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# Appendix B: Datasets

Data from interviews were supplemented by creating two original datasets and conducting a series of analyses on those data. To create the first dataset, my research assistants and I assembled a list of approximately one hundred environmental organizations in each of the four countries (China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan) and then added organizations from the US for comparative purposes. The goal was to capture in the database (1) the most influential environmental organizations in the country, and (2) a semirepresentative sampling of the remaining environmental organizations in the country. In all cases, I worked with capable native-speaking research assistants to help with the collection and coding of organizations for the five countries.

For three of the five countries in the database, I was able to begin with a handful of influential organizations and then populate the bulk of the dataset with a random sample of organizations. The US, Japan, and South Korea all had official lists of environmental organizations that I could use to build my database. For the US groups, I began with the oldest and most influential groups as identified by Christopher Bosso in *Environment Inc.* (2005), then supplemented these with a random sampling of organizations registered with the IRS that list environment as a core mission, for a total of 105 US environmental organizations.[1]

For Japan, the first five organizations were included based on my knowledge, and an additional one hundred groups were added using NPO Hiroba (nonprofit organization forum), a list of all the registered nonprofit organizations in Japan.[2] There were 3,597 organizations in the database that included "environmental protection" as one of their focal areas. In order to create a dataset of approximately one hundred groups, I sampled every

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thirty-sixth organization listed in the output, which was organized according to the prefecture in which the organizations were registered. This methodology helped ensure geographically proportionate sampling (Tokyo has a disproportionately large number of organizations, and I wanted to ensure that all prefectures had proportionate representation). Two of the five original groups were already in the database, resulting in 103 groups total.

For South Korea, the database began with seven organizations that I knew to be highly influential. The South Korean Ministry of Environment publishes an online list of nonprofit organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and social cooperatives related to the environment.[3] The list contained 373 organizations. We randomly selected 100 groups to include in the dataset. For about 30 of the organizations, we could find no additional information, so additional groups were randomly selected from the full list until we had a total of 100 environmental groups about which we could code information.

For organizations in the US, Japan, and South Korea, organizational websites (especially annual reports when available), government reports, and media coverage were used to gather information about the organizations, their membership, and their activities, which were coded and added to the database. For all three of these countries, this search methodology biased the dataset against all-volunteer groups that may be actively engaged in environmental activities but were not officially registered as nonprofit organizations. This bias is less of an issue in the US, where the requirements to file for and maintain 501(c)(3) status are relatively simple, and the tax benefits are significant, creating strong incentives for all organizations, even small ones with no paid staff, to register. However, for Japan and South Korea, the barriers to becoming registered as a nonprofit organization are significant, resulting in fewer registered organizations and biasing the dataset against the all-volunteer, nonregistered groups that constitute the majority of civil society in these two countries. Although the dataset has this limitation, it still is able to offer a portrait of registered environmental groups and their activities, even if it cannot claim to be as representative of all environmental groups.

I could not find comparable official lists of environmental groups for either China or Taiwan. For those two countries, I did my best to follow the spirit of the data collection for the previous countries. I began with a short list of the environmental groups that I knew to be influential. Native research assistants combed the internet for the names of and information

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about as many environmental groups as they could find. Once the lists were compiled, I circulated them among scholars and environmental leaders in the two countries who were familiar with the environmental groups active in their countries to see whether I was missing any important groups and whether the lists I had developed appeared to these local experts to be fairly representative of environmental groups in their countries. In the end, I was able to include 108 groups from China and 32 groups from Taiwan. As was the case for the sampling method in Japan and South Korea, this search methodology required that the groups be sufficiently well resourced to afford a website in order for us to find them, again biasing the results against local all-volunteer groups. However, the local experts who were consulted assured me that the lists we generated included all of the most important groups and were fairly representative samples of the others.

In order to discover whether there were systematic differences in the boards of directors, we coded information about the background of members of boards of directors for the organizations in the dataset. We were able to obtain information on boards of directors for about half of the organizations in the dataset, usually from annual reports or links on organizational websites. This information was not evenly distributed. All of the Japanese organizations had it publicly available, while it was harder to find for Chinese, South Korean, Taiwanese, and US organizations. For all groups, we coded a wide range of information, including their founding dates, the types of issue areas in which they were active, the advocacy strategies they employed, their budget and staff, and characteristics of the members of their boards of directors.

