

**Final Report for Period:** 09/2010 - 08/2011**Submitted on:** 10/27/2011**Principal Investigator:** Carpenter, Charli .**Award ID:** 0849610**Organization:** U of Massachusetts Amherst**Submitted By:****Title:**

HSD: Issue Adoption in Human Rights Advocacy Networks

**Project Participants****Senior Personnel****Name:** Carpenter, Charli**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** Yes**Contribution to Project:****Name:** Shulman, Stuart**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** Yes**Contribution to Project:****Name:** Ron, James**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No**Contribution to Project:****Name:** Rogers, Richard**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No**Contribution to Project:****Post-doc****Graduate Student****Name:** Halpern, David**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No**Contribution to Project:**

David Halpern took over as Acting Director of University of Pittsburgh's Qualitative Data Analysis Program after the grant transferred, and continues to oversee transcription for the project through QDAP-Pitt.

**Name:** Scarnnechia, Daniel**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No**Contribution to Project:**

Mr. Scarnnechia provided website, technical and miscellaneous research support to the project for the Fall 08 semester.

**Name:** Wilson, Jason**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** Yes**Contribution to Project:**

Provided technical assistance, web design support for project site, and help translating data into visualizations.

**Name:** Ercan, Ilke**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** Yes**Contribution to Project:**

Ilike Ercan was hired as a fulltime GSR to serve as Project Manager beginning Spring 09. She trained in qualitative data analysis methods, assisted in developing an annotation scheme, handled data management during the annotation process and supervised the undergraduate coders.

**Name:** Brownlie, Kyle

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** Yes

**Contribution to Project:**

Managed the data management for the coding phase of the project and supervised a team of undergraduate coders.

**Name:** Cvijanovic, Hrvoje

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Conducted a literature review on human security and an analysis of related media artifacts.

**Name:** Duygulu, Sirin

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** Yes

**Contribution to Project:**

Assisted with the collection of focus group data and literature review.

**Name:** Ostrowski, Rachel

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Assisted with data entry, lit review development, copy-editing and other grant-related activities.

**Name:** Tomaskovic-Devey, Anna

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** Yes

**Contribution to Project:**

Assisted in recruitment, facilitation and data analysis for focus groups. Co-authoring project output.

**Name:** Develder, Nathaniel

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

QDAP Lab Manager

## Undergraduate Student

**Name:** Smith, Nancy

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Nancy Smith worked on the project as a coder, applying annotations to text data.

**Name:** Garlington, Tracy

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Tracy Garlington worked on the project as a coder, applying annotations to text data.

**Name:** Hsu, Clement

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Clement Hsu worked on the project as a coder, applying annotations to text data.

**Name:** Faulkner, Olivia

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Student Coder

**Name:** Foran, Meghan

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Student Coder

**Name:** Jacobs, Emily

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Student Coder

**Name:** Johnson, Kendell

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Student Coder

**Name:** Losson, Nicholas

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Student Coder

**Name:** Glaun, Daniel

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** Yes

**Contribution to Project:**

Gathered literature and case data for a case study on autonomous weapons, summer 2011.

#### **Technician, Programmer**

**Name:** Person, Laurel

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

**Name:** Goncalves, Michelle

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** Yes

**Contribution to Project:**

Research and technical assistance including copy-editing outputs and project reports.

#### **Other Participant**

#### **Research Experience for Undergraduates**

**Name:** Johnson, Kendell

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Student Coder

**Name:** Quadrozzi, Brian

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Student Coder

**Name:** Heifets, Solomon

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Student Coder

**Name:** Losson, Nicholas

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Student Coder

**Name:** Griffis, Gabrielle

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Student Coder

**Name:** Reinhardt, Casey

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Student Coder

**Name:** Boesch, Meghan

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Student Coder

**Name:** Jacobs, Emily

**Worked for more than 160 Hours:** No

**Contribution to Project:**

Student Coder

### **Organizational Partners**

#### **University of Amsterdam**

Richard Rogers of University of Amsterdam is a senior personnel on this project.

#### **Carleton University**

James Ron of Carleton University is a senior personnel on this project.

#### **Tufts University Fletcher School Law & Diplomacy**

Fletcher provided facilities space and logistical assistance for our focus groups and provided doctoral student assistance with the focus groups.

### **Other Collaborators or Contacts**

Alex Montgomery provided assistance with network analysis and visualizations from 2010-2011.

