

APPENDIX 1 - The protest event database: sources and procedures of data collection

A relational approach to protest event analysis (PEA)

As an alternative to interviews, content analysis of archival records can also be used for data collection (Burt 1983). In fact, resorting to text archives to create rich longitudinal network datasets is a strategy that, even if still marginal, has been increasingly used in socio-historical research over the last decades (Gould 2003). In particular, newspaper reports offer a viable alternative for the study of past networks of interactions among actors over long time spans (Diani 2013). Paradoxically, newspaper articles are one of the main data sources employed in the quantitative study of collective action and protest behaviour, having generated a well-established methodology known as ‘protest event analysis’ (PEA) (Earl *et al.* 2004; Franzosi 1987; Hutter 2014; Koopmans & Rucht 2002; Rucht & Ohlemacher 1992). Nonetheless, such data have been mainly examined from an aggregative perspective, tracking the change over time of the total amount of events and some of their characteristics (e.g. number of participants, form of protest, claims, etc.).

In contrast with the traditional use of PEA data, a relational examination of collective actions events allows tracing an important visible expression of interorganizational collaboration: co-participation in the same event (Diani & Mische 2015: 311). This is based on the quite straightforward assumption that “events also create connections between organizations”, as “one could expect organizations that are involved in many events to be more strongly linked to each other than organizations that only collaborate sparingly, or hardly at all” (Diani 2015: 141). Thus, while this research makes use of the PEA methodology it differs from most classic studies within this tradition because of its eminently relational perspective, as we are not interested in the events *per se*, but in the events as instances of coordination between collective actors. The relational approach to PEA places this research together with a reduced number of existing studies in which network-analytic techniques on protest event data have been applied (Bearman & Everett 1993; Diani & Kousis 2014; Franzosi 1999; Pirro *et al.* 2019; Rootes 2003;¹ Wada 2014; Wang & Soule 2012). This empirical strategy for retrospective network generation has not been fully explored yet, inhibiting the development of longitudinal analyses of collective action networks.

Notwithstanding the advantages and promises of looking at networks of event co-attendance, some limitations of using this information as an indicator of interorganizational collaboration should be discussed.² Proponents of a more exigent definition of coalitions such as Levi and Murphy point out that these should be seen as “*distinct from marching together on the streets, lobbying, being mutual signatories to a petition or other kinds of joint activities that movement organizations are likely to undertake*”, since these joint activities “*may not always involve pooling resources, and not all cooperative activity requires rules for managing dissent or defining membership*” (2006: 654). Thus, both the pooling of resources and the existence of rules are necessary

¹ In Rootes’ (2003) edited volume, see in particular the chapters on France, Germany, Greece, Italy and Spain for examples of network-analytic uses of PEA data.

² The limitations discussed in this paragraph refer exclusively to the phenomenon of event co-attendance in itself and its capacity to say something meaningful about interorganizational collaboration. Limitations derived from the sources of data (in this case, local newspaper articles) are instead discussed below.

requirements of more demanding definitions of interorganizational coalitions. Even though this research follows a looser version of the concept of coalitions that is interchangeable with interorganizational collaboration, the acknowledgement of the particularities of event co-attendance with respect to stronger forms of coalitional behavior force us to recognize two main types of errors that co-participation in public events can potentially introduce in our data. In the first place, event co-attendance might just reflect a partial dimension of coalition work –though arguably a very relevant one– as it might conceal some other behind-the-scenes forms of collaboration that could be as meaningful, if not more, as joining several events together. From the opposite point of view, it could be argued that this measure could lead in some cases, particularly in very large events, to count casual co-presences in which some pair of actors might not even be aware of one another as instances of meaningful collaboration. These two observations point to the potential introduction of edge attribution errors, by omission in the first case and by commission in the latter (Borgatti *et al.* 2013: 37-8), derived from assuming interorganizational collaboration based on event co-attendance. While the possibility of incurring such errors exists and event co-attendance is far from being a perfect measure of interorganizational collaboration, we contend that this indicator should not only be considered the ‘least bad’ option available –if not the only one– for the diachronic study of collaborative ties, but that it does reveal substantive aspects of interorganizational dynamics, especially when counting upon a large number of events that occurred over a relatively long period of time, as in this case. For instance, as pointed out by Diani, it must be kept in mind that direct visible interorganizational linkages (to which participation in joint activities belong):

*require decisions to be taken by some level of the concerned SMOs to direct resources towards a given goal, to the detriment of others. **They also entail public recognition of compatibility** –a total congruence is very rarely achieved– between the goals and styles of action of each SMO and its prospective partners in any specific protest event. Choices on these matters are subjected to contestation by members of SMOs involved, though in different forms, depending on the degree of internal bureaucratisation. In any case, however, at least active members are likely to exert some control and to pose some constraints over their leaders’ behavior and options” (Diani 1995: 99; emphasis added)*

This observation of the significance of event co-attendance seems to resonate with collective action dynamics in the Basque Country. As noted by several activists in the interviews conducted, organizational decisions to attend externally organized events are rarely taken lightly, usually involving long and sometimes contentious internal debates. In the Basque region, apart from the content or purposes of the event, special attention is given to the list of other actors that are also joining the event, the so-called ‘alphabet soup’ of convening and/or signatory groups that support a specific event. Even when organizations shared the demands brought up by the organizers of a specific planned event, many of them used to refrain from joining if other organizations perceived as incompatible to themselves –for instance, in the most extreme cases, because of being regarded as ‘supporters of terrorism’ or as ‘accomplices of Spanish oppression’– were also participating. Therefore, in the case that empirical analyses found a tendency towards more heterogeneous event co-attendance over time, we would have solid reasons to interpret these findings, at the very minimum, as reflecting increasing levels of tolerance in Basque civil society. While it is certain that co-presence in the same public spaces falls short of revealing strong interorganizational coalitions by itself, its significance cannot

be regarded as negligible, less so in our context of study, given the political sectarianism that has traditionally characterized Basque public sphere in general and the environmental field in particular (see Ciordia 2020: ch. 3).

In what follows, we briefly reconstruct the data collection process followed for the generation of the collaborative networks based on event co-attendance. In the remainder of this section, we proceed as follows. First, we reconstruct the process through which a dataset of environmental collective action events was built. Secondly, decisions on the networks' boundary specification (that is, deciding who is a member of the Basque environmental collective action field and who is not) are explained, and incumbent organizations are succinctly presented. Finally, this section closes with the specification of the operationalization procedures followed for the measurement of the varying strength of collaborative ties among those included as members.

Building a dataset of environmental collective action events

The self-collated event dataset that allowed for the subsequent construction of the co-attendance networks that function as dependent variables in the following two chapters resulted from a large process of data collection carried over several months in 2018. Five main steps could be differentiated in this process: the definition of the unit of analysis, the selection of sources, the delimitation of the time span, the retrieval of relevant newspaper articles, and, finally, the identification of events and codification of their characteristics.

The unit of analysis: environmental collective action events

The first decision that needs to be made for the construction of any event dataset is the definition of the type of events that the researcher aims to uncover, that is, his/her unit of analysis. Following the theorization proposed by Sampson's and colleagues in the context of a large research project on civic participation in Chicago (McAdam, Sampson, Weffer & MacIndoe 2005; Sampson, McAdam, MacIndoe & Weffer 2005), we focus on *collective action events* dealing with environmental issues as the units of analysis. Collective action events are defined as nonroutine public and collective³ gatherings which take place outside of institutional politics and advance causes and/or demands on behalf of public interests (Sampson *et al.* 2005: 682-3). Thus, the events under consideration can be of any type (such as demonstrations, press conferences, boycotts, cultural events, organized petitions, etc), as long as they are: (i) expressions of collective action taking place physically in at least one of the four provinces considered,⁴ (ii) present a public-

³ The *collective* nature of an event, besides the promotion of what is perceived to be the interest of a broader set of individuals besides individual participants, requires the involvement of at least two or more people, though often the number of participants is much higher. As collective action events are by definition physical gatherings, we did not include online-only forms of collective action (e.g., diffusion of a statement directly through social or traditional media outlets without a physical press conference or public event) or other forms of public claim-making that do not require the existence of a physical event. This specification differentiates traditional PEA approaches from claim-making analyses (e.g., Koopmans & Statham 1999).

⁴ These provinces or '*historical territories*' are Araba, Biscay, Gipuzkoa, and Navarre. The only exception to this territorial criterion is the inclusion of three events celebrated in Santa María de Garoña, where the contentious nuclear plant of Garoña is located. While the municipality administratively belongs to Burgos, it is only 6 kilometers away from the border with Euskadi, just 50km away from the capital Vitoria-Gasteiz, and 70km from Bilbao. Therefore, this led many Basque environmental activists and

sphere projection,⁵ and, (iii) given the focus of our case study, advance environmental causes and/or demands as one of the primary aims of the event, even if the events also address other non-environmental topics.

Therefore, it must be noted how the concept of environmental collective action events does not only encompass protest events *stricto sensu*, but also less confrontational ‘civic’ forms of action, which have been traditionally overlooked by the social movement literature in general and empirical studies relying on event data in particular (*Ibid.*, 2005; 675). Noncontentious events also attract considerable collective action efforts by civic organizations (Diani 2015: 107), being equally able to generate social capital and contribute to social cohesion.

Following Sampson and colleagues (2005: 684-6), we differentiate three types of collective action events: protest, civic and hybrid events. *Protest events* formulate explicit claims or express grievances, using a wide variety of forms that can include disruption and even violence, though most often events take place in orderly and conventional forms (rallies, marches, petitions, etc). In contrast, *civic events* do not formulate explicit claims to bring about or resist policy or social change, but have implicit or latent purposes, for example, “to celebrate the community (e.g., festivals), to procure resources (e.g., fundraisers), or to accomplish collective goals (e.g., cleanups, preservation)” (*Ibid.*, 685); their specific forms of action are multiple, but they are based on generating a sense of community togetherness (*Ibid.*, 680). Lastly, *hybrid events* represent a form of “blended social action” that combines articulated claims for specific change with civic or community-based forms of action.

The inclusion of civic and hybrid events in the database is justified under the theoretical assumption that co-attendance at these events is equally revealing as an indicator of interorganizational collaboration as instances of protest, therefore being equally pertinent for the construction of collaborative networks. Furthermore, expanding the analysis beyond protest events is particularly important in the case of environmental collective action, since “the great majority of environmental organizations are either engaged in practical conservation work or focus upon parliamentary and educational strategies; only a small minority rely on protest, and these are distinguished by the discourses they articulate” (Rootes & Brulle 2013). Hence, our more inclusive unit of analysis allows obtaining a more complete and representative view of collaboration within the ECAF in comparison with analyses restricted to protest events only, which would bias our assessment of collaboration networks in the environmental collective action field, underrepresenting organizations holding conservationist or reformist discourses.

Selection of sources

In order to build a database of environmental collective action events in the Basque Country, we relied on newspapers as data sources (Franzosi 1987; Earl, Martin, McCarthy, and Soule 2004), which, despite its biases and limitations, remain as the preferred source for protest event analysis (PEA) (Hutter 2014; Koopmans and Rucht 2002; Rucht and Ohlemacher 1992). Newspapers, while far from perfect, are superior to

groups to occasionally organized on-site protest events at the nuclear power plant. Such events were arguably directed more towards the Basque public sphere rather than towards audiences in Burgos or the rest of Spain.

⁵ A public-sphere projection requires that the organizers aim to reach non-members, therefore excluding events that, even if covered by the media, are part of the internal life of an organization (e.g. a general assembly of a trade union or other organization).

other potential sources such as police records, organizations' documents, or other types of mass media like radio and TV (McCarthy, McPhail, Smith, and Chrishock 1999). As it has been recently summarized by Swen Hutter:

The major advantages of newspapers are access, selectivity, reliability, continuity over time, and ease of coding. Newspapers report on a regular basis, they are kept in public archives, and—at least in case of quality newspapers—they try to maintain their credibility by covering events accurately. (Hutter 2014: 349)

Additionally, data collection from newspapers is nowadays greatly facilitated by the availability of past news articles online, the possibility to browse them through keyword searches, and the ease with which digital texts can be later analyzed and coded. The efficiency provided by keyword searches, added to the rich and varied scene of local newspapers in the region, allowed the selection of multiple newspapers as sources, a data collection strategy that until recently was extremely costly and time-consuming, which traditionally led researchers to select one or, at most, two newspapers for each of the politics studied (e.g. Kriesi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, and Giugni 1995). Actually, multisource data collection strategies are generally considered superior to event datasets generated from only one source (Jenkins and Maher 2016; Koopmans and Rucht 2002: 238). Moreover, despite increasing the workload of data collection, in this case the selection of multiple sources minimizes two major selection biases that might have otherwise threatened the validity of this database: the non-random misreport of events (Franzosi 1987: 7-9), and the selective identification of participants (Bearman and Everett 1993: 179-80).

