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‘Walking the extra mile’: how governance networks attract international organizations to Geneva, The Hague, Vienna, and Copenhagen (1995-2015)

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“Austria entered too late and couldn’t compete with the offer from Trinidad and Tobago [for the Arms Trade Treaty Secretariat]. They talked. Usually they bargain, but they didn’t really have anything to bargain.”
(Quote from an officer at the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017, Interview C4.5)

6 VIENNA

6.1 AUSTRIA AND VIENNA

After the end of the Second World War, Austria gained its political independence and sovereignty with the Austrian State Treaty, dating May 15, 1955. Austria started to conduct a foreign policy that enabled to regain prestige and importance, while maintaining a neutral status in accordance with the State Treaty. This Treaty re-established a free, sovereign, and democratic Austria. The attraction of international institutions to Vienna was one of the instruments that contributed to achieving this end. The role of Austria during the Cold War was remarkable. In the State Treaty, Austria committed itself to perpetual neutrality, a neutrality that had been a demand of the Soviet Union that wanted to be sure that Austria would not join the NATO. Austria had no alternative. If it ever wanted to regain its freedom, and for more than nine years there had been every reason to despair of it, there was no other option than to accept the conditions (Halle, 1967; Odd Westad, 2005). After the Russian captivity, Austria became independent by staying neutral.

As early as during the Cold War, Austria served as a podium for international exchange due to its geopolitical position and neutral status. The opening of the Vienna International Center (VIC), also called UNO City in 1979, strengthened this position. For Vienna, the fall of the Iron Curtain equated with the partial loss of the comparative advantage of neutrality. At the same time, however, the opening of Eastern Europe offered it a more central situation than it was in before, when it was located on the borders of Western Europe. As competition was stronger than ever before, the city felt particularly threatened by cities such as Geneva, The Hague and Bonn.

The fact that the number of international civil servants had remained stable since the 1980s (about 4800 in both 1987 and 2002) was not a sign of real development of the city, even though spending had increased. On the other hand, the status of capital is seen as an advantage by policymakers vis-à-vis the IOs because it strengthened the position, image, and visibility of the city around the world (Huber, 2007). Within the EU, Vienna was in the past decades among the most successful ten cities and among the richest six

regions of Europe (Popescu & Corbos, 2011). In 2005, Vienna ranked 4th alongside Paris and Stockholm, among top regions of Europe, after London, Luxembourg, and Brussels, in terms of Gross Regional Product per inhabitant (Eurostat, 2005). In 2019, it was still among the eleven top member states of Europe (Eurostat, 2019).

Vienna as host city

Austria attracted its first IO in 1957: The International Atomic Energy Agency. At the time, there was no Foreign Ministry; the Chancellor's Office handled international affairs. Shortly after, Bruno Kreisky came to power as Minister of Foreign Affairs (1959-1966) and Chancellor (1970-1983). As an emblematic figure of the Austrian policy of active neutrality, he contributed to the success of Austria in the field of attracting IOs (Huber, 2007). In 1965, OPEC moved its head office to Vienna from Geneva, including full diplomatic privileges for its entire staff. In 1966, when Kreisky was still Foreign Minister, the United Nations also decided to move UNIDO Headquarters from New York to Vienna. As a reward the Austrian government proposed the erection of a building dedicated to him. These were the premises of the Vienna International Center (VIC) which would prove to be a determining factor for the development of Vienna as a hub.

One of the major IOs was the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, which came into existence during the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The conference aimed to provide a multilateral forum for dialogue and negotiation between East and West. In 1971, the election of Kurt Waldheim to the post of UN Secretary General allowed the Austrians influence at an international level. The interest taken by Austria to developing countries assured their support in the development of UN agencies in Vienna. The Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-ban Treaty Organization, in Vienna since 1994, was a success. During that period, an optimistic view of the international community arose, since it was believed that nuclear disarmament was possible. Only the testing of nuclear weapons was still to be banned. Why this organization was established in Vienna and not elsewhere, was mainly because of the presence of the Atomic Energy Agency. Further consideration was the fact that Vienna was an official seat to the UN since 1979.

A failure for the city of Vienna was the establishment of the International Renewable Energy Agency in Abu Dhabi. Germany and Austria backed out of the bidding process when they found out there was an overwhelming support for the United Arab Emirates (UAE). There are reasons to consider that the US backed the UAE in exchange for political, military, and financial help in the Middle East.³¹

31 Wikileaks Cables (Carrington, 2010; The Guardian, 2010).

6.1.1 Case 1: The Arms Trade Treaty Secretariat

The Arms Trade Treaty is discussed in Chapter 4, and so this introduction will only discuss the course of events and playing field and players at the Austrian side.

Course of events in the failed Arms Trade Treaty case Vienna

Austria signed the Arms Trade Treaty on June 3, 2013. Exactly a year afterwards, Austria deposited the instrument of ratification, which included a declaration of the provisional application of articles 6 and 7 of the Arms Trade Treaty. In these articles the member states declared that they prohibited the transfer, as well as the export of conventional arms. Representatives of the Foreign Ministry Department II.8 (Arms control) visited the First Preparatory meeting in Port of Spain in February 2015. At this meeting, 82 states, NGOs, IOs and regional industries attended. An important decision in Port of Spain was the designation of Mexico as the Chair of the First Conference of States Parties (CSP1). Ambassador Jorge Lomónaco, Permanent Representative of Mexico to the UN in Geneva, was elected President of the Preparatory Process and of the CSP1. Afterwards, Vienna organized a third informal Preparatory Meeting in April 2015. A delegation of departments of Arms Control and IOs and Conferences were participating. This delegation wrote a proposal to host the Secretariat. It would be housed in the Vienna International Center, under the umbrella of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

Attracting the Arms Trade Treaty: the playing field and its players

The Arms Trade Treaty was negotiated in two Conference of States Parties. It was not possible to reach consensus at these meetings, which was required for the Treaty to be adopted. Consequently, Arms Trade Treaty supporters moved the Treaty to the UN General Assembly where the Arms Trade Treaty was adopted on 2 April 2013 via majority voting. On 24 December 2014, the Arms Trade Treaty entered into force. On 12 August 2015, the Facilitator of the Secretariat (France) submitted the answers to an extended questionnaire of the three candidates: Trinidad and Tobago, Austria, and Switzerland. These answered questions on logistical aspects, outsourcing options, conference centers and human resources.

The 67 States Parties represented at the First Conference of States Parties in 2015 in Cancún (of the 69 States Parties that were also Signatories) would vote for one of the locations (First Conference of States Parties, 2015). The first ballot took place Wednesday morning local time, 26 August 2015 (First Conference of States Parties, 2015). Vienna received 14 votes, Geneva 21, and Port of Spain 32 (of the 67 States Parties present). In

the second ballot on that same day in the afternoon, 35 voted for Geneva versus 32 for Port of Spain.³²

The Arms Trade Treaty Success Measures (Vienna)

The pre-stage consisted of the adoption of resolution 64/84 and a *Request for Proposals*. The first stage started when three candidates reacted with verbal notes (Stage 1). During the rounds of voting, in August 2015 in Cancún, Port of Spain was the first winner with 32 votes (versus 14 for Vienna and 21 for Geneva) (Stage 2). Vienna was eliminated with the least votes. The second round of voting resulted in Geneva as the winner with 35 votes versus the same 32 for Port of Spain (Stage 3). In the last stage, Geneva was announced as the winner (Stage 4). The attraction to Vienna can be considered a factual failure: Austria (Vienna) was out after the first round of voting.

Figure 6.1 First success type for Vienna’s failed case: Arms Trade Treaty



The second type of success was a ‘perceived failure’. The attraction process to Vienna was reacted on negatively by most of the involved. One of the organizational network members simply put the reason for the failure of Vienna as such: “Austria entered too late and could not compete with the offer from Trinidad and Tobago” (Interview A4.5). The bid of Vienna and the convincing methods of this department were characterized as “halfhearted” by an involved specialist (Interview A31.34). The network leading the negotiations in Port of Spain, Geneva and Berlin was characterized as ‘very small’; it consisted of eight people of four departments, two actors of each. When they visited the negotiation arenas of the Arms Trade Treaty, it was noticeable. Furthermore, the non-proliferation field of Vienna was not as big as Geneva’s. The perception was a mixture of a late start, a small network and too little exchange possibilities in the negotiation.