### **Activities and Findings**

#### **Research and Education Activities:**

Six focus groups were held at Tufts University in Fall 2009 with human rights and human security practitioners on the processes by which they make decisions about their issue agenda. Audio recordings from the focus groups were transcribed and archived. A team of undergraduate coders was trained in Atlas.ti and coding was initiated on the focus group transcripts. Findings were disseminated online and in print in 2011 and also form the basis of a working paper and a book project.

The PI continued to conduct elite interviews with practitioners in the human security network.

Manual qualitative coding was completed on text datasets of web content from the hyperlinked human security network and on survey responses from the online survey; as well as on the hyperlinked human rights network and the human rights survey and interview responses. Comparisons were developed between the human rights and human security networks and issue agendas, and between different sources of information on the networks themselves. We found a high correlation between the online and offline representations of the network and issue agenda, but some interesting variation in views of the network/agenda depending on whether or not the respondent is located in the Global South.

A doctoral student was trained in qualitative data analysis tools; two doctoral students were involved in recruiting, organizing and facilitating the focus groups and analyzing the resulting data to produce a policy report; an additional doctoral student were involved in technical support or miscellaneous research assistance for the project. In addition, nine undergraduate student coders were trained in coding methods.

Presentations of the emerging research associated with this project were made at the International Studies Association Annual Conference and the Networks in Political Science Annual Conference, as well as at several elite universities.

### **Findings:**

We found that the human security network is constituted by synergies between approximately eight distinct issue sub-networks, including networks around human rights, humanitarian affairs, conflict prevention, development, the environment, health, arms control and international justice; and that it is composed not only of NGOs but of a diverse array of organizational types. Issues cluster in general thematic categories within this network, with some issues far more salient than others. Both the web analysis and surveys suggested that some organizations also have far greater centrality and authority in this network than others. Related research by the PI suggests that the organizational agenda of network 'hubs' is a good predictor of the issue agenda within the network as a whole.

Interviews, focus groups and surveys also yielded evidence of a vast population of neglected human security topics. Focus group participants' arguments about the reasons for the neglect of certain issues depended on whether they were thinking abstractly or asked to justify inattention to specific low-salience issues - suggesting practitioner narratives (primarily about their constraints via donors and governments) do not necessarily explain why they react negatively to specific issues when broached by norm entrepreneurs. The most important factors invoked by practitioners when reacting to specific low-salience issues were the intrinsic attributes of the issue itself, and the issue's perceived relationship to other issues, to organizations, and to the wider issue network. In short, relational effects within advocacy networks may explain agenda-vetting to a

greater degree than the political opportunity structure in which networks find themselves.

### **Training and Development:**

During Year One, two part-time graduate students were trained by the PI in research design and data analysis using a number of computer-assisted methods. These GSRs trained to use the Issuecrawler, a network location tool, and Googlescraper, a web-scrapin tool, and to use various visualization tools such as Many Eyes to create representation of the resulting text data. Through immersion in these data, these students also had an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the policy domain under study.

During Year Two, under the supervision of Dr. Stuart Shulman (Director), QDAP-UMass trained one fulltime Graduate Student Researcher (GSR) and three part-time hourly undergraduate coders to use software to annotate web-based data. The team constructed iterative pretest experiments using the application ATLAS.ti, which is a commercial, off-the-shelf software package. ATLAS.ti enables text span annotation at the sub-document level and the tagging unlimited attributes at the document level. The team also employed the Coding Analysis Toolkit (or 'CAT'). The system consists of a web-based suite of tools custom built from the ground-up to facilitate efficient and effective analysis of text datasets that have been coded using ATLAS.ti. CAT's core functionality allows for the adjudication of coded items by an 'expert' user who is a primary account holder, or a sub-account holder attached to the primary account holder. An expert user (or a consensus adjudication team) can log onto the system to validate the codes assigned to items in a dataset. While the expert user is validating codes, the system also keeps track of which instances of a particular code are valid and which coders assigned those codes. These techniques were applied to annotation problem and the results were analyzed with the Project Director.

This past year, a doctoral student and a Master student were trained in focus group methods and assisted in recruiting, organizing and facilitating the collection and archiving of focus group data. This data was then subject to another round of qualitative analysis (as described above) managed by a third doctoral student and conducted by several teams of undergraduate coders. Undergraduate students received training on the project through an REU supplement and learned qualitative methods, Atlas.ti software and human security issue language.

