

Methods Appendix

This paper is intended as a supplement to my research article:

Jennifer Hadden. 2014. "Explaining Variation in Transnational Climate Change Activism." *Global Environmental Politics* 14(2): 7-25.

I describe here my data collection and analysis procedures in greater detail. As this research is part of a larger book project, I draw on only a portion of these data in this article.

Event Data

For this article I conducted a protest event analysis in order to gather data on the relative frequency of contentious events on climate change. I searched the LexisNexis database for all articles that met the search terms "(climate change or global warming) AND (UN or United Nations) AND (protest* or march* or demonstration*)" for the two week time period of each of the COPs, 2005-2013. Each returned article was then hand coded in order to determine if it contained a relevant contentious action, as defined by the codebook above. In addition, I coded an alternate source – the Earth Negotiations Bulletin – for mentions of contentious collective action on climate change. For this task, each daily bulletin for every COP was read and coded by hand for the presence of contentious collective action that met the criteria below.

In my coding I follow the approach outlined in "Codebook for the Analysis of Political Mobilisation and Communication in European Public Spheres," developed by Ruud Koopmans (2002), as well as the "Interview Questionnaire for Interviews with Collective Actors in Claims-making and Political Mobilization," used for the DEMOS project (2007). Table 1 details this coding scheme for the identification of 'contentious' events.

Table 1: Code Book for Event Data

| Variable Name | Description |
|---------------|---|
| "Contentious" | Includes: public assembly, march, demonstration (legal and non-violent), vigil/picket, illegal demonstration (if non-violent), boycott, strike, self-mutilation (e.g., hunger strike, suicide), blockade, occupation, disturbance of meetings, symbolic confrontation (e.g., farmers dumping animal dung in front of a government building), threats (e.g., bomb threat), symbolic violence (e.g., burning puppets or flags, throwing eggs or paint), limited destruction of property (e.g., breaking windows), sabotage, violent demonstration (violence initiated by protestors), arson and bomb attacks, and other severe destruction of property, arson and bomb attacks against people (incl. inhabited buildings), physical violence against people (fights, brawls, etc.). Each day of protest is counted as a separate event. |

Interviews

I conducted over 90 interviews with approximately 70 civil society organizations working on climate change. The bulk of the interviews were conducted between September 2008 and December 2009, although I also conducted interviews in summer 2007, and after 2009, especially around subsequent COPs. Drawing on my analysis of protest events from my broader book project as a preliminary roster, I randomly selected organizations from different portions of the civil society network (stratified by centrality score) to approach for interviews. In a second phase, I sampled those organizations that occupied key network positions or that were mentioned by respondents as especially influential. For interviews after 2009, I approach those actors that I knew to be central in the network and who were good informants. In both phases my response rate to interview requests was over 90%. Table 2 contains a complete list of interviews.

Table 2: List of Organizational Interviews Conducted by the Author

| Organization Name | Number of Interviews | Dates |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| 350.org | 1 | December-10 |
| Attac France | 1 | October-09 |
| Avaaz.org | 1 | January-10 |
| Avenir Climat | 1 | October-09 |
| Camp for Climate Action UK | 1 | January-09 |
| Climate Action Network Europe | 3 | July-07; December-08; October-09 |
| Climate Action Network International | 6 | December-08; December-09; December-10; December-11; July-12; November-13 |
| Climate Action Network US | 2 | December-08; December-09 |
| Climate Camp Belgium/Netherlands | 1 | November-09 |
| Climate Camp France | 1 | October-09 |
| Climate Camp Germany | 1 | December-09 |
| Climate Camp UK | 1 | August-09 |
| Climate Justice Action | 3 | September-08; March-09; December-09 |
| Climate Justice Caravan | 1 | December-09 |
| Climate Justice Fast | 1 | December-09 |
| Climate Justice Now! | 5 | December-08; December-09; August-10; December-10; November-13 |
| Danish 92 Group | 1 | December-09 |
| Dialogo Climatico | 1 | December-10 |
| Earth First! | 2 | September-08; November-09 |
| Ecologistas en Accion | 1 | December-09 |
| Espaces Karl Marx | 1 | October-09 |

