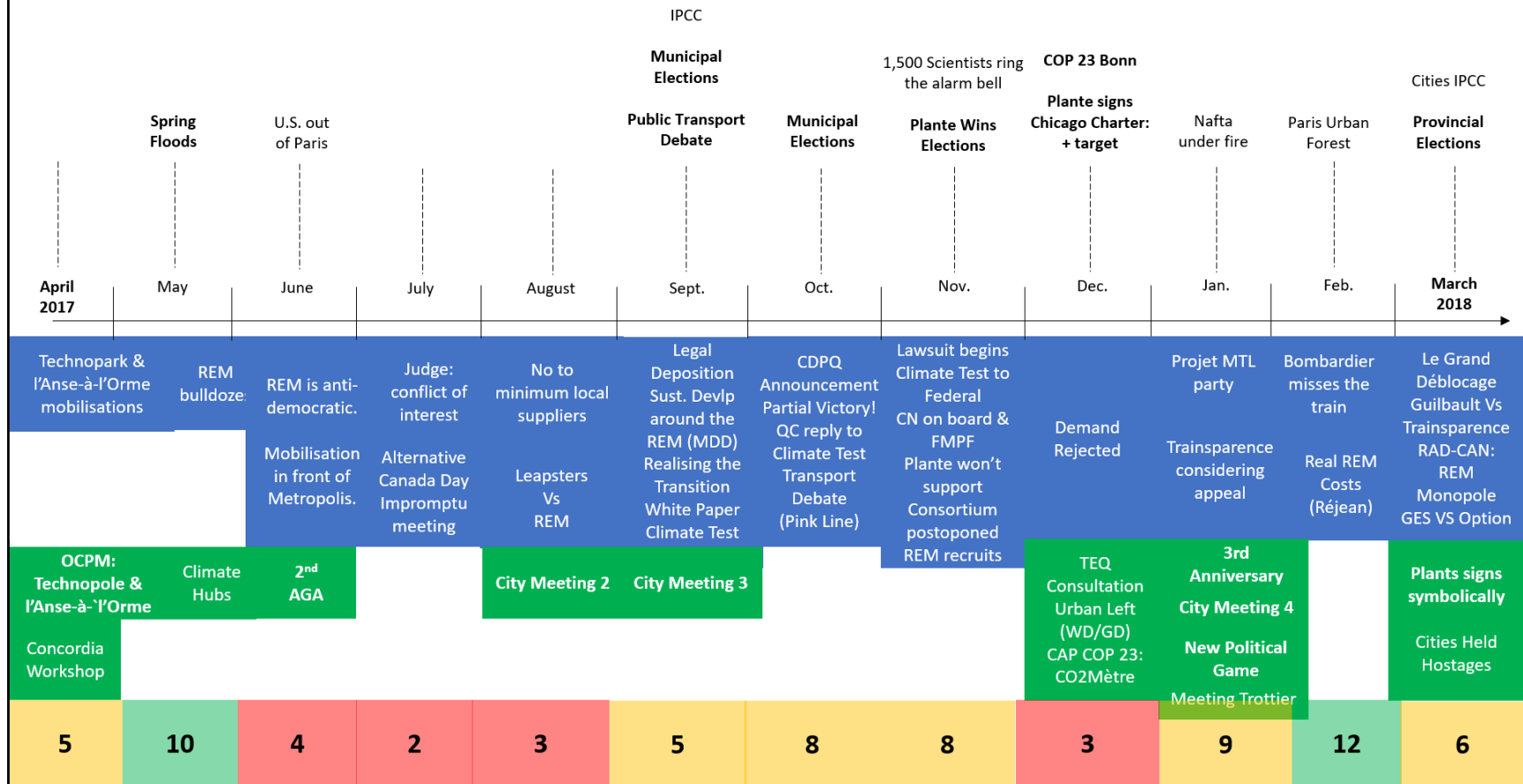


|  | <b>April<br/>2019</b>                | <b>May</b>   | <b>June</b>                        | <b>July</b>                               | <b>August</b>   | <b>Sept.</b>  | <b>Oct.</b>                                     | <b>Nov.</b>                           | <b>Dec.</b>   | <b>Jan.<br/>2020</b>                         | <b>Feb.</b>                          | <b>March<br/>(April-May)</b>                              |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---------------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------------------|---|
|  |                                      | Quebec's Spring Floods                                       |                                    | Amazon Fires                              |   |   |   |                                       |   | Australian Fires                             |                                      | COVID-19  |
|  | Climate Spring                       |  |                                    | Airline Industry                          |   | Climate Marches   | Rebellion Takes Root                            |                                       | COP 25 Madrid   | Davos Climate Call                           |                                      |   |
|  |                                      |  |                                    | CETA Agreement                            | Behind the world in passenger trains                    | Elections & Guilbeault  | TGF: A 2 <sup>nd</sup> Tunnel                   | Deux-Montagnes users meeting          |   |  |                                      |   |
|  | Electrification of the Economy       |  | FCTE: Road Map Work                | Moratorium on bldgs in flooded zones      |   |   |   |                                       | Transport Electrification: Myths & Reality (Gagnon)           | Electrification Plan                         | CAQ paints itself Green              | Law Reform Env. Quality (incl GHG)                        |
|  |                                      | Pre-Budget 2020 Consultations                                | Climate Action Plan Advisory Board | Gentrification                            | Carbon-Neutral Plan & New 2030 target: -55% Grand parc! | Greta March: 500,000.   | Meeting Ensemble MTL                            | 2020 Budget Hearing                   |   | Consultation: Namur Hippodrome               | Plant: Darkness & Light              | La Falaise will be a park! City wins Meadowbrook          |
|  | Reducing impacts of REM works        | Plante-Legault disagreement on REM extensions. CDPW or ARTM? | Movin'on                           |   | 2 Tramways on the table: QC & Lachine                   | Meeting with Carboleo   | Namur Hippodrome                                |                                       | Michael Sabia Resigns from CDPQ. Lack of Transparency         | Urbanisation on the uptake. Real Estate News | Green Coalition's Demand for Inquiry | Caisse: 2 hands in tax havens. RoyalMount Stoped (6 mths) |
|  | Climate Spring & D for Projet MTL    | Transparence Action Plan                                     | Milton-Parc & Cathy Wong           | Carla Mays Californication                | Lachine Consultation Report                             | Notre 15/40   | Lab Transition Launch                           |                                       | Imagine Lachine-Est & Quo Vadis Technopark                    | Technopark Lawsuit                           |                                      | FCTE 1.9 Sophie presents to Demain SW                     |
|  |                                      |  | Launch Tollbox HEC                 |   | Citizen Forum 1   | City Meeting  | City Meeting (MDD) & Citizen Forum2             | Transparence writing a book           | Sidney Meeting  |  | 5th Anniversary                      | AGA. Maja congratulates                                   |
|  | Demand for Moratorium                | OTÉRA scandal. Nationalize the REM!                          | Vaudreuil-Hudson developments?     | REM vs Train Study. Demand for Moratorium | Demand for Moratorium                                   | Caisse's stake in A40 REM station troubling, probe finds. Unwanted neighbor | Transparence Action Plan. STM Fares. 2yrs Late? | Made in India. Where are the schools? | CDPQ project Columbia. Tunnel closure postponed to March 30th | Lawsuit users                                | Caisse Washes Greener & Darker       | Nationalise! Citizen Ass. Canceled (QS). Dangerous Apptmt |
|  | <b>6</b>                             | <b>4</b>   | <b>3</b>                           | <b>7</b>                                  | <b>5</b>  | <b>10</b>   | <b>4</b>  | <b>3</b>                              | <b>13</b>   | <b>2</b>                                     | <b>7</b>                             | <b>2</b>  |
|  | South-West Borough Councilor Meeting |  | Launch Tollbox HEC                 |   |   | Email to Ribaux & LLL Dawson Panel  | I ask for interviews                            |                                       | Meeting Maja. 5G  |  | All together Transition Workshop     | AGA ppt.  |

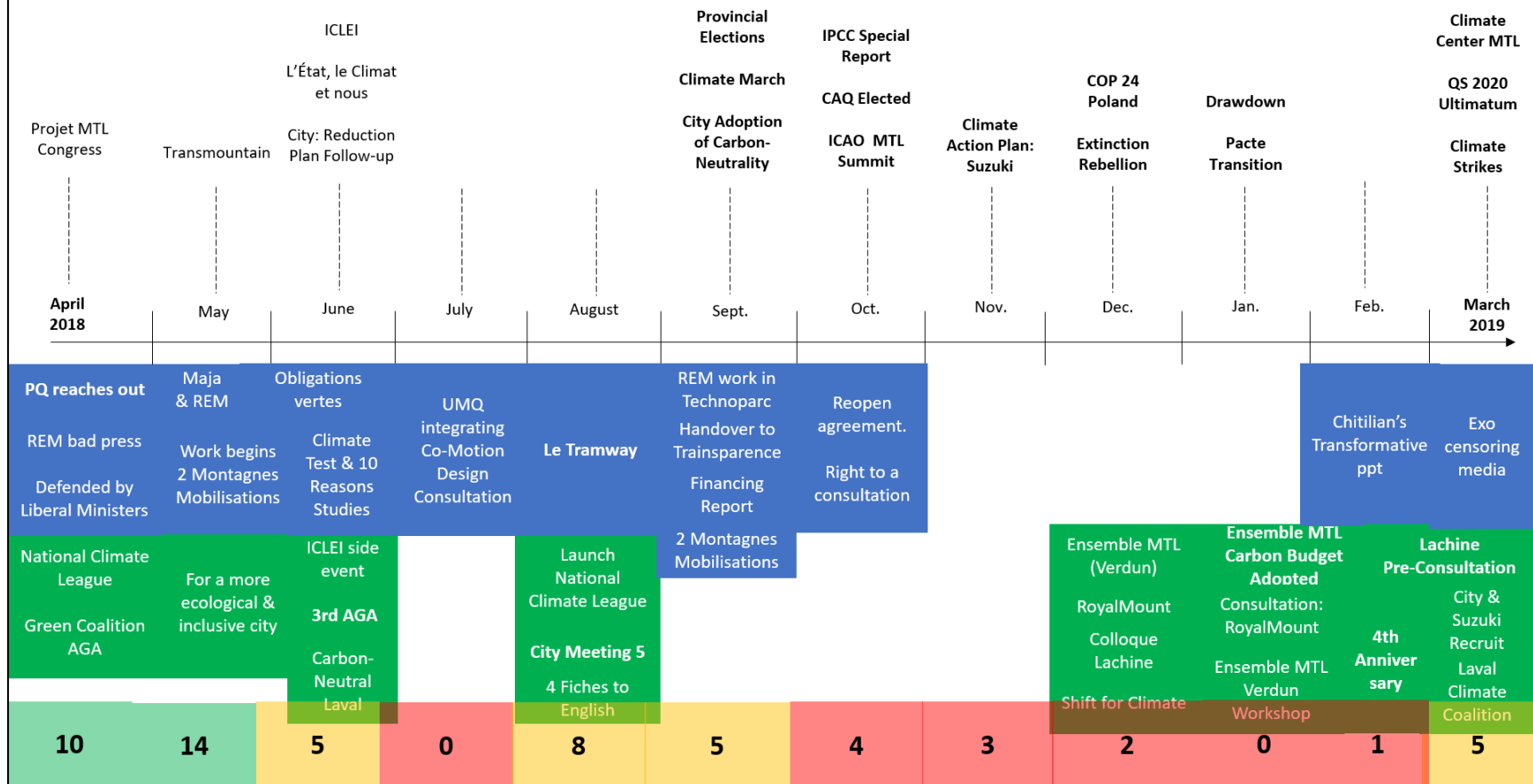
## Annex 5 – Visual Map Model 3



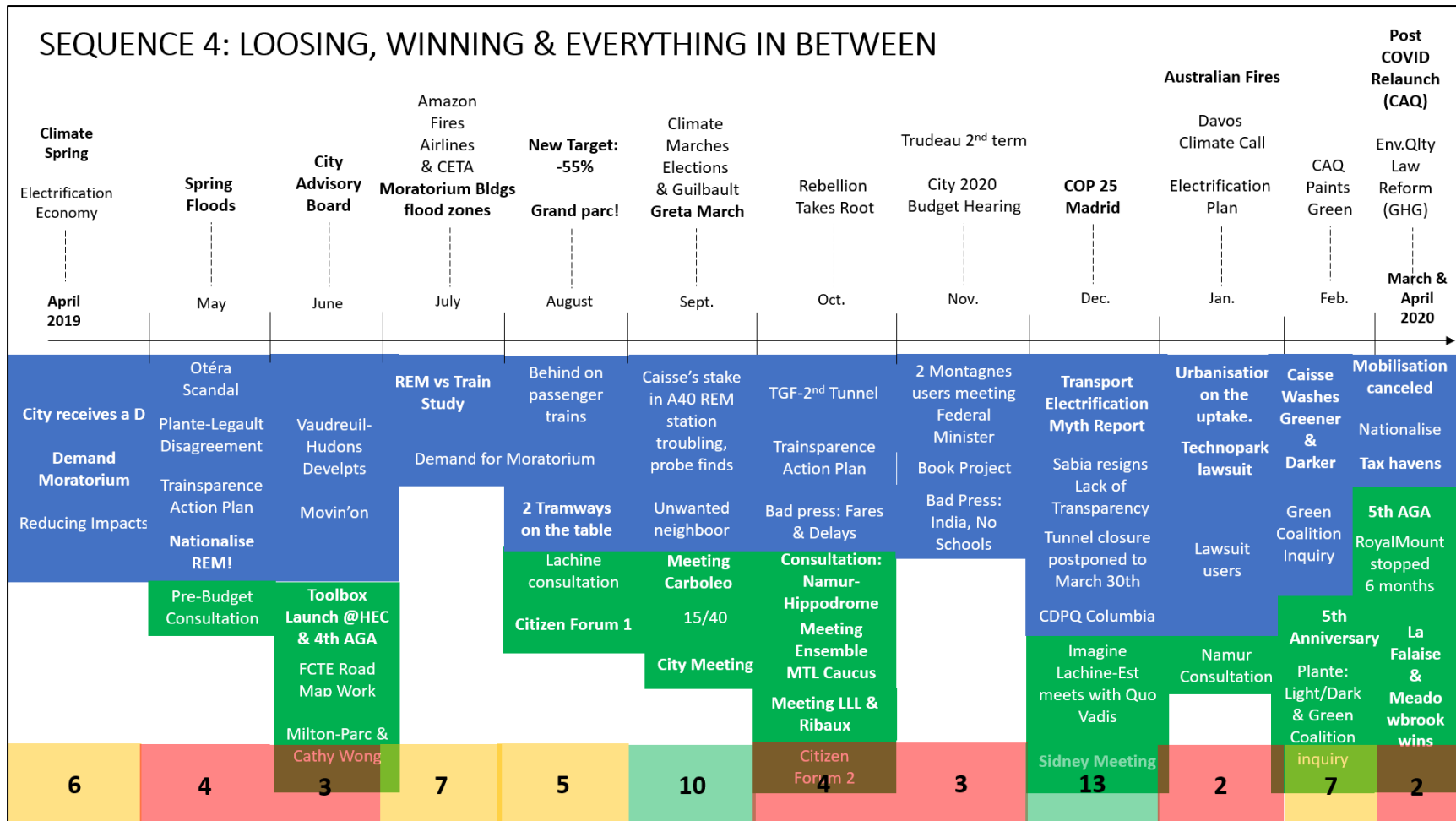
# SEQUENCE 2: LAWSUIT & TIPPING A (MUNICIPAL) ELECTION



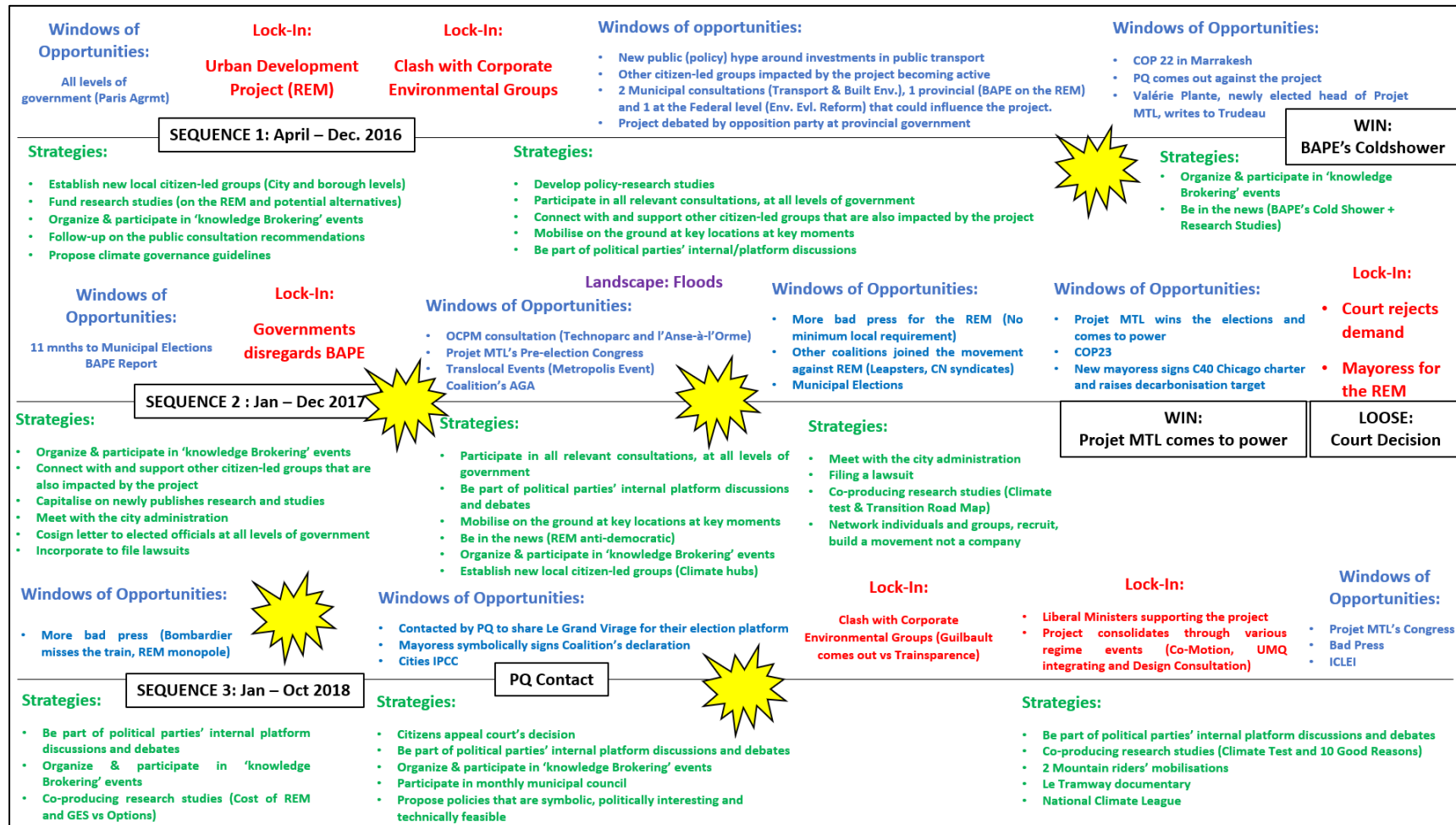
# SEQUENCE 3: NEW POLITICAL GAME & ATTEMPTING TO (YET AGAIN) TIP A (PROVINCIAL) ELECTION

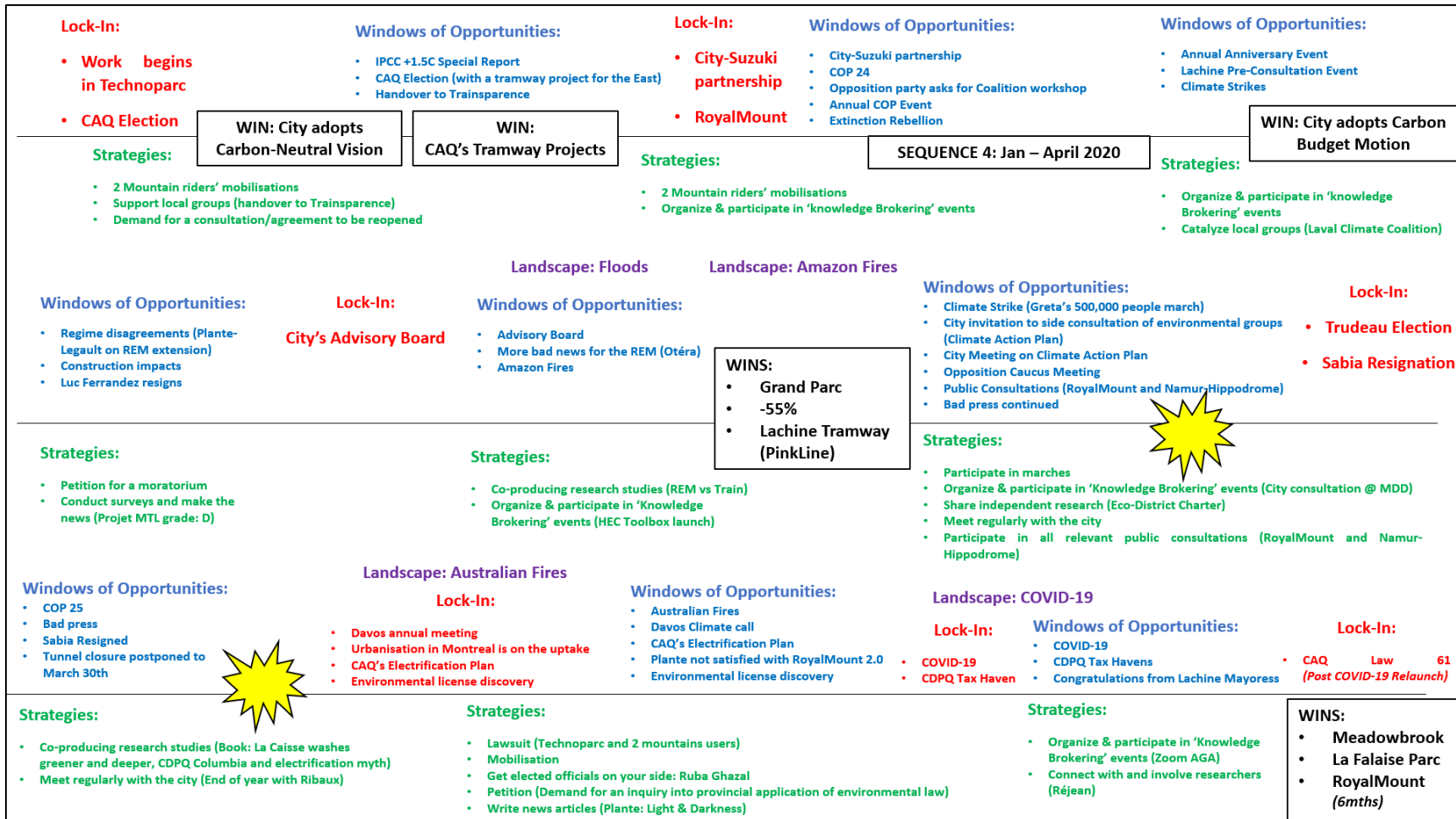


# SEQUENCE 4: LOOSING, WINNING & EVERYTHING IN BETWEEN

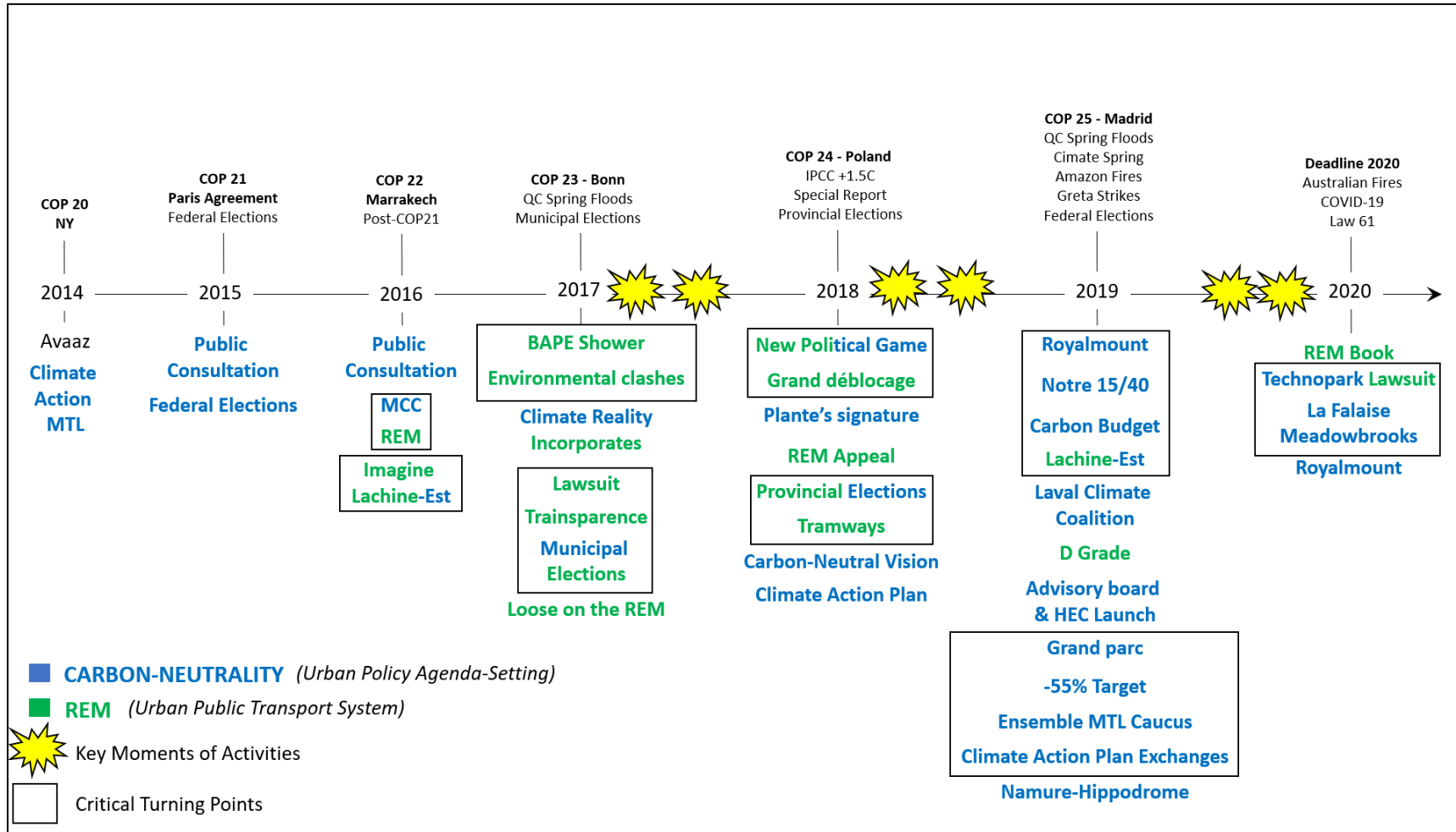


# Annex 6 – Visual Map Model 4





# Annex 7 – Visual Map Model 5





## Annex 8 – Activities and Roles of Researchers in Sustainability Science

(Wittmayer & Schöpke, 2014)

| Key issue      | Activities of researchers   | Proposed roles for researchers |
|----------------|---|--------------------------------|
| Ownership      | Analyse dynamics and actors   | Reflective scientist           |
|                | Initiate process  | Process facilitator            |
|                | Select participants   |                                |
|                | Facilitate process  |                                |
|                | Motivate participants   | Change agent                   |
|                | Empower participants to lead/own the process  |                                |
| Sustainability | Initiate and participate in a learning journey based on sustainability values         | Change agent                   |
|                | Support in making sustainability meaningful in the given context                      | Knowledge broker               |
|                | Provide space for critical reflection   |                                |
|                | Provide knowledge on the basis of analysis  | Reflective scientist           |
|                | Engage in a (self-) reflexive practice with regard to own normative orientation       | Self-reflexive scientist       |
| Power          | Select participants   | Process facilitator            |
|                | Facilitate learning process   |                                |
|                | Encourage expression of all viewpoints  |                                |
|                | Mediate different perspectives  | Knowledge broker               |
|                | Analyse outcomes  | Reflective scientist           |
|                | Network with stakeholders outside the group   | Change agent                   |
|                | Engage in self-reflexive practice with regard to internal and external power dynamics | Self-reflexive scientist       |
| Action         | Facilitate process and experiments  | Process facilitator            |
|                | Participate in process and experiments  | Change agent                   |
|                | Support in policy formulation   |                                |
|                | Observe, reflect and analyse actions  | Reflective scientist           |

## **Annex 9 – Letter addressed to the mayor**

Subject: Public consultations on reducing the consumption of fossil fuels

Mr. Mayor,

The Montreal Climate Coalition's organizing committee would like to congratulate your decision to hold a public consultation on the reduction of Montreal's dependence on fossil fuels and on the steps to undertake for Montreal to become a leader in climate action.