Regarding the selection bias of events, as Bearman and Everett argue, the skew introduced by newspaper reporting can also be read in substantive terms, as the events captured can be regarded as “all protests events that mattered” (1993: 178). In this case, when several newspapers are used, especially when these present contrasting editorial lines and territories of preferential coverage, we can be quite confident that the chances of missing important events are minimal and that those events that failed to be reported by any of the local newspapers were practically insignificant in terms of their impact in the public sphere. Regarding the selective identification of participating collective actors in the events, increasing the number of sources significantly increases the likelihood of obtaining a more complete identification of participants, as many events are reported in several articles and more than one newspaper. This reduces the chances of participating organizations not being mentioned by at least one of the articles covering a given event. Despite none of these biases can be completely avoided in any PEA study working with newspaper sources, in this case both can be expected to be much smaller. Moreover, a “representational” approach is adopted in this research, aiming not at producing an exact count of events (which is virtually impossible), but more modestly at obtaining a credible sample and keeping its potential biases constant over time in order to identify temporal patterns and trends (Kriesi *et al.* 1995: 255, 171; Sampson, McAdam, MacIndoe, and Weffer-Elizondo 2005: 688).

Once it was decided to select multiple news sources, it was still necessary to specify which specific newspapers would be used. The first decision was to discard Spanish newspapers with a state-wide coverage, such as *El País* or *El Mundo*, in favor of Basque local newspapers. Based on previous analyses of media biases, local news sources present a strong comparative advantage when studying sub-state regions, especially when these are geographically distant from the city of edition of the state-wide newspapers, in this case Madrid (e.g. Barranco and Wisler 1999: 307-8; Fillieule and Jiménez 2003: 265-8; Hocke 1999: 149-52). In comparison with state-wide sources, local newspapers can be

expected to report a much higher share of all events actually occurring, often including many of a small size and dealing with low-profile issues (Daphi, Dollbaum, Haunss, and Meier 2024). Focusing exclusively on the local press, the region examined presents a very rich scene of printed newspapers, with as many as nine dailies with considerable diffusion: *Berria*, *El Correo*, *El Diario Vasco*, *Gara*, *Diario de Navarra*, *Deia*, *Noticias de Álava*, *Noticias de Gipuzkoa*, *Diario de Noticias (Navarra)*. The first of these newspapers, *Berria*, publishes exclusively in Euskara and therefore had to be discarded due to the language limitations of the first author, who conducted the data collection. Among the remaining eight newspapers, the last four, which belong to the same media holding (*Grupo Noticias*), were discarded as well due to their limited availability of past records online, as they lack a proper built-in digital archive within their respective websites and no records prior to 2015 are even retrievable through *Google Advanced Search*. Hence, the remaining newspapers were selected as sources: *El Correo*, *El Diario Vasco*, *Diario de Navarra*, and *Gara*. Table A1.1. below summarizes its main characteristics.

Table A1.1. Characteristics of the local newspapers selected as sources for PEA

Newspaper	Ideological profile	Territorial focus	Linguistic profile
<i>El Correo</i>	Spanish center-right	Biscay and Araba	Mostly Spanish
<i>El Diario Vasco</i>	Spanish center-right	Gipuzkoa	Mostly Spanish
<i>Gara</i>	Basque nationalist (<i>abertzale</i>) left	All <i>Euskal Herria</i>	Bilingual (Spanish and Euskara)
<i>Diario de Navarra</i>	Foralist center-right	Navarre	Only Spanish

These four local dailies did not only fulfill the minimum requirements that could grant a feasible data collection process (being published predominantly in Spanish and allowing easy access to their past records in digital format over a relatively extended period of time) but also coincide with the top four newspapers in the region in terms of readership, with the three provincial newspapers leading the sales in their respective territories of coverage (de Pablo 2009: 397-8).⁶ Additionally, their combination presents two further advantages. First, their combined territorial reach allows to have at least two sources that could potentially cover any given event celebrated at any of the four Basque territories under consideration. Secondly, their ideological leanings compensate one another, therefore theoretically counteracting each newspapers' potential over- and/or under-representation of certain issues, actors and/or forms of action. This should result in a more representative sample in comparison with a hypothetical one resulting from only one source (e.g. Barcena, Ibarra, Guarrotxena, and Torre 2003) or from ideologically homogeneous newspapers.

⁶ For more recent data on press readership in Euskadi and Navarra see: <http://www.ciessl.com/audienciamedios.htm> (last accessed: 12/09/2019).

Identification and screening of relevant news articles

In order to collect articles containing information on environmental collective events that occurred in the Basque Country during the considered period, a three-stage process was followed.

a) Identification of prominent organizations to conduct keyword queries

First, a list of prominent environmental social movement organizations (ESMOs) active in the Basque Country during the 2007-17 decade was compiled. Based on previous literature, internet searches, and qualitative interviews with eight expert informants conducted in late 2017, eleven environmental entities active during the at least part of the period of analysis and mobilized at the supra-municipal level were identified. This core group was composed of six discrete organizations (*Desazkundera*, *Eguzki*, *Ekologistak Martxan*, *Greenpeace*, *Sustrai Erakuntza*, and *Plataforma por un Nuevo Modelo Energético*), four established single-issue umbrella organizations (*AHT Gelditu! Elkarlana*, *Araba sin Garoña* and *Fracking Ez*), and two short-lived platforms (*Foro contra Garoña* and *TTIP/CETA Ez*⁷) that did not develop enduring organizational structures but were still relevant in promoting several large protests, especially in 2017.

This preliminary nominalist list of relevant ESMOs was used as a starting point to uncover environmental collective action events, employing the most common versions of their names (see Table A1.2) as keywords for the queries conducted on the online repositories of the four local newspapers selected. This actor-centered keyword strategy was considered the most cost-effective way of obtaining a numerous pool of newspaper articles likely to report a large share of all environmental collective action events occurred during the period. While a few events in which none of these eleven core environmental actors is mentioned might have been lost, this number is likely to be very small,⁸ and more importantly, their inclusion would have barely altered the resulting networks.

⁷ It should be noted that the umbrella organization *TTIP/CETA Ez* was not a pure environmental actor but a single-issue platform opposing economic globalization, in particular the proposed two comprehensive trade agreements between the European Union and, respectively, the United States and Canada. In fact, *TTIP/CETA Ez* was also mapped by expert informants regarding the field of social exclusion, which shows how the platform was a relevant actor simultaneously in more than one collective action fields, which is not surprising if one considers the multi-dimensional implications of the contested trade agreements (e.g. labour conditions, erosion of state sovereignty, food safety, environmental impacts, etc). Given this particular situation, *TTIP/CETA Ez* was also included as a core organization and taken into account for the queries of newspaper articles. Nonetheless, it should be emphasized that not all anti-*TTIP/CETA* events in which this umbrella organization participated were included in the dataset, but only those in which environmental demands were explicitly mentioned and played a relevant role. In other words, anti-*TTIP/CETA* events focused purely on the economic or labor impacts of the trade agreements were discarded.

⁸ In fact, the list of environmental events identified was not only composed of events in which at least one of the pre-selected organizations took part, but sometimes core-organizations would be mentioned tangentially as part of the background information of the article (e.g. "Greenpeace had already warned about this problem in 2010...") while the convener was in fact another local organization.

Table A1.2. List of core organizations and keywords employed for the retrieval of news reports

ORGANIZATION	YEARS ACTIVE	KEYWORDS
AHT Gelditu! Elkarlana	2001-present	<i>“aht gelditu”</i>
Araba sin Garoña	2002-2017	<i>“araba sin garoña”</i>
Desazkundea	2010-present	<i>desazkundea</i>
Eguzki	1987-present	<i>eguzki ecologista</i>
Ekologistak Martxan	1999-present	<i>“ekologistak martxan”</i>
Foro Contra Garoña / Garoñaren Kontrako Foroa	2014-2017	<i>“foro contra garoña”</i>
Fracking Ez	2012-2016	<i>“fracking ez”</i>
Greenpeace	1997*-present	<i>greenpeace</i>
Plataforma por un Nuevo Modelo Energético (Px1NME) – Gure Energía	2012-present	<i>“plataforma por un nuevo modelo energético”</i>
Sustrai Erakuntza Fundazioa	2010-present	<i>“sustrai erakuntza”</i>
Plataforma TTIP/CETA Ez	2014-present	<i>ttip ez</i>

*Although Greenpeace has had a formal presence in Spain since 1984 and has sporadically conducted a few actions in Basque territory since the early 1990s (Barcena et al., 2003), it was not until 1997 that the first local nodes of the organization were formed in the Basque Country

b) Temporal sampling

Given the massive number of newspaper reports in which at least one of the eleven core environmental actors was mentioned in any part of the text, it was decided to introduce a temporal sample of the newspaper articles examined⁹ in order to grant the feasibility of the project. Thus, instead of looking at the entire eleven-year period, queries were temporarily restricted to six alternate year-long temporal windows (2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, and 2017). This way, the potential number of articles to be examined was reduced by about 45%, while keeping intact the capacity to observe temporal patterns.

c) Screening of the queries' output and selection of relevant articles

On a third step, we proceeded to screening of each search hit, discarding articles that did not contain any information on **environmental collective action events**, our unit of analysis. This screening process was guided by five inclusion criteria and rules, which were adapted from Sampson *et al.* (2005: 682-3). Thus, news articles were selected for

⁹ As newspapers articles represent the sampling units of PEA, despite the fact that the units of analyses are events (Hutter 2014: 348).

deeper analysis and coded if they reported on events that presented all of the following characteristics:

- Collective. Involving two or more individuals (though usually many more) that physically gathered together. We did not include online-only forms of collective action (e.g. diffusion of a statement directly to media outlets without a physical press conference or public event) or other forms of public claim-making that do not require the existence of a physical event.
- Public-sphere projection. The organizers aim to reach to non-members, therefore excluding events that, even if covered by the media, are part of the internal life of an organization (e.g. a general assembly of a trade union or other organization).
- External to routine functioning of institutional politics. Routine political activity initiated within the normal functioning of institutions and political parties is excluded (e.g. parties' speeches and press conferences, parliamentary or town council discussions, etc).
- Coetaneous. Events occurred immediately before (less than one week) or shortly after (less than two weeks).
- Taking place in Basque territory. Events that took place within the four Basque territories situated in northern Spain (Southern Basque Country or *Hegoalde*; see footnote 4 above).

After applying the aforementioned criteria of inclusion, only about one third of all search hits were identified as relevant articles and prepared for later coding. The full text of each news report containing relevant information on environmental collective action events was downloaded in plain text format (.txt), using an Internet browser's add-on tool available on Firefox (Byrne 2019). Table A1.3 presents the yearly distribution of queries' output, that is, articles reviewed, as well as the total amount of articles containing relevant information about our unit of analysis, from which we can calculate the percentage of false positive hits. The high percentage of false positive hits that needed to be reviewed is certainly one of the drawbacks of keyword-based approaches (Hutter 2014: 352-3), though in this case it was still significantly less time-consuming than the alternative: manually reviewing the daily printed issues of the four newspapers used as sources.

Table A1.3. Number of articles reviewed and selected for codification by year

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017	Total
<i>Core organizations active</i>	5	5	7	8	11	10	11
<i>Queries' hits</i>	596	588	521	398	369	376	2,848
<i>Relevant articles</i>	218	173	99	108	111	103	812
<i>False positives</i>	63%	71%	81%	73%	70%	73%	71%
<i>Identified events</i>	116	80	60	54	58	51	419
<i>Ratio of events per article</i>	0.53	0.46	0.61	0.50	0.52	0.50	0.52

Coding instructions for event identification

Unit of analysis = environmental collective action event

Definition: nonroutine public and collective gatherings which take place outside of institutional politics and advance causes and/or demands on behalf of public interests (Sampson *et al.* 2005: 682-3). Thus, the events under consideration can be of any type (such as demonstrations, press conferences, boycotts, cultural events, organized petitions, etc), as long as they fulfill three conditions:

- Being expressions of collective action taking place physically within the territory considered.
- The event presents a *public-sphere projection*. This requires that the organizers aim to reach non-members, therefore excluding events that, even if covered by the media, are part of the internal life of an organization (e.g. a general assembly of a trade union or other organization).
- Environmental causes and/or demands are advanced as one of the primary aims of the event, even if other non-environmental topics are also addressed.