Figure 6.2 Second success type for Vienna’s failed case: Arms Trade Treaty



32 Two different sources in The Netherlands and Austria informed on these ballot counts.

6.1.2 Case 2: Sustainable Energy for All

Sustainable Energy for All – abbreviated as SE4ALL and later as SEforAll – started out as an ‘Initiative’ of the United Nations. In June 2009, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed Kandeh Yumkella to chair a new Advisory Group on Energy and Climate Change. The launch of Sustainable Energy for All coincided with the designation of 2012 as the International Year of Sustainable Energy for All, by the UN General Assembly. In 2013, Yumkella was appointed as CEO. This Sierra Leonean agricultural economist and politician was the former Chairman of UN-Energy and the Director General of the UN Industrial Development Organization in Vienna. The location of Vienna for the Temporary Secretariat of the Initiative was therefore a logical step. On March 1st, 2013, Sustainable Energy for All rented an office space of 405 m² in the Andromeda Tower, near the main UN building (VIC). The organization counted eighteen staff members at the time: seven in New York, and eleven in Vienna.

The goals of the ‘Initiative’ came from Sustainable Development Goal 7: to achieve universal energy access, improve energy efficiency and increase the use of renewable energy. Underpinning SDG7 and at the heart of the Paris Agreement was the promise that no one is ‘left behind’ in the global energy transition (SEforAll, 2018). The Sustainable Energy for All was initially a facilitating agency as part of the UN, funded by the World Bank and the Austrian government. The dedication of Ban Ki-moon and Jim Yong Kim (President of the World Bank) played a role in facilitating financial help, managing and collaboration in energy issues. To achieve the goals of Sustainable Energy for All, the organization is cooperating with the OPEC Fund for International Development and OPEC, the Energy community, NGOs, other IOs and the Vienna Energy Forum: a biannual event as a joint initiative of organizations and the federal government. Sustainable Energy for All has a close relationship with the UN Industrial Development Organization.

Table 6.1 Course of events: Establishment of the Sustainable Energy for All

2011	Yumkella appointed by the UN SG as co-chair of the high-level group on SE4All
2012	The GA designated 2012 as the SE4All year
2013	SE4All rented an office of 405 m ² . SE4All set up as a UN Initiative; Yumkella appointed CEO (March) SE4All rented 331 m ² extra office space (December)
2015	Request of proposals and letters of intent (April) Bid books from 5 countries: Canada, Austria, Denmark, Barbados, and Italy (May) SE4All Conference in New York Follow-up letters with Austria, Canada, and Denmark Decision to remain in Vienna (January)
2016	Change of status in Quasi International Organization (instead of ‘Initiative’) Change of name in SEforAll

Course of events

In 2013, as the Sustainable Energy for All was not officially an IO, but neither an International NGO, the status of the organization was a legal challenge for the actors involved. Its staffers preferred not to be part of the UN family. According to one of the employees, this was because they needed ‘the flexibility to do business’. The UN is not entitled to take funds from private businesses. In the case of the realization of energy goals, one must cooperate with private funding bodies, was their reasoning. Austrian and New York lawyers were working on the case at the time.

During this search for a new legal status, on December 1st, 2013, the Sustainable Energy for All rented a new floor in the Andromeda Tower: 736 m² of extra office space. This extra floor, however, was not in the initial agreement with the Austrian government, which had agreed to pay the rent for a period of five years. Sustainable Energy for All bargained with the Austrian government to pay for the extra office floor, otherwise they would leave. Due to discontent at the Sustainable Energy for All about the lack of clarity about its status, the organization issued a Request for Proposal (RfP) for relocation to a new host state. Until May 1st, 2015, the countries were allowed to send their letter of intent. Five countries responded: Denmark (Copenhagen), Austria (Vienna), Italy (Rome), Barbados (Bridgetown), and Canada (Montréal). The bid-books of Italy and Barbados did not meet the criteria. The bidding went on between Denmark, Canada, and Austria.

Sustainable Energy for All started renegotiations with Austria, first with a host country proposal, then with answers to follow-up questions on the host country proposals. In Austria, a consultation started among experts on the absolute or functional immunities of IO employees and how the state should solve the problems when one has no access to the jurisdiction of the state (Reinisch, 2013; Groen, 2016). This led to a new host state law, directed to Non-Governmental IOs, or Quasi-IOs. Consequently, a group of international agencies gained a better position in Austria. One motivation for the Austrian government to go all the way was because it had just failed to attract the Arms Trade Treaty. In 2016, the offer was considered sufficient, including the status of a Quasi IO, with tax benefits. Sustainable Energy for All decided to stay in Vienna. In 2017, the Sustainable Energy for All worked with 5 teams and 32 staff members in two locations: one third in Washington, two thirds in Vienna.

Retaining and attracting the SE4ALL: the playing field and its players

The commitment of Austria consisted of the net rental costs of an office of 405 m² for five years, the initial rental costs (brokers free), the contribution to office furniture and equipment up to €100.000, and funding for one Junior Professional Officer for two years (Austrian Foreign Ministry, 2015a). When the Initiative also hired the rest of the space on the 15th floor, they occupied a total of 736 m². The Sustainable Energy for All requested this extra space on the same conditions or it would leave. “In order to keep them here”, an organizational network member said, “we had to extent our offer” (Interview C4.5).

The new ‘Initiative’ – a term not known to the UN legally – had put pressure on its host government. Whilst the ‘bidding war’ was going on between possible host cities, the Austrian government changed the legal situation in favor of the organization, which had evolved from an Initiative to a Quasi IO by Austrian law. This way, it could enjoy the privileges and immunities, albeit in a limited way.

The Sustainable Energy for All Success Measures (Vienna)

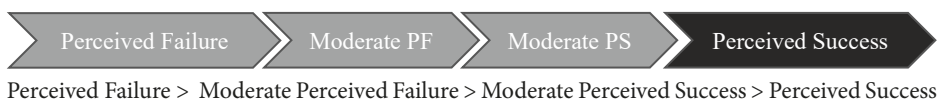
The first success type for this case I coined a factual success. The pre-stage started in 2011, when the UN Secretary General appointed Yumkella as co-chair of the high-level group on Sustainable Energy for All. In the following year, the establishment of the organization began to take shape. The first stage started with the eligibility of five candidates in May 2015 (Stage 1). Follow-up letters are sent back and forth to and from Austria, Canada, and Denmark. Barbados and Italy do not meet the criteria (Stage 2). Negotiations with Denmark and Austria remain when the request of being a Quasi-IO is discussed (Stage 3). The Austrian host state law changes in 2016 and therefore the organization decides to stay in Vienna (Stage 4).

Figure 6.3 First success type for Vienna’s successful case: Sustainable Energy for All



The second type was a ‘moderate perceived success’. It was successfully retained but most of the involved had their reservations. The Austrian government had just lost the Arms Trade Treaty Secretariat when the negotiations on the Sustainable Energy for All were at its peak (August 2015), the necessity to keep this organization was urgent. One of the organizational network members put it as such: “After the Arms Trade Treaty, we didn’t want to lose this one. We already had paid for them, not only the rent but also the services and the offices to be adapted. UNIDO is losing member states, so there is less money for them.” (Interview C4.4). There was put much effort in keeping them; even the host state law needed to change. Another setback was the pressure the organization had put on the government. As an organizational network member said: “The Sustainable Energy for All wanted us to pay for a bigger office space. I was already saying, let them go, it costs so much money. [But] the organizations have a big say in this” (Interview C4.5). In the end it was a moderate perceived success because they were welcomed in Vienna, but only reluctantly.