The public consultation process to be led by the OCPM concerns the entire Montreal community and we would like to assure you of our support so that participation can be successful and for the consultation work to be completed by COP21. The Coalition, made up of very diverse organizations, intends to bring all its energy so that the energy transition can be as ambitious as possible. If many metropolises have proven that action in this area is possible, Montreal can also place itself on the map as a global leader in the quest for a healthier and more prosperous future for all.

The public consultation to be held by the OCPM represents an incredible opportunity to make Montrealers aware of the challenges of climate change at home and abroad and their capacity to participate in solving this planetary crisis. As you know, municipal policy has an essential role to play in improving the lives of its own citizens, and the citizens of the world who will continue to suffer from rising temperatures and their impacts on biodiversity, precipitation, tropical storms, and sea level.

Montreal positions itself as a city with virtuous ambitions, as evidenced by the hosting of Future Earth, the goal of planting 375,000 trees by 2017, the River-Mountain pathway, and the recent transportation electrification announcements.

We congratulate you for taking a clear position in Seoul by signing the Compact of Mayors' action plan, the largest coalition of local leaders who are committed to reducing and monitoring the evolution of greenhouse gas emissions and adapting to the effects of climate change. With the challenges that we face, we particularly want Montreal to reduce the place of cars and invest more in public transit. We also hope that the future urban plan is at the forefront of the necessary planning, transport and parking levers at the height of our ambitions.

You can be assured that members of Coalition Climate Montreal will be present at the public consultations to bring concrete proposals

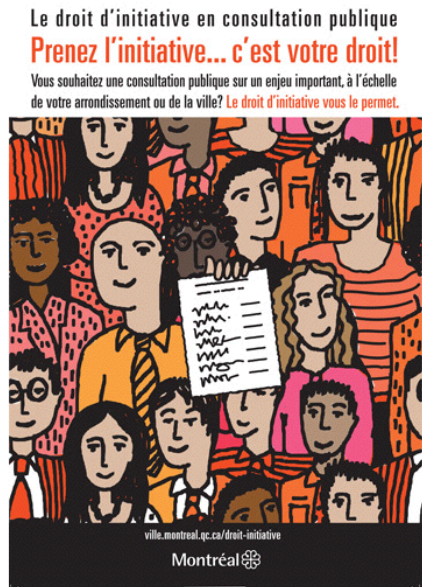
Please receive, Mr. Mayor, the expression of our best feelings.

Matthew Chapman - ACMCA - Action Climat Montréal Climate Action  
Coralie Deny - Directrice générale du CRE-Montréal  
Sidney Ribaux - Directeur général d'Équiterre

## Annex 10 – Overview of Montreal’s ‘Right to Initiative’

# The Right of Initiative

- The city will hold a public consultation on a question brought forth by its citizens if 15,000 signatures are obtained (within 90 days, 15 years or older, online signatures not permitted):
- The consultation includes presentations by experts, researchers, concerned citizens and other stakeholders to a committee appointed by the mayor and the office of public consultation.
- A report of recommendations will be produced and its contents voted on by the executive committee of the city. Public support is essential to ensure followthrough.
- Thanks to this democratic tool, in 2012 the Right of Initiative informed 29,000 people about urban agriculture and influenced public policies that brought about hundreds of community gardening projects in the city.



\*Taken from Coalition’s ‘Montréal vert 375 – Combating climate change at the municipal level’ presentation made to various student groups in early spring 2015

## Annex 11 – Initiators of the Montreal Climate Coalition

# The Actors

## MONTREAL CLIMATE COALITION

- ACMCA
- Alternatives
- Antennes de Paix
- Canadian Youth Climate Coalition
- Citizen's Climate Lobby
- Citizens in Action
- Climate Reality Project
- CRE de Montréal
- Council of Canadians
- Dialogues pour un Canada vert
- Divest Concordia
- Divest McGill
- Éco-quartier Villeray & Sud-Ouest
- ENvironnement JEUnesse
- Équiterre
- Etablissements Vert Brundtland
- David Suzuki Foundation
- Greenpeace
- GRIP UQAM
- Jeunes Médecins Pour la Santé Publique
- Jour de la Terre
- Climate Justice Montreal
- RNCREQ
- Uniterre Conférences
- Villeray & NDG en Transition



\*Taken from Coalition's 'Montréal vert 375 – Combating climate change at the municipal level' presentation made to various student groups in early spring 2015

# Annex 12 – Public Consultation’s Key Participating Organizations



## **Annex 13 – Diversity of Communities that Participated in 2016 Public Consultation**

| <b>Communities</b>        |                            |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| Architects & Planners     | Ron Rayside                |
| Buddhists                 | Ann Morrow                 |
| Christians                | David Fines                |
| ENGOS                     | Jean-Francois Boisvert     |
| Cyclists                  | Ingrid Birker              |
| Divestment                | Victor Frankel             |
| Health Care               | Éric Notebaert             |
| Climate Researchers       | Damon Matthews             |
| Engineers                 | Stéphane Bilodeau          |
| Hindu                     | Sydney Bhalla              |
| Hockey                    | Damon Matthews             |
| Jewish                    | Montréal Council of Rabbis |
| Lawyers                   | Frédérique Bertrand        |
| Muslim                    | Islamic Relief Canada      |
| Young Parents             | Héloïse Ouimet             |
| Macro-ecology Researchers | GRAME                      |
| Smart Cities              | Jean-Francois Barsoum      |
| Social Entrepreneurs      | SOCENT                     |
| University Students       | Daniel Horen Greenford     |
| Urban Agriculture         | Julia Chiabudini           |
| Women                     | France Levert              |
| Businesses                | Paul Lanoie                |
| Seniors                   | Nadia Alexan               |
| Economic Tools            | Laurel Thompson            |
| Pierrefonds Residents     | Alison Hackney             |
| Vancouver Best Practices  | Marianne Falardeau         |

# **Annex 14 – 2016 AGA Agenda**

## **Montreal Climate Coalition AGM**

**June 16, 7pm / 2016 / June 16, 7pm**

### **Agenda / Agenda**

**6:45 p.m.** Registration / Registration

**7:10 p.m.** Objectives of the meeting & current situation / Meeting objectives & state of affairs (Mélodie)

**7:15 p.m.** Mission, vision, context of the CCM / Mission, vision & CCM history (JF-Boisvert)

**7:20 p.m.** Governance & coordinating committee / Governance & coordinating committee (Morgane)

**7:25 p.m.** Key members & membership / Key members & becoming a member (Amal)

**7:30 p.m.** Importance of a participative democracy (Dimitri)

**7:35 p.m.** Importance of acting locally / Importance of acting local (Joey)

**7:40 p.m.** Project: Book / Project: Book - Communicating Climate Change (Matthew)

**7:45 p.m.** Project: Carbon Budget 1.5 ° / Project: Carbon Budget 1.5 ° (Anthony & Daniel)

**7:50 p.m.** Project: Investments in public transport / Project: Investments in public transit (Charles)

**7:55 p.m.** Project: Roadmap to a carbon neutral city / Roadmap to a carbon neutral city (Shaen)

**7:55 p.m.** Questions (Monika)

**8:10 p.m.** Explanation of the group activity (Mélodie)

**8:15 p.m.** Break while we divide into themed groups

**8:30 p.m.** Discussions in themed groups

- Objective for October 1: a comprehensive policy to make each sector carbon neutral by 2042 including:

- Key organizations and individuals that the Coalition should involve in the process

- Emblematic projects that the Coalition should support or denounce in each sector

- Better policies that should be part of our “carbon neutral” roadmap

- Work plan to move the file forward over the next 15 weeks

1. Transport / Transportation - CDP train, Pie IX SRB (Charles & JF-Lefebvre)

2. Buildings, housing & planning / Buildings, housing & planning (Dimitri & Jessica)
  3. Circular economy & energy transition (Morgane & Shaen)
  4. Industrie & Économie / Industry & Economy - Pocheo (Matthew & Véronique)
  5. Consumption / Consumption - Ag. Urbain, Sharing economy (JF Boisvert & Joey)
- 9:30 p.m.** Presentation of work plans (5 mins each) / Presenting work plans to the whole group
- 9:55 p.m.** Closing - Conclusion (Matthew)



## **Annex 15 – REM’s Cascades of Errors**

1. Looking for an image of prestige which points to the most expensive technology.
2. Underestimate the real costs of the project, which will be higher than the initial 5.5 billion\$
3. The need to rebuild the Two-Mountains trainline to adjust it to the REM’s parameters
4. Invest around 1.4 billion\$ for the connection with Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue
5. Not accounting for the effects and impacts on current train lines, as it will compete with the Vaudreuil/Hudson line, increasing its exploitation deficit
6. Underestimating the impact on traffic of the limited number of stations planned (it’s the proximity of stations that create the habit of public transportation. Few people will have access by foot to the few REM stations.
7. Not valorising the potential of new urban stations. Population density is essential for high traffic. The REM goes through dense neighborhoods but does not stop.
8. Plan a station downtown with a metro connection, requiring 5-10 minutes walk (An efficient network includes multiple connections for riders to optimise their transport. REM forces users to come off only at the central station).
9. Promoting an erroneous information regarding the speed of transportation with the REM. In order to be attractive, public transport depends on time traveled across the network
10. Supports solo-car model with it’s big parking stations
11. Encourages urban sprawl given its support for the solo-car model
12. Insignificant contribution to Quebec’s GHG emissions reductions’ target
13. Betting solely on the financial benefits of the project instead of local economic development
14. Promoting that it will be a self-financed project but with little probability
15. Capitalising on cement rather than labor.

## **Annex 16 – Email Correspondence: REM Route Through Technoparc Modified to Protect Least Bittern Habitat**

See attached update of the REM - announced during technical briefing yesterday.

If our governments cared about emissions, they would be a key decision factor. They are not. Measuring emissions regularly with the aim of keeping within an established carbon budget is the best way to make this a decision criterion of all government spending. This would necessitate ecologically sound development. This is one of the Montréal Climate Coalition's principal objectives

In brief:

Estimated emissions reduced per year: 16,800 tonnes (= taking 2,100 mid-sized sedans off the road)

Cost of the REM: \$5.5 (deceptively underestimated, but ok)

Cost per ton reduction over a 50-year lifespan (assuming everyone is still driving internal combustion cars in 2066): \$6,500

Contrast with CCS technology, which is far from market competitive at \$150/ton

As it stands, this is a losing proposition in our fight against climate change and flies in the face of provincial, local, and federal reduction efforts. Equiterre, Vivre en Ville and others need to be brought on board, and fast. From what I gather, they are lining up behind the project and suggesting only cosmetic modifications. A viable, attractive alternative needs to be properly marketed to the public for it to have a chance. The CDP's PR machine is too smooth to beat with just rational arguments, no matter their merit. ENGOs have too much to lose combatting it without proposing a sexy alternative.

I have a designer or two that would be willing to produce an image to market the Grand Virage, and we need to counter the Caisse's catchy, easy-to-remember figures with those of our own.

Matthew

Hello,

You need to get in contact with both the Green Coalition people and the Sierra Club. These groups met with the technical people which was facilitate by the Mayor of St.Laurent, Alan de Sousa (who by the way met me and Nathan on the techno park questions). Nathan can give you background on this.

De Sousa is open to meeting groups with concerns.

Is the Climate Coalition on this radar screen as other groups are? If not, why not?

DR

Thanks Dimitri,

I met at length with de Sousa last summer and part of the discussion turned around the location of stations on the eventual downtown-airport train. He wants transit access to St-Laurent, and don't see him as a natural ally on this matter, despite good faith and impressive achievements.

Sylvia, Floris:

the Coalition Climat Montréal's coordinating committee meets Monday evening and can bump this up the agenda. If you would like to chat at length prior to that meeting, perhaps we can set up a conference call for those interested to discuss how the CCM can help.

Je propose deux plages horaires:

Dimanche 17h

Lundi 17h

Merci et au plaisir,

Matthew

# **Annex 17 – External & Internal Correspondances on REM**

## **Disagreement with Environmental Movement**

- **Between groups:**

Hello everyone,

I agree with Sidney. Matthew, your mobilization assumes that if the REM is stopped, equivalent funding will go to better public transit projects. This hypothesis is part of magical thinking.

If the REM does not see the light of day, the situation will be as follows:

- 1) The CDPQ will withdraw from TC funding projects.
- 2) No one is going to attempt a TC project for the next 20 years, and the failure of the REM will be used to justify the inaction.
- 3) All the people who have mobilized against the EMN will do NOTHING to get other TC projects. The mobilization will end.

Meanwhile, the government will widen the 30, complete the 19, continue to develop the highway network in greater Montreal. If the REM is created very quickly, elected officials in the Montreal region will ask to be served by TCs. Mirabel, Saint-Jean sur Richelieu have already asked for it. And suddenly the dynamics will change in the region. Therefore, the position of Suzuki is yes for the REM, subject to certain conditions which must be met, and we will put all our weight to make the project a success. Then all our weight with Équiterre and others to mobilize thousands of citizens to obtain more public transport everywhere in the region and elsewhere in Quebec.

Karel

- **Internally at Coalition:**

THIS IS WHY WE NEED AN OPEN PUBLIC DEBATE BETWEEN ENVIRONMENTALISTS and for those who support the efforts to deal with the environmental crisis and are now confused by this disagreement.

LETS BE HONEST, WITH OURSELVES AND EACH OTHER. ENOUGH OF THIS WHINING IN THE SHADOWS. WE HAVE A MORAL RESPONSIBLE TO BE FRONT AND CENTRE.

Dimitri Roussopoulos

# Annex 18 – REM Skytrain Versus Le Grand Virage

## UN SKYTRAIN NOMMÉ DÉLIRE

## DES PROJETS ADAPTÉS AUX BESOINS DES CITOYENS

La Caisse de dépôt nous propose un skytrain d'au moins 8\$ milliards. Pourquoi un projet si cher? Pour permettre à quelques entreprises de faire fortune, grâce aux milliards de subventions des gouvernements. Ce projet encouragera l'étalement urbain et la dépendance à l'automobile. Il fera augmenter les tarifs de transports collectifs et les émissions de gaz à effet de serre (GES), tout en induisant des baisses de services.

**Nous devons refuser le skytrain et opter pour un vrai Grand Virage vers les transports collectifs!**

Pour le même investissement, quelle option devrait-on choisir?

### Le Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) de la CDPQ - Infra

- 4 lignes de skytrain
- Fermeture inévitable des trains vers Vaudreuil-Hudson et Candiac

(Le skytrain Deux-Montagnes incapable de soutenir la demande de pointe. Trains de l'est, de St-Jérôme et de Via Rail : transfert impossible avant le tunnel Mont-Royal)



15 nouvelles stations accessibles

20\$ coût moyen par déplacement

120 000 usagers additionnels en transport en commun électrifié

80M\$ à 120M\$ en frais d'exploitation par année (payés par des hausses tarifaires)

↓ 27 000t émissions GES directement évitées

↑ 60 000t GES créées par l'étalement urbain

### Exemple de proposition alternative : le Grand Virage

- 6 lignes de tramway
- 3 stations de métro
- Investissements dans les trains de banlieue (ligne Ouest et Deux-Montagnes)



130 nouvelles stations accessibles

3\$ - 6\$ coût moyen par déplacement

460 000 usagers additionnels en transport en commun électrifié

Économies sur les frais d'exploitation actuels

↓ 356 000t émissions GES directement évitées

↓ 45 000t GES évitées par la concentration urbaine

Document réalisé le 16 janvier 2017 par :  
Lac Gagnon, M.Sc., Ph.D, chargé de cours, École de technologie supérieure  
Jean-François Lefebvre, Ph.D, chargé de cours, École des sciences de la gestion, UQAM



coalitionclimatmtl.org  
transparence.ca  
transportdurable.org  
facebook.com/pourunmeilleurprojet

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CLIMAT  
MONTREAL

# Annex 19 – Active Transport Study & Plan Presented to City Officials

## TRANSPORTS ACTIFS

OBJECTIF POUR MONTRÉAL:

**DEVENIR LA PREMIÈRE VILLE CYCLABLE  
EN AMÉRIQUE DU NORD!**



## TRANSPORTS ACTIFS À MONTRÉAL

### STRATÉGIES AUDACIEUSES:

1. **Doubler** le réseau cyclable en 7 ans, soit:
  - Viser 1400 Km en 7 ans.
  - Croissance de 100 Km/an
2. Rendre réseau cyclable **sécuritaire**, soit:
  - En site propre / Séparation avec transport motorisé.
  - Inclure ensemble des mesures d'apaisement de circulation pour le transport actif
3. Réseau cyclable disponible **12 mois/an**
4. Complètement arrimé avec la **STM**

## Annex 20 – Court Decision Document

### 9. CONCLUSIONS

[201] Il ne revient pas au Tribunal de juger des motifs des demandeurs. Par contre, il lui appartient de s'assurer que ne s'engage pas un procès dont l'issue n'aura d'autre fin que de juger de l'opportunité des décisions du législateur<sup>131</sup> :

Les tribunaux ne sont pas le bon forum pour arbitrer des prises de position contradictoires et pour arrêter les décisions politiques qui doivent être prises par ceux qui ont été élus pour assumer la direction des pouvoirs législatifs et exécutifs.<sup>132</sup>

[202] En adoptant, le 27 septembre 2017, l'article 80 de la *Loi 17*, l'Assemblée nationale a créé une présomption absolue que les actes accomplis et les décisions rendues par le gouvernement, le ministre et le BAPE dans le cadre de la procédure d'examen des impacts sur l'environnement du projet, y compris la prise du décret d'autorisation, sont conformes à la loi. La *Loi 17* est du ressort de la Législature et les arguments de nature constitutionnelle ou de droit public que soulèvent les demandeurs à son encontre relèvent de la spéculation sans s'appuyer sur une assise factuelle adéquate ou empruntent à des concepts qui sont sans application au problème qu'ils dénoncent.

[203] Le Tribunal en vient à la conclusion que le recours des demandeurs n'a aucune chance de réussir dans sa forme actuelle et qu'il faut y mettre un terme dès maintenant pour éviter d'engouffrer des ressources judiciaires et des deniers importants dans une démarche judiciaire vouée à l'échec.

## **Annex 21 – Email Concerning the REM Addressed to Newly Elected Project Montreal City Officials**

Dear elected officials,

On behalf of the Montreal Climate Coalition, I invite you to read the attached document, which summarizes the many questions raised by the very controversial REM project and to which citizens and experts are asking for answers.

It is because of these same elements, which have remained too vague, that the BAPE has declared the project submitted by the Caisse de depot et placement du Quebec inadmissible. This has major shortcomings on all fronts: democracy, urban planning and public transport.

The project will cause temporary service closings (at least 2 years for the Deux-Montages line during the works) or permanent closures (inevitable term closure of the Vaudreuil-Dorion train line); as well as the addition of transfers which, in the end, will have a negative effect on the usage rate of public transport; all the while compromising Via Rail's Montreal-Quebec high-frequency train project, and without any consideration for the risks associated with safety in the Mont-Royal tunnel and driverless trains under the airport runways.

In its current conception, we can also say goodbye to social pricing and the possibility of achieving free public transport on the long-term. In addition, it should be emphasized that, economically, the REM will monopolize the budgets that could have been devoted to other more efficient projects (such as the pink line, for example). The Montreal Climate Coalition is supporting five citizens that are currently appealing the court's decision so that the REM is subject to a real consultation.

In closing, please note that we support the pink line proposal and that a new version of the attached document incorporating it into its strategy will be produced and will be sent to you shortly.

Until then, thank you for your attention and hope to have the pleasure of speaking with you soon.

Joseph EL-Khoury, on behalf of the Montreal Climate Coalition.



# **Annex 22 – Press Release: Appealing the Court’s Decision on the REM**

## **Citizens take their Case to the Quebec Court of Appeal in the REM Affair**

**Montreal, April 9, 2018** – Today a coalition of citizens have filed formal legal arguments with the Quebec Court of Appeal. They are asking it to overturn a Superior Court decision which absolved the Government of Quebec and CDPQ Infra from holding meaningful public hearings on their project, the proposed Réseau express métropolitain, formerly called the Réseau électrique métropolitain (the ‘REM’).

In March of 2017, a coalition of concerned citizens, public transit and environmental advocacy groups filed a lawsuit in Superior Court asking it to order that the REM project be returned to the Bureau d’audiences publiques sur l’environnement (the ‘BAPE’) for proper hearings and recommendation as required by law. The first time around, the BAPE had refused to render any recommendation at all, stating that the Government of Quebec and CDPQ Infra had not provided sufficient information to permit a proper evaluation of the project. The Government of Quebec, rightly fearing that it was going to lose the case, adopted Law 17 on September 27, 2017, hoping to cover its tracks retroactively. Breathtaking in its scope and audacity, Law 17 states at article 80:

The certificate of authorization issued under (O.C. 458-2017, 2017-05-03) and the environmental impact assessment and review procedure preceding the making of the Order in Council, including all decisions rendered and all other acts performed by the minister responsible for the administration of the Environment Quality Act and by the Bureau d’audiences publiques sur l’environnement, are deemed to be in compliance with the Act.

Armed with this nuclear option, the Government of Quebec and CDPQ Infra immediately moved to have the citizens’ case dismissed. On December 12, 2017 Judge Yergeau of the Superior Court agreed with them and dismissed the citizens’ case.

The citizens are appealing Judge Yergeau’s decision to the Quebec Court of Appeal on the following grounds:

1. That Judge Yergeau was biased against the citizens; and
2. That, notwithstanding Judge Yergeau's ruling, the citizens still have the right under law to meaningful hearings before the BAPE and to the benefit of its recommendations, and that Judge Yergeau erred in law in granting the motion to dismiss.