Furthermore, two other delimitations apply:

Temporal delimitation = only those events that take place in the odd-numbered years of the period covered, that is: 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015 and 2017.

Geographical delimitation = Hegoalde or “Southern Basque Country”, understood as the territory comprised by the Basque Autonomous (BAC) and the Foral Community of Navarre (FCN).

*The following cases are therefore excluded: events in the French Basque Country (Iparralde), neighboring territories (some newspapers also covered local information from nearby towns in Cantabria, Burgos or La Rioja) or events starring Basque actors or with demands related to Euskal Herria but which are held in other locations (eg Madrid, Paris, Brussels, Geneva, outside of prisons, etc).

**There is only one exception: events celebrated in Santa María de Garoña, where the contentious nuclear plant of Garoña is located (see footnote 4 above). While the municipality administratively belongs to Burgos, it is only 6 kilometers from the border with Euskadi, just 50km from the capital Vitoria-Gasteiz, and 70 km from Bilbao. Therefore, this led many Basque environmental activists and groups to occasionally organize on-site protest events at the nuclear power plant. Such events were arguably directed more towards the Basque public sphere rather than towards audiences in Burgos or the rest of Spain.

PRACTICAL IDENTIFICATION CRITERIA FOR THE SCREENING OF ARTICLES

(slightly modified from Sampson *et al.* 2005: 682-3).

For being selected, a news article must report information on an event that fulfills the following characteristics:

1. **Collective event:** two or more people participate in the promotion of what is perceived to be the interest of a broader set of individuals, who are generally asked to get involved in the cause. In press conferences or institutional events, public intervention may be restricted to a single person, but its organization always involves more people, including attendees. On the contrary, an interview with one or a few activists or a statement on the street after a meeting is not considered an event.
2. **Public event:** physical gathering of people in the public sphere (either because it is held on public spaces, or because, even when held in private venues, access is not limited to members, nor is its development or content kept secret. Online-only forms of collective action (e.g., diffusion of a statement directly through social or traditional media outlets without a physical press conference or public event) or other forms of public claim-making that do not require the existence of a physical gathering are excluded.
3. **Events must be external to the routine functioning of institutional politics or other public institutions.** Therefore, events initiated by state entities (regional parliament, central state, *lehendakaritza*, municipalities, regional councils, courts, etc.) or political parties with institutional representation as part of the ordinary functioning of the institutions are excluded, even if this includes a certain degree of participation by civil society actors (e.g. appearance of groups in parliamentary committees, municipal motions, appearances before the media after institutional meetings, etc.). Nonetheless, non-routine events promoted by institutions or parties are included when these are held in the public sphere (eg, demonstrations, tributes, conferences, etc.) as long as they are public, collective, and some civic organizations participate. Eventual “parallel” protest events organized by social actors (e.g., concentrations, press conferences, etc.) on the occasion of a routine institutional act (legislative initiative vote, meeting of representatives with politicians, etc.) are also included.
4. **Events must be contemporaneous with the press article in which they are mentioned.** That is, the date of the referred event must be close to the date of publication of the article. In this case, close means less than a week before a programmed event or maximum two weeks after it takes place.

*Further examples of excluded cases (common false positives and doubtful cases):

- a) Press releases and statements echoed by the media (even quoting verbatim passages) but without there having been a physical and public gathering. When in doubt, if this is not clear because the article does not provide enough basic information (place, time, etc.), it will be understood that there is no such event.
- b) Private meetings held behind closed doors, even if they are publicly announced and there might be images or statements of participants before or after the event. Examples: meetings of the Lehendakari or some public official with trade unions or some other organization, or meeting between two unions to resolve a specific issue.

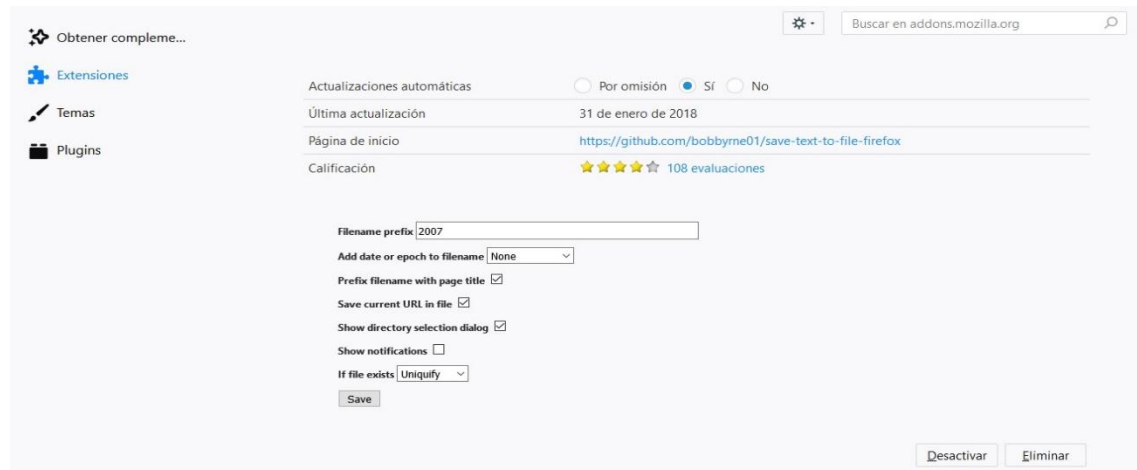
- c) The formal presentation of complaints and initiation of legal actions.
Nonetheless, possible parallel acts such as a concentration or a press conference before the courts will be included.
- d) Events that are part of the internal life of an organization (e.g. a general assembly of a trade union or other organization, a meeting of the steering committee, etc). However, some sessions of the general congresses of prominent organizations (such as parties or trade unions) will be included when the presence of other organizations is reported (as it indicates that the event was open to the participation of non-members) and there is an evident public-sphere projection.
- e) Workshops, courses and classes, even if these are free and open access (e.g. activities for children or retirees, peace education courses, or professional retraining, etc). Despite being collective events, their public-sphere orientation is debatable and they mostly generate private-collective goods that can only be enjoyed by the attendees/participants. *“They may be announced like civic events, but self-help gatherings, unlike a community festival or church pancake breakfast, focus on the individual and are typically not open for public display and consumption.”* (Sampson *et al.*, 2005; 683).
- f) Fund-raising or petitioning campaigns that are diffused in time and space (e.g. the possibility of donating food in certain establishments during a certain period of time). However, the installation of a raffle or contest with a specific location and direct organization of a mentioned organization is considered a fundraising event. The installation of a post or the deployment of volunteers in a specific area and a short period of time not exceeding one day is considered a valid signature collection event.

STEPS TAKEN FOR THE SEARCH AND SUBSEQUENT SELECTION OF ARTICLES THAT CONTAIN INFORMATION ON A RELEVANT ENVIRONMENTAL COLLECTIVE ACTION EVENT

Sources: El Correo + Diario Vasco + Diario de Navarra + Gara

Internet browser: Mozilla Firefox (latest version), in order to use the free "Save text to file" add-on (Byrne 2019). It is not possible to use other Internet browsers because either the add-on is not available or it does not work correctly (as in Chrome).

Screenshot with the necessary configuration of settings for a more efficient collection process:



Step 1: Search by keywords – Introduction of selected keywords (see table A1.2), one by one, in search engines of the corresponding newspaper. It is important to pay attention to the use or not of quotation marks. For El Correo and Diario Vasco, it is necessary to pay a subscription and log in with the corresponding account first

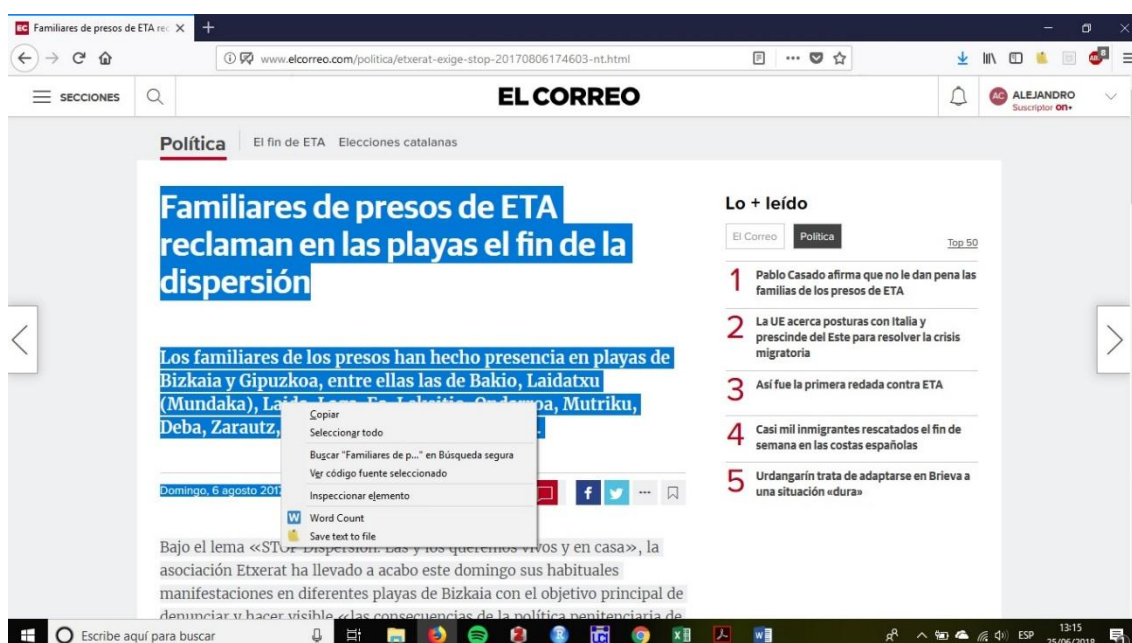
Depending on the number of query results, these can be filtered by year or not. Next, the number of search hits for a given organization at a given year was recorded in an excel file (see screenshot below).

Hoja1																									
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y
1	Name	years	search terms used	hits	relevant	falseposit	EC_hits	EC_relev	EC_false	DV_hits	DV_relev	DV_false	G_hits	G_relev	G_false	DN_hits	DN_relev	DN_false	positives						
2	AHT Gelditu Eikaria	2007	"aht gelditu"	164	120	26.83%	32	42	19.33%	64	46	28.13%	47	32	31.91%	1	0	100.00%							
3	Araba sin Garoña	2007	"araba sin garoña"	9	5	44.44%	5	5	0.00%	0	0	#DIV/0!	4	0	100.00%	0	0	#DIV/0!							
4	Eguzki	2007	"eguzki ekologista"	30	13	56.67%	10	3	70.00%	12	4	66.67%	8	6	25.00%	0	0	#DIV/0!							
5	Ekologistak Martxak	2007	"ekologistak martxak"	113	45	60.18%	31	14	54.84%	38	12	68.42%	43	18	58.14%	1	1	0.00%							
6	Greenpeace	2007	greenpeace	278	38	86.33%	117	9	92.31%	104	21	79.81%	17	6	64.71%	40	2	95.00%							
7	AHT Gelditu Eikaria	2009	"aht gelditu"	146	98	32.88%	45	29	35.56%	64	42	34.38%	32	23	28.13%	5	4	20.00%							
8	Araba sin Garoña	2009	"araba sin garoña"	5	5	0.00%	3	3	0.00%	1	1	0.00%	1	1	0.00%	0	0	#DIV/0!							
9	Eguzki	2009	eguzki ekologista	57	21	63.16%	16	8	50.00%	33	9	72.73%	6	2	66.67%	2	2	0.00%							
10	Ekologistak Martxak	2009	"ekologistak martxak"	79	25	68.35%	30	8	73.33%	42	15	64.29%	7	2	71.43%	0	0	#DIV/0!							
11	Greenpeace	2009	greenpeace	301	32	89.37%	133	14	89.47%	127	16	87.40%	12	0	100.00%	29	2	93.10%							
12	AHT Gelditu Eikaria	2011	"aht gelditu"	45	31	31.11%	7	3	57.14%	12	9	25.00%	23	16	30.43%	3	3	0.00%							
13	Araba sin Garoña	2011	"araba sin garoña"	9	8	11.11%	7	6	14.29%	0	0	#DIV/0!	2	2	0.00%	0	0	#DIV/0!							
14	Desazkundea	2011	"desazkundea"	3	1	66.67%	0	0	#DIV/0!	2	0	100.00%	1	1	0.00%	0	0	#DIV/0!							
15	Eguzki	2011	eguzki ekologista	53	10	81.13%	13	2	84.62%	33	5	84.85%	7	3	57.14%	0	0	#DIV/0!							
16	Ekologistak Martxak	2011	"ekologistak martxak"	93	36	61.29%	29	9	68.97%	32	11	65.63%	18	5	72.22%	14	11	21.43%							
17	Greenpeace	2011	greenpeace	312	16	94.87%	119	4	96.64%	128	8	93.75%	12	3	75.00%	53	1	98.11%							
18	Sustrai Erakuntza	2011	"sustrai erakuntza"	6	2	66.67%	0	0	#DIV/0!	0	0	#DIV/0!	3	1	66.67%	3	1	66.67%							
19	AHT Gelditu Eikaria	2013	"aht gelditu"	25	19	24.00%	2	1	50.00%	5	4	20.00%	14	11	21.43%	4	3	25.00%							
20	Araba sin Garoña	2013	"araba sin garoña"	16	13	18.75%	11	9	18.18%	0	0	#DIV/0!	5	4	20.00%	0	0	#DIV/0!							
21	Desazkundea	2013	"desazkundea"	8	5	37.50%	4	2	50.00%	3	2	33.33%	1	1	0.00%	0	0	#DIV/0!							
22	Eguzki	2013	eguzki ekologista	56	15	73.21%	8	3	62.50%	38	10	73.68%	10	2	80.00%	0	0	#DIV/0!							
23	Ekologistak Martxak	2013	"ekologistak martxak"	53	26	50.94%	12	7	41.67%	26	12	53.85%	12	5	58.33%	3	2	93.33%							
24	Fracking Ez Araba	2013	"fracking ez"	51	25	50.98%	15	8	46.67%	12	7	41.67%	24	10	58.33%	0	0	#DIV/0!							
25	Greenpeace	2013	greenpeace	172	12	93.02%	76	5	93.42%	57	1	98.25%	15	2	86.67%	24	4	83.33%							