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|--|---|---|
| European Environmental Bureau | 1 | September-09 |
| European Youth for Action | 1 | November-09 |
| Friends of the Earth Brazil | 1 | December-10 |
| Friends of the Earth Denmark | 2 | November-09; December-10 |
| Friends of the Earth Europe | 2 | October-08; November-09 |
| Friends of the Earth France | 1 | October-08 |
| Friends of the Earth Germany | 1 | January-10 |
| Friends of the Earth International | 4 | September-08; March-09; December-09; November-13 |
| Friends of the Earth Latin America | 1 | December-10 |
| Friends of the Earth Sweden | 1 | December-09 |
| Friends of the Earth UK | 1 | September-11 |
| Friends of the Earth Youth | 1 | September-08 |
| Global Campaign Against Climate Change | 2 | December-08; December-09 |
| Global Campaign for Climate Action | 2 | August-09 |
| Global Forests Coalition | 1 | December-10 |
| Global Justice Ecology Project | 1 | September-08 |
| Greenpeace European Unit | 3 | July-07; March-09; October-09 |
| Greenpeace International | 2 | December-08; January-10 |
| Greenpeace Italy | 1 | December-09 |
| Greenpeace Nordic | 1 | December-09 |
| Greenpeace UK | 1 | August-09 |
| Grupo de Reflexion Rural | 1 | December-12 |
| Indigenous Environmental Network | 1 | December-10 |
| Initiatives Pour un Autre Monde | 1 | October-09 |
| Jubilee Debt Campaign | 1 | December-10 |
| Klima Allianz | 1 | December-09 |
| Klimaforum [Denmark] | 2 | December-09 |
| Klimaforum [Mexico] | 2 | December-10 |
| Klimataktion Sweden | 1 | September-08 |
| KlimaX | 3 | September-08; December-09 |
| La Via Campesina | 2 | December-09; December-10 |
| La Via Campesina Europe | 1 | November-09 |
| Oxfam GB | 1 | August-09 |
| Oxfam International | 3 | May-09; November-09; November-13 |
| People and Planet | 1 | August-09 |

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|----------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| Peoples' Global Action | 1 | December-09 |
| Plane Stupid | 1 | August-09 |
| Polish Ecological Club | 1 | December-08 |
| Reseau d'Action Climat France | 1 | October-09 |
| Rising Tide | 2 | January-10 |
| Rising Tide Mexico | 1 | December-10 |
| Rising Tide UK | 1 | August-09 |
| The Transnational Institute | 1 | November-09 |
| Transport and Environment Europe | 1 | October-09 |
| Wetlands International | 1 | December-09 |
| World Development Movement | 1 | December-10 |
| WWF European Policy Office | 2 | July-07; October-09 |
| WWF International | 1 | October-09 |
| WWF UK | 1 | August-09 |

I conducted semi-structured interviews with representatives of these organizations. Typically this was either the head of the organization, the person in charge of the climate campaign, or a long-time activist familiar with the climate work of the organization. Where organizations were decentralized in their decision-making or there had been recent turn over in staff, I sometimes conducted more than one interview with the same organization.

The interviews involved both structured questions (“how many staff members does your organization have”) and more open-ended questions (“describe the actions your organization is involved in”). Interviews ranged between 30 minutes and 3 hours, but typically lasted for about one hour. Interviews were generally recorded and transcribed, except where participants requested that they not be, as was more typical in contentious groups (especially those involved in illegal actions). In those cases, I took notes by hand and wrote up a transcript to the best of my recollection immediately afterwards. Participants in the interviews were guaranteed that their identity would be kept confidential, but were informed that I intended to associate their responses with the name of their organization.

I coded the interview transcripts using the software program Atlas.ti. In my coding, I looked for patterns in the ways that organizations described their decision-making about tactics. I had previously identified mechanisms in scholarly literature that I expected might operate within these organizations, but I also coded inductively, keeping an eye open for unexpected processes that might emerge from the data. This coding allows me to discuss the relative frequency of different process in organizational decision-making, as well as to draw on illustrative examples of each mechanism.

Observation, Emails, and Documents

In addition to the interviews, I also collected three other types of qualitative data. First, I attended approximately 200 hours of intra-organizational and coalitional meetings during the time period of this study. In particular, I attended many of the meetings of Climate Justice Action and the Climate Action Network from September 2008-December 2009. In the case of CAN, I was given access to the coalition and its staff, but was asked to respect the confidentiality agreement in place within the coalition. My observations with CAN particularly inform my understanding of how CAN operates, and of the UNFCCC political processes. Attending these meetings also introduced me to the important individuals and organizations working in this sphere of advocacy. But I do not report directly on these meetings unless they have been discussed with my in on-the-record interviews. In the case of Climate Justice Action, I was allowed to observe and write about the coalition provided that I did something useful (usually washing dishes or cooking) and did not identify people at meetings by their name or by organization.

I was also subscribed to a number of internal email list-serves during this time period. Specifically, I was subscribed to the private internal list-serves of CAN Europe and CAN International, as well as to those public lists of CJA and CJN. During the time period of this study, I collected over 10,000 emails through these channels. Although these emails are confidential, this kept me exceptionally well-informed about the political process and the workings of these coalitions.

Finally, I gathered hundreds of coalitional and organizational documents during my fieldwork. I particularly sought out organizational documents that described internal work procedures or decision-making processes. I employ these documents to better inform my case studies and as a check on the validity of my interview data.