Figure 6.4 Second success type for Vienna’s successful case: Sustainable Energy for All



6.2 INSTRUMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

Instrumental explanation Vienna's failed case

Host policy goals 2015

After several changes in 1979³³ and 1992³⁴, some more elements changed in the host state law. One stood out in 2009: the exemption from the obligation to pay the employer's contribution to the Family Allowance Fund (Bundesgesetz für die Republik Österreich, 2009; Daxkobler & Seiler, 2012). Based on a profitability study of the Foreign Ministry, the change was legitimized. The 2009 study ‘The immaterial profitability of IOs in Austria’ was repeated in 2014. Because of this evaluation, the new objectives were international dialogue, improved legal framework, the promotion of security and a hub for peace, security, sustainable development, and energy policy.

Nation branding goals 2015

The Austrian Republic had been high in the nation brands indexes. In the year the Arms Trade Treaty was attracted and the Sustainable Energy for All had been kept, Austria was tenth in rank, between Denmark (number nine) and New Zealand (eleven) (Future Brand, 2015, p. 11). The Country Brands Index of 2014/2015 qualified Austria as ‘country brand’ with a competitive advantage: countries with strong positive perceptions: people are more likely to visit, recommend and do business with a ‘country brand’ (Future Brand, 2015, p. 35). Although there was no active policy in 2015, there was an image of Austria as charming, well-educated, and diligent. The government bet on the positive brand of the landscape, food and drinks, famous old buildings as well as a low criminality rate (Austrian Federal Government, 2015). These can be considered the nation branding goals. Weaknesses of the brand were formed by the narrow-mindedness of Austrians, and their large number of political and economic scandals (Leitner, 2016, p. 15).

City marketing goals 2015

Vienna holds the first place among the safest European cities, with a low crime rate. The Austrian capital is seen as diverse, safe, cosmopolitan, and an attractive city to live in (Mercer, 2017). In the Mercer studies, Vienna has been ‘number 1’ on the Quality-of-Life criterion for eight years in a row (2009-2017). In a position paper ‘Vienna 2016’ written in 2006 the metropolis was represented as a “multifaceted cultural metropolis and a hub for Central European business and finance” (Departure Wirtschaft, Kunst und Kultur GmbH, 2006, p. 11). In 2013, the new ambassador for conferences and IOs accentuated that Vienna was focusing on too many topics. The goal from now on was to focus on

33 Possibility to grant privileges and immunities without going through parliament.

34 Limited privileges for Non-Governmental IOs.

security. This ambassador wrote down strategic ideas aimed at strengthening the general structure and developing synergies between organizations. The main policy goal was to contribute to improved efficiency (City of Vienna, 2013, p. 3).

Bid for the Arms Trade Treaty (2015)

The bid book to attract the Secretariat of the Arms Trade Treaty consisted of one page. Austria articulated that effective and result-oriented implementation of the Treaty would be a priority (Austrian Foreign Ministry, 2015b). The City of Vienna would provide a good environment for the location of the Arms Trade Treaty-Secretariat. “Vienna is well established as an effective hub for multilateral diplomacy. This is evidenced through the efficient work of key IOs in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation: The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban-Treaty Organization (CTBTO Prep Com)” (Austrian Foreign Ministry, 2015b, p. 1).

Austria stressed the following elements: the international character, the livability, and the security. The proposal or ‘Aid Memoire’ concluded with three bullet points: Office space furnished and free of charge for up to 5 years; Generous privileges and immunities; Assistance to states or organizations wishing to open a representation in Vienna. Later, in the follow-up questions, these logistical aspects were specified. The Vienna International Center was mentioned as possible housing, and as alternative office space near the Center or in the city. Other areas were clarified as well: outsourcing options, conference service, human resources and ‘other remarks’ (public infrastructure, hotels, schools, and banks).

Categorical concurrence

The alignment on the first dimension was high: 83 percent showed categorical concurrence – ten of the twelve boxes were filled (Table 6.2). The bid for the Arms Trade Treaty was especially aligned with the host state policy (international environment, safety and security) and with city marketing (quality of life, safety and security, right kind of expertise) and less with the nation branding goals. The elements in the bid most aligned were ‘quality of life’ and ‘safety and security’; all policy goals mentioned these. Less aligned were ‘international environment’ and ‘right kind of expertise’, which were not mentioned in the nation branding goals.

Depth of information

The second dimension – depth of information – showed an average alignment of 67 percent – 8 of the 12 boxes are highlighted (see below). The first element in the bid ‘international environment’ was least elaborated upon, only in the host state policy, where a focus on ‘international dialogue’ was mentioned comprehensively. The most elaborated element in the bid in all other policies was ‘Safety and security’: the host policy mentioned the ‘promotion of security’, the nation branding elaborated on ‘free

of crime, low crime rate’ and the city marketing highlighted ‘being among the safest European cities’. The other highly aligned elements were ‘quality of life’ and ‘right kind of expertise’. Surprisingly, the ‘international environment’ element was least aligned, although this was an import aspect to all layers of government.

Table 6.2 Alignment between policies and bid for the Arms Trade Treaty (Vienna)

Type of policy	Host policy	Nation branding	City Marketing	Policy alignment
Goals in keywords: Elements in the ATT bid:	Attract new IOs, Austria and Vienna as hub of peace, security, sustainable development, energy policy and international dialogue.	Strengths of Austria's image were the landscape, food and drinks, famous old buildings as well as a low criminality rate. Austria should be seen as “calm, tranquil and more or less free of crime”	Top quality of life, a multi-faceted cultural metropolis, a hub for Central European business and finance	The following elements from the ATT bid showed alignment on the <i>depth of information</i> dimension:
1. International environment	International dialogue	-	Multifaceted cultural metropolis	Effective hub for multilateral diplomacy. Alignment with one policy
2. Quality of life	Improved legal framework	Food and drinks, famous old buildings, calm and tranquil	Top quality of life	High quality of life. Alignment with two policies
3. Safety and security	Promotion of security	Free of crime; Low crime rate	Among the safest European cities	Most secure capital. Full alignment
4. Right kind of expertise	A hub in the promotion of peace, security, sustainable development, energy policy and international dialogue.	-	Capital 1of the struggle against inhuman acts and inhuman treatment	Efficient work of key IOs in disarmament and non-proliferation: IAEA, STBTO PrepCom, UNODC, OCSE. Aligned with two policies

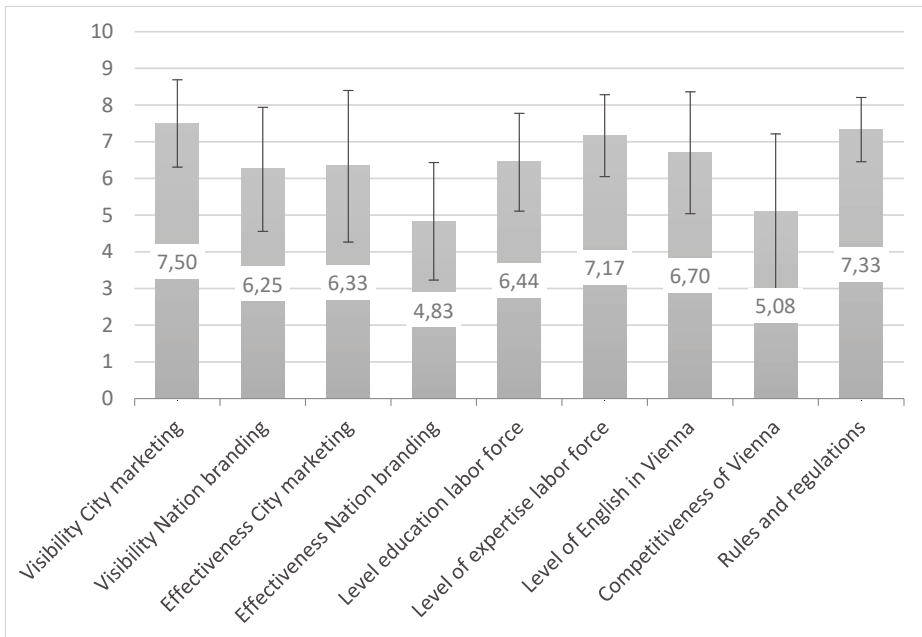
Perception of host policy and support Vienna's failed case

Figure 6.5 shows the ratings of IO representatives of the branding policies, rules and regulations, elements in the bid and government support (N=16). These issues are discussed, while making a distinction between the failed and successfully attracted case.