Step 2: Screening the search results – Each search result was opened in a separate tab and read carefully, even in cases in which the article does not seem very promising (sometimes the coverage of an event is contained in a few sentences in the middle of an article that also provides other information).

*Even though the keywords are designed to minimize the number of results in Euskara and newspapers publish almost all their content in Spanish, sometimes some results appear in Euskara. These are more carefully evaluated with the help of an automatic translator and eventual consultation with native Basque speakers (see Ciordia, 2020: 86).

Step 3: Downloading and archiving relevant articles — When a relevant article is identified, it is necessary to select the full text of the article, being careful not to select related news in the margins, parts of the web structure, or text from advertisements (that is why the use of an ad blocker also helps). When right-clicking on the text a Firefox menu will be displayed in which the add-on option "Save text to file" will appear.



When this option is clicked, a download window will emerge. The text will be saved in text file format (.txt) in the default folder for downloads (which we will have configured at the beginning wherever it is more convenient). For the file name, the following structure will be used, in order to facilitate subsequent coding of content with the DNA software (see Appendix 2), as it will be able to read the file name to automatically record some metadata about each news article, saving a lot of time. The name structure is the following:

YYYY-MM-DD_newspaper acronym_Article's heading.txt

The add-on had been configured to automatically insert the heading in the default name of the file, so it will not be necessary to write it by hand, or copy it from the page, but simply to cut and copy it in its new position, behind the date and the newspaper's acronym. That said, it is necessary to delete all underscores that might appear in the heading, given that underscores are read by DNA as separators between different pieces of metadata. Thus, if there are more than the two prescribed underscored (between the date and the newspaper and between the newspaper and the title), it would lead to

confusion in the software, making it impossible to import the text files correctly. It is also important to pay attention to manually write ".txt" after the title, otherwise it is saved as a flat file.

Often, the same article will appear in different queries, given that more than one of the core organizations can be mentioned in the same article. When this happens, if the file name procedure is applied correctly, the computer will warn us that there already exists an article with the same name. In that case, the download will be cancelled, as we do not want to save two separate but identical files.

Step 4: Final register of the number of relevant articles in Excel – After reviewing all query hits resulting from an organization-year search, the number of articles downloaded are counted and recorded in an Excel file. This allows to keep track of false positives (see table A1.3).

***As it will be seen in Appendix 2, there will be many cases in which the same event is reported in multiple articles. In those cases, the research strategy requires that they are downloaded in all cases, even if the coder might have the feeling that no new information is being added to the database. Even if this could be the case, having **multi-article events** enhances the confidence in the coding output and the co-attendance networks derived from it, as description bias (particularly the problem of selective identification of participants) will be minimized.

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APPENDIX 2 - The protest event database: Coding procedures and codebook of environmental collective action events

After filtering out false positive search hits, the downloaded articles were subsequently analyzed using the *Discourse Network Analyzer (DNA)* computer program (Leifeld, 2017b), a free-license software that combines qualitative content analysis with network export facilities. In total, 419 environmental collective action events were identified for the six years examined. For each event, a unique ID label was assigned, coding some basic information (13 different variables regarding six types of information: date, location, issue, size, form, target) and the names of every participating organization mentioned by the newspapers.

The recent availability of the DNA software proved to be crucial, as it enormously increases the efficiency and transparency of data collection and management in cases when network generation builds upon content analysis of textual data.¹ In terms of transparency, the program allows for a quick retrieval of the original text excerpts from which information was coded, thus enormously improving the reliability and transparency of the content analysis. Regarding coding efficiency, its flexibility and the possibility to custom the coding scheme according to the researchers' needs make of it a useful tool for the construction of events databases that code all events' participants. In fact, until now, the coding of participant organizations was severely constrained by the traditional rectangular structure through which most PEA projects stored their data, which imposed the need to create as many variables - and therefore columns- as number of participants, which for practical purposes has led many researchers to just code 3-5 participant organizations (e.g. Rootes 2003; Jiménez 2005; Portos 2019; Wang, Soule, and Rao 2019). In contrast, in this case it was possible code as many participant organizations as needed for the same event, even if referenced in different text documents.

Software details: *Discourse Network Analyzer (DNA)* (Leifeld 2017b). Free Java-based software. It allows for coding a large corpus of text and exporting the results in network formats more easily than other existing software for qualitative text analysis.

For the most updated versions, documentation, and access to the user manual, please visit: <https://github.com/leifeld/dna>

STEPS OF THE CODING PROCEDURE:

Start – Open DNA, load the database (single .dna file) and once it is open, select the appropriate coder profile in the upper left corner.

Coding of events – Select the articles that you wish to code and start reading. The objective is to identify sentences or paragraphs where relevant factual information appears about a public collective event (in case, of doubt, please review the definition of collective action events and their inclusion criteria). This is done in the DNA software by selecting a text segment and creating a "statement". For each event, two types of statements were completed: one called "Info event" for variables related with the characteristics of the event itself, and other named "Participants event" to register the actors who participated. Ideally,

¹ In fact, the software was originally developed for a quite different purpose: building networks of public policy debates (Leifeld 2017a).

all variables listed in each statement should be filled, but in many cases there will be empty variables, which is normal and do not pose particular problems. A full codebook containing a description of each variable and their respective categories is provided below.

Coding of non-events – Some of the articles that were initially selected and that are stored in the .dna file may not contain relevant information on environmental public collective events. This might be due to mistakes when downloading irrelevant or doubtful articles, or because a given event cannot be considered environmental as it does not sufficiently cover environmental demands or issues. When this occurs, a single “No event” statement was created, selecting the part of the article that was regarded to be most illustrative of why it does not meet the identification criteria, adding a brief note explaining the reasons backing this decision.

Doubts – For doubtful decisions regarding the identification of an event or the assignment of a category to certain content, it was possible to generate another type of statement “Observations / doubts”, in which further details could be annotated for later review.

*A crucial advantage of DNA is that it allows coders to go back and eliminate or modify the previous coding at any time. This way, errors can easily be amended, and corrections are automatically saved.

Complexities to keep in mind during coding.

- **Multi-article events** (very frequent). The same event is mentioned in several articles, either from the same or different newspapers. This will happen especially with the most mediatic events (large demonstrations). Even so, it is important to code all the articles in which a certain event is mentioned. To speed up the coding process, when much of the basic information on an event had already been coded, it was enough to fill Event_ID variable and the new information that they add (even if it is contradictory with what appears in other articles), leaving blank those variables about which there was no new information. In any case, especially when articles referring to the same article were not coded consecutively, in most cases, we still opted to code redundant information, since it allows crossing data from several articles and increase their reliability, and avoids the problem of not saving new information thinking that it had already been recoded.
- **Multi-event articles**. Occasionally, the same article contains information on more than one event relevant to our database. As long as these events meet the criteria of being temporally contemporary with the article and distinguishable between each other, it is not a problem for the analysis if the same content unit (article) contains more than one unit of analysis (events).
- **Multi-activity or complex events**. Although, in general, most events are mono-activity, not all events consist of a single activity carried out in a specific and delimited place and time. There is the possibility that an event promoted by the same actors and with the same purposes (therefore constituting a coherent unit of collective action) includes the realization of different activities that might not be strictly contiguous in time or space (e.g. press conferences and demonstrations; different talks by different

speakers in a week-long cultural event; etc). Within this broad category we can distinguish 3 frequent subtypes:

- **Multi-location events.** En ocasiones, un mismo evento tiene lugar en distintos municipios (p.ej. manifestación en las cuatro capitales). *Se considerará un único evento si las actividades extendidas geográficamente han sido organizadas/coordinadas por los mismos actores y con los mismos propósitos.* En caso de que haya más de una localización no hay problema, se marca el número de municipios en los que un mismo evento se celebró en la variable correspondiente, y en la variable de nombres, se escriben los nombres de cada municipio en un mismo *statement*, separados por una coma y un espacio (p.ej. Bilbao, Durango, Pamplona). Ver tabla de variables.
- **Events extended over time.** Not all events take place on a single day, some extend over several days (e.g. encampments, strikes, cultural or educational events, etc.). The criteria to distinguish a single event held over two or more days from several individual events held in a close period of time will be similar to that used to identify multi-location events: *a continuous or multi-day event is one held on different days but in which all the different activities have been organized by the same actors and with the same purposes, forming a coherent whole.* In addition, when the event is not organized over several contiguous days it is considered a “continuous extended event”, there is the possibility of considering it a single discontinuous extended event if there is less than a month of separation between activities and each activity was already scheduled before the previous one took place.
- **Events comprised by core and peripheral activities.** It should be considered as a particular case of extended events in which the different activities carried out in different days do not have the same relevance (as for example, they do in an encampment of several days, a strike, or a series of talks) but there is a main activity to which the rest are subsidiary. The most paradigmatic cases are press conferences before or after a demonstration.

***Distinction of events between each other.** Taking into account the aforementioned possibilities, it was still important to clearly distinguish and code separately distinct events that are close in time, space or thematic focus. For instance, two events can be held with the same purpose on the same day but be at the same time organized by different actors (e.g. simultaneous but parallel demonstrations on May 1 by part of different unions, parallel public tributes, etc.), Or vice versa, the same actor can organize in a short period of time two events with different specific purposes, even if these are related within the same broader issue. For instance, a concentration in support for a defendant before a court hearing must be differentiated from an eventual protest for an unfavorable judicial decision. Even though these two events are clearly related, the existence of the second event is independent of the first and was not scheduled before the judicial decision was known (since, if the decision had been different, the second protest would have not occurred).

Rules about the participation of organization in special and rare fund-raising events and award ceremonies.

- The mere fact that an organization is the beneficiary of the collection of a certain charitable or fund-raising event (e.g. concert or sporting event) does not count as participation of this organization, EXCEPT when that organization has taken part in the organization or there is a public act in which a representative of the organization that receives a donation is physically there.
- The mere fact that an organization is awarded with a certain prize or recognition does not count as participation. However, the fact that an organization physically attends the ceremony in which the award is presented does count as participation in the event.