The second dataset was created using the Factiva media database. The search for cases was conducted in the following manner: Factiva's major news and business publications were searched, and the search was limited to (a) articles with word counts of greater than 1,500 to ensure that there was sufficient information to identify a case, (b) articles that mentioned the environment (or environmental, environmentalism, or other variants) five or more times, and (c) articles published between January 1, 2005, and December 31, 2009. These five years were chosen because they are recent enough to be able to capture advocacy strategies used in contemporary environmental politics, the focus of this study, and they are old enough that there would be a good chance that the outcome (success or failure) of the advocacy could be determined. The search generated 3,567 relevant

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articles with 177 duplicates, for a final pool of 3,390 articles. Articles were then randomly selected until the dataset contained 200 cases of environmental advocacy.

Media sources inevitably introduce bias, since more exciting advocacy is more likely to be covered than more mundane advocacy efforts, even though the latter may be both more prevalent and more effective. Thus, there is likely a bias in the data in favor of some strategies, such as public protests, which are often deemed to be more newsworthy than local clean-the-river campaigns or similarly low-profile activities.[4]

The dependent variable in the analysis was success. An advocacy effort was coded as successful if the goal of the action as articulated by the advocates was achieved. Thus, a public protest to close a factory was coded as a success if the factory was closed; a local clean-the-river event was coded as a success if the river was cleaned. The outcome was coded as a failure if the advocacy did not result in the desired outcome. Using the prior examples, if the factory was not closed, or if the clean-the-river event was canceled because of rain, it would be coded as a failure. Success was coded as mixed if the effort was partially successful, such as if the factory was closed for a while but then reopened after some cleanup had occurred, or if the clean-the-river event was originally scheduled to clean three riverbanks but only cleaned one. If the outcome could not yet be determined—for example, if discussions about factory closure were ongoing, or if the clean-the-river event was rescheduled but had not yet occurred—then the outcome was coded as "undetermined."

For most advocacy events in the dataset, the goals of the advocates were clear and quite specific, as in the examples of closing a factory or cleaning a local river. However, for a small subset of events (7 percent), the stated goals of the advocates were broad rather than specific—for example, "improve understanding about climate issues." In that small number of cases, the event was coded as successful if the advocacy took place and people participated.

The relative impact of the success was not coded because I could not find an objective way of measuring relative importance. Is the successful prevention of the construction of a single new petrochemical facility more important than the successful creation of a regional watershed management plan? The closest I could come to measuring the scale of the impact was to measure the scope of the advocacy.[5] Scope was measured according to whether the advocacy was directed at the local, regional, national,

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or global level. It was coded as local if the goal was specific to a particular community—for example, closing a local power plant or conducting a local river cleanup effort. The advocacy was coded as regional if it included multiple communities, such as a watershed protection effort. It was coded as national if the goal was nationwide, such as a new national regulatory standard. It was coded as global if it crossed national boundaries, such as a multinational effort to preserve international fisheries.

Similarly, I was unable to create a consistent method to code failures in the specific advocacy effort that contributed to long-term success on a broader cause. For example, it is somewhat common for a lawsuit to fail in court but succeed in raising sufficient political pressure that it ultimately contributes to new policy.[6] However, it becomes very difficult to link a particular "failed" lawsuit (or protest) with a later policy or legislative success on a similar issue. For the purposes of this dataset, an advocacy effort was coded as a success if the specified goal as articulated by the advocates was achieved completely. It was coded as "mixed" if it was achieved partially. It was coded as "failure" if the goal was not achieved at all. Thus, if a lawsuit failed in court, or a protest against a factory failed to close the factory, those efforts were coded as failures even if, ultimately, those failures were the foundation on which other successes were built. This limitation of the study is discussed in greater detail chapter 2 and 3.