Here are some examples of the Judge's bias: When faced with an argument that the right to a safe environment is constitutionally protected under both the Quebec and Canadian Charters, and before even hearing this argument, Judge Yergeau stated: "si vous pensez que je vais ouvrir une autre voie constitutionnelle vous vous trompez". When commenting on changes made by the Harper government to weaken environmental protections under federal law, he offered the opinion that "ce sont des bons changements puisque les projets peuvent maintenant avancer..." The judge also continuously and unfairly denigrated the citizen's procedures variously as a "pamphlet", "scories" (slag), "salmagondis" (incoherent, disjointed), "conjecturaux", and even went so far as to argue with the plaintiffs about how they presented their own case.

"The citizens do not accept the legitimacy of Law 17, which would eliminate citizens' constitutional right to be consulted on major environmental issues such as the REM." stated XXX, one of the plaintiffs. "Our government and CDPQ Infra are hiding behind the legal fiction that they can just cancel this right with the stroke of a pen. The citizens are asking the Court of Appeal to recognize the government's obligation to treat its citizens in a fair, transparent and honorable manner - and to send the case back to the lower court to be heard fairly and without bias."

# Annex 23 – Internal Document: Transparency

## Webinar Proposal

### Transparency: Governance & Corruption

UPAQ: Jean Fortier

Ignoring BAPE: Daniel Breton, Ricardo?

Bill 137: facilitates opacity Campbell/Ricardo

Liberal Cronyism:

### Transit

Via: Denis Allard

South Shore: Luc Gagnon

North Shore Residents: Anton (Mascouche, Deux Montagnes)

West Island Residents: TRAM

MTL Residents: Prices, Orange line, Anton Dubrau

### Privatization

Bridge & Tunnel: SCFP ask Lisa D or someone from NDP

Deux Montagnes/ North Shore:

Infrastructure Bank: conservatives?

### Environment

Green Spaces (biodiversity): Daniel Green, Lisa M

GHG: Luc Gagnon, Laurel,

Sprawl: Jochen Jaeger

Noise Catalin Z?

### Financial

Terrible returns when

Caisse cost overruns on its HQ (from \$100M - \$400M) Luc/Jean Francois

Cost overruns (jean fortier)

### Safety?

Mt royal tunnel 100 yrs old, not up to standards

Driverless trains

Going undreneath airport runways

## **Annex 24 – 10 Reasons to be Against the REM**

### 10 Reasons to be Against the REM

**1. The Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) will serve almost exclusively low-density neighborhoods.**

The success of a public transport network is linked to the urban context. To attract a lot of users, high or medium density neighborhoods should be preferred. A dense environment favors access on foot or by bicycle. The distance between stations and users is a determining factor in ensuring network traffic. But the REM has few stations, in low density neighborhoods.

**2. The REM does not serve the poorest neighborhoods, where bus ridership is the greatest.**

STM maps clearly show that frequent use of buses is concentrated in the east of Montreal. The REM does not serve these territories and does not reduce the pressure on any of Montreal's major bus lines.

**3. The REM lacks interconnection with the current public transport system.**

A new system of intermediate capacity, such as the REM, must be interconnected with the other portions of the public transport network, especially the metro. In phase 1, only one REM-metro link is planned, at Bonaventure station. Although other connections are being considered with McGill and Édouard-Montpetit stations in a phase 2, this is not enough. These links are essential as soon as the network opens.

**4. Increase in urban sprawl.**

With its four new park-and-ride lots, including 3000 at the Rive-Sud station, the REM project promotes urban sprawl. The project encourages the use of the solo car in the new REM stations. It also encourages developments, far in the periphery, where households will be dependent on several automobiles.

**5. Disrespect to urban planning.**

It should be remembered that the REM was designed in isolation, without taking into account urban plans, development plans and the planning of the various transport agencies.

## **6. The REM blocks the expansion of other modes of public transportation.**

The REM is taking over the Mont-Royal tunnel, exclusively. Due to the automation of the REM (driverless), the tracks can no longer be shared with other public transport organizations. East train users will be victims of this situation and will have to transfer to the REM to be able to go downtown. In addition, it will prevent the creation of an effective intercity train link between Montreal and Quebec. Via Rail had a high-frequency train plan, which was to pass through the Mont-Royal tunnel.

## **7. Governance and prices.**

The governance of the REM project is still unclear. Indeed, it was impossible for us to know which institution will supervise the REM. As the new regional metropolitan transport agency is not yet in operation, we are concerned about the integration of prices with other modes of transport. Will the REM increase prices for all users, even those who will not benefit from any service improvement?

## **8. Greenhouse gases.**

The impact study, in a recent paper, declares an insignificant drop of 18,000 tonnes of GHGs, mostly due to the replacement of diesel buses. In fact, the defining issue is the urban sprawl caused by the project, which could significantly increase emissions. The CDPQ refused to assess this effect of the project. In addition, the Ministry of the Environment has clearly requested an assessment of the emissions from the construction of the project. The CDPQ also refused to make this assessment.

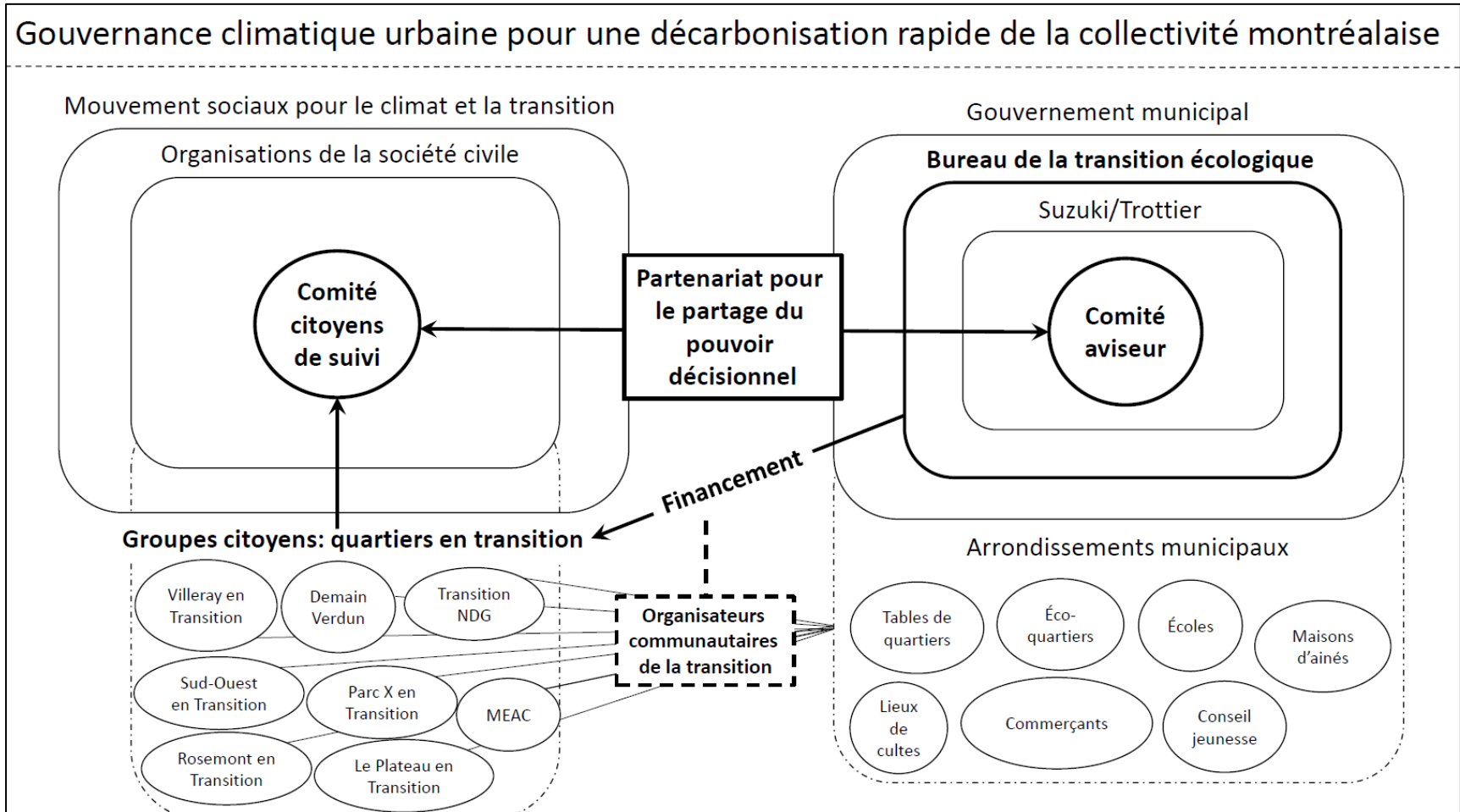
## **9. Sale of infrastructure.**

The project will benefit at least 2.5 billion in public funds. It will also benefit from the appropriation of several other public assets, including the Deux-Montagnes line and the Mont-Royal tunnel. The CDPQ will therefore receive significant assets, which it could then resell to increase the return on its investments. Is this possible and acceptable?

## **10. The inadmissibility of the impact study.**

Several ministries made it clear that the impact study was incomplete and inadmissible. In any other context, it would have delayed the assessment process. How is it that the project ends up before the BAPE, with an accelerated procedure?

# Annex 25 – Key Outcome from the Citizen Forum on Participative Democracy



## Annex 26 – Summary of Overarching Critical Turning Points/Junctures and Outcomes

|      | Key Moments of Activities  | Critical Turning Points/Junctures   | COP                          | Elections  | Landscape                              | Outcomes   |
|------|--|---|------------------------------|------------|--|--|
| 2015 | <b>Fall:</b><br>Phase 1 – Public Consultation  | City Launches Public Consultation (phase 1)<br>Coalition of groups around carbon-neutral city by 2042 (City’s 400 <sup>th</sup> anniversary)                                      | COP21<br>Paris Agreement     | Federal    |  | Civil society’s Carbon-Neutral 2042 Vision                 |
| 2016 | <b>Spring:</b><br>Phase 2 – Public Consultation  | Phase 2 – Public Consultation<br>Creation of Montreal Climate Coalition<br>REM is announced<br>OCPM 15 recommendations report<br>Creation of Imagine Lachine-Est and Transparence | COP22<br>Marrakech - Morocco |            |  | Public Consultation Report: 15 recommendations             |
| 2017 | <b>Spring:</b><br>Capitalize on the BAPE report, file a lawsuit against the REM and anticipate municipal elections                         | BAPE report<br>Environmental movement schism<br>Lawsuit against the REM<br>Projet MTL wins municipal elections<br>Loses in court and new mayoress endorses the REM                | COP23<br>Bonn - Germany      | Municipal  | Quebec Spring Floods<br>MeToo Movement | BAPE Report<br>Projet MTL wins municipal elections         |
| 2018 | <b>Spring:</b><br>Capitalize on Projet MTL’s surprise election, appeal the court’s decision on the REM and anticipate provincial elections | Projet MTL in power / adaptation year<br>Partie Quebecois adopts the ‘Grand Virage’ project   | COP24<br>Poland              | Provincial | IPCC +1.5C Special Report              | Tramway projects<br>City adopts Carbon-Neutral 2050 Vision |

|             | Key Moments of Activities  | Critical Turning Points/Junctures  | COP                                | Elections      | Landscape   | Outcomes  |
|-------------|--|--|------------------------------------|----------------|---|---|
| <b>2019</b> | <p><b>Fall:</b></p> <p>Greta marches on Montreal and city works on Climate Action Plan</p> | <p>Royalmount controversy and Lachine-Est project</p> <p>Climate Spring Strikes</p> <p>Greta marches on Montreal</p> <p>Ferrandez resigns from Projet MTL</p> <p>City working on a Climate Action Plan</p> | <p>COP25</p> <p>Madrid - Spain</p> | <p>Federal</p> | <p>Amazon Fires</p> <p>Climate</p> <p>Spring Strikes</p> <p>Quebec</p> <p>Spring Floods</p> <p>Greta</p> <p>Marches on Montreal</p> | <p>City adopts Carbon Budget</p> <p>Lachine-Est Pre-consultation</p> <p>Royalmount consultation</p> <p>Grand Parc de l'Ouest</p> <p>City raises GHG target to - 55% for 2030</p> <p>Namur-Hippodrome</p> <p>Consultation</p> <p>City works of Climate Action Plan</p> |
| <b>2020</b> | <p>5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary event and 2020 AGA online</p>                                | <p>Global Pandemic (COVID-19)</p>  | <p>DEADLINE 2020 (C40)</p>         |                | <p>Australian Fires</p> <p>COVID-19</p> <p>Runaway climate change</p>   | <p>La Falaise Saint-Jacques Parc</p> <p>Meadowbrooks Parc</p>   |



## Annex 27 – Interview Quotes on Strategies

### SCIENCE: CO-DEVELOPING URBAN CARBON-NEUTRALITY RESEARCH & KNOWLEDGE FOR POLICY AND ACTION

- **Be very curious, move knowledge and get to the bottom of things. Be an integrator, a silo buster. Tap into trans-local networks.**

*I came across this role in the private sector, of what's called an integrator, and in engineering firms, in this case specifically in Bombardier, there is a role of a person who's job it is to sit in every meeting, or any meeting they want in fact, and try to break silos, so like a silo buster, and the role of this professional is to ask any questions, at anytime, of any person and really boost transparency within the organisation, boost knowledge movement across silos, across departments, and I thought, this sounds like fun! That's the job of a curious person, that's the job of a person who wants to know what's going on, get to the bottom of things, and strangely, sadly enough, most organizations don't have the capacity, or they don't think it's worth hiring somebody to do that, and that's the case in the environmental movement. There was nobody who's task it was to be everywhere, to ask question, to be independent, to be professionally curious, and the siloisation of information keeps us from realizing our full potential and to sharing information in a fully collaborative, transparent and effective manner [...] this is especially interesting at the level of the city where you have a bunch of uncoordinated actors, just like in a private corporation, not everybody speaks to each other, there are breakdowns in communication, and this is the case in the city where you have the public sphere, the administration where information is very siloed, the private sector does it a bit better thanks to their centralization in the form of the Chamber of Commerce, it's a single voice that has existed for decades and they've coalesced around clear policy demands, and civil society does not have that same kind of level of coordination; not only they don't have a single voice to speak for them, which I don't think is desirable by the way, but they don't coordinate amongst the voices so everyone understands what the others are saying. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*A hypothetical is a scenario where if air travel reduces and there is less tourists. So that's a hypothetical. So they're not looking at it. But what I could have asked was, would you start doing that? Create plans for economic development after we take into account that there won't be tourists. We actually shared with him, I didn't ask that, but we shared with them a document of that, produced by an international network. That's kind of how that went. It was good. I know Robert Beaudry was open to that idea of us presenting the climate science to executive committee and the city council. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

*The Montreal Climate Coalition is part of the broader Canadian effort, Climate Reality, Which is an Al Gore thing. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*Started with volunteering in the space, getting to know the ecosystem of actors, volunteering with those organisations, understanding their work, their needs, what they focused on, how there were funded. A 6 month process of volunteering in as many places that I could, frequently as a photographer as it's a skill that organisations tend to appreciate and I can slip in and out easily, it's an easy service to offer and doesn't require comprehensive French comprehension; which at the time was not my forte. If anybody was to replicate this; find a skill that you have that you can offer to people that enables you to move in and out of their world, be the fly on the wall. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*Not long ago, there was a consultation on the Namur Hippodrome project, and then I intend to make a brief similar to Lachine. I also participated in a conference on houses of the future. The concept they were explaining is what I explained in my brief: it is the American earthship. Your accommodation gives you your food, your energy, your water. The problem is that it is in the city and there it has to be densified for the big cities. We are in Montreal. In my future thesis, I will say that we are going to make earthships on 3 and 4 floors, social housing, adapted for people with disabilities. To do that, you need an architect. But what is the budget for this project? The land belongs to the city, but it has to sell it at market price and give 50% to the province. - Florient Stone (Trainsparence)*

*Me, if I want to have an evaluation, I have to know the price of the land, then I've been trying to find out for two weeks and it's almost impossible to get an answer because the city of Montreal does not want to give the data. I tried to search on my own, with the property assessments, put in the lot number and calculated. Then it's 11.5 per square foot according to them, and that's wrong because the average price in Montreal is \$ 44 per square foot. The data is not up to date, reliable. There was, last Saturday, the 50 years of Black Rose Books, with Dimitri. I asked him "How am I going to know the price of the land". He told me to talk about the director of planning at the University of Montreal. He told me about two departments. Students are doing research and maybe they know about it. I expect 44 square feet. - Florien Stone (Trainsparence)*

*You must push your research on all segments of the population (children, elderly, men, women, families). In Montreal, the elderly on bicycles is 0.3% while in Copenhagen it is 15%. The difference is huge. If you think about all that, you are heading in the right direction [...] In terms of food consumption, you have many more women who eat less meat [...] In terms of public transport, more women take out of conviction, because you have less money, single-parent families. - France Levert (Coalition Coordinating Committee, representing the Réseau des femmes en environnement)*

*What else can the coalition bring? You have to compare yourself to other countries, internationally. It's research work. To come up with new proposals, what is being done elsewhere. - France Levert (Coalition Coordinating Committee, representing the Réseau des femmes en environnement)*

*When I listen to something I don't know, I go to google and I read, I learn. What is its relation to the other things that I know. And that's how I can develop my foresight, see things better, and demonstrate these things to my friends. Together we light up. - Amal Melki (Cofounder, Laval Climate Coalition)*

- **Organize & participate in relevant 'knowledge brokering' public events, conferences and assemblies. Ask key questions to key stakeholders.**

*Well, it's interesting, the timing of the initiatives were just before COP21, the Paris Agreement, and my colleague administrator was an environmental journalist, so she was green already and she was aware of that process, and she suggested the title Climate Café, which was we thought going to be sort of a bistro atmosphere with valuable stuff being talked about. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*People invite me everywhere, because we have developed an understanding. The management of nuclear waste, the risk associated with nuclear power, is a very complex subject. We were several specialists, with a nuclear engineer, an environmental specialist, a doctor. So in a room of 300 people, we were sure to give the correct answer because we knew our subject very well. We have worked on this file for 20 years. Another file it's been 10 years. It takes time. We must also give lectures to make people understand. I have lectured a lot in schools, CEGEPs, churches etc [...] The other night, I had a conference at the Cité de la Santé in Laval, which is a big hospital, and then it was full of young people. For them it is fundamental, the climate emergency is very important to them [...] We thought we had to do more than that, so we got to give a conference on this in Montreal. Working on public policy in an office, I find it really difficult. - Eric Notebaert (Canadian Association of Physicians for the Environment)*

*At one of the Climate Cafés, Joel Coutu, the ornithologist, came and presented about the Technoparc area, and like nine months later I saw the opportunity for a Good Friday action, and we called for a different sort of pilgrimage than, because the Catholic tradition is to walk on Good Friday with a cross. This was a very interesting experience. I think I brought a shockwave to the archdiocese when I invited them to let their churches know and invite their churches to do this on what for some is the most holy day of the year. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*I think I got involved at the second annual meeting, and I was immediately impressed by the quality of the event and the quality of the input that was offered, and the age range [...] I appreciated, yeah, the quality of the presentations that had a political implication because it was immediately addressed, taking the work of the professor who worked on urban sprawl, whose work I still think has not been widely recognized enough, and that's a piece of work perhaps the Climate Coalition can come back to, really to put the urban sprawl thing upfront and central. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*We started running monthly events called climate cafés, and one or two of the Green Coalition came to that. They began as educational, and now they've moved into more workshop based things. I was invited there by Charlie Macleod to join the board of the Green Coalition, which I did, and they meet alternate months at the church, and I was really pleased that the climate coalition came. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*The first time there were about 140 to 180 people, and we walked around and came back together, did a bird count, and that's become a tradition now because it was*

*established, and the story of Technoparc continues to unfold and the Green Coalition is deeply involved in that, and so we talk about it regularly in the church and we have an aquarium with a crayfish and a minnow from the Technoparc so we can talk with the adults of the children that come to see the resources about the realities of the political issues that are present in Montreal. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*The REM, certainly, we've had Transparence. John Simons has presented at the Climate Café, and the more I've learned, I've passed onto the church about its problematic nature, and that's been well received. Most of the wild spaces, certainly the ones that are close to the church, have been represented at Climate Café, and we followed the goodness stories of the Great Park in the West, and L'Anse à l'Orme, and I give people little snippets from time to time. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

- **Connect (with) researchers, citizens, scientists, students and experts and (co)develop empirically valuable independent research studies, reports, white papers and manifestos**

*The Legacy Fund For The Environment held an event in 2016, a hundred people showed up and wanted to talk about what to do for the environment, how to preserve the environment. At the end of that, there was a unanimous approval of a thing by the name of The Green Charter. I'm sure you've seen it. And so we've been trying to push that as well to ensure that municipal authorities can have some sort of a roadmap on how to deal with environmental issues, most importantly on its, don't build on any more green spaces. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*I think the 4.0 declaration could be a very useful tool if we are able to rally organizations and academics around questions, will academics support prescriptive policy positions or will they be reticent to put their name on something that is of a demand nature. The tools we need to have more impact to push forward the (policy and governance) pillars is support from the academic community in order to, again the policy space, and when it comes to the public opinion of political entrepreneurship space that would be more support from Montreal organizations. You need a 4.0 declaration that academics feel comfortable supporting and that organizations see themselves and see their priorities and with the Table des Quartiers they can see themselves in the document, people fighting for affordable housing and see themselves in them; and that is as much about the content as well as the process by which the document is developed. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*We invite this amazing guide that's also a doctor with the sante-publique in Montreal. He gave this amazing PowerPoint presentation. There might've been 15 people there, but we've shot up a lot since then. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*The ways that those networks communicate within one another that's very interesting, last time several points were raised, from Mathieu Corriveau, how are those synapses working? how is information passing through those electrical networks? how is it shared and what information is superficial? because right now we are sharing a lot of information but we have not gotten good at knowing what information is necessary to be sharing and what is nice to have, you know it's a nice human experience but yes storytelling and personal experience, lived experience but let's make sure we don't do that without sharing some key indicator metrics indicators of progress, and so what is that that we are in order to help each other mobilize, create change more effectively. What are those data metrics that we should prioritize measuring, you can't measure everything that's ridiculous it's a waste of time but let's measure a few key things like the private sector, the stock markets analyst, they analyse companies annual reports, the hire people for that. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*I am very much in my bubble at the university, if no one told me about projects I wouldn't know. A good project at the moment is the foundry in Rouin, there are arsenic contaminations, it is really not a file that I know but there I was written and I was given rates . Children are particularly at risk. The rates are 4 times higher than normal. We wrote to the minister but if she does not answer us we will go to the public square. There aren't many of us but we have a lot of legal cases. - Eric Notebaert (Canadian Association of Physicians for the Environment)*

*It's a fantastic environmental study. It was done by the David Suzuki Foundation. There were a couple of studies that were done for the Technoparc. One was by Roger Tippmann, an ornithologist at McGill, and another one was done by a biologist. Tippmann did the one on birds, on biodiversity or rather the diversity of birds on the Technoparc lands plus a bit of a critique on the developer's study, which was, of course, done in, as I say, January...worst time of the year to study birds. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*We have a whole entire discourse on aviation. Degrowth of aviation already developed documents and I'm working with an investigative reporter, a former investigative reporter who's doing research on this. I work with him. It's a good team. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

*The luck that I have is that I know quite a few people so I have access to a lot of information that I use afterwards. There is a doctor who is very interested in cycling and accidents in Montreal, when we did our study he provided me with all the data and therefore our report was detailed. In fact it is a great source of knowledge but they cannot go out and defend it in the public arena. - Eric Notebaert (Canadian Association of Physicians for the Environment)*

*From a professional point of view, it started a lot with Imagine Lachine-Est, I had applied to a job for the summer. Jean-François Lefebvre brought up the issue of eco-districts. Something that was very close to his heart. I had a class on that. We had to prepare class projects. These documents were provided during the consultation of the OCPM. Charles Grenier (Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*I got involved in the coalition because I think it is a good vehicle to promote the notion of eco-neighborhoods. And that's a great card to play if we want to get the neutrality card for 2042. That's one of the reasons I got involved in the coalition. And I think citizens' groups also need to be involved in developing neighborhood planning principles. We must all work together. - Charles Grenier (Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*And then Matthew, the coalition started at this point. I met him here. I have been twice a judge on the sustainability challenge with the people from the MBA. In one of the two cases, it was Matthew who was on the organizing team. It started over coffee. We prepared a brief with my gang, and I adapted it for Montreal. I had it validated by Annie Rochel, because that was our main researcher. Now they might have podcasts on it. - France Levert (Coalition Coordinating Committee, representing the Réseau des femmes en environnement)*

*We also want to make defending the environment a viable career choice for lawyers. It is not now a viable career choice for lawyers except in very rare circumstances [...] When we were setting up the Legacy Fund For The Environment that one of the first things we did was we went to the two McGill university in my law faculty, my Alma mater to talk to students who might be interested in the environment [...] The Legacy Fund For The Environment is one way to do that. And we feel that if we start funding enough of these things, people are going to say, yeah, that actually is, that is a career I want. I want that career. People get used to it. That's an organic solution. It's an organic solution. It will hopefully motivate people to do it, make them look at it as a career, make development thereby of green spaces or whatever climate destruction is being talked about. Make that much more costly and hopefully win a whole bunch of cases too. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*We must educate young people from the start because otherwise they will be crushed by our medical steamroller. They don't think about their exams. I had the chance to do something before. I have a baccalaureate in music, I was conducting a pro orchestra. I am of a generation of people returning to medicine with other interests. Now it's so competitive, it's sad. They don't talk about anything else. When you talk to them about social consideration, they don't know what you're talking about. We have to turn that around. I find it scandalous people who complain about their pay cuts when we are privileged. - Eric Notebaert (Canadian Association of Physicians for the Environment)*