CODEBOOK

Statement: INFO EVENT

Variable name	Variable description	Values/Categories
Event_ID	Nominal, open categories. Exclusive identifier for each individual event	Format: “yymmdd + short description” (in Spanish) Example: 070307 - <i>jornadas medioambientales</i> *It is crucial that for every event, this ID coincides with the ID in the PARTICIPANTS EVENT statement → copy-paste
Date	Day in which the event took place	Format: yyyy-mm-dd *Rules for extended events (see categories below): For “central + periféricos”, the date of the central event. For extended events (whether continuous or not), the date of the specific activity reported in that news article is introduced.
Temporal_type	Nominal, closed categories. Type of event according to its temporal development (see above)	Simple. Activities take place within a single day. Central + periféricos [<i>Central + peripheral</i>] Extendido continuo [<i>Continuous extended</i>] Extendido discontinuo [<i>Discontinuous extended</i>]
Duration	Interval Number of days in which the event unfolded (leave blank for “simple” events, as it is always 1)	Whole numbers (do not use decimals)
Size	Ordinal, closed categories. Size of the evento according to the number of individual participants (including public, not only activists or conveners)	Muy pequeño: $2 < x < 10$ [<i>Very small</i>] Pequeño. $10 < x < 100$ [<i>Small</i>] Mediano. $100 < x < 1,000$ [<i>Medium-sized</i>] Grande. $1,000 < x < 10,000$ [<i>Large</i>] Multitudinario. $> 10,000$ [<i>Multitudinous</i>]
Event_type	Nominal, closed categories *Based upon Sampson <i>et al.</i> (2005: 684-6).	Protesta. [<i>Protest</i>] Events in which participants collectively formulate demands or complaints on behalf of broader interests. Such protests, however, do not necessarily have to be disruptive or confrontational, but

		can even be routine, festive and/or symbolic. Examples: demonstration, press conference, rally, strike, etc. Cívico. <i>[Civic]</i> “Civic events, in contrast to protest, do not have claims as much as purposes: to celebrate the community (e.g., festivals), to procure resources (e.g., fundraisers), or to accomplish collective goals (e.g., cleanups, preservation). Civic events neither desire to bring about (or prevent) a change in policy, nor are they the expression of a specific grievance, as is often the case of protest events. We can also think of the difference between protest and civic claims/purposes as follows: protest events have explicit claims while civic events have implicit (or latent) purposes.” Híbrido. <i>[Hybrid]</i> Events that articulate explicit demands but that do not use forms of action typical of protests, but rather typical of civic events. Examples: exhibition of photographs/film screenings, conferences, culinary or sports competitions with specific demands. * Demands = expressions of concrete requests promoting social, political, or legal change, or resisting/opposing it. ** Rule of thumb: If it is impossible to complete the “Claim-target” field, it will generally mean that the event does not consist of claims but only of purposes, so it would be classified as civic. If, on the other hand, it has civic forms but demands can be identified and at least one recipient of them, we would be facing a hybrid event.
Form_of_action	Nominal, semi-closed categories. Selection among a predefined list of categories. Only in exceptional cases should the “other” categories be used. *Inspired by the following previous categorizations: Koopmans (2002: 37-39), Tejerina (2010: 87 y ss), Portos (2017), Rucht (2010).	Protest forms: Rueda/conferencia de prensa. <i>[Press conference]</i> Concentración. <i>[Rally]</i> Escrache. Manifestación. <i>[Demonstration]</i> Marcha. <i>[Intercity march]</i> Cadena humana. <i>[Human chain]</i> Consulta popular no vinculante. <i>[Non-binding referendum]</i>

		Recogida de firmas. <i>[Signature collection]</i> Huelga. <i>[Strike]</i> Desobediencia civil convencional. P.ej. ocupaciones, encierros, sentadas, etc. <i>[Conventional civil disobedience. E.g. occupations, sit-ins, etc]</i> Ocupación-acampada. <i>[Squatting-Encampment]</i> Huelga de hambre. <i>[Hunger strike]</i> Interrupción de evento ajeno. <i>[Disruption of an external event]</i> Protesta simbólica/teatralizada. P.ej. parodia, performance, etc <i>[Symbolic/theatrical protest. E.g. parodies, performances, etc.]</i> Sabotaje. <i>[Sabotage]</i> Bloqueo de carreteras/infraestructuras. <i>[Blockade of roads/infrastructure]</i> Daños menores a objetos. <i>[Minor damages to objects]</i> Violencia contra objetos. <i>[Violence against material objects]</i> Violencia contra personas. <i>[Violence against people]</i> Otros <i>[Other]</i> Civic forms: Acto de homenaje. <i>[Homage/tribute]</i> Acto orgánico público. (p.ej. congreso) <i>[Public organic event (e.g. organizational congress)]</i> Evento cultural-artístico. P.ej. exposiciones, proyecciones de documentales, visitas guiadas, etc. <i>[Cultural-artistic event. E.g. exhibitions, screenings of documentaries, guided tours, etc.]</i> Evento académico-pedagógico. P.ej. conferencias, charlas de expertos, etc. <i>[Academic-educational event. E.g. conferences, talks by invited experts, etc.]</i>
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		Evento lúdico-festivo. P.ej. fiesta popular, concierto, comida popular, excursiones, concursos populares, eventos deportivos, etc. [<i>Festive events (e.g. popular festivals, popular street dinners, mountain hikes, popular competitions, sport competitions, etc.)</i>] Acción cívica directa. P.ej. limpieza de medio natural, reparto de comida, organización actividades para colectivos excluidos, etc. [<i>Direct civic action. e.g. clean-ups, distribution of food or organization of activities for groups in need, etc.</i>] Recaudación solidaria de fondos. P.ej. tómbola, stand para donación de alimentos, etc. [<i>Fund-raising events. E.g. raffles, stands for food donation, etc.</i>] Otros [<i>Other</i>]
Other_form_of_action	Nominal, open categories. Only in case “other” category has been selected for <i>Form_of_action</i> variable	Brief description (3-4 words), supplemented where appropriate with further explanations in next variable (Observations). Use residually only when an event absolutely does not fit into any of the <i>Form_of_action</i> categories.
Observations	Open description (optional)	
Incidents	Nominal, open categories	Leave blank by default unless an incident is reported. In that case, provide a brief description in a few words (extended annotations can be made in <i>Observations</i>). Incident = altercation or violent confrontation of the participants with the authorities (e.g. police, private security in private buildings, etc.) or with other civilians. Levels of violence do not need to be particularly high. Strong verbal confrontations or peaceful detentions suffice.
Issue	Nominal, semi-open categories. Broad issue/demand that is promoted at the event.	Preference is given to already-existing categories, but new categories can be generated any time none fits the event.
Claim_target	Nominal, semi-open categories. Recipient of the demands that are voiced at an event.	E.g. Spanish state, BAC authorities, municipality, EU, etc.

		Preference is given to already-existing categories, but new categories can be generated any time none fits the event.
Location_type	Nominal, semi-closed categories. *Based on Portos (2017).	Calle/plaza. <i>[Street / square]</i> Local en edificio público. <i>[Public establishment/room]</i> Local en edificio privado. <i>[Private establishment/room]</i> Dentro de/frente a edificio público. <i>[Inside or in front of a public building]</i> Dentro de/frente a edificio privado. <i>[Inside or in front of a private building]</i> Entorno natural <i>[Open-air setting in the nature]</i> *Preference is given to already-existing categories, but new categories can be generated any time none fits the event, including combination of several locations.
Municipalities_number	Interval	Whole numbers (do not use decimals)
Municipalities_names	Nominal, semi-closed categories.	A bilingual list of common municipalities was used. Important to be consistent with first linguistic choice of the name. In case of more than one municipalities, these are separated by commas. E.g. <i>Bilbao, San Sebastián, Mondragón</i>

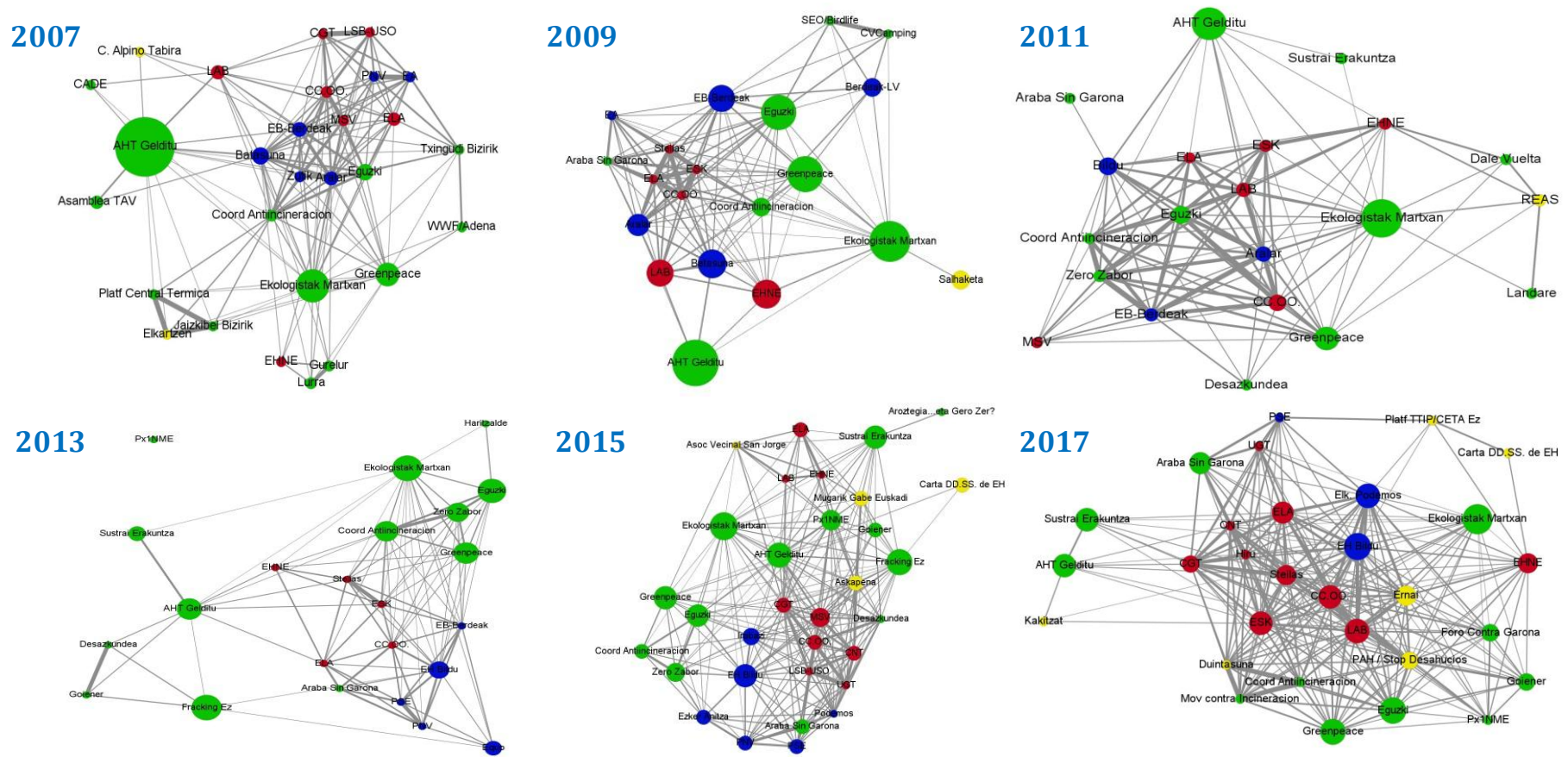
Statement: PARTICIPANTS EVENT

Variable name	Variable description	Values/Categories
Event_ID	Nominal, open categories. Exclusive identifier for each individual event	Format: “yymmdd + short description” (in Spanish) Example: 070307 - <i>jornadas medioambientales</i> *It is crucial that for every event, this ID coincides with the ID in the INFO EVENT statement → copy-paste
Actor_name	Nominal, semi-open categories.	Important to use organizational names consistently. Drop-down menu of DNA statements really helped for that purpose.
Actor_status	Nominal, closed categories. Type of organization.	Organization in sample. Single organization included in the list of 11 core groups initially mapped. Platform in sample. Umbrella organization included in the list of 11 core groups initially mapped. Organization outside sample. Single organization not belonging to the list of 11 core groups. Platform outside sample. Umbrella organization not belonging to the list of 11 core groups. Political party. Public institution. Private enterprise.
Single_actor	Binary / Dichotomic	Box is checked only when the event is organized by a single actor without collaborating with other organizations (i.e. “single events”; Lee 2011).
Actor_involvement	Nominal, closed categories. *Complete only for collaborative events and when the description of events allows for it (usually not very detailed or accurate)	Initiator. Organizer/Collaborator. Miembro plataforma. <i>[Member of convening umbrella group physically present at the event]</i> Supporter/Participant.