Each case was coded for the strategies that were present in the advocacy effort. Public protests were coded as present if there was a gathering of people in a public place for the purpose of protesting some cause. Online-only demonstrations, protests, and campaigns were not counted unless they also had a physical component. Lawsuits were coded as present if there was evidence that a lawsuit was filed or threatened. Media campaigns were coded as present if there was evidence that the activity was part of a broader media strategy designed to elicit widespread media attention. Letter-writing campaigns were coded as present if there was an effort to have members of the public write to public officials. Lobbying was coded as present if activists were targeting politicians (legislators, mayors, and others) to promote changes in law that favored their causes. International networks were coded as present if international organizations were engaged in the advocacy effort.

Turning to the advocacy strategies highlighted by the policy and bureaucratic politics literature, the effort to cultivate personal networks with policymakers, called the "friend on the inside" strategy, was coded as present if

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there was evidence that such a connection existed in the advocacy effort. Evidence of this kind would include the presence of a policy-relevant public official at an event associated with the advocacy effort, the presence of a former high-ranking government official on the sponsoring advocacy organization's board of directors, or a similar factor. The strategy of cultivating a "friend on the inside" was distinguished analytically from lobbying based on the type of policymaker. The former strategy targets nonelected policymakers and the latter targets politicians. The distinction between the two is essentially that between "legislative lobbying" and "administrative lobbying" as conceptualized by Jeffrey Berry and David Arons (2003).

The "make it work for business" strategy was coded as present if the environmental advocacy was directed toward profit making in a market. Examples could include energy conservation campaigns that highlighted money saved for businesses or efforts to promote new, eco-friendly technologies. Public education included all efforts designed to educate the public, often children, about environmental issues. Education directed toward elites was measured by the creation of policy papers. Art included any use of environmental art, such as gallery exhibits, public art installations, dance performances, or film releases. Local environmental projects, the "make it work locally" strategy in the results, included concrete local efforts to address the environmental issue in a particular place. Examples of this kind of strategy include a local clean-the-river project or a campaign to ban the use of plastic bags in one particular town. Local networking as a strategy was coded as present if there was evidence that three or more local organizations were cooperating in the advocacy effort.

In addition to the strategies, a number of control variables were also included in the analysis. Since I was interested in testing the common assumption that the level of democracy matters for advocacy strategy selection and effectiveness, I included a measure of democracy. Although there are a number of well-accepted measures of regime type, I chose to use the Freedom House data because they go back to 1973 and enabled me to test the effects of political and civic rights separately. Contextual information that was coded included the world region where the effort was concentrated (using UN regional designations) and the year the advocacy was initiated.

Descriptive and contextual information about the advocacy effort was also included. The issue type (pollution, environmental justice, energy, conservation, and waste) was coded. Whether the advocacy was primarily

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a NIMBY (not in my backyard) activity was coded, as well as whether there was violence. Violence was coded as present if there was any violence associated with the advocacy, irrespective of whether the activists were initiators or victims. Finally, the actors involved in the advocacy effort were coded (grassroots nongovernmental organizations, business, government, international organizations), as well as which actors initiated the advocacy effort.

Descriptive statistics were used to determine how common different strategies were and what their relative success rates were. To gain greater analytic leverage on which strategies were more successful, ordinary least squares regressions and recursive partitioning were also employed to tease out the relationships between advocacy type, outcome, issue, region, and regime type.

Statistical analyses were performed using the R statistical language.[7] Random forest was used to identify explanatory strategies that differentiated between successful and unsuccessful cases of advocacy. The random forest classification algorithm is an extension of classification and regression trees. Classification and regression trees have been used in multiple disciplines to group observations based on a number of predictor variables. Classification is achieved through recursive partitioning of the dataset into successively more homogeneous groups. If the results are perfect, all nodes will result in completely homogeneous groups. The splits in the data are made using all of the predictor variables, and the best tree structure is determined by the Gini Index. The cforest function in the R party package was used to build the random forest model using conditional permutation importance. The advantage of using the ctree function in the party package as compared with the original random forest implementation by Leo Breiman (2001) is that it produces unbiased individual trees. [8] Informative predictor variables were determined following Carolin Strobl et al. (2008), who determined that variable importance value should be above the absolute value of the lowest negative-scoring variable.[9]

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# Effective Advocacy

## Lessons from East Asia's Environmentalists

By: Mary Alice Haddad

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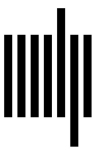

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