- **Initiate and participate in relevant public consultations across all levels of government. Tap into official governmental studies and provide (technical) assistance.**

*Another one is to participate actively in public consultations. Another one is to produce reports that don't look and feel like they were dashed off by some crank in his basement on Saturday morning. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*All the time, we are invited to federal and provincial commissions. We repeatedly present briefs. I decided not to get involved in politics. We are doing more awareness. - Eric Notebaert (Canadian Association of Physicians for the Environment)*

*Things like the OCPM and the BAPE are really important factors. They really are important to us, and for a non-profit like Montreal Climate Coalition or the Green Coalition to mobilize citizens and persuade them write memoirs and present them to the BAPE or even just submit them, also very important. Sort of, an opportunity that we always look for and yeah its very important, very important. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*I'm sure there are other facets, whenever we make a public statement it helps, I think for example participating in consultations certainly, that moves the needle a little bit and we have participated in maybe 10 consultations in the last few years but in a consultation like that, we provide technical assistance, there is no political will building there and so to the extent that we contribute to the transition, I think technical assistance yes we have provided some in the past and will continue providing some through meetings like the one today with carbon budget experts and executive committee members for the transition in the city administration. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*First of all, we don't have a lot of resources to write briefs so we choose those where we can. We would like for each public consultation to have a link with climate change. Royalmount there was one (waste management), Namur Hippodrome (...) I think it's very important because the OCPM, their memories are based on what people said, think in general. We must be many to carry the message. - Jean-François Boisvert (Cofounder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*When it's volunteer work done between two stones, it's a 2-3 pages memoir, but its to say, hey, listen, it makes sense, make it happen. It's not a progressive government (provincial level), but it's a government of businesspeople that wont object to cities to try something like this that could be good for the economy and the environment. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Cofounder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

*Not long ago, there was a consultation on the Namur Hippodrome project, then I intend to make a brief similar to the Lachine-Est. - Florian Stone (Transparence)*

- **Publish, share and diffuse independent research studies, reports, white papers and manifestos across elected officials, citizen groups, experts and the media.**

*I remember the famous tour on fracking in the Gaspé. There were fishermen who said that in winter they did not fish, if the wells are working, you can work on oil. Then if the water table is contaminated, then if you find out that there is a risk of cancer and by working there you are exposed. Will you be happy? They say that's not what they want. We will achieve a more just society. - Eric Notebaert (Canadian Association of Physicians for the Environment)*

*Yep. And we ask them if they can look at the numbers themselves. As I've presented that according to my calculations in about two years, just airport expansion alone emit more than the REM will save over 25 years in emissions [...] The calculation that we did is that the airport is responsible for, if you include international aviation, which is*

*about three times as much as domestic, Montreal-Trudeau airport then it is about 18% of the city's emissions or 43% of all transport emissions for the city. It's pretty enormous [...] The calculation that we did is that the airport is responsible for, if you include international aviation, which is about three times as much as domestic, Montreal-Trudeau airport then it is about 18% of the city's emissions or 43% of all transport emissions for the city. It's pretty enormous [...] But I'm like, well, we're missing certain data points to really be able to put that down. But that's kind of a rough estimate at the moment. And we asked if they would be willing to come out against it. So anyway, they gave me the data points. So, now I have pretty complete data and we calculated exactly what the amount of emissions it would be. So now the next step is they're going to evaluate all the documents that we did internally that we sent with them internally. They are supposed to get back to us after having looked at it. So we asked them when, and they said that it's going to take some time. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

*If we don't put international aviation, then it reduces quite a bit. I think it mentioned it was like 10% of emissions for the city are left with 6% is from aviation, it's actually 18% if you include the airport dimension. Not airport, if you just include international aviation. The expansion would make it even worse. I think I didn't include that in my calculations yet. So, we're really going to support that. And we're going to publish that in the next few weeks. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

## **ELECTED OFFICIALS: ENGAGING DIALOGICAL CONVERSATIONS WITH (MUNICIPAL) ELECTED OFFICIALS & DECISION-MAKERS**

- **Consistently participate in monthly municipal council question periods, both at the city and borough levels. Keep track of conversations.**

*Media, I think it's super important but you know what, it's... when we started going to city hall, maybe 15 years ago, we would meet journalists there. There were journalists there covering question periods and there aren't any more. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*I went through municipal counselor, Craig Sauv  is a good friend, and I said, "Look, can you guys please put this in your platform? Mr. [Ball 00:00:24:51], send it to me and they send it to him." He says, "Yeah, we support everything in there. We really do. But it's too late to put in our platform because we had our caucus meeting, we had all our meetings to do on that. If you'd done this six months before it would have been possible. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*It sort of gets back to the question of citizens, of democracy and how we can be better represented. I guess one of the reasons I go back to city hall is because I want to feel like I'm represented. I want to tell them like, "Listen to me". I don't know. I'm sort of at a loss sometimes to know how I can have an impact. I still think that maybe there's sort of a truism of a hand written letter to a politician represents a 100 voters. I don't know if that's true or not but I sort of think maybe, that someone who that takes the trouble*



*to go down to city hall, maybe they think wow if there's one person that takes the trouble to go here, maybe it represents a lot of people. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*Yep. So yeah, the plan is we have a calendar of all the city council meetings and we're going to go meet with mayors of boroughs and we're going to try to get one mayor to champion this cause and to bring a motion to the city council asking the city to take a position against it. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

*We often go to the city council to ask questions and sometimes before or after we meet a councillor, and we discuss with them in the corridor. Establishing contact and a climate of trust with elected officials so that they give us credibility. We get to open door. - Jean-François Boisvert (Cofounder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*Well, I've been talking to Anthony and to Kate, who you may also know. And we got together, I'm not sure how it happened but I got wind of the expansion, and I asked a question at City Hall. And I got the contact of Beaudry and got us an appointment and I must've been talking to Anthony before then because he must've told me that that was an issue he was interested in too. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*I went to town hall to ask André Lavalé questions. He was in charge of transport and was in charge of the Notre-Dame file. At that time, Charles Bergeron was promoting streetcars. My first question was why not make a tram instead? I had done the math and it took \$ 75 million to make a streetcar for billions for their projects. We could have done 3 trams. - Florian Stone (Trainsparence)*

*I guess I would like it if the question period, Cathy Wong wouldn't shoo you away until whoever you directed the question to actually gives you an answer. But that's not what happens. After two questions, Cathy politely asks you to leave. If you don't leave the security guard will make you leave but if you ask Valérie Plante, why didn't you tell the minister of municipal affaires that he doesn't have the right to remove the rights of municipalities, the laws regarding the REM. If you ask Valérie Plante that, she shuffles it off to miser Eric Alan Caldwell and he doesn't answer either. He goes on, to how many buses they have. They don't answer. They give you some crap, bullshit and shoo you away. I think politicians that go into, like they should have a personal liability too. They should be personally responsible. Philippe Couillard, if he had some personal responsibility when he was in office, maybe he would have thought twice about giving that contract to the CDPQ which means that they could override municipal urban planning. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

- **Engage directly with relevant elected officials and city administrators (especially at your local/neighborhood level and on social media). Meet with them regularly, offer them workshops, ensure they perceive you as necessary and valuable.**

*He was open to the idea of us giving a presentation on the kind of science, climate science, and carbon budgets... to the executive committee and the city council. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

*I think it was in January of 2015 we work very, very, very hard to get presentations made to the agglomeration committee. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*I think the coalition helps inspire politicians to be a little bit more ambitious but at borough level some really interesting experiments are happening, like borough mayors who maybe otherwise wouldn't have felt empowered or emboldened to stake out new grounds in public participation whether the participatory budget or in the case of Lachine-Est, a pre-consultation before a project was even proposed in order for citizens to say we don't just want to change the project you are proposing we want to create a project from the ground-up. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*I think it was the third annual meeting of the church, which was an annual event, significant, and it's still significant to talk about as the potential of the space, to continue to contribute. Elizabeth May visited and when she wanted to meet her supporters, so I'm a chum of Elizabeth May, and we're on the map, I think. Yep. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*For me personally, success is just being okay, if someone says, what does success look like to you Campbell? Success is being and being perceived as someone for whom you can say if he's involved, it should work. That to me is success. Not getting elected mayor of Montreal. I'd love that too. But to me like it is a political ambition that is just simply to be known as that person or one of those people who makes things happen. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*So we need to figure out what their political imperatives are and push those hot buttons for them. It's not to threaten them with going to court. It's not to call them liars and cheats. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*Elected officials are not really aware of climate change. There is a lot of education work towards some elected officials. We're trying to do that. It paid off. Elected officials do not understand our work and the importance of our coalition. We try in informal exchanges to advance that. The difficulty is that people are caught up in everyday life: the jobs, the demand. For them, the climate issue is just another issue, so he takes care of it but he also takes care of many other things. - Jean-François Boisvert (Cofounder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*The coalition mainly is the meeting with elected officials. We will meet elected officials in the Verdun borough, with the opposition for the carbon budget. - Jean-François Boisvert (Cofounder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*We had two contacts in the city. One was very happy, but he warned us of challenges. For example, when planting trees along sidewalks, they have a complicated life because of snow removal, salt etc. In the parks, there is a lack of planning for varieties. Him, his idea was to speak directly to the boroughs. - Jean-François Boisvert (Cofounder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*When we met the elected officials from Verdun, there was Marie-Andrée Bengère. She is very willing. We met her last summer, she is sold on the idea, but she said that all elected officials are not going to be in favor of it because of the funding that this project will generate. She also thinks that we need to approach the districts more closely. Rosemont wants to double their tree canopy [...] We will try to target the boroughs that are easier to convince. - Jean-François Boisvert (Cofounder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*Luc Gagnon is really, really keen. He's stuck with us. He produces wonderful papers that are really valuable, and he lobbies the government. He goes right up there, and he talks to them. He goes to the ARTM, he goes to the Ville de Montréal, he goes to the ministers. And he's stuck with us. So, Luc Gagnon is super. And he's a really, really good economist. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*But our plan is to lobby members of Projet Montréal, and to go out into our various boroughs and talk to our local Projet Montréal representatives, educate them about the issues. And to get them onboard. I mean, some of them will be in favor of the airport expansion, but there'll be others who aren't. We need to educate them basically. So that's our next step. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*The Coalition has an interest in working with elected officials. If we summarize what has been done. Meetings have been requested with elected officials. With the vision, we arrive with several members of the coalition, and we explained our objective. These were technical meetings to promote our approach. They were science-based content meetings. There are discussions at city council with the question periods. - France Levert*

*A lobbyist has to understand the whole problem and influence people. He develops the whole argument with the positive / the negative [...] you have to attack indirectly for a better strike force. People always do it out of interest. To attract an influencer, you have to understand what will interest him [...] A lobbyist is like a lawyer. Emotions should not be brought into play to maximize the result. - Jean Fortier (Member of the Montreal Climate Coalition and Ex-President of Montreal's Municipal Executive Committee)*

- **Relentlessly put independent research studies, white papers manifestos and public consultation recommendations under the nose of (municipal) elected officials. Be an 'added-value' pest.**

*The doors and windows thing and the whole point always is ultimately you have to impress the decision maker. You do those reports and you take them to the OCPM and you use them in the OCPM. Then when the OCPM comes out with its recommendation, and here's where a lot of organizations also make mistakes, that's the beginning of your job because recommendations are dime a dozen. They get put on a big book and they get put on a shelf and never looked at again. No, you extract what you need from those and you bombard the political decision makers with that recommendation. That is now an asset that you have created after a great deal of time, effort, and money. It is now an asset. Go and use it. Don't just say, "Okay, my job's done. I said what I had to have, got*

*the recommendation I wanted." But no, it's a political job. The whole end product, the end use of all of this effort is to convince the decision makers that the public wants what you want. You want to make your case. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*I think so. And again, even with this administration, with any administration as I said earlier, you can bust your ass and get all the recommendations you want and then it sits on the shelf. The recommendations is the beginning. And that's when you have to start to at least start forcing people who are supposed to be listening to it, to listen to it. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*You use that. You make sure that it gets published in the newspapers. You make sure that every organization sends letters to Plante or anybody else on the committee. If you can't, you get as many as you can. It's difficult to do, but you get as many as to come in from a different angle saying, "I'm this person, I'm that person, I'm in this organization. Have you seen this report? Here's the recommendation. Please act on the recommendation." You go to municipal council meetings and you say, "Have you seen this recommendation? The public 83% of the memorandum, which were produced at the OCPM hearings for L'anse-à-l'orme, were "don't develop." 83%, that didn't happen by accident. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*People can get lost in all sorts of back alleys. They think, "Okay, well, I've given my recommendation. They've had commissions done its recommendation, my job is done." No, it has to be translated into political action. It is a political problem. The environment is 100% a political problem. It's 100% because the people that have the power to do. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*What I understood from the elected officials is that they don't have time to research. They are very busy. My research is read when there is free time. But they are happy. It can give them a foresight on reality. - Amal Melki (Laval Climate Coalition)*

- **Propose policies that are symbolic, politically interesting and technically feasible. Establish orientations, set realistic but ambitious goals and develop metrics.**

*For instance, and we've done this with all of the ones that certainly that I've been involved with, whether it's l'Anse-à-l'Orme or any other. Just take Meadowbrook. We produced that document, which was published before any of these decisions were made, which was "this is what a park could look like. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*We decided we wanted to do something like that because we wanted to prove that it should be a park. The best way to prove it should be a park is to call our park and to have professionals put together a master plan for it, which is what we did. It cost us around \$10,000, but we found the money very easily because it was an easy target. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*So I think that the time will come and it is coming up where we get the city to adopt that charter. That charter is going to be hard to enforce, don't build on green spaces, any green spaces. It's a great theory. But when you got your, your PPU and then you've got developers coming in with their plans, how do you do that? How do you deal with that? How do you tell people right at the very beginning that you have no rights? Will be very hard and I'm sure that that is going to be difficult for them to adopt. I think they'll adopt, they would be ready to stop something like that with a little bit more mealy mouth, do use best efforts to or whatever, it is what it is, it's not a political document ...it would be different, so I'm optimistic. I wish I'd done it earlier. That's it. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*Get CEGEP students involved around this campaign. We're going to develop a strategy early on between all the groups. That's kind of where things are at. I guess the city said that they could do a better job of informing citizens about how to reduce their carbon footprint. So we're like, well could that include telling people about the truth about aviation? We share with the main paper about myths that are put forward by the aviation industry. They said that's a possibility. Then the recommendations that we saw in that report from the commission said that they're going to create a toolkit for citizens, or was recommended. I mean that can go in there. So there's ways the city can reduce demand for aviation. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

*We (Imagine Lachine-Est CA) made a demand to the Quebec government to change legislation to authorise cities to produce geothermal energy because right now cities are not allowed. We ask to add a line to current policy, that cities can add energy systems at the level of neighborhoods, including geothermic, you must open the doors. Ideally you want the public to manage this. And you lose an opportunity to have funds that finance a system...that's the study we did with Coalition climat 3 yrs ago, we estimated that with geothermal in all new developments, we could save 1,000,000 tons of CO less in 25 years, and 150,000,000 – 200,000,000 as revenue for cities. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Cofounder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est)*

*We did a study of the cycling network in Montreal with Eco Compta, a small Montreal enterprise that puts cycling network accounts in cities and looks at preferred routes. We then proposed a mapping of an expansion of the Montreal cycling network. The old administration laughed at us and told us we were utopians, but the new administration has listened to us. - Eric Notebaert (Canadian Association of Physicians for the Environment)*

- **Write (swarms of) petitions and official letters (co-signed from a diversity of groups) to elected officials at all levels of government.**

*Les Amis Meadowbrook was kind of revived on a lot more members, started lobbying, started acquiring letters of support from other environmental organizations. I've got press conferences out in favor of preserving Meadowbrook. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*So our strategy was to collect these letters of support and shoved them under the nose of anybody who would look at that. And I'll get back to that because that was a strategy which I think still needs to be implemented, which I don't think is being influenced enough these days. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*If it wasn't for the letter that was signed by environmental groups, it was Samuel, I forgot his last name, who works at Vivre en Ville who approached me. We signed the letter with several environmental groups who had also signed it for a better vision of the project. - Charles Grenier (Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

## **CITIZENS: ACTIVATING & FACILITATING ACTS OF CITIZENSHIP IN (DISEMPOWERED) INDIVIDUALS**

- **Network (with) individuals in a way that joins their interests and create favorable contexts for facilitating and supporting volunteering/citizenship mandates and missions. Also, get to know your neighbors.**

*But there was not one complaint, and we don't, again, for the other side, to create it peacefully. People love this. They love it because they see it bringing new life and they love it because it gives them new life. They love the videos. They love the videos. It really works. It makes sense. It's coherent. It is coherent; they get it. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*The end. You're not telling them what the end ... well you're telling them what the objective is, but at the end of the day, they have to take responsibility for making decisions and making things happen and basically running a subroutine that's very different from people who are there, who are willing to, we had a volunteer who is an amazingly good cartoonist, so she would make cartoons for our posters and stuff like that. There's no point in asking her to go out and fundraise, would be insulting. So you have to figure out how to do that. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*And the clearly, in the echelons of importance, the people who are willing to take a piece of the problem and sort of like a major committee, fundraising committee, elistic committee, our social media committee, our, the committee for the charrette, someone has to be involved in all of those to run them. Otherwise, the system is going to become too burdensome for the persons in the center. So you need to figure out how to distribute responsibility. This is, I suspect, I've not read these books but I suspect very strongly that sort of How-To books on running organizations probably say similar things. Your biggest problem really is motivation. Ultimately it is motivation. Make it easy for people to make a choice. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*Another type of volunteer is, that's a volunteer that you can say, "Can you please do this task?" Yes. The other type of volunteer is, can you take responsibility for this thing? Right. We need to raise \$10,000, can we just leave that with you? Will you take responsibility for that part of the business as opposed to this is a task, so you need to be able to read people a little bit. You need to be nice to people. You have to remember always that they don't have to be there. This is all about motivation because if they don't like it, they're not going to come back to another meeting. So you need to know,*

*and this is kind of like knowing how to run a meeting. You have to know, you have to be able to find out, you have to be able to get people to take a piece of the problem so that they'll run with it. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*We've had a student come with us. We've had some individual, younger people that have joined us, but their attendance and their commitment are sporadic. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*Everybody's so overworked and so busy. It's really hard to get them to devote much time to your cause. So many causes. We're in a really awful crisis right now, so it's really hard. I support everybody to do what they do. And I think we try. We have a wonderful man in Trainsparence, Jean Brillard, and he's with Trajectoire Quebec which is a group that is nearly always quoted in articles, in the Devoir and the press about the REM. They never talk to us. They talk to them. And they're less aggressive than we are. And they're more conciliatory towards CDPQ and the government. But Jean is great, he comes goes to both. But I don't have time to go over there. And I don't want to go over there. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

- **Invite citizens to join you at monthly municipal council meetings (city and borough levels) and suggest questions they could ask municipal elected officials. Facilitate and support this process.**

*And I think also it's a bit intimidating for citizens to go before a municipal council and ask questions or make comments. If it could be a bit easier and I'm not sure how that could be done, but I know at my municipal council in Seneville, where typically there are maybe 15 citizens that show up for the council meetings. I know there are people that are intimidated to go and ask questions and go to mic and I know there are a lot of people that just can't be bothered and maybe their fear; there, as in other jurisdictions there's some cynicism, some sense of; what's the use? No one listens. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*Well, I think a lot of us, we sort of come to understand that the reason to go to question period is not to get an answer to your question but it's to show all the other councilors there and who ever you're addressing your question to...it's to show them that, citizens are watching and were interested and were following and it's to show that person and all other councilors, maybe the opposition councilors or whatever other councilors that might be interested that you want to know the answer. You want to discuss it. You want the transparency and its to act the words. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

- **Establish 'fluid' working groups and a solid coordinator(s). You're building a movement (making waves), not a company.**

*We're not going to get 50 percent of people becoming green, but it doesn't matter. What we need is 10 percent. That will be enough. That will be enough. Five percent will be enough. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*My first suggestion to people is they not start by setting up a company, that they start a movement. Don't be overly concerned with the formalities of the organization because they will eat up all your useful time. If you want to run an effective meeting, stay away from the formality. Stay away from just deciding past events and spend 15 minutes on what you might be doing today. Don't spend a lot of time on membership and fees and lists and minutes and agendas. - Campbell Stuart (the Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*You need all that, but you don't need it to the exclusion of everything else and don't have any meeting more than two hours long. You can't have a meeting more than two hours long or you will lose people. And that's also, how do you run a meeting? What is one of the keys to success in environmental action is finding someone who can run meetings. That can be difficult if you don't find someone who can run an effective meeting, your organization is dead. So you need to find that person that, who's going to chair these meetings. That is really important and a lot of time and efforts should be spent on finding a person with that talent. Because it is a talent among many talents that's one talent that someone has to have. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*There are ways and means to do things, but if you spend a lot of time on the nuts and bolts of your organization, you can lose the feeling that what's happening is dynamic. That it is a movement, that it is a collection of activists. Because at the end of the day, again, the political decision maker needs to know that these people are motivated and you don't do that by having huge long sections. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*At the end of the day, again, the political decision maker needs to know that these people are motivated and you don't do that by having huge long sections. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*Les Amis du Parc Meadowbrook is not legally constituted. It's been around for 30 years and it is not legally constituted the Green Coalition that, became a legal entity in part if not mainly because it was going to be a party in the lawsuit and in order to be a party in the lawsuit, you had to be a legal entity, either a person or a company or some such thing. It's not a work party or whatever and it had to legally exist, it did not at the time, so it had to become lost alarm. So my loss alarm also had to be incorporated with the same purpose. It was not incorporated so that the whole thing could become an organizational burden because so much of the energy of what people put into these things is absorbed by, everybody does it and all. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*Let's make sure we have the notes. My files are in order and I've got to make sure that you know, everything's all this stuff and you do that at the expensive of thinking of new ways to deal with it. That can be at the expense of motivating people or making sure that this idea has a person who's going to lose sleep. If it's not, if it doesn't happen, there has to be someone who is responsible for that, who feels responsible for that. So you need to allocate tasks, you have to identify and allocate tasks. You have to find the*



*resources for them. You've got to keep people motivated to do it. eavy organizational structures and procedures are a killer, absolute killer because you only got two hours and you need to spend that time on brainstorming and action. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*The whole model, the coalition model, the chapter model of decentralizing, that is something that has also been validated through my experience with climate reality and some of the initial people that were trained by climate reality which are university professors validated this independently and they came to us with a study and they said climate reality is not doing this but they should be doing it and that validation was post the coalition's founding but it helped tip the scales for climate reality to adopt the coalition space and duplicate the coalition a bit more, it informed that decision. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*Part of our task, and it's a big part of our task is to give comfort to those other organizations that we are not out to steal some of their funding because people tend to look at funding as a zero sum game. That's not for us the case at all. We think we can expand it enormously. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*I think you go where the energy is. If two or three people want to do something over here, let them do it. And if these people over here want to do something else, let them do it. Don't try to bring them all in because it's better to ... That's how Extinction Rebellion is. They have something called affinity groups, and they could be just two or three people. And you form an affinity group when you want to take a certain kind of action about the climate. And you think, "Oh, well I'm going to do a swarm. Or I'm going to lobby Projet Montréal or I'm going to put up signs everywhere." And let them go with that. But you don't try to hold it all together. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*So that's another thing, if I was paid part-time by an organisation, I would have more time and the ability to hire someone in order to follow up with the city, we need slightly more resources to go further. We had an objective of changing a regulation at the provincial level, we did a small brief of 3 pages, and we sent it to a few people, we don't even have the time to make 3 calls in order to follow up. To change a law, its not enough to write a report, you need to call the minister's team, the sous-minister to follow up. We don't have the means to do our job correctly. - Jean-François Lefebvre (Cofounder and President, Imagine Lachine-Est).*

- **Organize and participate in rallies, they're also key moments and locations to distribute information (flyers) to citizens (and sometimes the media)**

*So, aiming to get a book ready by then to have it right available when the tunnel closes and we'll just shoot it everywhere, as many things as possible [...] And then hopefully, we'll blast out the location and hopefully people will look at it. Because I think it's going to be in the news. The tunnel closing is going to be in the news on January 6th, so that's a time for us to let people know what's wrong with this project and why it still matters, which it does because it's privatization. So that's my strategy. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*And for example, the one in Two-Mountains was packed. And many of the people were in the audience were Two-Mountain's people. They weren't outsiders like me. So, it was important for that reason. And also, some of the speakers from the audience told personal stories about how their lives were going to be totally amended by this event of the closure of the tunnel. I was not saying that I was saying a more theoretical story. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

*Then we're going to come out with that. We're going to publicize the shit out of it. The idea would be to come up with a media plan and then we're going to tour a different campuses around the Air Trudeau Airport. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

*When Trainsparence goes to testify, we make moral arguments, or economic arguments. And they have an answer to that. But when real people come along to these events, not that I'm a real person but I'm not always directly affecting me. When people are directly affected, it's much more effective. So, it's definitely worth going to those things. It's just that you're not going to persuade them to change their mind, but you might be able to get some press coverage if you tell a really sad story. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

- **Start new campaign and citizen groups at the (hyper) local level and support existing ones in whatever way you can. Ideally start at your neighborhood level**