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APPENDIX 3 – Sociograms of event co-attendance networks within the Basque ECAF over 6 years



Legend: Ties between nodes represent event co-attendance, with edge width proportional to the strength of the tie, expressed in Jaccard coefficients (value range: 0 to 1) // Node colors represent the four broad types of organizations: environmental organizations (green), political parties (blue), trade unions (red), other civic organizations (yellow). // Node size proportional to total number of events attended (logarithmic scale) // Layout algorithm: Force Atlas 2 [Jacomy, Mathieu, Tommaso Venturini, Sebastien Heymann, and Mathieu Bastian. ‘ForceAtlas2, a Continuous Graph Layout Algorithm for Handy Network Visualization Designed for the Gephi Software’. *PLOS ONE* 9, no. 6 (2014): e98679. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0098679>]

APPENDIX 4 – Co-attendance networks and QAP regression results for the 2009 network when not excluding outlier event

Table A4.1. Descriptive statistics of the collaborative networks for the year 2009

	2009 (with outlier event)	2009[^] (without outlier event)
Total events	80	79
Events with 2 or more orgs	42	41
<u>Network statistics</u>		
Nodes	23	20
Average degree	13.391	12.000
Average distance	1.395	1.374
Diameter	3	3
Density	0.609	0.632
Centralization	0.379	0.351
Closure	0.819	0.843
Edge values: range	0 - 1	0 - 1
Edge values: mean	0.162	0.171
Edge values: std. deviation	0.205	0.217

Table A4.2. QAP regressions of event co-attendance for 2009

	2009 (with outlier event)	2009 [^] (without outlier event)
Intercept	.149	.061
<u>Identity-based congruence</u>		
Shared Basque nationalist orientation	.038	.111**
Different public position towards ETA	-.104***	-.115***
Similar left-right orientation	.084*	-.003
Similar environmentalist orientation	-.004	-.030
<u>Pragmatic-instrumental incentives</u>		
Overlapping issue agenda	.111*	.258**
Similar organizational model	-.041	.079*
<u>Interpersonal relationships</u>		
Shared active members	-.070*	-.048
<u>Controls</u>		
Block attendance by political parties and trade unions	.103*	.186***
Geographic disconnection	-.113*	-.129*
Specific second-order nodes and members	-.262**	—
N (dyads)	253	190
R^2	.162	.297

Notes: Values of collaborative ties normalized using Jaccard similarity measures. Unstandardized regression coefficients. Significance levels: * $<.1$; ** $<.05$; *** $<.01$ (one-tailed tests).

APPENDIX 5 – Networks used as predictors in the QAP regressions: description, operationalization and descriptive statistics

To examine what dyadic factors are more influential in shaping the collaboration structure of the Basque environmental field at different years, we use QAP linear regression models, which estimate the intensity of event co-attendance between each pair of collective actors given a multiplicity of dyadic predictors. We include 7 independent variable networks as potential predictors. These networks represent different kinds of theoretically relevant interorganizational linkages derived from three types of information: ideological profiles, organizational characteristics, and multiple affiliations of individual members. In addition, two controls were also included to account for “structural noncollaboration”.

This appendix contains a succinct description of each independent variable network explaining the reason behind its inclusion, what the ties between nodes represent, and the sources of data. For further information, interested readers can find expanded descriptions and justifications in Ciordia (2020).

A. Identity-based congruence (4 networks)

An organizational identity is understood in this investigation as *“the shared definition of a group that derives from members’ common interests, experiences, and solidarities”* (Taylor & Whittier 1992). Another similar and well-known definition of collective identity as a product is provided by Snow, when he proposes understanding collective identity as *“a shared sense of ‘one-ness’ or ‘we-ness’ anchored in real or imagined shared attributes and experiences among those who comprise the collectivity and in relation or contrast to one or more actual or imagined sets of ‘others’”* (2001: 2). In more operational terms, these organizational identities of civic organizations can be better understood as *“broader representations of actors’ position in relation to other actors and to broader representations of social life than those associated with issue agendas”* (Diani & Pilati, 2011: 266) that normally *“relate more or less explicitly to broader societal cleavages and systems of meaning”* (Diani, 1995: 9). The relevance of assessing these public identities or ‘images’ (Tejerina 2010: 202-5) is that this dimension can be extremely influential in terms of interorganizational collaboration, arguably more than the internal identities.

The characterization of each organization’s position with respect to the four ideological dimensions considered as potential explanatory factors of the coalitional structure relied on three main sources of information: an extensive review of primary documents (mostly available online), previous references in relevant secondary literature, and in-depth interviews with expert informants (for a list of interviewees, see Ciordia 2020: 258-9). That said, it should be noted that for the 26 organizations for which ideological self-definitions were available,¹ these coincide to a large extent with the external characterizations of expert observers and the assessments of this author. Thus, this convergence can be read as a reinforcing sign of the validity of the categorization.

The remainder of this section will present the different typologies of external organizational identities that resulted from these assessments, specifying how these were used to construct networks of latent linkages that test for different ideology-driven logics of interorganizational collaboration and reporting their respective basic statistical characteristics. The full classification of every single organization and the varying network membership for each year can be found in Ciordia (2020: 240-3, 248-56).

¹ Having replied to questions B5, B7, B8 and B9 in the survey (see Appendices 6 and 7 in Ciordia 2020: 260-284).

1. Shared Basque nationalist orientation

With respect to the nationalist dimension, organizations were classified as either Basque nationalist or non-nationalist. The former category was attributed to organizations that were perceived to support as a collective *Euskal Herria*'s self-determination, while the latter label was assigned to groups that were regarded as ambiguous, that purposely remained on the sidelines of the national cleavage as an organization, or that could even be perceived by some actors as supportive of the *statu quo* of Basque integration within Spain.² Based on this division it was possible to build a network of Basque nationalist affinities, broadly understood, a binary network where a tie of value one indicates that both actors share a Basque nationalist orientation and no ties are assumed between them and Basque nationalists nor among non-nationalists, as the latter cannot be considered a coherent ideological subgroup, but is just a residual collection of diverse positions that are generally ambiguous or indifferent to the national cleavage. Hence, this network functioned as a test of Basque nationalist homophily, which would be confirmed if a significant positive relationship is found between this latent network and the network of interorganizational cooperation.

Table A5.1. Networks of shared Basque nationalist orientation, descriptive statistics

	2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		2017	
Node categorization	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Basque nationalist	12	(43)	10	(50)	9	(43)	9	(39)	11	(34)	12	(40)
Non-nationalist	16	(57)	10	(50)	12	(57)	14	(61)	21	(66)	18	(60)
TOTAL	28	(100)	20	(100)	21	(100)	23	(100)	32	(100)	30	(100)
Network statistics	<i>edge value range: binary (0/1)</i>											
Average degree	4.714		4.500		3.428		3.130		3.483		4.400	
Average distance	1		1		1		1		1		1	
Diameter	1		1		1		1		1		1	
Isolated nodes (%)	57		50		57		61		66		60	
Components (apart from isolates)	1		1		1		1		1		1	
Density	.175		.237		.171		.142		.111		.152	
Centralization	.251		.263		.253		.242		.226		.244	
Closure	1		1		1		1		1		1	

2. Different public position towards ETA

Just as a shared Basque nationalist frame is expected to facilitate cooperation, we can presume the effect of political violence to be quite the opposite, generating a situation of confrontation even among Basque nationalist actors. As expressed by Benjamín Tejerina:

Relations among social movement organizations in the Basque Country are sectioned by their respective stances with respect to ETA's violence. The attitude that the different groups keep in the face of this violence is a differentiation factor that hinders the establishment of collaboration ties. (Tejerina 2010: 197)

When assessing organizational attitudes towards ETA there was an initial difficulty in the fact that for many organizations –especially the smallest ones– it was not possible to observe public declarations about the issue, nor would expert informants know how to precisely

² In fact, while there were no examples of openly and unquestionably Spanish nationalist organizations being members of the Basque environmental field, a handful of organizations (PSE, UGT, or LSB-USO in particular) are sometimes considered as Spanish nationalists ('*españolistas*') by some Basque nationalist sectors.

characterize their collective public position in relation to the violent conflict. On the other hand, for those organizations that could be characterized, it was possible to distinguish between critical and lenient towards ETA's violence.

Therefore, in order to test the hypothesis that public divergences about ETA's armed struggle used to hinder interorganizational collaboration, a different logic was followed for the construction of this independent variable network. Instead of building a similarity matrix, as in the case of Basque nationalist homophily, a distance matrix was created this time, with ties in this network indicating disagreement regarding the legitimacy of the armed struggle, with one organization of the pair being publicly critical of it and the other being generally perceived as lenient (if not supportive). Thus, we expect this latter network to have a net negative effect on collaborative ties.

Table A5.2. Networks of contrasting public position towards ETA, descriptive statistics

	2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		2017	
Node categorization	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Critical	12	(43)	11	(55)	7	(33)	10	(43)	13	(41)	9	(30)
Lenient	6	(21)	5	(25)	5	(24)	4	(17)	6	(19)	7	(23)
Ambiguous/unknown	10	(36)	4	(20)	9	(43)	9	(39)	13	(41)	14	(47)
TOTAL	28	(100)	20	(100)	21	(100)	23	(100)	32	(100)	30	(100)
Network statistics	<i>edge value range: binary (0/1)</i>											
Average degree	5.143		5.500		3.333		3.478		4.875		4.200	
Average distance	1.529		1.542		1.470		1.560		1.544		1.475	
Diameter	2		2		2		2		2		2	
Isolated nodes (%)	36		20		43		39		41		47	
Components (apart from isolates)	1		1		1		1		1		1	
Density	.190		.289		.167		.158		.157		.145	
Centralization	.274		.322		.203		.325		.280		.177	
Closure	0		0		0		0		0		0	

3. Similar left-right orientation

On the classic left-right dimension, we distinguished between a majority of far left-wing organizations and more moderate actors. The far left is understood here –in a non-pejorative but merely descriptive way– as the ideological space to the left of social democracy (March 2008, 2012). Although the far left is also internally heterogeneous and can be subdivided into two main currents (radical leftists and extreme leftists),³ far leftists share among them a perception of social democracy being “insufficiently left-wing or even as not left-wing at all” (March 2008: 3) as well as strong anti-capitalist stances. These common elements shared among far leftists and the blurry nature of internal distinctions justify the use of this broad ideological category. Regarding moderate actors we can also distinguish several different positions among the field constituents, ranging from traditional social democracy (PSE, EA, UGT) to the center-right (PNV). Nonetheless, many organizations consciously avoided clear ideological stances. Such non-ideological stands were not only common among small conservationist groups but also among other actors such as Greenpeace, which deliberately sought to avoid ideological labels as well, as explicitly admitted by consulted members of the organization.

Based on this trichotomy (far left-wing, center-left, and center-right), we constructed a network of latent ideological affinities in which incumbents of the three categories were tied to

³ While radical leftists accept liberal democracy and aim to change the system from within, the more revolutionary extreme leftists remain openly hostile to the ‘bourgeois’ democratic system (March 2008).

each other internally by a tie of value 1 and a tie of value 0.5 exists between the intermediate center-left category and the other two. Again, the existence of internal boundaries based on left-right orientations would be confirmed in case of a positive net relationship between these matrices and the collaboration networks.