Perception branding policies

Most respondents considered the city marketing more visible than nation branding and more effective to attract IOs. The explanation behind these ratings was diverse. An international employee who rated the visibility of the city marketing an 8 said “Vienna advertises, has a reputation of making it visible. Kids, grown-ups, it’s visible with emblems, tokens, newspapers, ads; more in print than on TV. It’s visible by greening the city or building housing that is affordable. To Viennese, Austrians but also to internationals” (Interview C21.23). About the nation branding, this respondent was more critical: “there is a new nation branding strategy, but it is not yet visible. The government has developed it: “Building bridges”, it has not trickled down to Joe Public on the street. The old nation branding is still present: Mozart, skiing, the waltz, and other cultural clichés.” (C21.23). This aspect was coined a plus/minus because the visibility was positively –, but the effectiveness of both policies was negatively perceived.

Figure 6.5 Perception of host policy and support Vienna (N=16)



Perception elements in the bid

The four elements in the bid were ‘international environment’, ‘quality of life’, ‘safety and security’ and ‘right kind of expertise’. Most were full of praise about the first, the international climate in Vienna. Especially about the *hub* function of Vienna in disarmament issues and the NGOs being around. Nevertheless, some also thought this hub was limited: “[The IO] Wassenaar Arrangement is there, but not everybody has representation in Vienna, because it is more specific” (Interview A31.34). The second aspect, quality of life, was something everyone commented about as positive. Respondents were positive about the third element, safety and security, as they felt safe on the streets at night. As one employee put it: “There are no dangerous zones” (Interview C21.23). The IO representatives were satisfied with the international environment, quality of life, safety and security, but not as positive about the ‘right kind of expertise’. It was present in Vienna but not to the extent that an operating Arms Trade Treaty Secretariat could be established, respondents agreed. This aspect was coined a plus/minus because although the first three aspects were positively reviewed, the last one was quite the opposite.

Perception rules and regulations

Most respondents considered the regulations for IOs “not very complex and well organized” (Interview C18.20) or commented on them as “for the moment quite good, but for the partners of expats the access to the labor market is difficult” (Interview C19.21). An NGO-employee found the rules for giving donations too strict: “the fact that donors that give to animal welfare organizations cannot deduct the gifts is doubtful” (Interview C24.26). Some rules and regulations were found bureaucratic and nonsensical. Nevertheless, the government was trying to make them “as flexible as possible” (Interview C30.30), this is also evidenced by the new host state law of 2015 (Parliament of Austria, 2015). This aspect was a plus/minus due to the mixed views.

Perception government support

On how the IO representatives experienced the support from the government, the reactions were ambivalent. Since 2015, the Austrian government attempted to increase the convenience for IOs, in terms of reduction of administrative burden, efficiency increase and the growth of attractiveness of Austria (Austrian National Council, 2015). Nevertheless, some of the international employees in Vienna still thought the offer of incentives to international recruits was uneven, as these were not offered to Austrians. Another much heard criticism in the Arms Trade Treaty Secretariat attraction process, was the possibility for spouses to build businesses. A respondent proclaimed about this: “The field should be more coordinated and more inclusive for the private sector” (Interview C20.22). This element is coined a plus/minus as respondents reacted varying on this point.

Instrumental explanation Vienna's successful case

The privileges and immunities changed for NGOs with the new law in 2015, when a plan was worked out for Quasi-IOs: some International NGOs could now be granted privileges and immunities. These were exempted from income tax and the status of the organization was tax free, but there was no full exemption from the public law; social taxes or VAT taxes (Federal Law Gazette, 2015). This process was accelerated during the attraction process of the Sustainable Energy for All. Five goals were formulated in the new host state policy of 2015: Reduction of administrative burden and efficiency increase in foundations and funds; Increase of donations to non-profit organizations; Increase of donations to the assets of charitable foundations; Increase the number of charitable foundations and quasi-IOs in Vienna; To increase the attractiveness of Austria as a location for quasi-IOs (Parliament of Austria, 2015). After the Austrian policy had changed, it became an incentive for many NGOs to find a way to become Quasi-IOs, and for others to move to Vienna. From the moment the new host state law had been changed for Quasi IOs, new organizations were renamed into this new type. Austria then counted, with the Sustainable Energy for All, nine Quasi-IOs.

Nation branding goals 2016

The Austrian government presents itself abroad as a nation that actively secures peace and combat misguided developments on the world stage. The activities launched by Austria in this context include negotiation diplomacy, crisis management, stability policy as well as disaster relief and reconstruction (Republic of Austria, 2019). Key elements in this position of Austria abroad were the focus on peace, security, negotiation diplomacy, crisis management, stability policy, disaster relief and reconstruction, and a sustainable national environmental and energy policy (Austrian Embassy, 2019). These issues can be seen as the goals of the nation branding of Austria.

Bid for the Sustainable Energy for All (2016)

The bid book was not an official paper, but an offer articulated informally by the Austrian government. Follow-up questions were answered later in the process. These revealed the following information about the bid. The first element, 'financial contributions': Austria would provide € 1 million to the establishment of a 'Sustainable Energy for All Global Platform of Regional Energy Centers' jointly steered by Sustainable Energy for All and UNIDO. Furthermore, Austria would provide € 500,000 to Sustainable Energy for All for the support of concrete opportunities and actions to implement the Sustainable Energy for All agenda.³⁵

³⁵ Austria would also contribute € 500,000 to ESMAP (Energy Sector Management Assistance Program). Austria had already committed € 4 million for the setting up of additional Regional Energy Centers in Southern and Eastern Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific region. Austria continued to support ECREEE with € 3,2 million. In addition, Austria supported with more than € 6,0 million programs and projects for the concrete application of sustainable energy solutions.

Secondly, the ‘facilities’ were touched upon. The Partnership could stay in the existing space rent-free for the next three years. The Austrian government was willing to support the cost of an additional space (up to an additional € 400,000 and furniture and equipment – up to an additional € 100,000).

The third element was ‘taxation’: the proposal referred to additional law in preparation: exemption from employees’ income tax as well as other fees and taxes of the NGO itself. The draft law would be decided by the Government before the summer break of 2015 and subsequently sent to Parliament. It could be enacted by the end of the year.

Fourthly, it discussed ‘legal status and status for partnership staff’: the NGO would apply once for an exemption from work permits for its employees. Once an exemption from the application of the Aliens Employment Act had been granted, no further permits were necessary.

Fifth, it touched upon ‘public infrastructure and services’, Austria liked to point out that its offer to combine the Sustainable Energy for All Partnership with the UN Industrial Development Organization global network of Regional Sustainable Energy Centers would provide the organization with a global advocacy group for sustainable energy and climate resilience issues, a strong link between international energy and climate agreements and concrete implementation on the ground. The centers would considerably strengthen the implementation capacities of the Sustainable Energy for All initiative. Last but not least, it mentioned ‘Amenities’: a reimbursement of the rent of the entire space at the 15th floor of the Andromeda Tower (Austrian Foreign Ministry, 2015a).

Categorical concurrence

The first dimension of alignment was average: 61 percent or 11 of the 18 boxes were filled (Table 6.3). The elements were most aligned with the host policy goals, especially the list of goals the Parliament set up to improve the competitiveness of Austria “especially from Geneva” (Parliament of Austria, 2015, p. 5). Answers to the follow-up questions for Sustainable Energy for All expressed all five goals set up by Parliament in order to make Austria a more attractive location. The alignment with the nation branding goals was found in the focus on peace and security but also in the sustainable national environment and energy policy. The city marketing had a low overlap with the bid for Sustainable Energy for All (City of Vienna, 2013).