*In the meantime, what we're doing is we're developing a campaign that's going to focus on a Trudeau Montreal-Trudeau airport. We're going to put down those numbers that I said about the REM and about the airport. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

*I appreciate the work of Charles Eisenstein and his book Sacred Economics. Early on in my ministry, I started a group called The Church's Green Economics Group, but I was too busy to sustain it, but it was well-received, interesting, and I got involved or in contact with the New Economics Foundation in London. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*In terms of scaling our impact, decentralisation is really what we are about, we did talk about it at the board retreat and the idea of being supporting local groups in their communities, so if we have +500 people willing to take action at the city level, yes we can propose that they join the Coalition's board, sub-committees and act at the level of the city, we can never use 500 people, so then how do you engage those people so encourage them to get engaged in other ways and one way is by starting a neighborhood group and the neighborhood group has the same mandate as the Coalition, you know accelerate decarbonisation, promote solutions, call out false solutions, build coalition's in your community to support politicians who want to move the needle and who need that political support, drawing attention to issues that they might not see, so that's the main expansion strategy is decentralised borough level groups, in addition of course to continuing to grow the number of signatories of the city declaration, so the more organisational signatories is what we are prioritising. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*Building community within cities is important, this needs to... be people need to feel connected if they are going to enjoy the work that they are doing in policy entrepreneurship most people will not enjoy that if they are working in isolation by themselves they will enjoy it if they feel that they are part of the team that they are valued part of a community part of the family and I see that the coalition has done that to some extent not as much as it could have been one of the challenges is geography we are in a very one of the largest cities in Canada are trying to build community scale of the city which is challenging because physical distance it matters they say in economics gravity matters the closer you are to another body the more the attraction is strong stronger the attraction so if you're trying to build community across the country kind of challenging across the province still kind of challenges at the city level easier but challenging when it comes to a neighbourhood you now the scale of park extinction or the Southwest, multiple road rules are still too big Montréal's but neighbourhoods, you can be relatively sure that you're going to bump into somebody you take your kid to the same soccer game or same swimming class you go to the same grocery store you exit the Metro at one of the same stops then you are building community where your involvement goes beyond your once a week or once a month connection to the climate cause it's friendship it's bumping into each other doing life together and again at the scale of the neighbourhood it becomes more possible than at the scale of the city especially one of the size of Montreal. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

## **MEDIA: EMPLOYING A SPECTRUM OF FRAMINGS & MAKING THE NEWS**

- **Raise a lot of funds to file a lot of lawsuits. Regardless of whether one wins or not, it's a key 'marketing' opportunity. It raises the visibility of an issue and its political stakes. It makes the news.**

*They choose cases, they hire lawyers, they argue the cases and often they win because they're very careful about how they choose to cases and then they also have to go out and find the money so they are choosing the case, running the case, hiring the lawyers, funding it. That is a recipe for doing very good legal work. It is not in my view, a recipe for ramping up the number of cases in defense of the environment. There is a barrier to growth. For this and other organizations like Equal Justice and others in Canada. The barrier to growth is that they actually execute, run the cases [...] I think there's a new Avenue that people should really be considering and that is, take a lawsuit. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*We also tried to get an injunction against what they were doing right next to Technoparc because it was right next to Technoparc and we lost that. We lost that in the court of appeal as well. We lose cases but we believe, and looking back to the Legacy Fund, as well that one big element in raising the public profile of environmental issues is a lawsuit itself because it creates a bit of a bow wave for people. It's just another arrow in the quiver because you need to come in every day. Here's another philosophy: come in different doors. This really is one of the things that made it work for Meadowbrook. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*We took the view that that was not correctly done for l'Anse-à-l'Orme. We went to the court task them to declare that it was not properly done and that the any re-designation to residential was to be reversed. We also took out an injunction against the Minister of Transport and the city of Montreal or where the destruction that had done on the east end of that land for a planned extension for the 440 North South. And we were the view that there were all sorts of irregularities there on including the usual mealy mouth studied this issue in, in January bird studies. Right? I mean they always do the anyway, their environmental assessments are always sorry to say crap when it comes to the developer because of course the people who are working for them, their mandate is to make sure that you just say that we're not doing any damage. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*In 2015 it occurred to me that if we could start defending green spaces legally through legal procedures, that would be another avenue for creating barriers to environmental destruction. Also to climate change. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

- **Develop contacts and relationships with journalists, issue press releases, hold press conferences, give interviews and get articles and op-eds published in the newspapers.**

*We'll its interesting, the timing of the initiatives were just before COP21, the Paris Agreement, and my colleague administrator was an environmental journalist, so she was green already and she was aware of that process, and she suggested the title Climate Café, which was we thought going to be sort of a bistro atmosphere with valuable stuff being talked about. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*We got quite a lot of answers. The only party that didn't answer at all was Mayor Coderre's party. We had a press conference, we didn't have a lot of answers but we had global news at Campbell's office, which at that time was a different office with a view on the city, nice glass windows and everything and that press conference was broadcast. I'd like to think that helped Mayor Coderre loose the election. So many Montrialers are in favor of more natural spacing. We need more natural spaces. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*I have sent lots of letters to The Gazette, yeah [...] We have a friend and he gets letters in The Gazette all the time, practically once a month. He's a star. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*The media are super important and Sue Statcho of l'Anse-à-l'Orme, I find her really skilled and Sylvia of Green Coalition, they are very good at getting to know those people and cultivating them and Lisa Minsk, who you know also. Cultivating them, cultivating the media and sort of making friends a bit. We can help them a lot too, the journalist, they have a hard job. They have such a hard job and if we have a good relationship and let them know when we're doing something and alert them to an important thing and then press release. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*The media are really important. Really good, I don't want to call them allies because that would imply they're sort of not impartial and they're impartial. Their media like Linda Golai and Michele Lalonde and Miriam Scott at The Gazette and Renni Brunner all really interested in environmental questions. So if we can give them a lead to a story or call them up and tell them about something we're doing it's a good way to work together for all the 1000s and 1000s of people that don't go to question period, they need to read about it in the newspaper. What would we do without news papers and the media? Super important. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*Les Amis Meadowbrook was kind of revived on a lot more members, started lobbying, started acquiring letters of support from other environmental organizations. I've got press conferences out of Projet Montreal in favor of preserving Meadowbrook. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*Well yes, let me say this. That Luc Gagnon gets published whenever he wants to the Devoir. And we have other people in the group, like Patrick Bernard, and Maxime, and Allison. They get published in the Devoir without any difficulties. - Laurel Thompson (Transparence)*

*You have to be present in the media, in consultations to be able to find a place in the landscape and be recognized. - Jean-François Boisvert (Cofounder and Board Member, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

- **Employ a wide spectrum of framings on social media, neither contradictory nor complementary, in a dynamic and adaptive manner. Tag and converse with elected officials online**

*Another one is, and this is just a general philosophy on how to get effective action, keep thinking of different ways to make your point again because you only get in the newspaper if it's news. You only get the hearing from different people if you can address it in a different way. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*I see a real contribution and I'm trying to write about it through that tradition, the Christian tradition, and it's not the only one but I see how the Christian story is a real, real contribution to all of that. It keeps me going, it keeps me going. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*The spirituality is political. Polis and politics is how you organize human civilization, so you bring values into that, and the values is Christians, we have Christian values. Justice, and peace, and the integrity of creation. How are these expressed? I think people have made the connections that you can't love your neighbor without loving the planet. We have a lovely poster in the church of the green rule, so I'm making the link [...] There's the golden rule, which is to love your neighbor as you love yourself, and interestingly, Kant, Emmanuel Kant, the philosopher, had a platinum rule, which is to treat your neighbor as you think they would like to be treated, which is a little philosophically better, but anyway that's called the golden rule, and the green rule is*

*a variant of that that you can find in the different traditions. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*Yeah, well the coalition calls for the degrowth of aviation So it's calling for an immediate and a radical reduction in the amount of air traffic control. It's just kind of no bullshit statement that has to be immediate and it has to be radical and it has to focus on air traffic. So yeah, the paper that we're going to produce, it's going to be that we're currently putting together based on the research that I did, it's going to be in that kind of framing. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

*I think I mentioned that one of the, when you're coming in different doors, different windows, that would be a good example of getting... You will not get the health department of the City of Montréal to say save this green space. They will not do that. But you can get them to say saving green spaces is extraordinarily important for health. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

### **THE DON'TS: NOT JUST ABOUT WHAT 'TO DO', BUT ALSO WHAT 'NOT TO DO'**

- **Don't be dependent on funding sources. Rely on a high number of volunteers working consistently 'off their desks' and pitch for your funding need(s) on a project by project basis.**

*You can do that, certainly, but to actually engage the church in political actions is another thing, and so there's a whole spectrum of attitudes to that, and it's quite possible that the Green Church Network would take more of that on except for the fact that some of the funding sources would come from Catholic hierarchies that do not like anything political. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*The whole program, and doing this especially, has brought new life and energy. It's brought new funds, the national church has funded the work, the local region has funded the work. It's brought new people into us. We welcome dogs in worship. That alone brings new people in. - Neil Whitehouse (Pastor, Westmount Park United Church)*

*You pay for it. We spent \$4,500 paying for this study on the cost on the municipality. We got terrific value on that. We spent huge amounts of money on these biodiversity studies. In the same time for L'Anse-à-l'Orme, and on Technoparc, you have to be willing to spend money [...] We found the money from a foundation that gave the money to the David Suzuki Foundation, specifically to fund the two studies we wanted to do. One was for L'Anse-à-l'Orme. One was the David Suzuki Foundation put out an amazing biodiversity study that was done by Jean and his group. An amazing document. That was put out by the David Suzuki Foundation with money that we had obtained from another foundation that decided they were going to funnel it through the David Suzuki Foundation (...) We were willing to decide what was needed to be done and then raise the money to do it, not the other way around. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*The other one was on environmental study on Technoparc. But again there, that was another \$15,000. We find that money goes through other organizations, and the studies get published and those are very powerful because they're from different sources. They*

*are extremely well-done. There's money available to do it. We decide what we want to do and then we find the money. If we're looking for other things that, to me, is a byword is don't worry about the money first because you say, "We need to do this study." Someone at the end of the table is going to say, "Well, we don't have the money." No. The right way to go about it is saying, "This is what's needed right now. Let's go and find the money." That's actually not that difficult. It's not that difficult. That's one. We've done a number of those. If you're interested in seeing the biodiversity studies that were done for L'Anse-à-l'orme, for the Technoparc, I'll send you an email with all of those in it. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*Because they are motivated people and also because the doctors have money so they donate it. We are funded just by contributions from members but sometimes institutions give us money for very specific mandates, for example to report on such and such a public problem, such a pesticide. We set up a committee for this report and sometimes we hire someone from the outside to write this report. Like the hydraulic fracture, for example, we hired someone from the outside to write the report. We have \$ 20,000 just to pay the editor. We have 3 or 4 employees. We give a lot of time. - Eric Notebaert (Canadian Association of Physicians for the Environment)*

*The Legacy Funded For The Environment has it as a slightly different mandate and that is, I might put it this way, raised a shitload of money and fund a shitload of cases and don't be afraid of losing and that to me as a lawyer has so many obvious benefits. The first and foremost is that we can concentrate on marketing because it is a marketing problem. It's the Legacy Fund For The Environment because we were going to people and we're going to be going public right now just as the parenthesis. We are writing our business plan to get seed money to go to foundations in the like, to make it as big as we want it to be, which is Canada wide, which is many, many millions of dollars we have without the benefit of charitable status have raised somewhere in the neighborhood 250,000 just from private donations, without charitable receipts to run the two cases I mentioned on L'Anse-à-l'Orme, an injunction on the techno park, which is what's happening tonight, and a couple of others. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*So one of our first objective,s task as it were, is to make sure that these organizations understand that we're not cutting the grass rather we are looking to and would be very, very, very interested in funding their cases because we're interested in finding cases that's what we do. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*I can also mention that if you are getting paid to work in the transition movement that it's like cool that's great that's an amazing gig who would not want to have the pie and eat it, claim virtue while profiting at the same time it sort of a I don't feel like I'm adding value to the movement per se by getting paid to work in the movement I would be adding value if I was working as a teacher for example and investing my time energy mental capital in the movements I'm drawing money from outside the movement and injecting it informally into the movement without having to go back to my school board and say here is what I have accomplished for the climate this is where I see the difference with funding sources, the funding of citizen organizations is to an extent pure in their motivations and I would like to keep it this way and I would not want to see happen a network of climate*

*hubs and coalitions across the country that are reporting back to us and telling us what they are doing, I want them to make decisions based on the passions that they have now could be yes we can suggest that they can measure certain things so that they can progress but ultimately their success and failures will be based on the intrinsic rewards that the individuals involved draw from their involvement. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*Daniel was actually going to write up a proposal to get instantly try to get a small contract to do the research that allocate the carbon budget, lead a Montreal, do that with Damon and just do that as quickly as possible. So I think he's going to try to write that up on the weekend and we can pitch it too, cause I think if it's under a certain amount of money, the city has funds to do it. - Anthony Goulifaris-Auger (Rapid Decarbonisation Group and Extinction Rebellion)*

*Well, it cost us \$30,000 and we paid for half of it with donations. We still owe \$15,000. I don't know what we're going to do about that. Because, I mean, despite the fact that there's sort of a solid kernel, none of those people that are in the solid kernel are entrepreneurs or money makers. I mean, the event at the Montréal Science Center, we got some money for that because we asked people to donate afterwards. But I paid for it. And so, I lost money. The money that was donated has to cover cost. So, we don't know how to fundraise. We're not very good at it. And we don't have anybody in the group who's good at it. - Laurel Thompson (Trainsparence)*

- **Don't be afraid to lose and don't be concerned with who gets the credit for positive impacts generated**

*The success of Les Amis Meadowbrook in getting a Meadowbrook preserved was not the effort of Les Amis Meadowbrook. It was the Alliance that Meadowbrook had with all these other organization. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*Now that brings up another point, which is my father used to tell me that "you will be amazed at how much you can get done if you don't care who gets credit." There's a theme running through this. Why do umbrella organizations insist on speaking for everybody else? There's personal ambition involved in all of this. One of the elements of it submerged a little bit is, how do you get around that? How do you deal with that? It can be a barrier. You can turn that to your advantage by enlisting the support, whether it's letters of support, which we got for Meadowbrook. It could also be to have other organizations sponsor and publish environmental studies. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*We spent upwards of \$60,000 on those studies all in. We raised all that money and we put up together all the plans, but ultimately it was the Suzuki Foundation in one case and other people in other cases producing these reports from unimpeachable sources, established sources. They're not part of us. They're part of the community so that anybody who looks at this movement going forward, they say, "Wait a minute. What's this environmental study? - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*



- **Don't look for (or expect) approval from elected officials. Don't be a lapdog or apple pie**

*One municipal council once told me I was a liar and I was going to tell all kinds of lies about the REM. That's intimidating. I think independent political activists are super important. In a way you can say that any citizen that speaks out is an independent political activist. Even people that have a different point of view than us if they speak out and if they have good reason and logic and stuff... it's valid, it's valid. - Allison Hackney (Green Coalition)*

*We've seen as more as a guard dog right now even though in the back rooms where we have these private meetings with policy makers we are more guide dogs as we propose guidance but are public interventions are more of a guard dog variety and even if you propose solutions in those public interventions what I think tends to get member is oh it's them again demanding something rather than proposing something, proposals don't really resonate in people's memories as much as demands so when we intervene at City Hall my feeling is we're seen as a more of a pressure group than a collaborative force displayed that would but in the back rooms when we send private messages to city officials and decision-makers at the executive committee level they see us in a more balanced with so what role do we play we do play the first two dogs lapdogs I don't I can't think of a time when we've been flattered by the administration we don't expect our ears to be scratched and to be petted and they haven't done it we don't get preferential treatment were not in any closed-door meetings talking about high-level strategies lapdog implies that we are not bringing much to the table we are being used or instrumentalized in order to justify positions and I certainly don't feel like this is the case partly the justification of that perception is having no preferential treatment whatsoever and I'm okay with that even though I know some members of the coalition have felt that all by this time we should be on the inside should be on first mend basis and texting on the weekends and things like that, and I'm totally fine being there because first of all there are ample other organizations in that position you know the big established ones first and foremost where they are unwilling or unable to be critical of this administration because they feel they are again analysed and they are in the back room can seek out even if they feel in private that are getting a raw deal and it is circling back to the first point I have mentioned. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

- **Don't be a party partisan, be an issue partisan**

*So in the last municipal election, we've put a great deal of effort not in supporting Projet Montreal , but in raising issues, doing surveys, publishing reports, attending meetings. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*I think we could have chosen when we had a friendly administration a more "sustainable" administration, we could have chosen to be a little bit more "close to them" but we maintained a tone of distance, not an aggressive tone at all, but a tone "we need to move, we need to move; what are we doing, what are we doing; What about this, what about that?" As opposed to, like, we're here to help you, tell us what to do, and I think there is a balance between those two that needs to happen although*

*I think that message was delivered very clearly, like, we're here to help, and they're like well how do you want to help, well here are the policy orientations that we think are high priority, what are you doing about them, so they were not really good at proposing ways to engage the public. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

*We don't work in politics; we want to change but without being party partisans. - Amal Melki (Laval Climate Coalition)*

- **Don't aggregate voices, marshal them!**

*If on the other hand an organization takes the view that they are an umbrella organization, that their mandate is to speak for all these environmental organizations. What does that mean practically in public hearings? Practically in public hearings it means that there's one of them. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*My view is their job should not be even perhaps to be giving any sort of a brief at all. Maybe, but the real job is getting everybody else to do it, people in your year group, if you can get 20 or 30 of those people to submit memorandum. You will win numbers count [...] You can come in and say I'm blah blah blah, I represent a hundred environmental organization. Isn't that impressive? But at the end of the day, everybody just counts the memorandum. There was one and five developers and there was one of these guys and then a few other stragglers. Okay. But if you can get people to come in, okay. And we did this with Meadowbrook and I've done it with a number of other organizations since. When the OCPM had its hearing we did the same thing. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*Both of them are essential to do both. I wish they'd do more together, but at the end of the day, when it specifically comes down to convincing public bodies that they ought to act in a certain way, and in particular as a subset when there are public hearings on something, that's when the umbrella organizations have to recognize that their job really is to marshal those voices and make sure all of those voices come together and put in their own. There's no reason why they shouldn't put in their own memorandum, but really ultimately their most important thing is to absolutely bombard those commissioners and make them believe that the public is really pissed off and it's not going to take anymore. That's their job. That's what you have to do with those commissioners because they're human, too. It's a political thing. That's the right political, to my mind, response to these public unions. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*So I mean that's a pretty good example of how you can get your allies as long as you don't insist that everybody tow your particular party line, you can do it. This is, it was actually the outline of a talk that I and a couple of people from Meadowbrook gave at Royal West Academy to their environmental club and they wanted to know, a lot of people at the time, they wanted to know what worked. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*We find out what organizations are interested in submitting memorandum and talk to them about what they want to talk about so that we can cover the whole spectrum. Hopefully the different people can do different things, but you don't aggregate their voice. You encourage many voices and that will work. It's worked for the [inaudible 00:32:19] commission, it's worked for the .... Commission, it's worked with the OCPM on Meadowbrook twice. It's worked with the [inaudible 00:32:24]. It worked with the hearings most critically with the commission municipal commission [foreign language 00:32:32] . It worked with the [inaudible 00:32:35], it works, it works, it works, it works, it works. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*The main way of doing that is to find a way to impress them with a number of people who hold the same view. As I've said before, the way to do that is to have a number of people do it rather than one group talking for everybody. That's one way to do it [...] So that I suppose is the number one observation I would make about environmental action, and that is Marshall and aggregate of Marshall voices don't aggravate them. Don't presume. Keep it grassroots. - Campbell Stuart (The Legacy Fund for the Environment)*

*A swarm mentality of 100 organizations doing 100 different things, and they maybe not all super strategic, but that's chaos theory, you don't have to go to the coordinated work, and in fact it's probably more rescinded if you are diverse in your approaches and in your tactics and your messaging because you are going to appear necessary, that everybody is coming at me from different places as opposed to: I've met with this director of this organization and I can count of the support of all their members. I think that's an antiquated model of making change that needs to be explicitly questioned and some of those differences of opinions about how organizations should be are coming to the fore in my work, because I am now in sort of a small organization but under the auspices of the larger organisation and I'm implicitly calling out there broken model and saying: please, can we do this better please please please, but there is no easy avenue to make those kind of comments you know. - Matthew Chapman (Cofounder and President, Montreal Climate Coalition)*

## Annex 28 – Municipal Council Meetings

| Year | Date       | Question From<br>(Citizen) | To<br>(Elected Official)                                    | Topic(s) of Discussion  |
|------|------------|----------------------------|---|---|
| 2016 | March 21st | Matthew Chapman            | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard                               | Invitation to elected officials to share the document "Carbon neutral for the 400th anniversary" with citizens in order to change their habits regarding climate change / Assurance that the report will be treated with all the importance required by the city. <b>Document submission.</b> |
|      |            | Alison Hackney             | Denis Coderre/<br>Aref Salem                                | Planning of public transport and studies to mitigate transport in the West / Future projects of the Quebec Ministry of Transport for the North of the island - Deux-Montagnes line  |
|      |            | Susan Stacho               | Denis Coderre/<br>Russel Copeman                            | Costs related to analytical studies on wetlands in the L'Anse-à-L'Orme and Pierrefonds-Ouest sectors - access to information  |
|      |            | Francis Lapierre           | Denis Coderre   | Will the City require that Enbridge line 9B as well as the future TransCanada Pipeline be tunneled before crossing any body of water, in particular those upstream of the intakes? / Taking responsibility by the city in this area   |
|      |            | Alexandru Jordan           | Denis Coderre/<br>Sylvain Ouellet                           | Report of the Office de consultation publique on reducing dependence on fossil fuels - guarantees that the city will give it the same attention as a report from a standing committee / Opposition actions in this regard   |
|      |            | Jean-François Boisvert     | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard                               | Schedule for the next greenhouse gas emissions inventory / Desired commitment in this regard  |
|      |            | Patrice Cary-Barnard       | Denis Coderre/<br>Dimitrios (Jim) Beis/<br>Justine McIntyre | Saving L'Anse-à-L'Orme - access to information and citizen participation / Lack of information  |
|      |            | Albert Hayek               | Denis Coderre/<br>Dimitrios (Jim) Beis                      | Meeting of city authorities with promoters about the Pierrefonds Ouest sector development project   |

| Year | Date       | Question From            | To   | Object   |
|------|------------|--------------------------|--|--|
| 2016 | April 18th | Shane Johnston           | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard                | Clarifications on the planned schedule for the next inventory of greenhouse gas emissions / Budget allocated in this regard and date of the last inventory   |
|      |            | Anthony Garoufalis-Auger | Réal Ménard                                  | Climate change and reduction of greenhouse gases - City's carbon neutral budget and consultation desired in this regard / Sharing of research documents on this subject  |
|      |            | Jean Léger               | Denis Coderre                                | Reversal of Line 9B of the Enbridge Pipeline in December 2015 - how to authorize the reversal if no contingency plan in place  |
|      |            | Maxime Arnoldi           | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard/<br>Aref Salem | Protection of Cap-Nature in the Pierrefonds borough / Integrate this territory as a green space to be protected / Traffic study desired  |
|      |            | Matthew Chapman          | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard                | Targets set by the City in terms of greenhouse gas reduction / Desired best practices.<br><b>Document submission</b>   |
|      |            | Sonja Susnjar            | Claude Dauphin                               | Development project in the Lachine East sector - improvement of the frequency of trains on the Candiac line to meet the criteria of a TOD project / Concrete measures to improve the frequency and meet these criteria |

| Year | Date     | Question From     | To   | Object  |
|------|----------|-------------------|--|---|
| 2016 | May 16th | Michel Labelle    | Catherine Clément-Talbot/<br>Russell Copeman | Conservation of green spaces and justification for agricultural rezoning of land in Anse-à-L'Orme to allow residential development - Would like a meeting to discuss this file  |
|      |          | Charles Mac Leod  | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard                | Would like a copy of the Charter for the Protection of Green Spaces and Natural Environments in Montreal to be distributed to all members of the council  |
|      |          | Steven Laperrière | Denis Coderre/<br>Richard Bergeron           | Favoriser la tenue d'une consultation publique sur les modifications apportées dans le parcours du train de l'Est afin de réaliser le Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) – qui des citoyens, de la Caisse de dépôt et de placement, de la Société de transport de Montréal ou de l'Agence métropolitaine des transports bénéficiera de tels changements / Inclure l'accessibilité universelle dans ce projet |
|      |          | Albert Hayek      | Denis Coderre/<br>Russell Copeman            | Conservation of the green spaces of Anse-à-l'Orme - do not follow up on the residential development project on these lands - Establish a timetable for the public consultation of the Office de consultation publique de Montréal and assurances that the recommendations made by the OCPM will be respected<br><b>Document submission</b>  |
|      |          | Jean Léger        | Denis Coderre                                | Rezoning of agricultural land and urban sprawl - preserving the sustainability of these lands for future generations  |
|      |          | Lisa Mintz        | Réal Ménard                                  | Strengthen the application of municipal bylaws and all other concrete measures to require the holding of permits for the felling of trees to reduce urban deforestation<br><b>Document submission by councilor Ménard</b>   |
|      |          | Laurel Thompson   | Pierre Desrochers/<br>Aref Salem             | Concrete measures to reduce traffic in the area of the Pie IX and Henri-Bourassa bridge - suggestion to introduce a toll  |
|      |          | Matthew Chapman   | Denis Coderre                                | Make public the follow-up to the OCPM report on fossil fuels - Formation of a working group for this purpose including elected officials and citizens<br><b>Document submission</b>   |