In addition to the training of students, synergy among the senior personnel has over the course of the project resulted in training of the PI and Co-PIs in one another's tools, methods and procedures. Richard Rogers trained the other senior personnel in the use of IssueCrawler. Stuart Shulman trained the other senior personnel in the use of the Coding Analysis Toolkit and methods for making valid inferences from large quantities of text data. Jim Ron provided helpful training to the rest of the team in human rights / human security policymaking as well as sociological methods for studying transnational spaces. An additional consultant, Alex Montgomery was brought onto the

project to assist in running network analyses on the coded text data as well on the data on network organizations. Montgomery assisted the PI in better understanding network analysis and the applications of R programming language. Grant funds were also used for two training workshops: one to train the PI in network analytical methods, and the other to train a graduate student researcher in fuzzy-set qualitative data analysis methods.

### **Outreach Activities:**

I have integrated this research project and its associated tools into my teaching. Issuecrawler has been described and made available to students in several of my classes at University of Massachusetts, and I have constructed case studies in class that enable students to think about different ways of researching variation in the human rights issue agenda. In Fall 2008, I taught a new course entitled 'Global Agenda-Setting' that integrated this project into the graduate classroom; this was taught again in Fall 2010. I also prepared a new course on 'Human Security' in Fall 2010; and integrate evidence from the research regularly into my classes on Rules of War.

Conference presentations and invited talks have also been made in several venues to describe both the project and the research tools and methods being developed as a part of it. Over the course of this project, I have given presentations detailing the methods and findings from this project at Stanford, Columbia, Cornell, George Washington University, Georgetown, University of Washington, Chicago, Tufts, UC-Irvine, University of San Diego and other institutions of higher learning; as well as the International Studies Association and American Political Science Association.

A research report was prepared and printed in summer 2010, describing the findings of the focus group research. This report was disseminated to the practitioner organizations that contributed to it and is available online.

Finally, the project website continues to be used to publicize the work and disseminate information on data gathered, methods used, and project outputs; and throughout the course of the project I have regularly used social media including twitter, blogs and YouTube to describe our research project and disseminate results.

### **Journal Publications**

Charli Carpenter, "Vetting the Advocacy Agenda: Networks, Centrality and the Paradox of Weapons Norms", *International Organization*, p. 69, vol. 65, (2011). Published,

Charli Carpenter and Betsy Jose-Thota, "Assessing Virtual Networks: Transnational Advocacy in Real and Cyber-Space", *Global Networks*, p. , vol. , (2011). Accepted,

Charli Carpenter, Sirin Duygulu and Anna Tomaskovic-Devey, "Explaining the Advocacy Agenda: Insights from the Human Security Network", *International Organization*, p. , vol. , (2011). Submitted,

Shannon Kidornay, James Ron and Charli Carpenter., ""Rights-Based Approaches to Development: Implications for NGOs"", *Human Rights Quarterly*, p. , vol. , (2012). Accepted,

### **Books or Other One-time Publications**

Charli Carpenter, Kyle Brownlie,  
Anna Tomaskovic-Devey, "Agenda-Setting in  
Transnational Networks:  
Findings from Consultations  
with Human Security  
Practitioners", (2011). Research Report, Published  
Editor(s): UMass-Amherst  
Bibliography: [http://people.umass.edu/charli/networks/CPPA\\_Report.pdf](http://people.umass.edu/charli/networks/CPPA_Report.pdf)

Charli Carpenter, "Lost Causes: Agenda-Vetting in Transnational Networks", ( ). Book, Submitted  
Editor(s): Cornell University Press  
Bibliography: None Yet

Natalie Florea Hudson, Alex  
Kriedenweis and Charli Carpenter, "Human Security", (2012). Book, Accepted  
Editor(s): Laura Shepherd  
Collection: Critical Approaches to Security:  
An Introduction to Theories and  
Methodologies  
Bibliography: NY: Routledge

### **Web/Internet Site**

**URL(s):**  
<http://www.people.umass.edu/charli/networks>  
**Description:**  
This is the project website for this award.

### **Other Specific Products**

### **Contributions**

#### **Contributions within Discipline:**

This project has contributed to the study of transnational networks in the field of international relations through its substantive approach, innovative methodological techniques and its findings.