Table 6.3 Alignment between policies and bid for the Sustainable Energy (Vienna)

Type of policy	Host policy	Nation branding	City Marketing	Policy alignment
Goals:	Reduction of administrative burden and efficiency increase in foundations and funds; Increase of donations to non-profit organizations; Increase of donations to the assets of charitable foundations; Increase the number of charitable foundations and quasi-IOs in Vienna: To increase the attractiveness of Austria as a location for quasi-international organizations	Focus on peace, security, negotiation diplomacy, crisis management, stability policy, disaster relief and reconstruction, and a sustainable national environmental and energy policy	Leading European metropolis, as an international center, as a cosmopolitan, gender-conscious international city at the heart of Europe	The following elements from the SE4All bid showed alignment on the <i>depth of information</i> dimension:
Elements in the SE4All bid:				
1. Financial contributions	Austria has committed €4 million to the establishment of a “SE4All Global Platform of Regional Energy Centers”	Austria intended to continue its financial support to SE4All activities in the following years	-	Global network of regional sustainable energy centers. Alignment with two policies
2. Facilities	Providing improved legal framework conditions	-	-	Provide beneficial contributions. Alignment with one policy
3. Taxation	To improve the competitiveness of Austria	-	-	Austrian contribution, hub for sustainable development. Alignment with one policy

Type of policy	Host policy	Nation branding	City Marketing	Policy alignment
4. Legal status and status for partnership staff	Providing improved legal framework conditions; draft law should be decided by the government by the end of the year (2015)	Focus on a sustainable national environmental and energy policy	-	Austrian contribution, providing improved legal framework conditions, focus on a sustainable environmental policy. Alignment with one policy
5. Public infrastructure and services	Remain an attractive location for the established offices	-	Vienna as a city with citizen-friendly institutions; ‘capital of the struggle against inhuman acts and inhuman treatment’; focus on the energy field	Free rent for 5 years, remain an attractive location. Alignment with one policy
6. Amenities	The combination between the SE4All Partnership and UNIDO’s global network of Regional Sustainable Energy Centers will provide SE4All with a global advocacy group for sustainable energy and climate resilience issues	Austria envisages a pivotal role for SE4All in promoting the newly to be established centers especially by increasing public and political awareness for their important work on sustainable energy	A center of competence for infrastructure and environmental technologies, and Vienna as a city with citizen-friendly institutions	Reimbursement of the rent of entire space at the 15 th floor of the Andromeda Tower. Alignment with one policy

Depth of information

The elaboration of the elements from the bid in the policy goals was low: 38 percent – there were only 7 of the 18 boxes highlighted. Alignment was found with the host policy goals, less with the nation branding goals and no elements were elaborated upon in the city marketing goals. Most alignment was found in stressing the importance of environment and energy issues. The element aligning most with the policy goals was ‘Financial contributions’: The host state policy stressed Austria’s €4 million commitment to the establishment of a global platform of Regional Energy Centers, and the nation branding mentioned the financial support as well to the organization’s activities.

Surprisingly, this successfully attracted showed a very low alignment between the bid and attraction policies, which was not expected in the instrumental perspective.

*Perception of host policy and support Vienna’s successful case**Perception of branding policies*

The city marketing and nation branding policies and their effectiveness to attract organizations were perceived in a mixed way. A respondent of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights said: “there is not a strategy, not anymore. It used to be a neutral country.” (Interview C19.21). About the effectiveness of city marketing and nation branding she was more positive about the first than the latter: “there was a lot of discussion around the KAICIID (Kader Abdullah Islamic Center of Intercultural and International Dialogue). Austria signed that treaty but suddenly Austria wanted to change the treaty, unpack the package. In that way, we are not a reliable party; it is about reliability and credibility” (C19.21). The Kader Abdullah Islamic Center of Intercultural and International Dialogue came under fire when the Kurz administration fell in 2019. Due to many negative reports in the media, the Austrian government threatened to shut down the interreligious center. This aspect was coined a plus/minus, as the ratings and narratives had negative and positive aspects.

Perception of elements in the bid

The most prominent elements in the Sustainable Energy for All bid were “A global network of regional sustainable energy centers, contribution to the Sustainable Energy for All for establishment and furnishing the offices, contribution to the sustainable energy sector, exemption of taxes and fees for the Sustainable Energy for All and free rent for five years”. As the Sustainable Energy for All was already established and based in Vienna before the renegotiations for a new location started, the Sustainable Energy for All employees were already in Vienna when the Austrian offer came into existence. The Sustainable Energy for All representatives were positive about all elements, especially the first. As a Sustainable Energy for All-employee voiced it: “Vienna has so many

energy organizations, there are road maps and action agendas and more than 100 opt-in countries in Vienna, of which 85 from the developing world” (Interview C21.23). The only element employees and experts were negative about was ‘exemption of taxes and fees’. As the Chief Operating Officer of Sustainable Energy for All said: “The Austrians gave us a tax-free status, but not full exemption from the public law, no social taxes or VAT tax exemptions. This increased our costs for 20%. If we were based in Geneva, this would have saved these 20%” (Interview C22.24). This aspect was coined a plus as the reactions were mostly positive.

Perception of rules and regulations

When turning to how respondents perceived rules and regulations for IOs, the following comes to the fore. Respondents found most rules quite strict, but very clear. It was, to some, also related to a large extent to international competition: “I see competition because there are considerations of the *Standortfrage* [location question] which is key to our foreign politics and economic considerations of the city” (Interview C21.23). This employee found the rules and regulations for IOs were part of the international competition, as what other countries do, has an influence on what Austria or Vienna does with their organizations.

Perception of government support

In the latter case of the Sustainable Energy for All, respondents were a bit more positive about the government handling of complaints, although the criticism about Austria being a bit old-fashioned remained. An employee of the Sustainable Energy organization said about this: “The government could be more entrepreneurial! A building for non-United Nations organizations for example” (Interview C22.24). Overall, the support is perceived as sufficient, but with room for improvement. “There is an effort to support international employees”, said a Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization respondent, “but in the end you have to find your own housing. You have to go through your own tunnel of provisions, the organization gives you startup money and guidance, but you have to do the rest yourself” (Interview C23.25). This element was coined a plus as well.

Conclusion

Whereas the alignment in the failed case of the Arms Trade Treaty was average, the alignment in the successful case was low. This was, again, not an expected result. The perception and support in the first Arms Trade Treaty-case was lower than in the successful Sustainable Energy for All case, as I expected. The host policies and government support had been improved, according to many.

6.3 DISCURSIVE PERSPECTIVE

Discursive explanation Vienna's failed case

Priorities and narratives organizational network failed case

For the organizational network attracting the Arms Trade Treaty to Vienna (N=6), physical infrastructure and political stability were prioritized highly, followed hospitals. One of the group members even called the quality of hospitals “responsible for the attractiveness and safety of the city (...). The insurance scheme is important, the UN health care system, they offer rather good coverage of costs. If you're in a situation of distress or disease, they have good services, and you can rely on them” (Interview C9.10). The organizational network that attracted the Arms Trade Treaty Secretariat rated hospitals are well organized significantly higher than the other groups. Physical infrastructure was also found as a strong narrative. This was often mentioned in the top three or top five and referred to as an element that needed no explanation (Panke, Lang, & Wiedemann, 2018). About the political stability one group member claimed that “Austria is considered a very politically stable country. We are scoring as the top 3 in health services, leisure and profession” (Interview C8.10). All in all, the organizational network prioritized physical infrastructure, political stability, and hospitals and healthcare.