| Year | Date      | Question From        | To  | Object   |
|------|-----------|----------------------|---|--|
| 2016 | June 20th | Joseph Khoury        | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard                     | Implementation of the recommendations of the OCPM report on fossil fuel reduction / Priority citizen participation - follow the example of the City of Vancouver   |
|      |           | Patrick Cary Barnard | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard/<br>Russell Copeman | International vocation of the City of Montreal in terms of preservation of natural spaces if a target of 10% is reached - protection of that of Pierrefonds Ouest to achieve this objective / Montreal's desire to become an ecological city |
|      |           | Laurel Thompson      | Pierre Desrochers/<br>Aref Salem                  | Means considered to reduce automobile congestion in the northern sector of Montreal / Promote public transit   |

| Year | Date        | Question From     | To                                   | Object   |
|------|-------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 2016 | August 22nd | Matthew Chapman   | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard        | Sustainable development - Congratulations to the members of the board for contributing to the largest public consultation in the history of the OCPM / Pursue the path of citizen participation by authorizing consultations on all issues   |
|      |             | Steven Rosenstein | Luc Ferrandez/<br>Alan DeSousa       | Imposition of a moratorium on the extension of Alfred-Nobel Boulevard and all other roads located on wetlands owned by the Technoparc, in the borough of Saint-Laurent - Concrete measures to preserve 10% of green spaces and green habitats endangered species   |
|      |             | Sonja Susnjar     | Richard Bergeron/<br>Russell Copeman | Explanations of the Transit oriented development (TOD) character of residential development projects on the banks of the Lachine Canal, in the Lachine borough, and LaSalle train station, in the LaSalle borough / Amendment necessary to the development plan to respect the recommendations of the Office de consultation publique (OCPM) in the case of these projects |

| Year | Date           | Question From   | To  | Object  |
|------|----------------|-----------------|---|---|
| 2016 | September 26th | Matthew Chapman | Denis Coderre/<br>Pierre Desrochers/<br>Réal Ménard | Expresses the hope that the mayor's speech at the conference of October 4, 2016, on the city's future vision will highlight the theme "a healthy, prosperous and carbon-neutral city" / Amounts allocated in the next budget for urban infrastructure and measures for climate change in order to meet the ambitious objectives set out by the OCPM in its report on fossil fuels |

| Year | Date          | Question From        | To                                 | Object  |
|------|---------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| 2016 | November 21st | Patrick Cary-Barnard | Denis Coderre/<br>Richard Bergeron | In the context of urban sprawl, reconsider the City's support for the Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) / Important consequences of such support<br><b>Document submission</b>  |
|      |               | Lisa Mintz           | Denis Coderre/<br>Richard Bergeron | The stations in the West of the island of the future Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) will be located in uninhabited areas / Balance between development and protection of green spaces  |
|      |               | Matthew Chapman      | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard      | City of Montreal's decarbonization plan and REM project - implementation of effective public transport measures to reduce greenhouse gases (GHG) / City's ambitious objectives in terms of sustainable development and information sent to citizens |

| Year | Date          | Question From          | To                               | Object  |
|------|---------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 2016 | December 19th | Jean-François Boisvert | Réal Ménard/<br>Denis Coderre    | Concrete measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in transportation and promote carpooling - federal subsidy to invest in public transit   |
|      |               | Matthew Chapman        | Denis Coderre/<br>Valérie Plante | Invest the amounts allocated to trips made by the mayor to discuss environmental protection in projects to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) - Assurance that an annual inventory on the fight against GHG will be done in collaboration with environmental organizations |
|      |               | Donald Hobus           | Richard Bergeron                 | Protect in its entirety the green spaces of Anse-à-l'Orme in the route of the Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) / Avoid the development of public transport in the West Island to the detriment of protection of green spaces                                   |



| Year | Date         | Question From         | To   | Object  |
|------|--------------|-----------------------|--|---|
| 2017 | January 23rd | Albert A. Hayek       | Russell Copeman  | Asks to identify another site for real estate development in Pierrefonds-Ouest that would not endanger the ecoterritory / Questioning on the zoning change accepted by the City                         |
|      |              | Patrick Cary-Barnard  | Denis Coderre/<br>Richard Bergeron/<br>Sylvain Ouellet | REM project - reading of the BAPE report by city officials and comments on its conclusions / Opinion of the official opposition in this regard  |
|      |              | Laurel Thompson       | Richard Bergeron/<br>Craig Sauvé                       | REM project - justifications on the use of the public transport budget to subsidize a development project of private interest / Opinion of the official opposition in this regard                       |
|      |              | Alison Hackney        | Denis Coderre/<br>Richard Bergeron/<br>Valérie Plante  | REM project - make public certain information that is fundamental to understanding the project before deciding on the model to be retained / Opinion of the official opposition in this regard          |
|      |              | Betzy Salas Fizarraga | Denis Coderre/<br>Valérie Plante                       | In the context of the fight against climate change, questioning of the replacement of agricultural land and wetlands by concrete park-and-ride lots / Opinion of the official opposition in this regard |

| Year | Date       | Question From    | To                                | Object   |
|------|------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 2017 | March 27th | Francis Lapierre | Denis Coderre/<br>Aref Salem      | Examine with more eagerness and thoroughness a large-scale transport project such as the REM / Reconsider transport in the Logistics City according to urban planning principles recognized in California since 1960 |
|      |            | Susan Stacho     | Denis Coderre/<br>Russell Copeman | Make the PPU public before the OCPM hearings on the Pierrefonds-Ouest project / Investigation requested on certain public contracts awarded in this project  |

| Year | Date       | Question From    | To                             | Object   |
|------|------------|------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 2017 | April 24th | Laurel Thompson  | Denis Coderre/Aref Salem       | Would like to know the difference between the research project to improve the electrification of transport and the study that was commissioned from the Institute of Electrification and Transport Intelligence for this purpose, in 2016  |
|      |            | Neil White House | Denis Coderre/<br>Alan DeSousa | Request to end the Hubert Reeves eco-campus construction project in the Technoparc in order to protect the habitat of endangered species and this ecosystem - Declare this place as an exceptional wetland in Montreal and protect it for future generations   |
|      |            | Matthew Chapman  | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard  | Provide for a carbon budget, a climate test and a public consultation within the framework of major projects, such as the Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM)<br><b>Document submission</b><br>Questions the relevance of the study by the firm SMI for the residential project on the wetlands of Anse-à-L'Orme, a study carried out by Mr. David Cliche who worked as a lobbyist for the promoters of the said project |

| Year | Date     | Question From        | To  | Object   |
|------|----------|----------------------|---|--|
| 2017 | May 15th | Laurel Thompson      | Denis Coderre                                     | Transport electrification - Transparency of the REM project / Comparative study with other similar projects  |
|      |          | Marie-Claire Mayeres | Denis Coderre/<br>Russell Copeman                 | Establish a new flood rating code before allowing real estate development in Pierrefonds-Ouest / Protection of wetlands inside Pierrefonds-Ouest   |
|      |          | Matthew Chapman      | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard                     | Holding of an information session by representatives of the city administration on reducing Montreal's dependence on fossil fuels following the filing of the OCPM report to this effect<br><b>Document submission</b> |
|      |          | Lisa Mintz           | Denis Coderre/<br>Pierre Desrochers               | Responsibility for the protection of the eco-territory "Save the cliff" - Acknowledgments for the installation of the slab-park<br><b>Document submission</b>  |
|      |          | Rosalie Laframboise  | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard                     | Protection of natural environments on the Island of Montreal in the context of climate change / Removal of natural environments from the planned real estate development in Pierrefonds-Ouest                          |
|      |          | Kenneth John Symon   | Denis Coderre/<br>Russell Copeman/<br>Réal Ménard | Preservation of natural environments in Pierrefonds Ouest - Schedule and budget for achieving the protection of 10% of wetlands  |
|      |          | Francis Lapierre     | Denis Coderre/<br>Richard Bergeron                | Governance change for the REM project - Referendum requested about the project   |

| Year | Date      | Question From    | To                                 | Object  |
|------|-----------|------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| 2017 | June 12th | Francis Lapierre | Denis Coderre/<br>Richard Bergeron | Faced with the refusal to tarnish a referendum on the creation of the Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM), the resignation of the administration is desired if the cost of said project exceeds the estimate / Opinion of the administration on the powers granted to the Caisse de dépôt by Bill 137 with regard to social pricing |
|      |           | Susan Stacho     | Denis Coderre/<br>Russell Copeman  | Post-mortem requested on the floods that have occurred in Pierrefonds-Ouest / If public consultations on the development project in Pierrefonds-Ouest can be postponed until later  |
|      |           | Sunja Susnjar    | Denis Coderre/<br>Lionel Perez     | Questions the place of participatory democracy in Bill 122, which provides for the abolition of the holding of a referendum on zoning changes - Importance of hearing citizens express themselves on major projects   |

| Year | Date        | Question From        | To   | Object  |
|------|-------------|----------------------|--|---|
| 2017 | August 21st | Alison Hackney       | Denis Coderre/<br>Russell Copeman                      | Links between the political manager of the L'Anse-à-l'Orme project and the project promoter and possible conflict of interest / How many meetings have taken place over the past 4 years with Norcom Shareholders |
|      |             | Susan Stacho         | Denis Coderre/<br>Russell Copeman/<br>Justine McIntyre | Protection of natural spaces in Pierrefonds-Ouest and consider the creation of an urban park instead of residential development / Position of the various opposition parties in this regard                       |
|      |             | Patrick Cary-Barnard | Denis Coderre/<br>Réal Ménard/<br>Justine McIntyre     | Falaise Saint-Jacques - poor record of the City in terms of biodiversity and protection of natural environments / Position of the various opposition parties regarding this record                                |
|      |             | Maxime Arnoldi       | Denis Coderre/<br>Russell Copeman/<br>Valérie Plante   | Response of the Administration to opponents of the destruction of the natural environment in Pierrefonds-Ouest / Position of the various opposition parties in this regard  |
|      |             | Francis Lapierre     | Denis Coderre/<br>Richard Bergeron                     | Governance of the Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) project and waste of public funds / Recognize that the construction of the REM will worsen the lot of the less fortunate and deteriorate the environment  |

| Year | Date           | Question From   | To                                   | Object   |
|------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 2017 | September 25th | Alison Hackney  | Denis Coderre/<br>Russell Copeman    | Make public any contribution to support the electoral campaign carried out by Norcom shareholders or other promoters of the Pierrefonds Ouest project / Make information related to electoral contributions accessible |
|      |                | Vlad Irimia     | Denis Coderre/<br>Pierre Desrtochers | Questioning on investments by the Pension Scheme Office in the fossil fuel industries / Responsibility of the City in this regard  |
|      |                | Laurel Thompson | Denis Coderre/<br>Richard Bergeron   | Realization of the REM project without public consultation / Moral authority to go ahead with this project which will cost more than 12.2 billion to taxpayers   |

| Year | Date          | Question From            | To             | Object   |
|------|---------------|--------------------------|----------------|--|
| 2017 | Novembre 27th | Simone Marguerite Nichol | Valérie Plante | Does not understand the mayor's position now in favor of the REM and asks for an explanation |

| Year | Date          | Question From   | To                                    | Object   |
|------|---------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 2017 | December 11th | Laurel Thompson | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell | Congratulates the mayoress and the members of her team for their victory in the last elections / Expresses her concerns about the sources of funding for the Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) project versus the pink line project promised during the electoral campaign / access difficulties information about the REM   |
|      |               | John Symon      | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell | Congratulates the mayor following her victory in the last elections / Deplores the lack of transparency in the file of the Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) and asks the administration to make public the call for tenders launched for the realization of this project  |
|      |               | Susan Stacho    | Valérie Plante/<br>Sterling Downey    | Congratulations to all members for their victory in the last elections / Conservation of the green spaces of Anse-à-l'Orme and assurance that the citizens of the West Island of Montreal will be invited to consultations for the development of the future park<br><b>Document submission</b>  |
|      |               | Alison Hackney  | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell | Congratulates all members for their victory in the last election / Deplores that the route planned for the Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) line will not serve the citizens of the City of Vaudreuil and fears the stop of the Vaudreuil-Montreal line - Suggestion to optimize existing infrastructures in order to make public transport accessible to all citizens of the West Island of Montreal - Asks the administration's assurance that current services will be maintained with the addition of the REM |

| Year | Date         | Question From    | To  | Object   |
|------|--------------|------------------|---|--|
| 2018 | January 22nd | Matthew Chapman  | Valérie Plante/<br>Laurence Lavigne<br>Lalonde/<br>Jean-François<br>Parenteau | Presence of a representative of the city at the meeting on the fight against climate change on April 10, 2018 / Reduction of greenhouse gases - plan a carbon budget - photo taken with the requested mayor                              |
|      |              | Francis Lapierre | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell   | REM project does not meet the objectives - examine other transport proposals, such as the great "sustainable transport" shift / Prioritize the construction of a 15 to 20 km tram network in the city center using the funds of the City |

| Year | Date          | Question From   | To  | Object   |
|------|---------------|-----------------|---|--|
| 2018 | February 19th | Matthew Chapman | Jean-François Parenteau/<br>François W. Croteau                   | Commitment that all elected officials who will not be able to attend the conference of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) to be held in Edmonton, from March 2 to 8, will benefit from information sharing from points that will be discussed in order to make them aware of the roles of cities and the resources available to them / make public the open data of the City of Montreal in order to help the organization Coalition climat Montréal to become a Canadian leader in this field |
|      |               | Jean Fortier    | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell/<br>Jean-François Parenteau | Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) - The citizen wants the administration to inform the population of the quantity of carbon dioxide that will be emitted for the realization of this project, and this, separately for each section and independently of the project manager, the promoter or supplier<br><b>Document submission</b>   |

| Year | Date       | Question From        | To   | Object  |
|------|------------|----------------------|--|---|
| 2018 | March 26th | Estelle Lehoux       | Jean-François Parenteau  | Construction of a fuel storage site in Montreal East - if the city moves away from real measures to reduce our dependence on fossil fuels / REM project and urban sprawl - opt for a project that will reduce the use of automobile   |
|      |            | John Symon           | Cathy Wong/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell  | Councilors 'right to express themselves on the REM project and citizens' right to access information held by council members / Bus routes 211 and 747 as well as the Vaudreuil-Hudson train line are from the REM exclusion zones - what will happen to these circuits?               |
|      |            | Laurent Howe         | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell/<br>Cathy Wong/<br>Karine Boivin-Roy | The REM must remain a Quebec infrastructure - hopes that the Administration will defend this principle / Right of advisers to express themselves on the REM project and right of citizens to have access to information held by members of the council<br><b>Documents submission</b> |
|      |            | Marie-Claire Mayeres | Valérie Plante/Jean-François Parenteau                                     | Opening of the Administration to make changes to the EMN project / Right of advisers to express themselves on the EMN project and citizens' right to access information held by members of the council<br><b>Documents submission</b>   |
|      |            | Alexandre Tanguay    | Sue Montgomery   | Projet du REM<br><b>Documents submission</b>  |

| Year | Date       | Question From      | To   | Object   |
|------|------------|--------------------|--|--|
| 2018 | April 23rd | Symon Kenneth John | Marianne Giguère/<br>Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell | Wishes the Administration to make public the financial package for the Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) project as well as the City's share in this project   |
|      |            | Yves Daoust        | Valérie Plante   | If the mayor knows all the details of the agreement for the REM / Questions the Administration's decision to take a position, in full knowledge of the facts, in favor of the REM Project which, in her opinion, constitutes a threat to all public transport in addition to contributing to urban sprawl  |
|      |            | Donald Hobus       | Valérie Plante/<br>Luc Ferrandez                           | Means to respect the convention on biodiversity which requires protection of 17% of land to compensate for the lack of green spaces on the island - Concrete measures that will be taken to respect the commitment to protect green spaces   |
|      |            | Joël Coutu         | Valérie Plante/<br>Luc Ferrandez                           | Intervention of the Administration with the Government of Quebec desired to see to the protection of the two endangered species of the Technoparc, the little heron and the wood thrush - Invitation to visit these green spaces to familiarize themselves with their ecosystem<br><b>Petition submission</b>  |
|      |            | Michel Labelle     | Dimitrios (Jim) Beis                                       | Deplores the disrespect that the elected officials of the Borough of Pierrefonds-Roxboro would have shown towards their citizens by modifying the plans of a project without going back to public consultation and without taking into account the legal opinion issued to this effect - ask the elected officials to comply with the content of article 52 of the Cities and Towns Act as regards the impartiality required for the application of the regulations<br><b>Documents submission</b> |
|      |            | Francis Lapierre   | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell                      | Calls on the Administration to respect freedom of expression by lifting the directives prohibiting employees of the Société de transport de Montréal (STM) and the Agence régionale de transport métropolitain (ARTM) from discussing the Réseau électrique métropolitain project (REM) / Questions the relevance of this project  |

| Year | Date     | Question From    | To                                    | Object   |
|------|----------|------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 2018 | May 28th | Alison Hackney   | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell | Expectations of the Administration with regard to the public consultation on public transit scheduled for 2019 / In the event of the election of the CAQ, will Montreal agree to have a transportation system imposed on itself?               |
|      |          | Donald Hobus     | Valérie Plante                        | Thanks the Mayor of Montreal, Ms. Valérie Plante and Ms. Paola Hawa for the announcement concerning the preservation of Anse-à-l'Orme  |
|      |          | Francis Lapierre | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell | Many expected disruptions and congestion on the orange metro line, with the implementation of the REM / If the City will make representations to the authorities concerned in order to avoid the deterioration of public transport in Montreal |

| Year | Date      | Question From       | To                                     | Object   |
|------|-----------|---------------------|--|--|
| 2018 | June 18th | Carlos S. Leschhorn | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell  | Deplores the fact that the Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) cars will have fewer seats available - questions the cost of the project, the prices for users as well as the improvement of public transport with cars that will carry fewer users   |
|      |           | Nicolas Chevalier   | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Allan Caldwell | Suggestion to carry out a climate test to find out the real impacts of the REM project on the environment with regard to the use of concrete, which is a major emitter of carbon - Willingness to conserve the Anse-à- nature park the Elm and, therefore, review the project for the implementation of the REM in this sector<br><b>Document submission</b> |



| Year | Date           | Question From    | To                              | Object   |
|------|----------------|------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| 2018 | September 17th | Francis Lapierre | Valérie Plante/<br>Craig Sauvé  | The citizen sees a contradiction of the Administration in its desire to unclog the orange line of the metro and the streets of the City versus its support for the construction of a branch of the Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM), that is to say that of Deux-Montagnes until to the Côte-Vertu metro which would further congest the orange line / If the replacement of the structure of Autoroute 40 by an urban boulevard is still part of the promises of Projet Montréal |
|      |                | Joseph Khoury    | Jean-François Parenteau         | Congratulates the Administration for the adoption of the Declaration - Montreal recognizes the urgency to act in climate action and commits to concrete actions in an ambitious ecological and social transition by 2050 / Concrete actions to respond to orientations of the 15 recommendations submitted by citizens to the Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2 years ago / Would like the sums devoted to a carbon-neutral city to be included in the city's 2019 budget |
|      |                | Matthew Chapman  | Lionel Perez/<br>Valérie Plante | Concrete actions to raise awareness among elected representatives of Ensemble Montréal about the fight against climate change - Establishment of a benchmarking process between cities to fight against climate change<br><b>Document submission</b>   |
|      |                | Alison Hackney   | Valérie Plante                  | Deplores the fact that no follow-up was given to the request for a meeting made by Mrs. Marie-Claude Mayeres of the Transparence organization during the meeting of June 18 / Wish the Administration to ask the provincial government to submit the project from REM to carbon test according to the <i>Environmental Law</i>   |

| Year | Date            | Question From          | To  | Object   |
|------|-----------------|------------------------|---|--|
| 2018 | October<br>22nd | Lucien Pigeon          | Valérie Plante                                | Make representations to higher authorities following the filing of the G.I.E.C. and political will concerning the reduction of greenhouse gases / Urgency to act                       |
|      |                 | Matthew Chapman        | Valérie Plante/<br>Jean-François<br>Parenteau | If the City of Montreal could set a target of 80% reduction in GHGs by 2020 / Include citizen involvement in the preparation of the City's next 2020-2024 Sustainable Development Plan |
|      |                 | Jean-François Boisvert | Valérie Plante/<br>Jean-François<br>Parenteau | Implementation of a climate test to ensure that new development projects do not contribute to increasing our carbon footprint / Availability of a report on the GHG inventory          |

| Year | Date             | Question From | To                         | Object  |
|------|------------------|---------------|----------------------------|---|
| 2018 | November<br>19th | Lucien Pigeon | Jean-François<br>Parenteau | Measures planned to reduce the acceleration of climate change / Strategy developed to date and accessibility to this information on a regular basis<br><b>Document submission</b> |

| Year | Date             | Question From             | To                                    | Object  |
|------|------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| 2018 | December<br>17th | Alison Hackney            | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell | Revision of public transport pricing by the ARTM - public consultation on this subject desired / Reiterates its question  |
|      |                  | Francis Lapierre          | Valérie Plante/<br>Lionel Perez       | Measures envisaged to alleviate GHGs, reduce automobile congestion, increase the supply of public transport while reducing the cost for users / Reiterates her question to the mayoress of Montreal |
|      |                  | Lucien Pigeon             | Jean-François<br>Parenteau            | Promoting the fight against climate change - urgent action / Seeking the help of international stars to promote the fight against climate change  |
|      |                  | Laurel Cleugh<br>Thompson | Éric Alan Caldwell                    | Mandate to the ARTM for the revision of public transport pricing - Issues with the arrival of the future REM and possible increase in the overall pricing for all users                             |

| Year | Date         | Question From    | To  | Object  |
|------|--------------|------------------|---|---|
| 2019 | January 28th | Matthew Chapman  | Valérie Plante/<br>Jean-François<br>Parenteau | Congratulations to the Borough of Saint-Laurent for having taken the 5th step of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities in its partnership approach in climate protection by reducing greenhouse gases / Thanks to the City for submitting its climate data to the process of benchmarking the climate of Canadian cities / Acknowledgments for the redevelopment plan for Phillips Square into a green space / Congratulations on modifying the process as part of the agreement between the City and the David Suzuki and Trottier foundations for the fight against climate change / Take measures to give Montreal carbon neutral status for its 400th anniversary |
|      |              | Francis Lapierre | Éric Alan Caldwell                            | Choice that the Administration is ready to make between the implementation of the social tariff, a Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) and a pink line in order to avoid increasing the debt in the name of public transport - reduction of ambitions desired to honor the electoral promise to implement a social price  |

| Year | Date          | Question From        | To                           | Object  |
|------|---------------|----------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 2019 | February 25th | Patrick Cary-Barnard | Valérie Plante/Luc Ferrandez | Suggests that the Administration impose a land reserve on land in the Anjou wood sector in order to acquire it to build a large nature park in eastern Montreal |

| Year | Date       | Question From        | To  | Object   |
|------|------------|----------------------|---|--|
| 2019 | March 25th | Matthew Chapman      | Jean-François<br>Parenteau/<br>Lionel Perez   | Would like to know the concrete measures that will be taken to initiate a dialogue with the people who marched against climate change last weekend in Montreal - Would like a meeting with Ensemble Montreal to discuss environmental issues                                     |
|      |            | Patrick Cary-Barnard | Valérie Plante/<br>Luc Ferrandez              | Urgency to act in order to arrive at a concrete project for the conservation of the 185 hectares of land forming the Anse-à-l'Orme park, either by changing the zoning or by acquiring these lands - emergency to act for the creation of a green link on the Island of Montreal |
|      |            | Lucien Pigeon        | Valérie Plante/<br>Jean-François<br>Parenteau | Deplores the Administration's refusal to establish an education program on the climate emergency and requests that the population be informed of the situation so that they can take action to help save the planet. <b>Document submission</b>                                  |