Substantive Approach. This literature has been dominated by case studies of advocacy campaigns that have succeeded, but there has been very little attention to those that have failed, or systematic effort to compare agenda-setting successes to failures, or efforts to document the process by which some ideas get excluded from the global agenda. This project has focused on operationalizing networks and network issues agendas while simultaneously gathering data on issues that might be but are not on the agenda, and exploring practitioner attitudes about which types of issues are or are not suitable for global advocacy; and tracing actual cases of agenda-vetting in global politics.

Techniques. Previous literature on advocacy networks used the term primarily as a metaphor to describe non-state contentious politics,



and generally used case study methods. Our approach was to actually measure and operationalize the networks and the network issue agendas through hyperlink analysis, surveys, and content analysis of survey responses and advocacy websites to create descriptive inferences about the relations among organizations and issues in the human security network. We then used focus groups, another methodology seldom used in the discipline of IR, to gauge the rationales by which practitioners in these networks exclude certain topics from the global advocacy agenda. We also identified, coded and analyzed issue networks as well as actor networks.

**Findings.** Our findings not only contribute new understandings about agenda-setting and agenda-vetting in global networks, but also suggest new hypotheses about the sociology of transnational spaces themselves. We found that practitioners imagine the political opportunity structure to be the biggest constraint on the agenda-setting process, but that their reactions to specific low-salience issues suggest intra-network relations are a far more important factor than the broader political context. This suggests a research agenda in international relations that would move away from case studies of advocacy networks vis a vis the state system, and toward a deeper understanding of how network structure itself affects the activities of transnational activists.

#### **Contributions to Other Disciplines:**

A significant portion of the project involved the piloting and refinement of a qualitative coding method that is widely applicable to the study of large quantities of text data. We developed this approach in consultation with the Qualitative Data Analysis Program at UMass-Amherst and the lessons learned about drawing valid inferences from text data with teams of student coders is being drawn on to transplant the QDAP coding model to other projects and disciplines.

In addition, efforts to explore or visualize our data from this project led to specific analytical innovations by interdisciplinary colleagues associated with this project. Modifications were made to Richard Rogers' IssueCrawler specifically to make it possible to analyze data from this project; functionality associated with Stuart Shulman's DiscoverText text analytics tool, particularly the color codable tag cloud, stemmed from insights or requested made by the PI to solve data analysis problems on this grant. Thus the research process for this project has also yielded wider benefits to data analytical techniques used by colleagues in many other fields.

Finally, our comparison of online and offline transnational networks contributes to knowledge in the area of new media studies and communication as much as to scholars of transnational networks.

#### **Contributions to Human Resource Development:**

As noted in the training and development section, significant numbers of graduate and undergraduate students were trained in qualitative data analysis methods as a result of this project. In addition, this project supported and helped grow the infrastructure for a qualitative data analysis lab first founded at University of Pittsburgh and later transplanted to UMass-Amherst, the Qualitative Data Analysis Program. The lab employs a number of staff,

graduate students and undergraduate student coders; NSF money paid for numerous individuals to train and work in this lab as part of this project, but also contributed to the general lab infrastructure that has resulted in additional human resource development.

#### **Contributions to Resources for Research and Education:**

This project has been instrumental in training both undergraduates and graduate students in the methods and tools necessary to draw valid inferences from large quantities of text data. NSF funding has supported the institutional development of the Qualitative Data Analysis Program lab at University of Massachusetts and the training of over a dozen coders associated with that lab. The dataset from the project will also be made publicly available to other researchers.

#### **Contributions Beyond Science and Engineering:**

It is difficult to make the claim at this point that the project has contributed decisively to the public welfare. However the discussions among human security practitioners about neglected human security issues do suggest that the process of attending the focus groups themselves brought issues and ideas to their attention that they had not previously considered. Potentially, this may have some long-term effect on policy development in this area, but this was neither the intent nor a documented result of the project.

We do expect that our findings will be of value to 'issue entrepreneurs' who do actively seek to get new issues on the global agenda. By better understanding the preferences and decision-making process of organizations at the core of advocacy networks, with the greatest influence over the network agenda, issue entrepreneurs can learn how to successfully pitch their causes in the transnational arena.

#### **Conference Proceedings**

#### **Categories for which nothing is reported:**

Any Product

Any Conference