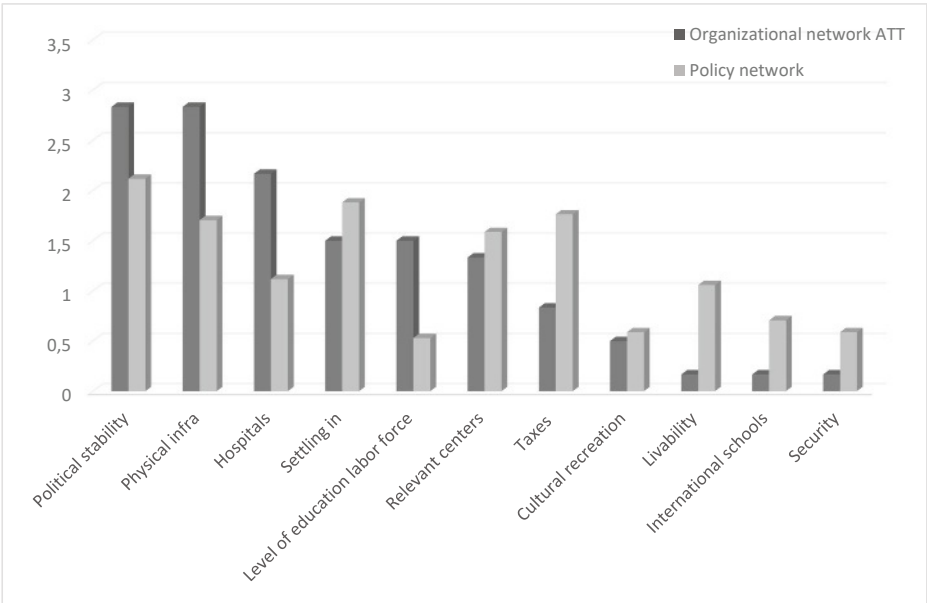
Priorities and narratives policy network

For the policy network (N=17, both cases) high priorities were political stability, settling in and taxes. The narratives contextualizing these elements were based on the role Vienna played on the international stage. Policy network members explained the political stability of Vienna as a central city between east and west as crucial. One of the main players of the network of Foreign Ministry said: “The reputation of Vienna is mandatory for the other factors (...) Vienna is a bridge by itself, Vienna is the city of dialogue, the city for human security” (Interview C3.3). The ‘bridge function’ of Vienna was often mentioned, as well as the beneficial tax scheme as an important incentive for IOs: “We hope to be able to grant certain privileges to various types of organizations, we want to give additional tax exemptions”, said a legal advisor to the Foreign Ministry (Interview C6.7). The element ‘settling in of foreigners is well organized’ also belonged to a strong narrative. The policy network stressed the importance of foreigners settling in successfully. As the Expat Center director said: “The fact that there are so many organizations in such a central location and such a high quality of life is really an advantage” (Interview C16.17). Other elements the policy network rated high were livability and relevant centers. The comments on the first element related, without exceptions, to the high rank of Vienna in the ‘Livability index’: the city of Vienna had been number 1 on the Mercer Quality of Living index since 2009 (Mercer, 2015). On the second element, the network underlined Vienna as a UN and cosmopolitan city. The policy network accentuated settling in and taxes differently than the organizational network.

Comparison between organizational and policy network failed case

The figure below shows the overlap between the organizational and policy network of the failed case. Overlaps between the groups were found in the priorities of political stability, settling in and relevant centers. The main differences were found in the significantly higher ranked hospitals by the organizational network, and the higher ranking of taxes, livability, and international schools by the policy network. Those elements were also accompanied by strong narratives.

Figure 6.6 Arms Trade Treaty: priorities governmental groups (Vienna)



Priorities and narratives IO representatives

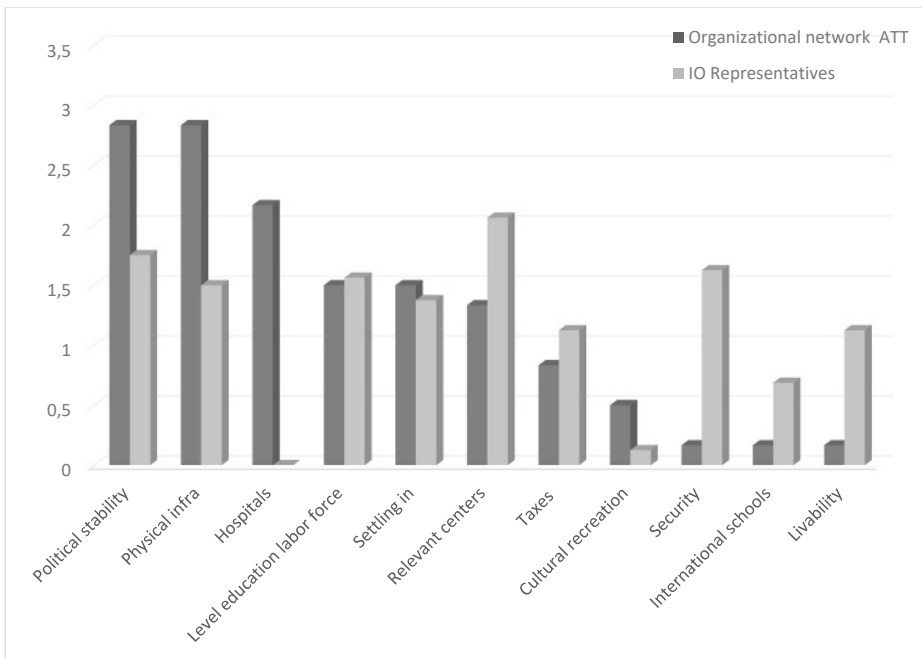
The international representatives (N=12) prioritized relevant centers, political stability, security, and level of education labor force highest. Security showed the strongest narrative. An employee of the Sustainable Energy for All, the second case in this study, found this a top priority: “Security and the safety of the country, reliable infrastructure, that one can count on reliable jurisdiction, legislation (...) Vienna is known as a UN headquarter, a nice place with security and political stability” (Interview C21.23). Security issues were also one of the crucial elements for another IO employee, who stated: “Security is among the most important things. Vienna is a capital of stable democracy. It is connected well, which is especially positive” (Interview C30.30). About livability, the following NGO employee said: “There is a good balance: safe city and a balance between what you earn and what you spend. It’s very diverse. It offers a quality of living, it’s clean

and you can do many things outdoors. Public transport is working excellent” (Interview C24.26). The high quality of life is mentioned by almost everyone in this context.

Comparison organizational network and international representatives

In the narratives of the IO representatives, often the infrastructure, security and taxes were mentioned, more than in the organizational network attracting the Arms Trade Treaty. Most overlap between the Arms Trade Treaty organizational network and the international representatives was found in the relevant centers, physical infrastructure, and the political stability. They found these both crucial. The differences between the groups laid in the significantly higher ranked hospitals by the organizational network and the higher rated security element by the IO representatives, although this was not significantly so. The following figure shows the differences and overlaps in priorities.

Figure 6.7 Arms Trade Treaty: organizational network and internationals (Vienna)



Discursive explanation Vienna's successful case

Priorities and narratives organizational network successful case

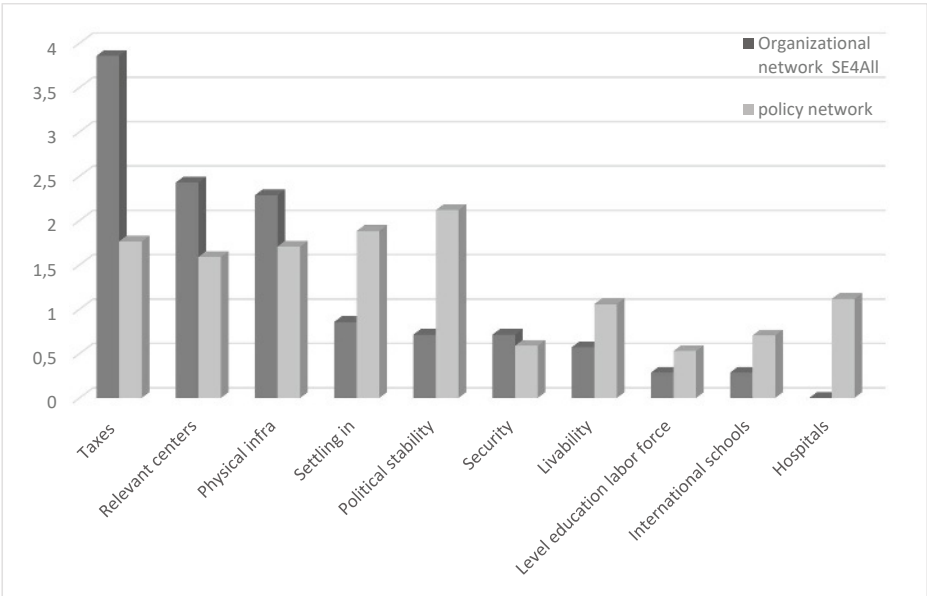
The organizational network attracting the Sustainable Energy for All (N=7) ranked taxes highest, followed by relevant centers and physical infrastructure. The reason for this was related to the negotiations between the Sustainable Energy for All and the government

during the process of the Sustainable Energy for All Partnership. The answer to the question why Sustainable Energy for All chose for Vienna, the organizational network member answered: “Security, quality of life and the proximity to other organizations. The interaction with other organizations, they like to be here because of good communication and good travel connections to Central Asia” (Interview C6.7). The proximity of other centers referred to relevant centers, the good travel connections to physical infrastructure. This was a component of a larger narrative, that not only underlined good travel connections, but also the emerging energy hub. The other organizational network members were also explicit about the emerging energy hub in Vienna. This means that the accent is on the profile that Vienna is known for.