| Year                           | Date                     | Question From   | To   | Object   |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|---|--|--|
| 2019                           | April 15th               | Richard Janda   | Valérie Plante/<br>François W. Croteau                     | Montréal Carbon neutral city - collaboration desired between the city and universities in order to become a leader among smart and ecological cities / If the City considers putting forward certain suggestions made by researchers with regard to collection of greenhouse gas (GHG) data Filing of document |
|                                |                          | Marie-Claire Mayeres  | Valérie Plante/<br>Jean-François Parenteau                 | Existence of a regulation concerning immobilized vehicles with the engine running and citizen awareness of the harmful effects of GHGs emitted / Possibility of creating an environmental police Document submission   |
|                                |                          | François Roussel  | Luc Ferrandez  | Safeguarding L'Anse à l'Orme - what is the Administration's plan to protect the citizens of the West Island during spring flooding - consider creating a park  |
|                                |                          | Matthew Chapman   | Valérie Plante/<br>Laurence Lavigne Lalonde                | Declaration filed 2 years ago to make Montreal a carbon neutral city - Subsequent steps and citizen mobilization envisaged / How many Montrealers will be mobilized and how to ensure that there are as many people as possible from various communities document  |
|                                |                          | Joseph Khoury   | Laurence Lavigne Lalonde/<br>Lionel Perez/<br>Alan DeSousa | Links to be created between researchers and the city in order to contribute to the energy-efficient transition / Citizen mobilization in the boroughs by Ensemble Montréal Document deposit  |
|                                |                          | Maxime Arnoldi  | Valérie Plante/<br>Luc Ferrandez                           | Spring floods - preservation of natural spaces and assurance that no construction will be authorized on the wetlands of Anse-à-l'Orme / Consider the right of pre-emption in the case of Anse-à-l'Orme Document deposit  |
|                                |                          | Christiane Dumont   | Valérie Plante/<br>Jean-François Parenteau                 | If the City has adopted a Greenhouse Gas Management Plan for its fleet of commercial vehicles / Desired clarifications on other means considered for the electrification of transport  |
|                                |                          | Sue Satcho  | Valérie Plante/<br>Luc Ferrandez                           | Saving of Anse-à-l'Orme - clarifications on the land acquisition and protection process / Follow the example of the City of Beaconsfield in the negotiation process Document submission  |
|                                |                          | Alicia Gravel   | Valérie Plante/<br>Benoit Dorais                           | Measures planned to mobilize citizens in the fight against climate change, in the Sud-Ouest borough Document   |
|                                |                          | Geoffrey Bush   | Valérie Plante/<br>Jean-François Parenteau                 | Existing measures at Ville Montréal to reduce greenhouse gas emissions / City leadership Document submission   |
| Daniel Stephen Horen Greenford | Laurence Lavigne Lalonde | Subsequent steps in the fight against climate change by reducing GHGs / Citizen participation and desired meeting |  |  |

| Year | Date                                  | Question From   | To                                | Object   |
|------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 2019 | April 28th<br>(Extraordinary session) | Sylvia Oljemark | Valérie Plante/<br>Luc Ferrandez  | The citizen would like to thank the mayoress, Ms. Valérie Plante and Mr. Ferrandez for extending the emergency measures and protecting natural spaces. / How to work together to restore space to rivers? / Imposition of a moratorium to prevent any development in flood-prone areas   |
|      |                                       | David Fletcher  | Luc Ferrandez/<br>Sylvain Ouellet | Thanks the elected officials for holding this extraordinary assembly in one of the sectors most affected by the floods - The citizen wonders if we can expect that any new development in Pierrefonds and elsewhere, in wetlands, will completely render responsible, during the spring floods, the governments that identified the wetlands, and the municipalities that manage them since it is the latter who grant permits for any possible development in these areas. / If a multigenerational analysis of long-term costs / benefits spanning a period for the targeted flood zones of 70 to 80 years could be done at all levels in the province before taking any decision whatsoever for future development of Pierrefonds-Ouest |
|      |                                       | Susan Stacho    | Valérie Plante                    | The citizen thanked the administration of Mayor Plante for holding this extraordinary meeting in Pierrefonds. She says she is very touched by what is happening to many of her fellow citizens and asks that no more construction be allowed in the targeted territory of Pierrefonds-Ouest  |

| Year | Date                                | Question From        | To   | Object  |
|------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|--|---|
| 2019 | May 13th<br>(Extraordinary session) | Patrick Cary-Barnard | Valérie Plante/<br>Luc Ferrandez/<br>Laurence Lavigne<br>Lalonde | Expresses the wish that the City of Montreal set up a committee for the management and protection of its wetlands in order to acquire the accreditation awarded to cities which see to the protection of these zones on their territory in accordance with the Ramsar convention / also wishes to know if the Montreal Office for Ecological Transition and Resilience of the City of Montreal is part of a municipal committee specifically assigned to the sustainable management of existing wetlands on the island.<br><b>Document submission</b> |
|      |                                     | Lucien Pigeon        | Laurence Lavigne<br>Lalonde                                      | Suggests the hiring of sociologists and philosophers to guide the public on its role with regard to the reduction of greenhouse gases (GHG) - involvement of citizens desired in this file in order to mobilize and raise awareness to do their part  |
|      |                                     | Susan Stacho         | Luc Ferrandez  | Thanks to the members of the council for the efforts made to come to the aid of the victims of the floods which affected several residents of the West Island this spring / Wish to know the rights of the owners of the land forming the Anse-à-l' Elm / Request to refuse the issuance of any building permit to the owners of these lands because of their location in a flood zone  |
|      |                                     | Francis Lapierre     | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell                            | Congratulates the Administration for demanding that the extension of the Réseau électrique métropolitain (REM) be planned by the Regional Metropolitan Transport Authority (ARTM) instead of the Caisse de dépôt, but deplores its support for the extension project in its current form / Desired measures to reason the Caisse de dépôt with regard to the REM and rapid bus service (SRB Pie IX) projects - wishes the Administration to provide the breakdown of the invoice of \$ 100 million for the cost of the mitigation measures of the REM |
|      |                                     | Alison Hackney       | Rosannie Filato/<br>Luc Ferrandez/<br>Sylvain Ouellet            | Take into account the analyzes and data contained in the report, dated 1992, by the firm Tecslult on the Anse-à-l'Orme watershed to establish the map of flood-prone areas / Wish to know if there has been significant changes in the mapping of flood zones since 2008, and how to obtain these maps  |

| Year | Date      | Question From        | To   | Object  |
|------|-----------|----------------------|--|---|
| 2019 | June 17th | Patrick Cary-Barnard | Valérie Plante                                 | Urban Park project in the West Island - details surrounding this project / If the use of vacant lots is part of the project   |
|      |           | Lucien Pigeon        | Valérie Plante/<br>Laurence Lavigne<br>Lalonde | Mobilization for the climate and urgency to act Submission of document  |
|      |           | Susan Stacho         | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell          | Acknowledgments addressed to the Administration for the safeguard of Anse à l'Orme - Creation of a large urban park including citizen participation in the development of the project |

| Year | Date        | Question From  | To   | Object   |
|------|-------------|----------------|--|--|
| 2019 | August 19th | Alison Hackney | Valérie Plante                                 | Congratulates and thanks the Administration for the unveiling of the Grand parc de l'Ouest project / Ad hoc updates requested on the status of the Grand parc de l'Ouest project with the activists for the conservation of the lands of the Anse-à-l'Orme Document deposit          |
|      |             | Lucien Pigeon  | Valérie Plante/<br>Laurence Lavigne<br>Lalonde | Wishes to know the state of play of discussions with the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) / Asks the Administration for concrete measures in the face of the climate emergency by taking actions that encourage the population to change of behavior Document filing |
|      |             | David Fletcher | Lionel Perez                                   | Wishes to have the support of the official opposition and independent advisers for the Administration's plan to create a large park in the West Island   |

| Year | Date           | Question From        | To   | Object  |
|------|----------------|----------------------|--|---|
| 2019 | September 17th | Joseph Khoury        | Laurence Lavigne Lalonde/<br>François Limoges/<br>Lionel Perez | City's carbon neutrality plan - strength of this plan vs. existing plans / Involvement and participation of the official opposition   |
|      |                | Susan Stacho         | Valérie Plante/<br>Sylvain Ouellet                             | Congratulations on the protection of Anse-à-l'Orme - consultation for the Grand parc de l'Ouest project / If Montreal can count on financial support from the Government of Quebec  |
|      |                | Lucien Pigeon        | Valérie Plante/<br>Laurence Lavigne Lalonde                    | That the City launch an awareness campaign on the climate emergency / Participation of elected officials of the City of Montreal in the march on September 27, 2019, for World Climate Mobilization Day / Document submission |
|      |                | Patrick Cary-Barnard | Lionel Perez   | Thanks the Administration for the project to create the Grand Parc de l'Ouest - If the members of the official opposition will support this file / Wish the government of Quebec to invest in this project                    |
|      |                | Matthew Chapman      | Valérie Plante/<br>Laurence Lavigne Lalonde                    | Will the City make the necessary efforts to mobilize citizen participation for the development of its Action Plan for ecological transition / Budget planned for the development of this Action Plan                          |
|      |                | Shawn Katz           | Laurence Lavigne Lalonde/<br>Émilie Thuillier                  | If the City will promote citizen participation for the development of the Ecological Transition Plan / What mechanisms will be put forward to promote broad public participation  |



| Year | Date            | Question From       | To                                    | Object   |
|------|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 2019 | October<br>22nd | Laurel Thompson     | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell | Asks the Authority's position on the Montreal airport expansion project given its negative effects on the environment / Asks if there are representations to the Government of Quebec for a possible tax increase carbon   |
|      |                 | Matthew Chapman     | Francesco Miele                       | What are the official opposition's initiatives to improve collaboration with the Administration on climate change issues / Proposes that the two parties support the three recommendations suggested by Climate Action Canada<br>Tabling of document   |
|      |                 | Lucien Pigeon       | Marvin Rotrand                        | The citizen asks Councilor Rotrand, which, in his opinion, motivated the three members of the Extinction Rebellion group to climb on the structure of the Jacques-Cartier Bridge to install a banner / Why the different levels of government do not inform correctly the population on the severity of the climate emergency<br>Document submission |
|      |                 | Ryan James Faulkner | Valérie Plante/<br>Benoit Dorais      | Would like to know if the City of Montreal will meet its commitment to be carbon neutral by 2025   |

| Year | Date             | Question From   | To  | Object  |
|------|------------------|-----------------|---|---|
| 2019 | November<br>18th | Matthew Chapman | Valérie Plante/<br>Laurence Lavigne<br>Lalonde/<br>Lionel Perez | Asks for the support of the Administration for the signing of the MTL 400 Climate Declaration aimed at carbon neutrality / Would like to know the position of the official opposition on this subject   |
|      |                  | Lucien Pigeon   | Marvin Rotrand/<br>Laurence Lavigne<br>Lalonde                  | The citizen asks Councilor Marvin Rotrand if, in his opinion, the media are honest about climate change / Would like to launch a drawing competition to raise public awareness of climate change<br>Submission of document  |
|      |                  | Alison Hackney  | Valérie Plante/<br>Éric Alan Caldwell                           | What will be the mitigation measures for users of the DeuxMontagnes line train, which will be out of service for four years / Are there representations to the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing on the legislative framework? particularly with regard to the establishment of the REM |
|      |                  | Luc Bisson      | Valérie Plante/<br>Benoit Dorais                                | Asks if the Administration intends to repatriate more internal expertise in order to notably minimize the impacts on transport / Ask if greenhouse gas emissions can be considered as a criterion in the process of awarding contracts  |

| Year | Date          | Question From   | To   | Object   |
|------|---------------|-----------------|--|--|
| 2019 | December 16th | Deanne Delaney  | Valérie Plante/<br>Sylvain Ouellet             | Request to meet with the Administration within the framework of the Meadowbrook Park safeguard project / Wish everyone happy holidays Document   |
|      |               | Lucien Pigeon   | Valérie Plante/<br>Laurence Lavigne<br>Lalonde | Wishes to know the intentions of the Administration in order to deal with climate change / Expresses its opinion on the need to go beyond the comfort zone of the population Submission of document  |
|      |               | Matthew Chapman | Valérie Plante/<br>Laurence Lavigne<br>Lalonde | Asks if the Administration will meet with representatives of the Canadian Ecofiscal Commission (polluter pays principle) / Would like to know how the responsible and fair procurement policy of the City of Montreal will be reflected in decision-making |

| Year | Date         | Question From    | To                                       | Object   |
|------|--------------|------------------|--|--|
| 2020 | January 27th | Lisa Mintz       | Valérie Plante/Robert<br>Beaudry         | Falaise St-Jacques - Clarifications requested regarding the development plan following the marking of many trees / Would like to know the City's responses to the recommendations contained in the report of the Office de consultation publique de Montréal |
|      |              | Hedy Dab         | Valérie Plante/Robert<br>Beaudry         | Creation of the Turcot-La falaise nature park - Request information on the project / Would like to know if feasibility studies are underway concerning the slab-park   |
|      |              | Joseph El-Khoury | Valérie<br>Plante/François W.<br>Croteau | 5G environment - Expresses its concerns regarding the deployment and greenhouse gas emissions produced by this type of network / Would like to know if citizens will be able to choose between optical fiber and the 5G network Document deposit             |

| Year | Date          | Question From | To                          | Object  |
|------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 2020 | February 24th | Lucien Pigeon | Laurence Lavigne<br>Lalonde | Formulates its concerns about ecological transition and would like a timeline for the Administration's Climate Plan by the end of 2020 Document |

| Year | Date       | Question From | To                             | Object   |
|------|------------|---------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 2020 | March 23rd | Lucien Pigeon | Valérie Plante/Rosannie Filato | Subject - Personal responsibility towards our loved ones Preamble: Yesterday, Wednesday March 18, there was... Question: Why do these people who have no sense of personal responsibility put others on the beach in mortal danger and why you our political leaders who seem to me to have little personal and political responsibility made you like these bathers on the beach by putting in mortal danger millions if not billions of innocent people by your slowness to act radically to fight a danger more deadly than that of COVID-19, that of the climate catastrophe, 18 months after adopting the declaration of the climate emergency on November 5, 2018? lots of people on Florida beaches. Let me compare the deadly consequences of the coronavirus (COVID-19) to the deadly consequences of the climate collapse. |

| Year | Date     | Question From | To                                     | Object   |
|------|----------|---------------|--|--|
| 2020 | May 25th | Lucien Pigeon | Valérie Plante/Jean-François Parenteau | The era of climate, social and fiscal justice could begin after COVID-19. It all depends on us. Let's adopt the 100 principles of Nicolas Hulot to create a better world for the climate plan instead of the 100 destructive principles of the corporate system which only pleases the richest among us. Let's not lose this unprecedented opportunity to protect the ecology and the environment to avoid climate catastrophe. We now understand that degrowth controlled by a compassionate climate plan will be less costly in terms of jobs and suffering than that of degrowth forced by COVID. If we have the power to bring the global pandemic under control, why shouldn't we have the power to contain the global GHG emissions that threaten the survival of the next generation? Nicolas Hulot's 100 principles for creating a better world. <a href="https://drive.google.com/file/d/1axp_EdHey9RFDBUhMLd-GiaGiJ_Xr0SL/view?usp=sharing">https://drive.google.com/file/d/1axp_EdHey9RFDBUhMLd-GiaGiJ_Xr0SL/view?usp=sharing</a> |

## Annex 29 – Diagram of the Multiple Streams Approach (Jones et al., 2016)

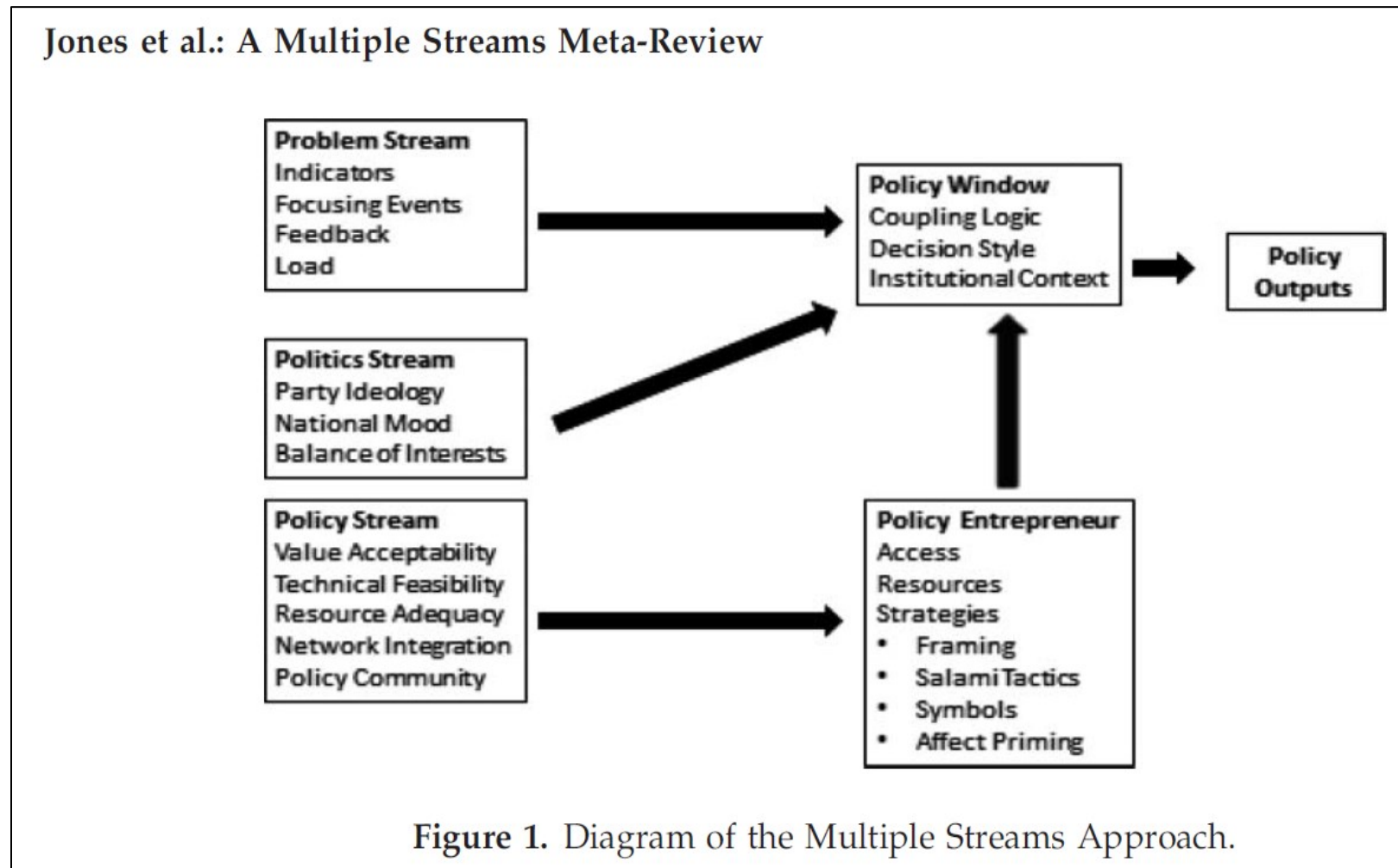


Figure 1. Diagram of the Multiple Streams Approach.

## Annex 30 – Photo Album

Picture 1. Climate Action Montreal's First Event: Teach-in Symposium at McGill's Redpath Museum – December 2014



**Mitigating Climate Change:  
The Role of Science & Public Policy**

Towards Paris 2015 & Beyond

Educate • Empower • Mobilize

Sunday December 14, 12:00 - 16:30  
Redpath Museum, McGill University

In partnership with  
  
Office of  
Science & Society

The poster features a black background with a globe of Earth in the upper right. Below the main title, there are five small portrait photographs of the speakers. The text is in white and light blue, providing clear information about the event's date, time, and location.

Picture 2. Matthew Chapman (left) with Mayor Denis Coderre (center) and Dominique Ollivier (OCPM President) at the launch of the Public Consultation – October 2015





Picture 3. OCPM's 2015-2016 Public Consultation on the 'Reduction of Montreal's Dependence to Fossil Fuels'



Picture 4. My first ever participation in a public consultation, presenting a brief on the role of urban agriculture in the transition to a carbon-neutral city of Montreal. Here presenting to the OCPM commissioners as part of the Coalition's 2016 consultation - March 2016

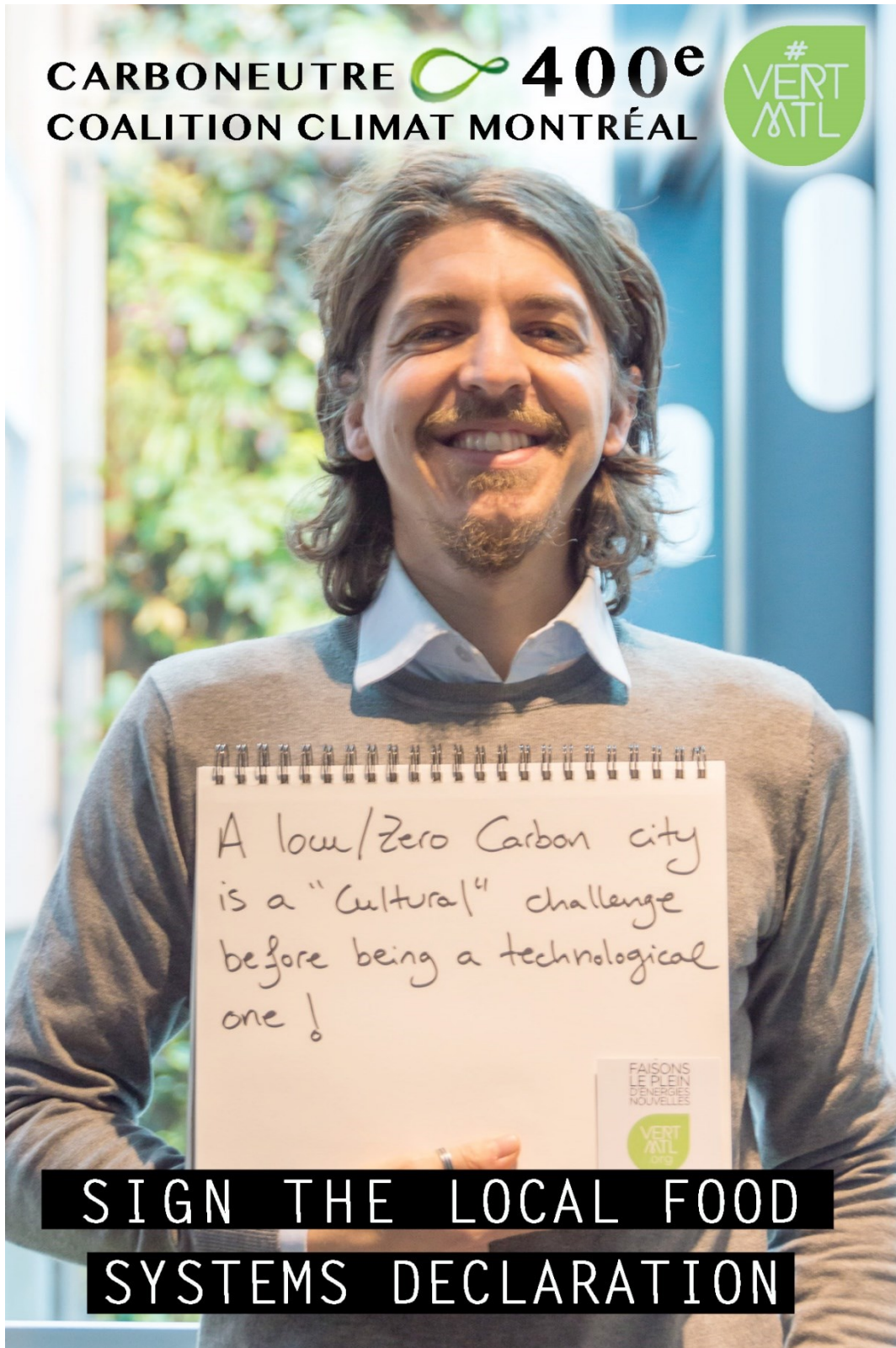




Picture 5. Coalition's Sectorial and Community Ambassadors that Participated in the 2015-2016 Public Consultation – February 2016



Picture 6. My Participation in the 2015-2016 Public Consultation as Ambassador of the Local Food System community – February 2016

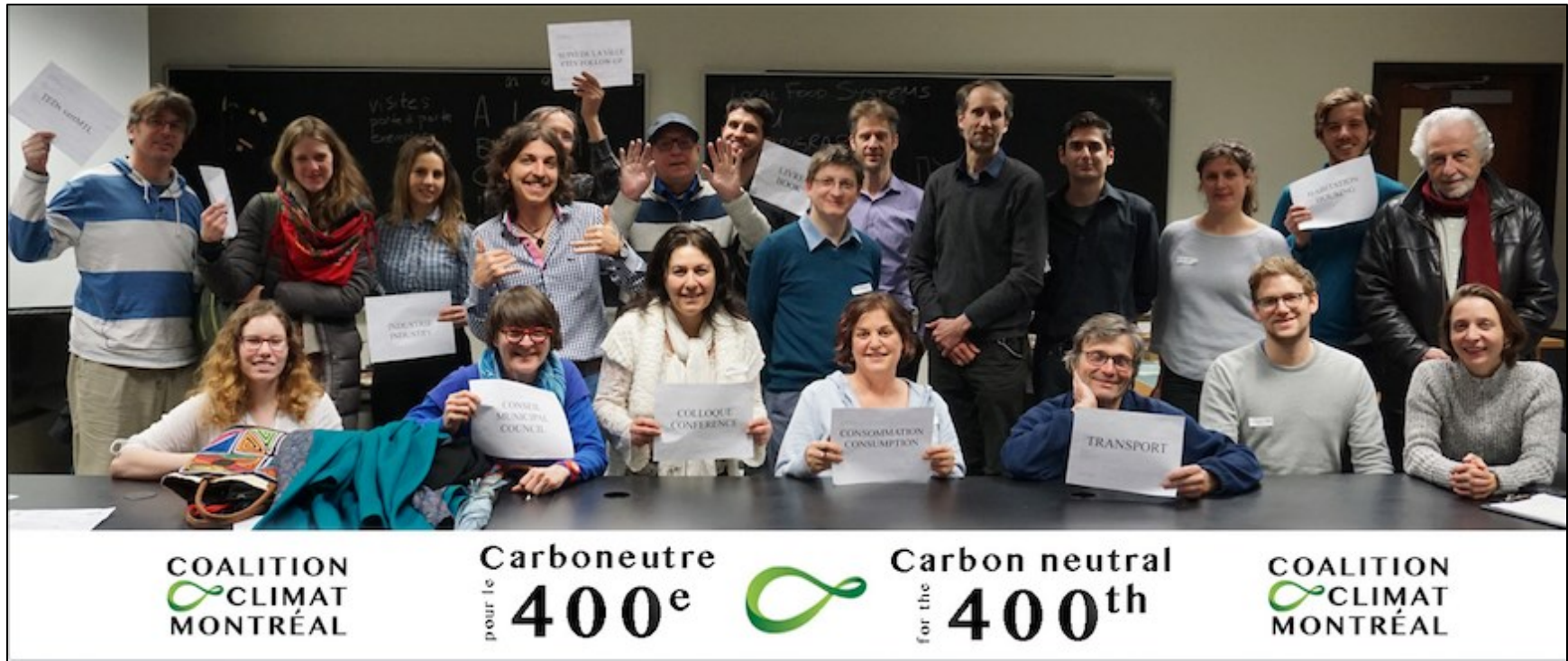




Picture 7. First 'Post-Consultation' Meeting of the Montreal Climate Coalition at UQAM – March 2016