Table A5.3. Networks of shared far left-wing orientation, descriptive statistics

	2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		2017	
Node categorization	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Far left-wing	16	(57)	14	(70)	16	(76)	15	(65)	22	(69)	22	(73)
Center-left	1	(4)	1	(5)	0	(0)	1	(4)	2	(6)	2	(7)
Center-right	2	(7)	0	(0)	0	(0)	1	(4)	2	(6)	0	(0)
Ambiguous/unknown	9	(32)	5	(25)	5	(24)	6	(26)	6	(19)	6	(20)
TOTAL	28	(100)	20	(100)	21	(100)	23	(100)	32	(100)	30	(100)
Network statistics	<i>edge value range: pseudo-interval (0 / 0.5 / 1)</i>											
Average degree	9.929		10.500		11.429		10.522		17.563		18.400	
Average distance	1.187		1		1		1.110		1.135		1	
Diameter	2		1		1		2		2		1	
Isolated nodes (%)	32		25		24		26		19		20	
Components (apart from isolates)	1		1		1		1		1		1	
Density	.368		.553		.571		.478		.567		.634	
Centralization	.322		.205		.197		.273		.256		.170	
Closure	.985		1		1		.991		1		1	
Average edge strength (<i>s.d.</i>)	.344 (.462)		.516 (.481)		.571 (.495)		.44 (.481)		.518 (.475)		.584 (.467)	

4. Similar environmentalist orientation

Finally, ESMOs and the most clearly environment-oriented parties and unions were characterized according to their environmental-specific ideology as conservationists, reformists, or political ecologists. These categories are based on Saunders' (2013: 31-5) fourfold typology of environmental ideologies (which also included radical ecologism, though no such position was identified within the organizations in the sample). *Conservationists* are mainly concerned with natural protection and specific environmental aggressions at the local –and often rural– level, seeking the preservation of wildlife through legal protection and/or limits to urban expansion. In contrast, *political ecologists* apply a holistic perspective, framing environmental degradation in relation to broader social and economic processes and seeking to bring about a much more radical transformation of the relationship between humanity and nature. *Reformists* stand in the middle between these two ideal positions, focusing on tangible, small-scale issues, often at the local urban level, and promote a managerial approach to environmental problems, with problem attribution and solution proposals focusing on technocratic deficiencies and potential improvements. The numerical hegemony of political ecologists is coherent with previous observations of the Basque environmental field (Alonso *et al.* 2014: 18; Barcena & Ibarra 2001: 189).

Previous studies of environmental fields have consistently found that incumbents of these different environmental families do not only behave differently in many respects (Dalton 1994) but also display distinct patterns of collaborative ties. Two consolidated patterns can be pointed out: that the most central and well-connected organizations tend to be established political ecologist groups, and that, once we take this imbalance into account, there seems to be an underlying inbreeding tendency, with actors being more likely to connect to others with a similar environmental orientation than to outsiders (Diani 1995; Di Gregorio 2012; Saunders 2007). Given these insights from previous literature, we constructed another network of latent ideological affinities in which incumbents of the three environmental-specific orientations were tied to each other internally by a tie of value 1 and a tie of value 0.5 exists between the intermediate

reformist category and the other two. Again, internal cohesion within environmental subcultures would be confirmed in case of a positive net relationship between these matrices and the collaboration networks.

Table A2.4. Networks of shared environmentalist orientation, descriptive statistics

	2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		2017	
Node categorization	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Political ecologist	9	(32)	8	(40)	10	(48)	13	(57)	13	(41)	10	(33)
Reformist	3	(11)	2	(10)	4	(19)	3	(13)	3	(9)	4	(13)
Conservationist	5	(18)	2	(10)	0	(0)	1	(4)	1	(3)	0	(0)
Not applicable	11	(39)	8	(40)	7	(33)	6	(26)	15	(47)	16	(53)
TOTAL	28	(100)	20	(100)	21	(100)	23	(100)	32	(100)	30	(100)
Network statistics	<i>edge value range: pseudo-interval (0 / 0.5 / 1)</i>											
Average degree	6.500		5.000		8.667		10.696		7.688		6.067	
Average distance	1.331		1.242		1		1.096		1.096		1	
Diameter	2		2		1		2		2		1	
Isolated nodes (%)	39		40		33		26		47		53	
Components (apart from isolates)	1		1		1		1		1		1	
Density	.241		.263		.433		.486		.248		.209	
Centralization	.379		.351		.239		.264		.286		.256	
Closure	.859		.921		1		.977		.977		1	
Average edge strength	.185		.211		.338		.403		.206		.163	
(s.d.)	(.351)		(.374)		(.420)		(.446)		(.377)		(.337)	

B. Pragmatic and instrumental incentives (2 networks)

While it is clear that ideology-based congruence and interpersonal relationships can play a major role in facilitating or hindering interorganizational collaboration in virtually any context – but especially in divided social settings such as the Basque Country– it is also true that civic organizations “do not necessarily need specific identity bonds to become involved in dense collaborative exchanges with groups with similar concerns” (Diani *et al.*, 2010: 220). In fact, quite often coordination between distinct groups are crucially fostered by instrumental or pragmatic considerations.

While a vast variety of such factors can potentially act as facilitators or burdens for collaboration, a restricted set of six dyadic pragmatic-instrumental predictors of collaboration were added to the analysis in this chapter. Final decisions over the inclusion of specific non-ideological latent networks as independent variables and the formulation of respective hypotheses about their impact on collaborative patterns resulted from a combination of three types of considerations: (a) previous consolidated findings from the academic literature on social movement coalitions; (b) activists’ reflections about what allows or prevents them from working together shared through organizational surveys and interviews; and, to a lesser extent, (c) evidence obtained during fieldwork through the examination of thousands of news reports and organizational documents. For the sake of clarity, we will first review the three variables expected to act as incentives for collaboration, and then discuss the three potential barriers. For further details, interested readers can consult Ciordia (2020: 129-32, 273-6).

5. Overlapping issue agendas

One fairly obvious pragmatic-instrumental incentive for collaboration is the existence of overlapping issue agendas between organizations. Actors concerned about the same topics and working on the same issues have a strong incentive to work together. In principle, the pooling of

resources and the merging of supporters and activists would increase the chances of achieving the shared goals of those organizations. Indeed, shared concerns and short-term objectives may be on some occasions sufficient to overcome identity-based differences, even if only temporarily. In order to test the actual strength of this incentive, information was gathered regarding the specific environmental issues in which each actor showed a strong interest. For this purpose, two main sources of information were used: organizations' responses to a specially devised question in the survey and a range of secondary documents (mostly available through organizations' websites and social media pages).

Regarding the former, question B2 in the survey (see Ciordia 2020: 270-2) asked respondents to mark all issues or topics for which their organizations had mobilized during the period of study, indicating in each case the degree of importance for the organization on a three-point scale: (1) preferential issues, (2) issues of secondary importance, and (3) topics that the organization had only occasionally touched upon. The list of 22 issues was generated based on previous similar questionnaires used as models, as well as on the deep knowledge of environmental controversies relevant in the Basque Country during the period examined that was acquired while reviewing thousands of newspaper articles. Furthermore, apart from these 22 items, 19 prominent non-environmental issues (e.g. budget cuts, gender inequality, economic inequality) were also listed, in order to reflect as accurately as possible the issue priorities of non-environmental civic organizations and trade unions and discourage potential overstatements regarding the role of environmental issues within their organizational priorities. While the list of environmental issues was disaggregated as much as possible when designing the questionnaire in order to give respondents many options to which they could relate their trajectories of mobilization, the opposite logic was followed for data analysis, aggregating items that were thematically close to each other. As a result, the number of environmental issues was later reduced to 12 broad themes.

The networks were built taking only into account only issues of preferential mobilization, since almost all organizations could declare to have a minimal interest in almost every issue. This relatively high threshold was set in order to ensure a more restrictive and meaningful network of overlapping agendas, leaving aside overlaps of mere interest or concern about a topic that do not imply a consistent and preferential mobilization of organizational efforts. Since only 26 organizational responses to this question could be gathered through the survey, the assessment of issues of preferential attention for the remaining non-respondent organizations were externally assessed by this researcher, primarily relying on organizational documents and on the event dataset, and, occasionally, on secondary references present in the literature. To maintain the same 'strong' criteria used for the survey responses, only reiterative references to an issue in documents and/or sustained participation in related events were considered.

This information was arranged for each year considered as bimodal matrices of active organizations (rows) by issues on which they preferentially mobilized (columns). From this two-mode matrices it was possible to generate for each year one-mode matrices of overlapping agendas, with pairs of participating organizations connected to each other by the proportion of issues on which they were both interested. Following the same reasoning applied to the generation of collaborative networks (see Ciordia 2020: 95-7), the raw tie values of these networks of overlapping agendas were normalized using the Jaccard coefficient, with final values ranging from zero to one. Theoretical expectations point towards a positive relationship between this dyadic variable and our dependent variable of collaboration: the higher the degree of overlap in issue agendas, the more public collaboration at the same events is expected.

Table A5.5. Networks of overlapping issue agendas, descriptive statistics

	2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		2017	
Count of organizations by issues of preferential mobilization*	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Nuclear energy & Garoña	11	(39)	13	(65)	10	(48)	14	(61)	15	(47)	16	(53)
Waste management	10	(36)	9	(45)	12	(57)	11	(48)	12	(37)	10	(33)
Fracking	-		-		9	(43)	13	(57)	15	(47)	-	
Nature preservation	10	(36)	6	(30)	5	(24)	7	(30)	8	(25)	4	(13)
High speed train (HST)	11	(39)	8	(40)	8	(38)	7	(30)	10	(31)	9	(30)
TTIP-CETA	-		-		-		-		13	(41)	9	(30)
Climate change & energy	6	(21)	4	(20)	5	(24)	7	(30)	6	(19)	5	(17)
Sustainable consumption	5	(18)	5	(25)	7	(33)	7	(30)	8	(25)	5	(17)
Urban mobility/transport	3	(11)	4	(20)	3	(14)	6	(25)	5	(16)	5	(17)
Other large infrastructures	3	(11)	2	(10)	3	(14)	4	(17)	4	(12)	3	(10)
Degrowth	1	(4)	1	(5)	3	(14)	3	(13)	3	(9)	1	(3)
Animal wellbeing	2	(7)	2	(10)	0	(0)	2	(9)	0	(0)	0	(0)
TOTAL	28	(100)	20	(100)	21	(100)	23	(100)	32	(100)	30	(100)
Network statistics	<i>edge value range: interval [0, 1]</i>											
Average degree	10.929		10.400		11.333		12.696		18.625		14.667	
Average distance	1.395		1.235		1.316		1.232		1.315		1.267	
Diameter	2		2		3		2		2		2	
Isolated nodes (%)	18		15		10		13		6		17	
Components (apart from isolates)	1		1		1		1		1		1	
Density	.405		.547		.567		.577		.601		.506	
Centralization	.442		.327		.313		.314		.357		.345	
Closure	.749		.885		.827		.853		.807		.829	
Average edge strength (<i>s.d.</i>)	.144 (.218)		.193 (.223)		.188 (.221)		.195 (.221)		.201 (.228)		.181 (.233)	

*Cumulative percentages exceed 100 due to the fact that organizations can have multiple issues of preferential mobilization.

6. Similar organizational models

The concept of organizational structures refers to the overall pattern of relationships between members of an organization, which establishes disparities in how power and other resources are distributed (Lofland 1996: 48-9). While every organization might present a unique pattern of relations, sets of similar structures can be analytically aggregated into a reduced typology of *organizational models*, ideal types of organizational structures that “comprise both templates for arranging relationships within an organization and sets of scripts for action culturally associated” (Clemens 1993: 758). Interorganizational differences in terms of their internal organization, which was identified by half of the surveyed organizations as a major obstacle hindering collaboration (see Ciordia 2020: 285). Indeed, several interviewed activists recalled previous experiences in which they tried to collaborate with one organization that followed a very different logic of internal functioning. For instance, coordination between a large, hierarchical and resourceful association on the one hand and a small, horizontal and entirely voluntary informal group may run into problems of timing and coordination due to their very asymmetric internal functioning or ‘*organizational structures*’.

When examining our organizational population, it was possible to identify three broad organizational models, which were labelled as follows: communitarian-egalitarian, structured-voluntary, and professionalized. These three categories result from the combination of two crucial organizational dimensions: the degree of formalization of rules and the incentive structure on which everyday internal work relies. ‘Formalization’ refers to the degree to which an organization “has an explicit (e.g. written) scheme of organization—division of labor—that it strives to enact in its routine activities” (Lofland 1996: 142-3). The other dimension, ‘incentive structures’, focuses

instead on whether the tasks and activities are carried out primarily through paid work, thus relying on material incentives, or through the voluntary involvement of active members, which relies instead on normative and solidarity incentives (Rothschild-Whitt 1979: 514-6). These two dimensions of organizational variation should not be seen as a black-or-white matter but require instead a more comprehensive qualitative evaluation that goes beyond merely checking for the presence of, respectively, written rules and paid members.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, our three categories result from the interplay of the dimensions of formal-vs-informal rules and professional-vs-voluntary work. Organizations that follow a *communitarian-egalitarian* model rely exclusively on non-material incentives and function on an informal basis, without specified procedures of decision-making or even membership rules, making decisions in an '*assamblearian*' fashion that favors consensus over majority rule, and providing itself with a minimal and flexible functional differentiation of labor. From the perspective of organizational theory, collective entities following this model can be seen as examples of 'partial organizations' (Ahrne & Brunsson 2011). By contrast, organizations following a *structured-voluntary* model, though relying as well primarily on voluntary work, provide themselves with formal written rules that at least try to establish criteria for membership, hierarchies of power, and rules of decision-making. Often, as a correlate of formalization, these organizations tend to develop bureaucratic structures (e.g. presidency, governing board, secretariat, commissions, working groups, etc) aiming at establishing a clear and efficient division of labor, though with varying degrees of complexity and success. Finally, *professionalized* organizations are also highly formalized and structured, though they diverge from the former model in their reliance on paid staff for their internal functioning. Interest groups, large trade unions and political parties are paradigmatic examples of this organizational model.