Comparison between organizational network successful case and policy network

The following figure shows the priorities of both groups. A main difference between the groups in the Sustainable Energy for All case is the organizational network’s priority of taxes and the priority of political stability by the policy network. Whereas the policy network was focusing on livability and the quality of hospitals and health care, the Sustainable Energy for All organizational network was underlining the energy hub in Vienna and the possibility for the ‘Initiative’ to network and become a Quasi IO. Overlaps were found in taxes, relevant centers, and physical infrastructure. These three elements were important in both groups’ narratives.

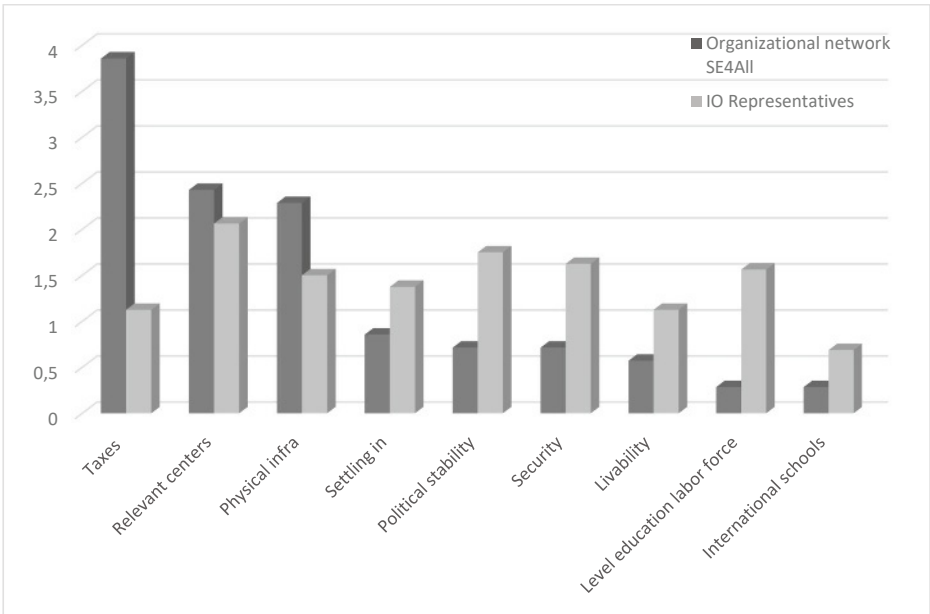
Figure 6.8 Sustainable Energy for All: priorities governmental groups (Vienna)



Comparison organizational network and international representatives

The following graph shows the overlaps and differences of the priorities between the Sustainable Energy for All organizational network and the IO representatives (Figure 6.9). A difference between the two groups was the higher ranking of taxes by the organizational network, and of political stability and level of education labor force by the international representatives.

Figure 6.9 Sustainable Energy for All: organizational network and internationals (Vienna)



The international representatives explained political stability and level of education of labor force more often. Security was also mentioned substantively. Other elements the IO representatives rated higher than the Sustainable Energy for All organizational network were settling in, security, international schools, and livability.

Comparing the priorities of all groups with correlation coefficients

Counterintuitively, the correlations between the organizational network attracting the Arms Trade Treaty Secretariat and the policy network were higher than in the successful case. On the other hand, the correlations between the organizational network of the failed case and the international representatives were lower than those groups in the successful case. The following table shows these results in Kendall's tau-b.

Table 6.4 Correlations failed and successful groups on prioritizing locational elements Vienna

	Policy network	International Organizations
Arms Trade Treaty organizational network	0.70**	0.47**
Sustainable Energy for All organizational network	0.59**	0.73**

N=19. * p <.05, ** p <.01. Based on 2-tailed Kendall's tau-b.

Conclusion

The organizational network attracting the successful case of the Sustainable Energy for All showed a higher correlation with the international representatives, but a lower one with the policy network. In the failed case, overlaps between the organizational and policy network were low. The overlap with the IOs was higher, both in priorities and narratives.

6.4 RELATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Relational explanation Vienna's failed case

Level of network cooperation failed case Vienna

The organizational network that cooperated to attract the Arms Trade Treaty Secretariat consisted of four departments within the Foreign Ministry. The cooperation was rated high, a 7.3 (N=5). After the decision to propose a bid was made, which was quite late in the process, a meeting in Vienna was organized in April 2015. One of the central actors of the organizational network (MFA Department I.5) said about the cooperation: “We don't have strategy meetings. We have irregular ones, when needed, and weekly contact. Whenever the occasion arises, sometimes a small question pops up, then we meet or call” (Interview C3.3). The only delegations that cooperated were the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Departments I.5 (IOs) and II.8 (non-proliferation), the head of the Austrian representative in New York and in Geneva: “Two each, so there were eight people in total”. This organizational network member rated the cooperation a 10, she said “it was excellent” (Interview C.4.5). Another organizational network member gave the cooperation a 9 to 10: “the cooperation was sincere. It was a joint exercise by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the City, jointly dealt and monitored by the Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry. We were constantly monitoring the mood” (Interview C8.10). An organizational network member that was in the Federal Chancellery rated the level of cooperation a 7 and explained: “there is a high integration of politics and economics

and of social institutions. The *Lande* [provinces] play a role as well. They offer facilities, real estate, and help to internationalize” (Interview C7.9). If the cooperation was that convenient during the failed attraction process, then what happened politically?

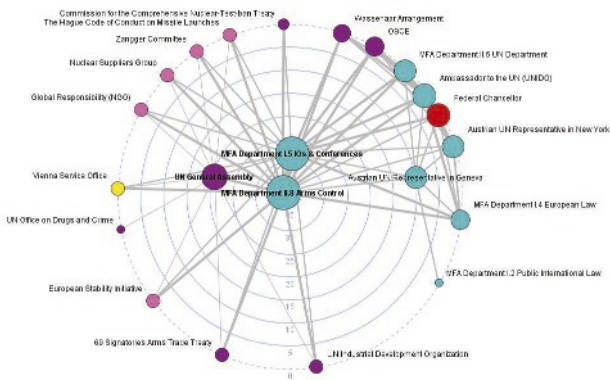
Political process failed case: Arms Trade Treaty

Representatives of the disarmament department of the Foreign Ministry visited the First Preparatory meeting in Port of Spain in February 2015. At this meeting, 82 states, NGOs, IOs and regional industries attended. Other actors active in the lobby for the Arms Trade Treaty to come to Vienna were the Wassenaar Arrangement, the OSCE, the UN General Assembly (UNGA) where the negotiations took place, and the Federal Chancellor on protocol issues. From the City of Vienna, the international affairs and the political departments were involved. A difficulty at that meeting was that Austria did not have much to offer, stated a Foreign Affairs employee: “They talked. Usually they bargain, but they didn’t really have anything to bargain” (Interview C4.5). Another aspect was that the organizational network to attract the Arms Trade Treaty to Vienna was considered very small, compared to the two competitors. Besides, as one of the involved of the Arms Trade Treaty formulated it: “What their lobby consisted of was not slick and compelling. It was not coercive. The MFA of Switzerland was lobbying very hard; Trinidad and Tobago and Switzerland were always very passionate. Trinidad had a big team, Switzerland as well, and Austria, very small” (Interview A31.34). Cooperating with Austria, there were several NGOs but these did not give enough leeway to attract the Secretariat successfully.