Picture 8. First 'Post-Consultation' Citizen Forum at Concordia– April 2016





Picture 9. First 'Post-Consultation' General Assembly at Alternatives – June 2016



Picture 10. My first ever participation at Municipal Council Meeting (Citizen's Q&A Period) – June 2016





Picture 11. Coordinating Committee Meeting (my place) – July 2016





Picture 12. World Social Forum in Montréal: Transition Culture Workshop that I co-organised – July 2016





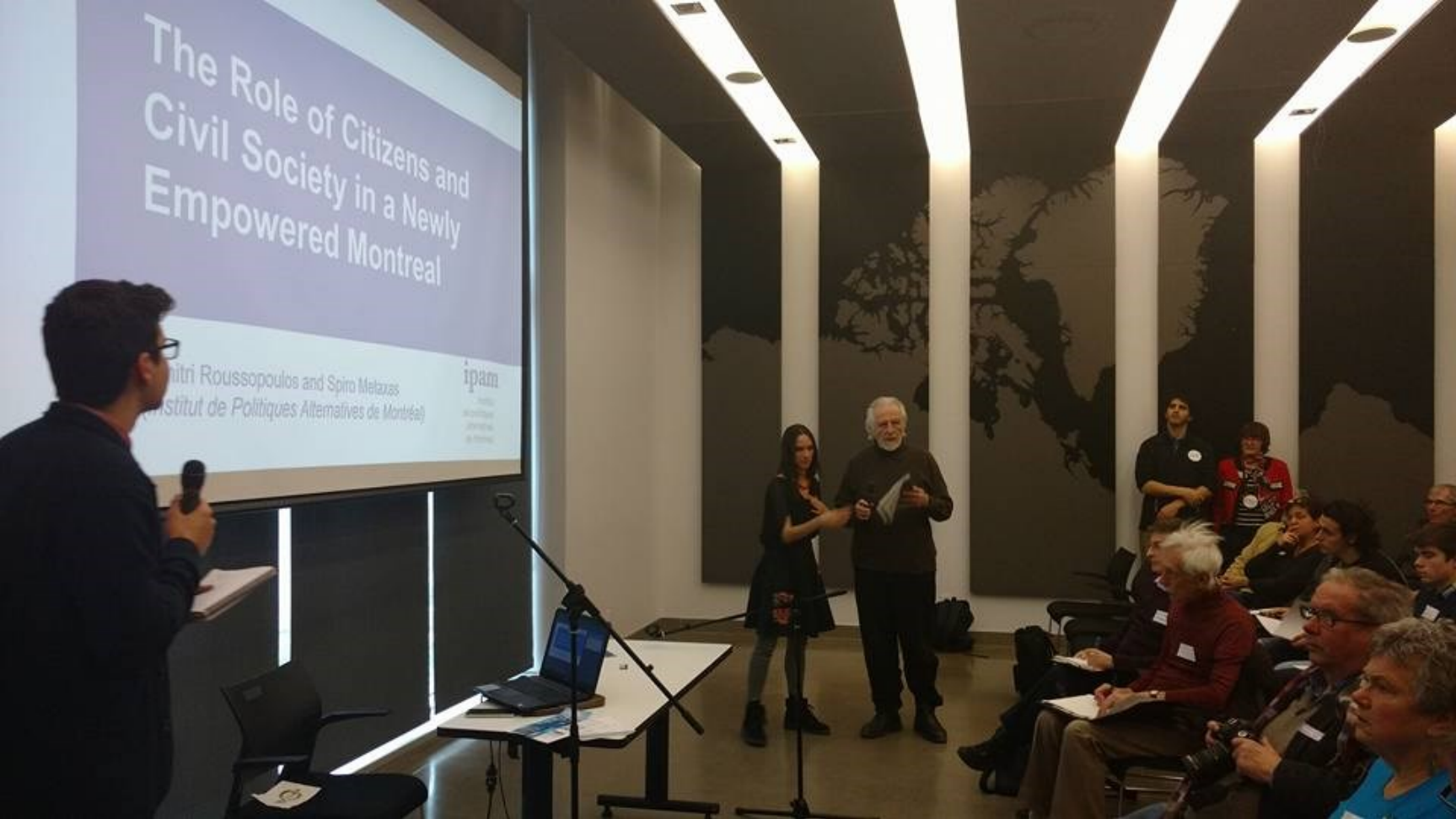
Picture 13. Me receiving the Paul R. Bélanger Grant from the hands of Professor Juan-Luis Klein, Director of the CRISES research center (UQAM) – October 2016



Picture 14. Coalition's 2<sup>nd</sup> Anniversary at Maison du Développement Durable – January 2017



Picture 15. Coalition's 2<sup>nd</sup> Anniversary at Maison du Développement Durable – January 2017





Picture 16. Panel Conference on the REM at McGill – January 2017

PANEL

LE RÉSEAU ÉLECTRIQUE MÉTROPOLITAIN  
le quoi? le what?

impacts natural environments carbon pricing climate change governance urban sprawl mobility greenhouse gases sustainable development

impacts environnements naturels prix sur le carbone changements climatiques gouvernance étalement urbain mobilité gas à effet de serre développement durable

Facebook Twitter



**LUC GAGNON**  
Président  
Option Transport Durable



**MANON MASSÉ**  
Députée  
Québec Solidaire



**DANIEL BRETON**  
Ex-ministre  
Développement durable,  
Environnement,  
Faune et Parcs



**DANIEL GREEN**  
Chef Adjoint  
Parti Vert du Canada



**LAUREL THOMPSON**  
Membre  
Citizens Climate Lobby



**SHAEN JOHNSTON**  
Comité de coordination  
Coalition Climat Montréal



young greens  
of canada



+

TRAINSPARENCE.CA

Picture 17. At the University of Montreal's Forum Environnement (Poster Presentation) – February 2017

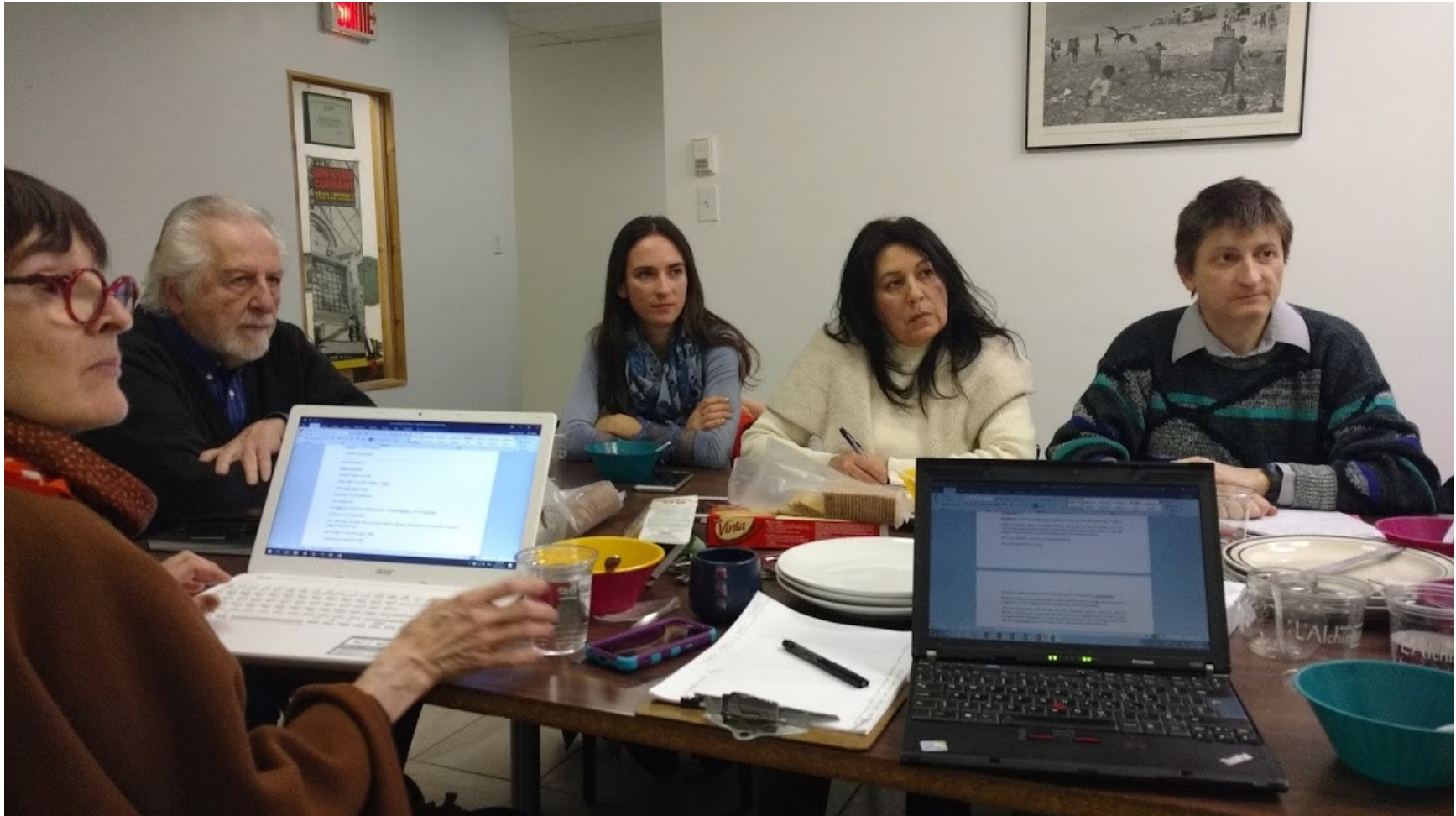




Picture 18. Coalition's Incorporation Meeting at Black Rose Books – March 2017



Picture 19. Coalition's Incorporation Meeting at Black Rose Books – March 2017





Picture 20. Strategic Workshop with Concordia Master's Students – April 2017





Picture 21. Strategic Workshop with Concordia Master's Students – April 2017





Picture 22. Strategic Workshop with Concordia Master's Students – April 2017



Picture 23. Presenting my research project at the 2<sup>nd</sup> PhD NEST Conference on Sustainability Transitions in Lausanne, Switzerland - April 2017





Picture 24. Enrolled in a Seminar on Sustainability Transitions at Aalborg University in Copenhagen, Denmark - May 2017





Picture 25. Organizing team of Canada's first academic symposium on Sustainability Transitions at UQAM - June 2017





Picture 26. With Dimitrios Roussopoulos (renown Montreal radical activist, ecologist and political author), at the Coalition's 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual General Assembly in Pointe-Saint-Charles – September 2017



Picture 27. Meeting with City Sustainability Officials and Administrators – March2017





Picture 28. Meeting with City Sustainability Officials and Transport Director (prior to 2017 elections) – August 2017





Picture 29. Meeting with City Sustainability Officials and Transport Director (prior to 2017 elections) – August 2017



Picture 30. Beginning of REM Lawsuit at Montreal's Courthouse – November 2017





Picture 31. Me Presenting at the CAP DD COP23 Conference at La Maison du développement durable – November 2017



Picture 32. Coalition's 3<sup>rd</sup> Anniversary at Westmount Park United Church – January 2018



Picture 33. Coalition's 3<sup>rd</sup> Anniversary at Westmount Park United Church, with Marianne Giguère (center), newly elected municipal official from Projet Montreal – January 2018





Picture 34. Newly elected Lachine mayoress Maja Vodanovic from Projet Montreal, at Coalition's 3<sup>rd</sup> Anniversary (Westmount Park Church) – January 2018



Picture 35. Coalition President Matthew Chapman attending Cities IPCC conference in Edmonton – March 2018





Picture 36. Coalition President Matthew Chapman attending Cities IPCC conference in Edmonton, alongside leading climate scientist Debra Roberts (first row to the right behind Matthew) – March 2018





Picture 37. Parti Québécois' Jean-François Lisée (right) presents the party's electoral 'Grand Déblocage' tramway project, based on the Coalition's 'Grand Virage' alternative to the REM (as also highlighted in below internal coalition email) – March 2018



**"Jean-François Boisvert"** <jean-francois.boisvert@videotron.ca> 20 mars 2018 13:23 ☆ ↩ ⋮  
À moi, Matthew, CCM, Jean-François, Martine, Melki, PARENT, Shaen ▾

Bonjour

Jean-François Lisée a présenté "Le grand déblocage", le plan de transport que défendra la P.Q aux prochaines élections.  
Ça reprend plusieurs éléments du "Grand virage".

<http://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1090332/gouvernement-pequiste-remplace-rem-autobus-metro>

Un gros bravo et merci à Jean-François Lefebvre et Luc Gagnon !!

Jean-François B.

Picture 38. Montreal Mayoress Valérie Plante Symbolically Signs the Coalition's 400<sup>th</sup> Declaration during Municipal Council Meeting and Tweets about it (picture that follows) – March 2018



← **Tweet**



**Valérie Plante** ✓  
@Val\_Plante

⋮

Merci à Matthew Chapman de la [@CoalitionClimat](#)  
d'être passé me voir à l'hôtel de ville! #polmtl



6:08 PM · Mar 26, 2018 · Twitter for iPhone



Picture 39. REM Construction Officially Launched with Quebec's Prime Minister, Montreal Mayoress and CDPQ team of Executives  
– April 2018



Picture 40. Green Coalition Mobilization for Technopark – City Hall (2017)





Picture 41. Citizen's Appeal Court's Initial Decision on the REM – City Hall (September 2018)

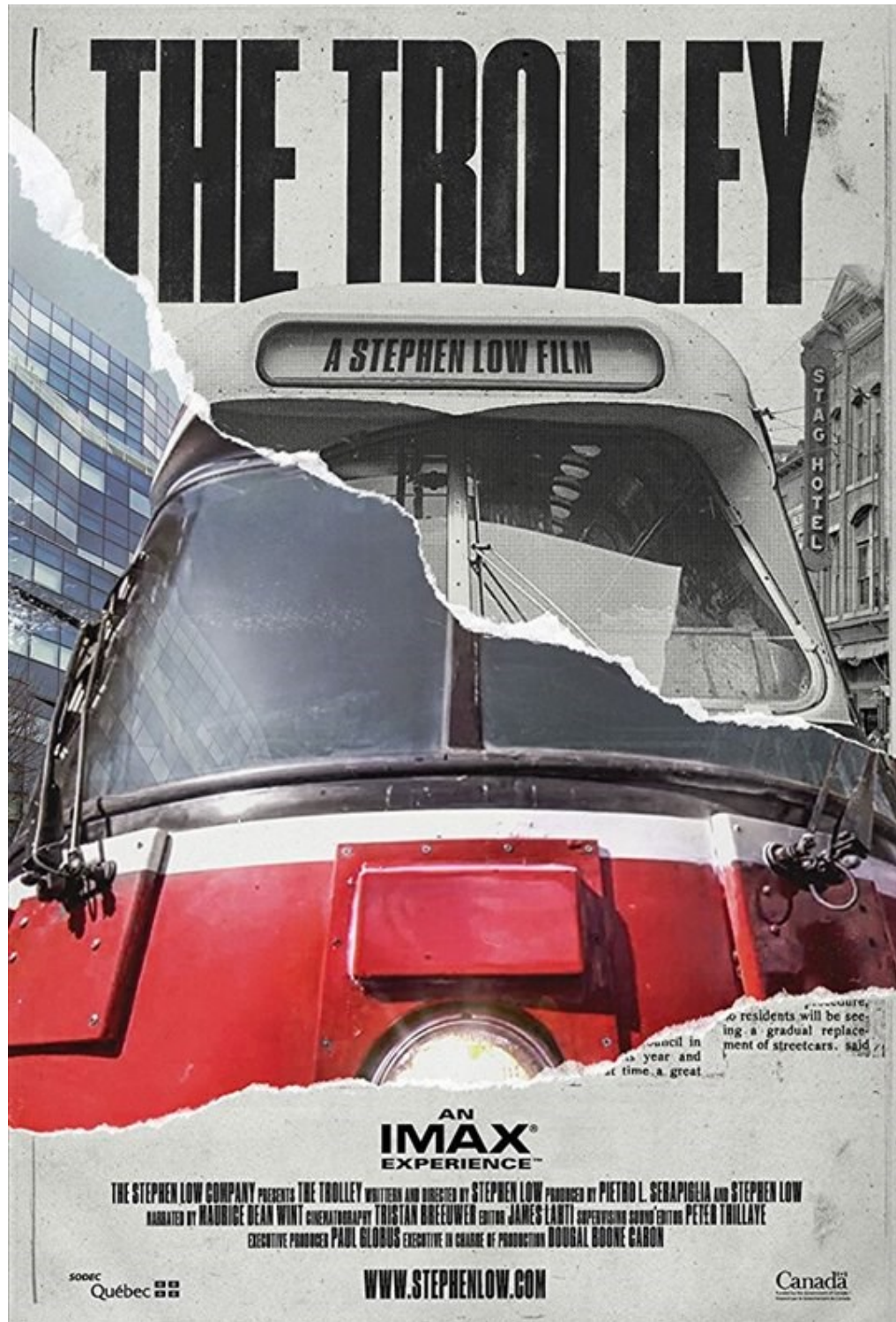


Picture 42. ICLEI Citizen's Carbon-Neutrality Side Event – June 2018





Picture 43. The Trolley Documentary Event Organized at Montreal's Science Center Prior to the Provincial Elections – August 2018





Picture 44. The Trolley Documentary Event Organized at Montreal's Science Center Prior to the Provincial Elections – August 2018



Picture 45. Monthly Municipal Council Meeting (Citizen Q&A Period) – September 2018





Picture 46. Coalition Strategic Weekend Getaway in St-Rose (Laval) – September 2018



Picture 47. 'Let's Get the Caisse out of Fossil Fuel' Mobilization – November 2018





Picture 48. Shift for Climate COP24 Conference at HEC Montréal – December 2018



Picture 49. Coalition's 4<sup>th</sup> Anniversary at English Montreal School Board (EMSB) – February 2019



Picture 50. Coalition's 4<sup>th</sup> Anniversary at English Montreal School Board (EMSB) – February 2019





Picture 51. Federal Deput Alexandre Boulerice attending the Coalition’s 4<sup>th</sup> Anniversary at English Montreal School Board (EMSB) and Tweeting about it – February 2019





Picture 52. Coalition's 4<sup>th</sup> Anniversary organizing team at English Montreal School Board (EMSB) – February 2019



Picture 53. Lachine-Est's Citizen Led Pre-Consultations Symposium, alongside French Eco-District representative and Lachine Mayoress Maja Vodanovic – March 2019





Picture 54. Me presenting my brief on urban climate governance to the OCPM, part of the Lachine-Est Public Consultation – April 2019



Picture 55. Lachine mayoress Maja Vodanovic Posting on Facebook my presentation to the OCPM, part of the Lachine-Est Public Consultation – April 2019



Picture 56. Launch of the Coalition's Four Overarching Policy & Governance Orientation White Papers at HEC Montréal – June 2019





Picture 57. With Professor Flor Avelino and the Drift Team at the International Sustainability Transitions Annual Conference at Carlton University in Ottawa – September 2019





Picture 58. Montreal's Historic 500,000 million people Climate March (with Greta Thunberg) – September 2019





Picture 59. At Montreal's Historic 500,000 million people Climate March (with my mummy Mireille Fortier) – September 2019





Picture 60. At Montreal's Historic 500,000 million people Climate March (with Matty, my brother in arms) – September 2019



Picture 61. Climate Workshop with Ensemble Montreal's Caucus – October 2019





Picture 62. Meeting with Director of the city's Transition & Resilience Bureau – December 2019



Picture 63. Taking the 5G Fight to Municipal Council Meeting and Initiating Citizens to the Process – January 2020





Picture 64. Neighborhood Transition Groups Convergence at the Coalition's 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary at Centre Lajeunesse – February 2020



Picture 65. Two Living Legends of Montreal's Ecological Movement: Serge Mongeau (left) and Dimitrios Roussopoulos (right) at the Coalition's 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary – February 2020





**CONFÉRENCE & DISCUSSION**

# Au delà du COVID-19

une relance verte et juste pour faire face aux  
crises climatique, sociale et économique ?



**Mardi 26 mai, 19h à 21h**

Louise Vandelac  
UQAM

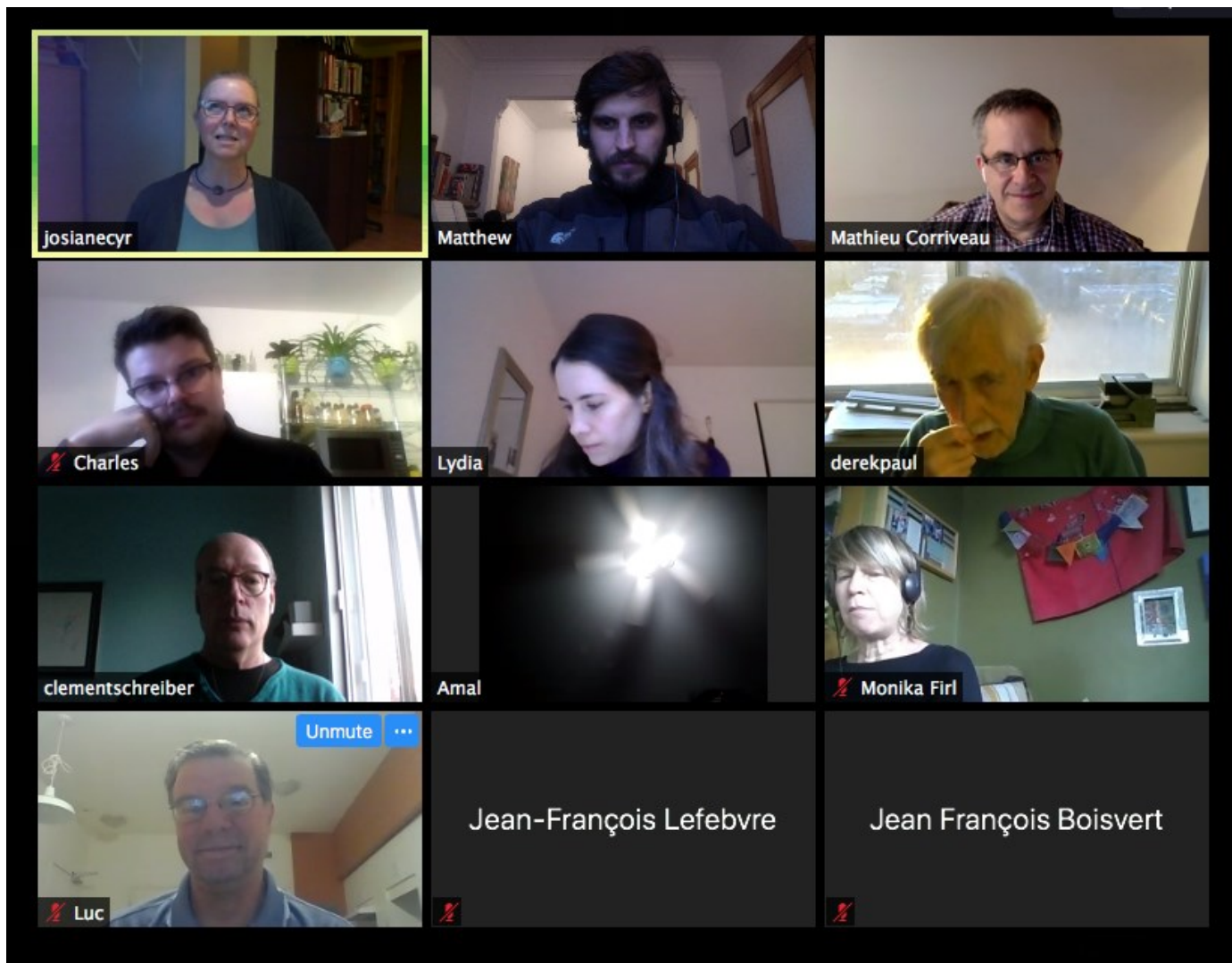
**Joseph El Khoury**  
**Université de Montréal**

Michael Polanyi  
Toronto Environmental Alliance

Détails + inscription  
[bit.ly/CCM-200526](https://bit.ly/CCM-200526)

**COALITION**  
 **CLIMAT**  
**MONTREAL**

Picture 67. Coalition's Online 'Covid-19' Annual General Assembly (Zoom) – May 2020





Picture 68. The Customary Group Pictures Prior to / After Meeting with Elected Officials at City Hall