Based on the aforementioned trichotomy, incumbents of each of the three organizational models are tied to each other internally by a tie of value 1, and a tie of value 0.5 exists between the intermediate structured-voluntary category and the other two. Again, internal cohesion within environmental subcultures would be confirmed in case of a positive net relationship between these matrices and the collaboration networks. Therefore, in order to conclude that similarities in organizational modes are drivers of cooperation, we should find a net positive relationship: the more similar the internal functioning of two organizations is, the more they would collaborate among them.

Table A5.6. Networks of similarity in organizational models, descriptive statistics

	2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		2017	
Node categorization	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Communitarian-egalitarian	2	(7)	0	(0)	1	(5)	3	(13)	4	(12)	7	(23)
Structured-voluntary	14	(50)	9	(45)	9	(43)	9	(39)	13	(41)	11	(37)
Professionalized	12	(43)	11	(55)	11	(52)	11	(48)	15	(47)	12	(40)
TOTAL	28	(100)	20	(100)	21	(100)	23	(100)	32	(100)	30	(100)
Network statistics	<i>edge value range: pseudo-interval (0 / 0.5 / 1)</i>											
Average degree	25.286		19.000		18.952		19.130		27.250		23.400	
Average distance	1.063		1		1.052		1.130		1.121		1.193	
Diameter	2		2		2		2		2		2	
Isolated nodes (%)	0		0		0		0		0		0	
Components (apart from isolates)	1		1		1		1		1		1	
Density	.937		1		.948		.870		.879		.807	
Centralization	.068		0		.058		.143		.129		.207	
Closure	.961		1		.973		.928		.934		.887	
Average edge strength (<i>s.d.</i>)	.677 (.298)		.739 (.250)		.690 (.292)		.621 (.333)		.630 (.330)		.567 (.354)	

C. Interpersonal relationships (1 network)

The relationships between individuals within organizations can greatly impact the collaboration between organizations. For example, personal connections between members can establish trust and support collaborations (Diani, 2023). Conversely, negative interpersonal relationships, such as personal conflicts and competition, particularly among leaders (e.g. Tejerina et al., 1995, p. 134), may obstruct collaboration at times. Past studies of social movement networks have typically examined two types of interpersonal bonds: direct personal relationships (e.g. close friendship) among members of distinct organizations, and indirect connections generated by activists with multiple memberships in more than one organization. Even though the study initially aimed at gathering information on both types of ties, the fact that only 28 out of the 70 considered organizations completed the organizational survey (which included a specific question on existing personal friendships among members of different organizations; see Ciordia 2020: 276) impeded the obtention of reliable and comprehensive network data on this kind of interpersonal relationship. therefore data on overlapping memberships was the only available indicator of interpersonal bonds between organizations.

Information on existing overlapping memberships between different organizations was collated through two main complementary ways: responses to a specifically devised question included in the questionnaire and external information about prominent activists that were known to participate in more than one organization, obtained either from newspaper reports, internal organizational documents and websites, and also through in-depth interviews with expert informants and organizational representatives.

7. Shared active members

Building upon the famous notion of the duality of persons and groups (Breiger 1974), it should be noted how those activists that become active in more than one organization create meaningful latent connections between the collectives to which they belong. The significance of these latent connections created by shared members is twofold: symbolic and practical. First, overlapping memberships between organizations provide a rough indicator of their mutual compatibility—at least from the point of view of those joint members—and a high density of them often reveal the existence of informal communities or subcultures in which the same set of people share very similar interests, concerns and experiences (Diani 1995: 83, 100-1; 2015: 82-3). Regarding the more practical dimension, individuals with multiple memberships often generate important channels for the transfer of information and expertise between different associations (Knoke, Diani, Christopoulos & Hollway, 2021: ch.5), and can therefore play a crucial bridging role. For instance, previous investigations (e.g. Obach 2004; Reese et al. 2010; Rose 2000) have noted how the presence of these shared members “facilitate communication, trust, and coordinated efforts between organizations, both within and across movements” and can even “help divergent groups negotiate differences” (McCammon & Moon 2015: 329). Moreover, regarding its reliability as an indicator, overlapping membership presents several advantages. First, in contrast with strong personal relationships, the definition of overlapping memberships is significantly less ambiguous. Secondly, given the less sensitive nature of this information, members in key positions of the organization who are acquainted with most—if not all—fellow members are much more likely aware of such joint involvements of some of their colleagues with third organizations. Finally, in contrast with the directed nature of friendship (one can consider another actor as a friend, but we cannot take for granted that these feelings are reciprocated), joint memberships are inherently symmetric relationships. This aspect is particularly important for the intended analyses, since all the other relations considered, including event co-participation, are also symmetric relationships.

Table A5.7. Networks of shared active members, descriptive statistics

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Network statistics	<i>edge value range: binary (0/1)</i>					
Average degree	2.071	1.900	4.381	3.826	4.375	5
Average distance	2.421	2.305	1.995	2.100	2.148	1.991
Diameter	5	4	4	4	4	4
Isolated nodes (%)	32	25	5	9	9	7
Components (apart from isolates)	1	1	1	1	2	2
Density	.077	.100	.219	.174	.141	.172
Centralization	.276	.298	.532	.506	.297	.369
Closure	.138	.105	.290	.375	.377	.251

D. Controls (3 networks)

Apart from the four types of latent networks already presented, two other types of networks were included in the QAP analyses. However, in this case their inclusion did not respond to theoretically driven expectations but to technical considerations. The latter two networks, which we refer to as ‘controls of structural non-collaboration’, account for some null dyads that are actually the result of ‘constraints’ for collaboration imposed by the empirical strategy followed rather than genuine expressions of non-collaboration between actors.

8. Block attendance by parties and trade unions

This does not owe its existence to *a priori* theories or previous findings but results instead from an empirical observation obtained while constructing the event dataset from which event co-attendance networks were generated. During the coding of events it was observed that trade unions and political parties rarely appeared alone when attending large events, and whenever one of them confirmed its attendance often several of its kind would also join. One reason to explain such behavior is that trade unions and political parties belong to two distinct and prominent areas of politico-institutional life, that is, to two highly institutionalized fields (DiMaggio & Powell 1983): labor representation and institutional politics, respectively. As members of highly institutionalized fields, they share a common set of institutionalized rules and resources and, at the same time, are engaged among them in fierce competition. While political parties compete with themselves for votes in parliamentary and municipal elections, trade unions do the same to increase their number of members and increase their share of representatives in thousands of small-scale elections for workers’ councils. Thus, it seems plausible that this competition might generate a centripetal attraction force by which trade unions and political parties are more likely to join a given event when one of their competitors is going to attend, as they do not want to be seen as oblivious or indifferent to a cause that might attract substantial popular support among their (potential) supporters. This strategic behavior driven by competition is likely to be responsible for the relatively high levels of participation in sectoral external issue fields (like the environmental field) shown by these actors (see Ciordia 2020: 89-94) and for their tendency to be more tolerant towards the participation of ideologically diverse actors at the same event.

In order to test this inductively generated hypothesis of centripetal attraction among trade unions and political parties, we constructed yearly similarity matrices in which each political party is connected to all other political parties active within the network, and trade unions are also perfectly connected to their institutional equals. Our expectation is that within-parties and within-unions collaboration should be stronger than in the case of other pairs of actors in the network, everything else considered.

Table A5.8. Networks of institutional equivalence between political parties and trade unions, descriptive statistics

	2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		2017	
Node categorization	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Political parties	6	(21)	5	(25)	3	(14)	5	(22)	6	(19)	3	(10)
Trade unions	7	(25)	6	(30)	6	(29)	5	(22)	9	(28)	10	(33)
Others (environmental civic orgs + other types of civic orgs)	15	(54)	9	(45)	12	(57)	13	(57)	17	(53)	17	(57)
TOTAL	28	(100)	20	(100)	21	(100)	23	(100)	32	(100)	30	(100)
Network statistics	<i>edge value range: binary (0/1)</i>											
Average degree	2.571		2.500		1.714		1.739		3.188		3.200	
Average distance	1		1		1		1		1		1	
Diameter	1		1		1		1		1		1	
Isolated nodes (%)	54		45		57		57		53		57	
Components (apart from isolates)	2		2		2		2		2		2	
Density	.095		.132		.086		.079		.103		.110	
Centralization	.137		.146		.182		.113		.166		.214	
Closure	1		1		1		1		1		1	

12. Geographic disconnection

The first of the two controls of structural non-collaboration accounts for the heterogeneous territorial reach of many local organizations, forming a network of ‘*geographic disconnection*’ that establishes a tie between those local organizations active in different and non-overlapping sub-territories of the Basque Country. For instance, a tie would be established between a local organization active only in Bilbao and another one active only in Pamplona. Since it is extremely unlikely that such pairs of organizations might get the chance to participate in the same event, we expect this network of geographic disconnection to have a negative net effect roughly equal to the size of the intercept.

Table A5.9. *Geographic disconnection*

	2007		2009		2011		2013		2015		2017	
Count of organizations active by Basque subterritory*	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Araba	20	(71)	18	(90)	17	(81)	20	(87)	28	(87)	26	(87)
Biscay	22	(79)	16	(80)	16	(76)	19	(83)	27	(84)	25	(83)
Gipuzkoa	26	(93)	18	(90)	17	(81)	21	(91)	28	(87)	27	(90)
Navarre	18	(64)	14	(70)	16	(76)	16	(70)	25	(78)	25	(83)
TOTAL	28	(100)	20	(100)	21	(100)	23	(100)	32	(100)	30	(100)
Network statistics	<i>edge value range: binary (0/1)</i>											
Average degree	1.071		.400		1.619		.783		1.563		.733	
Average distance	1.727		1.333		1.394		1.571		1.545		1.267	
Diameter	2		2		2		2		2		2	
Isolated nodes (%)	61		80		62		70		66		80	
Components (apart from isolates)	1		1		1		1		1		1	
Density	.040		.021		.081		.036		.050		.025	
Centralization	.356		.094		.187		.260		.222		.158	
Closure	.231		0		.310		.375		.079		.581	

*Cumulative percentages exceed 100 due to the fact that many organizations are present in more than one Basque subterritory.

13. Specific second-order nodes and their members

The second control is present only in four of the years considered (2007, 2009, 2013, and 2015) and accounts for the impossibility that specific *second-order nodes* –that is, collective nodes resulting from the combined presence of several organizations that are also members of the field– establish ties with the same organizations that constitute them. The reason for this impossibility is that the codification of the former as participants in a certain event excludes by definition the co-presence of the latter. The first and most prominent of these two cases of second-order nodes is the ‘Basque Trade Union Majority’ (*Mayoría Sindical Vasca*, MSV), an informal coalition of trade unions conformed by the nationalist-leaning unions ELA, LAB, ESK, EHNE, Steilas, and Hiru (see Elorrieta 2012: 251-3, 304-5). When there were explicit references to the participation of at least 5 of these 6 unions, necessarily including the two most important actors ELA and LAB, the MSV was coded as a single collective actor. The second of these nodes is *Irabazi*, a short-term electoral coalition of leftist parties and independent candidates that was formed for the 2015 municipal elections, being *Ezker Anitza-IU* and *Equo* the two most important political parties. In this case, we found occasional direct references to the participations of *Irabazi* representatives in environmental events (normally town councilors or candidates). In those cases, additional references to the participation of *Ezker Anitza* and *Equo* were omitted, since the presence of *Irabazi* logically entailed the participation of the members of the coalition.

Table A5.10. Ties between specific second-order nodes and their members

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015	2017
Active second-order organizations	MSV	None	MSV	None	MSV, <i>Irabazi</i>	None
Network statistics	<i>edge value range: binary (0/1)</i>					
Average degree	.214		.381		.250	
Average distance	1.500		1.600		1.429	
Diameter	2		2		2	
Isolated nodes (%)	86		76		81%	
Components (apart from isolates)	1		1		2	
Density	.008		.019		.008	
Centralization	.111		.200		.095	
Closure	0		0		0	

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