Actor centrality Vienna’s failed case

The betweenness centrality is seen in the centrality of the nodes. The actors in the middle were two actors of the Foreign Ministry: The Arms Control Department (II.8), and the IOs and Conferences Department (I.5). The UN General Assembly was a third central actor. These can be considered the most independent actors. Those were the ones with the broker function on the information flow. In this case, the graph below shows many actors at the periphery and three in the middle, with ten to twenty ties to others.

Figure 6.10 Actor centrality during the attraction of the Arms Trade Treaty Secretariat (Vienna)³⁶



Key:
Size of the nodes: bigger nodes have higher degree centrality (activity)
Node centrality: the higher the betweenness centrality (independency)
Links between the nodes: frequency of meetings (connected to node activity)
Colors: each color is a different type of node (network diversity)

The biggest nodes showed the highest degree centrality, meaning that they were the most active with the most ties to other actors in the network. These were, also, the two Foreign Ministry departments (II.8 and I.5) and, to a less extent, the UN General Assembly, and the Austrian UN representative in Geneva. When looking at the table below at the centrality measures, the highest betweenness centrality was distributed between the two Foreign Ministry departments, as was the highest degree centrality.

Table 6.5 Top five actors: Betweenness measures and node type Arms Trade Treaty (Vienna)

Node	Betweenness centrality %	Degree centrality %	Node type (diversity)
1. Foreign Ministry Dep. I.5 IOs & Conferences	14	7	1. National level
2. Foreign Ministry Dep. II.8 Arms Control	14	7	National level
3. UN General Assembly	7.5	4	2. UN/IO
4. Austrian UN Representative in Geneva	4.2	3	National level
5. Federal Chancellor	2	3	3. Parliament

³⁶ Due to missing data, many nodes appear to be in the periphery and have the same size, while in reality this may not have been the case.

Network diversity failed case Vienna

The number of network types was five. The types were the national or federal government (eight, blue), one actor of the City of Vienna (yellow), seven of the UN (purple), one of the Parliament (red), and five NGOs (pink). The NGOs important in the attraction of the Arms Trade Treaty Secretariat were linked to a lesser extent with the representatives and ambassadors than with the two main MFA Departments, the UNODC and the Wassenaar Arrangement. Furthermore, the main network members in the organizational network were involved in the two different networks, but not very connected to the 67 Signatories that voted for the Secretariat's location. The number of nodes in this case was 22, which I considered average.

*Relational explanation Vienna's successful case**Level of network cooperation successful case Vienna*

The rating of the cooperation within the organizational network and between this group and the policy network was high: 7 (N=6). The cooperation was between the DG of the UN Office at Vienna (UNOV) and the legal advisor of the Austrian Development Agency (ADA) and law departments of the Foreign Ministry. As one of the main actors of department I.5 explained: "Without additional budgetary provisions growth is not possible – if the political will is there, the budgetary provisions will be provided – the annual budget for rent contributions to IOs stays the same, but we are faced with increasing costs each year" (Interview C4.5). This comes from the Foreign Affairs department, which was not in charge of the resources for attracting or retaining organizations. This department (the network administrative organization) was dependent on the Austrian Development Agency and Law departments, but also the Finance Ministry.

Political process successful case: Sustainable Energy for All

The organizational network was forced to increase its offer substantially and change the federal law on granting privileges to NGOs, this was a key element in the negotiations. Crucial actors in the negotiation arena were the Sustainable Energy for All itself, and other energy organizations. The political support was invaluable to the policy towards Sustainable Energy for All. The Foreign Minister in charge Sebastian Kurz (2013-2017), noted [the importance of]: "The network of Regional Energy Centers, set up by the Austrian Development Agency (ADA) and UNIDO. The centers promote the creation of regional renewable energy and energy efficiency markets and industries in partner countries. (...) Since 2009, ADA has invested more than USD 10 million in the expanding network" (Austrian Foreign Ministry, 2016). As former member of Vienna's city council, Kurz represented a formal and informal link between the City of Vienna and the Ministries. Nevertheless, the government had to choose between two evils: pay a lot to keep the organization, or let the organization go and face failure twice in a row (Arms Trade Treaty and Sustainable Energy for All).

Actor centrality successful case Vienna

The nodes most ‘in the middle’ with the highest betweenness centrality were the Sustainable Energy for All, the NGO REEEP and the Environment department III.6 of the Foreign Ministry.

Figure 6.11 Actor centrality during the attraction process of the Sustainable Energy (Vienna)

Table 6.6 Top five actors: Betweenness measures and node type Sustainable Energy (Vienna)

Node	Betweenness centrality %	Degree centrality %	Node type (diversity)
1. SE4All	11	5	1. UN/IO
2. REEEP (NGO)	9	5	2. NGO
3. International Renewable Energy Agency	8	4.5	UN/IO
4. Foreign Ministry Dep. III.6 Environment	7.7	5	3. National level
5. Foreign Ministry Dep. I.4 European Law	7.7	5	National level

Network diversity and number of nodes successful case Vienna

The number of types of actors was seven. Nine of them were Federal (blue), two of the City of Vienna (yellow), five UN or IO departments (purple), four NGOs (pink), three advisors (blue), one Public Private Partnership (dark blue) and two companies (light blue). The variety of this collaboration was especially broad. The companies in the energy field had clear stakes in this negotiation which they shared in order to help the Sustainable Energy for All Secretariat. The number of nodes which was 26 in this case, which was high.

Conclusion

Both cases showed high cooperation measures, although in the successful case it was lower. What struck in the structures of the networks was that in the failed case, three nodes in the middle were strongest connected to all other nodes and in the successful case with only one node ‘in the middle’, the well-connected network was more in the periphery. The biggest nodes formed a network with strong ties (frequent meetings) with smaller, less active nodes, and those were actively lobbying with the IO itself and with different other actors. Although the number of nodes was only slightly higher than in the failed case, the structure may have led to more effect.

6.5 CONCLUSIONS AUSTRIA AND VIENNA

In the failed case of the Arms Trade Treaty Secretariat the bid showed an average alignment with the attraction policy goals. The successful case of Sustainable Energy for All was to a low extent aligned with the policy goals. These results were the opposite of what I expected. It is striking that less alignment between policy goals appeared to be more successful. It is also noteworthy that the international representatives were not aware of the host and branding policies of Austria and Vienna being aligned, it was not

relevant to them. Comparing the policy perception and support, in the failed case the ratings of the city marketing were higher than the nation branding, as well in visibility as in effectiveness. Overall, the perception was lower than in the successful Sustainable Energy for All case. I found one main difference between the cases: respondents were positive about the Sustainable Energy for All bid, and less about the Arms Trade Treaty bid. The only elements they were negative about was that the exemption of taxes and fees was not enough. This was an expected result.

From a discursive perspective, the narratives of the organizational network attracting the failed case of the Arms Trade Treaty were concentrated around the most prioritized elements of political stability and physical infrastructure. In the narratives this organizational network overlapped more with the policy network than the Sustainable Energy for All organizational network did, as was also found in the priorities. I expected the opposite. Compared to the IO representatives, especially in the elements relevant centers nearby and physical infrastructure, the organizational network of the successful Sustainable Energy case showed higher overlaps than in the Arms Trade Treaty case. This means that the overlap with IO representatives led to a higher likelihood of success than the overlap of perceptual frames between the governmental networks.

Relationally, in terms of internal legitimacy, I found that the cooperation was rated higher in the Arms Trade Treaty case than in the Sustainable Energy for All case, but the difference was limited. In the failed case the team was small (six actors) and well-coordinated; the attraction process was a joined exercise between the Foreign Ministry and the City of Vienna. In the successful Sustainable Energy for All case the organizational network was wider. The way the network was organized created disquiet among the actors as the Sustainable Energy for All negotiated hard. What struck in the structures of the networks was the actor centrality. Whereas in the failed case, a small number of nodes was 'in the middle', in the successful case there was only one node 'in the middle', which was strongly connected to the other in the periphery. The organizational network met more frequently in the second case, and they were more involved with other actors, such as NGOs, think tanks, lobby groups (Energy Community) and private organizations (Shell and OilStat). The diversity was higher in the successful case, as was the network size.