

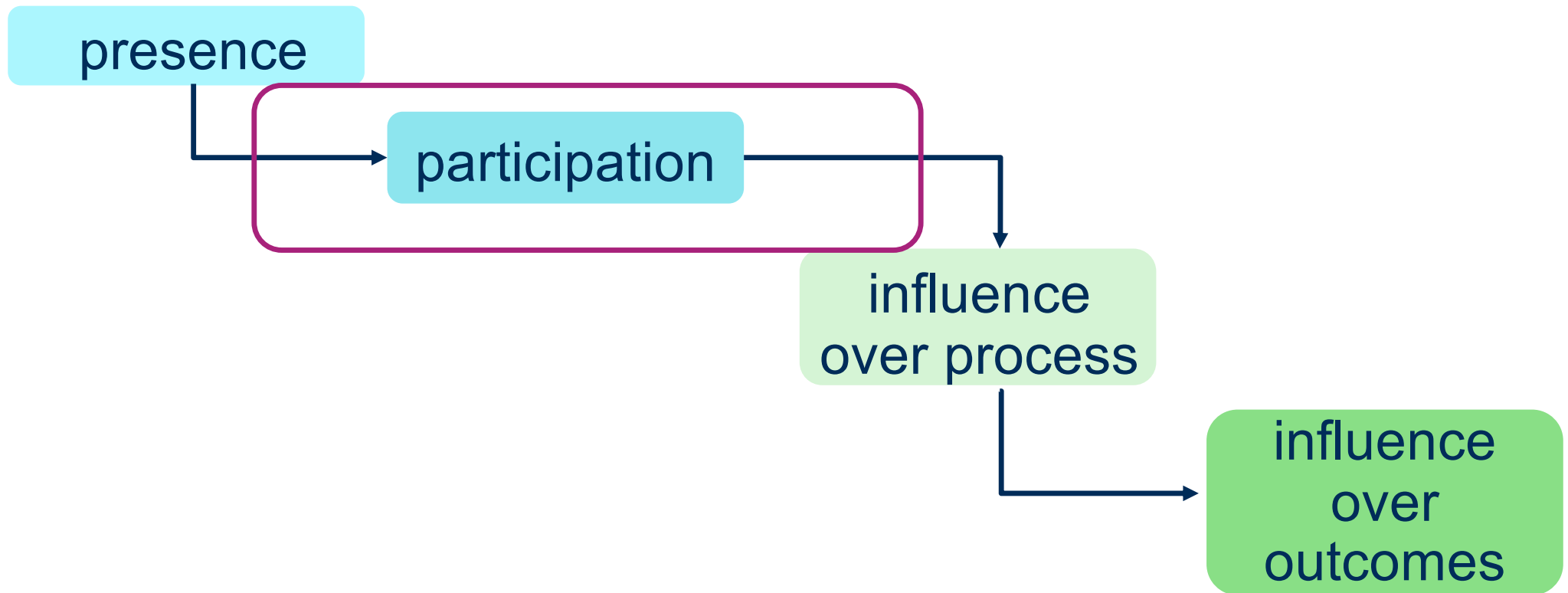
What explains parties' active participation in UN climate negotiations?



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Silvana.tarlea@zhaw.ch January 2026, Energieforschungsgespräche

our starting point:

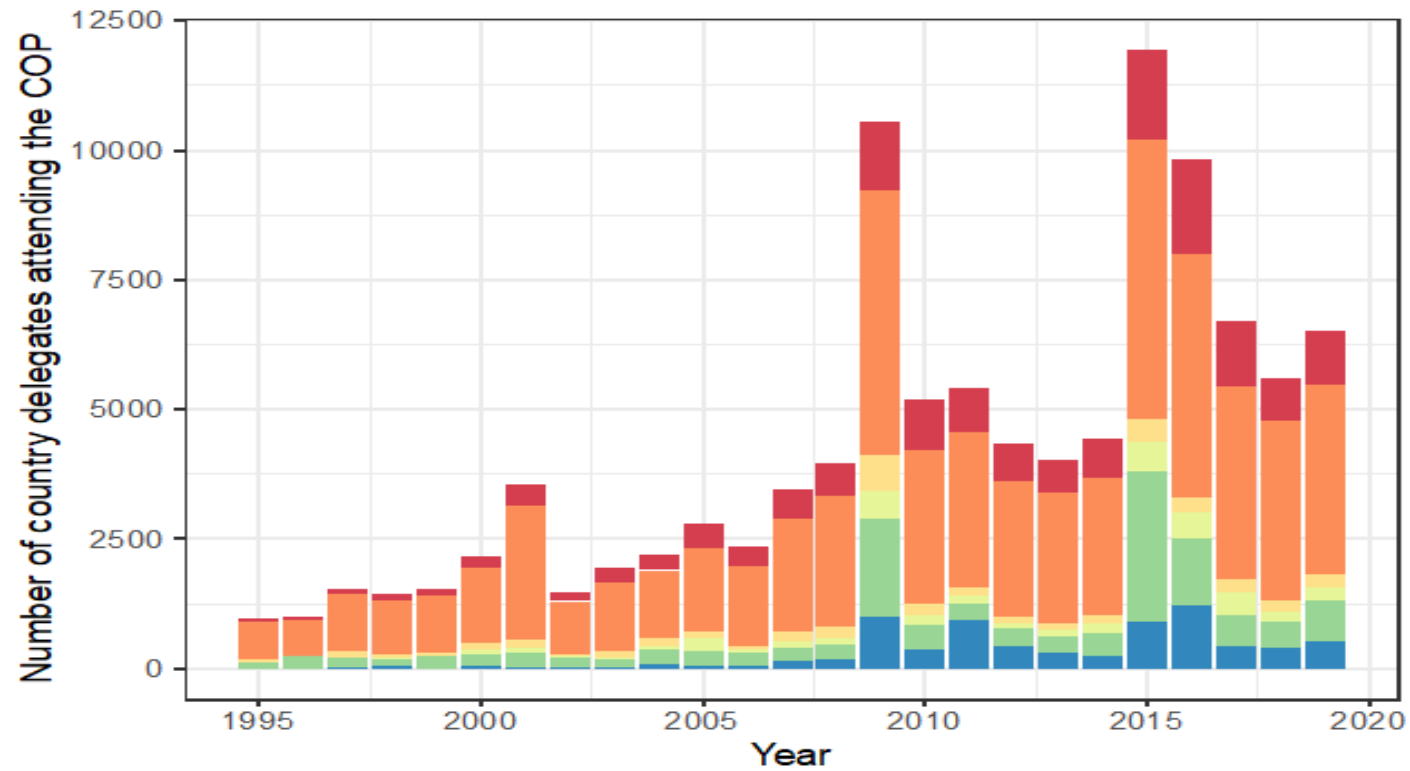


1. Dataset on Presence in UNFCCC negotiations

Which types of delegates attend the negotiations?

- Participant lists (170.000 observations)
- Coded all government delegations over time
 - initially by hand, then with an LLM
- Categorized into **type of delegate** (e.g. government, NGO, private sector, international organization, subnational government) using affiliation data

Presence at a glance



Delegate affiliation

- external expertise
- government: executive
- government: legislative

- other: parties, subnational and youth
- other: support staff and other
- other: unknown

Research puzzle

- There is wide variation in participation.
- But little attention has been paid to participation
- i.e. how active countries are in negotiations
- **When does presence lead to participation?**

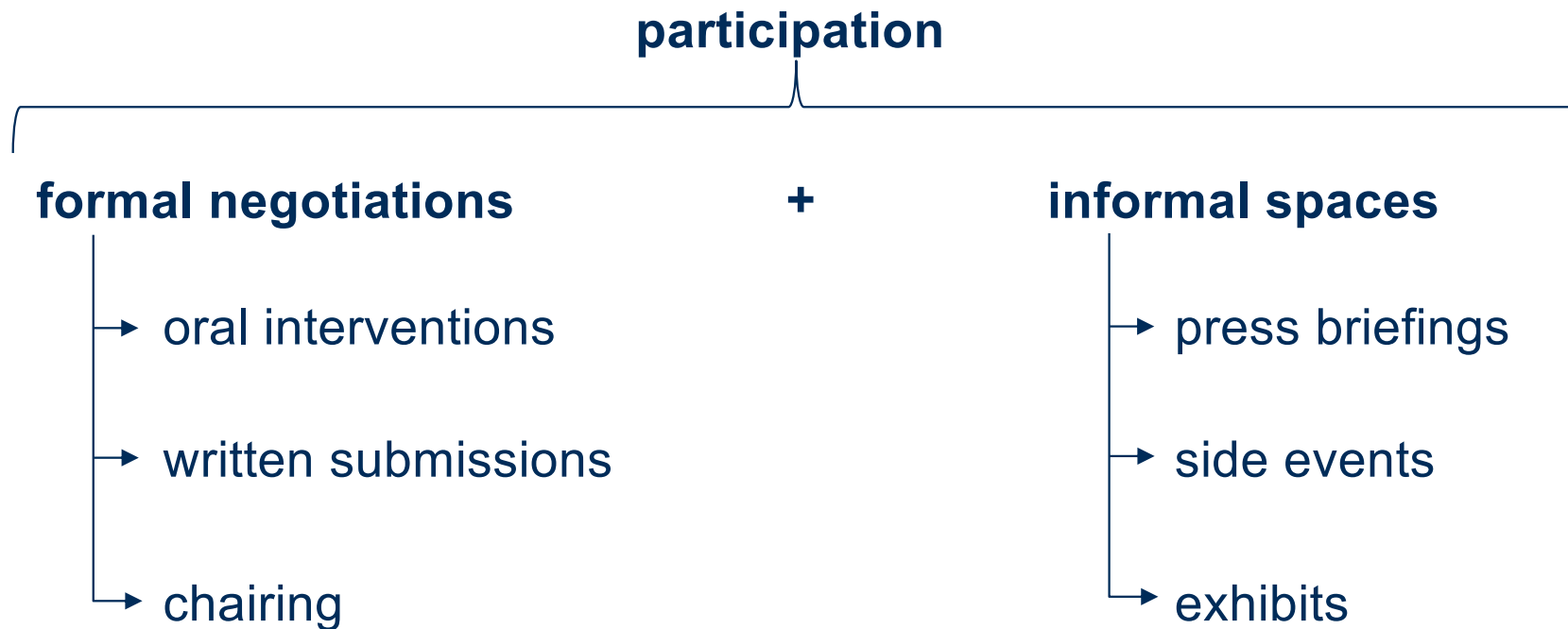


Motivation: Participation matters, but varies enormously

- Participation: backbone of multilateralism
 - *A priori*, we should expect all countries to participate in pursuit of
 - **Negotiation (formal)** and
 - **Non-negotiation (informal)** objectives.
- Why would they otherwise invest in attending COPs, especially given high costs?



dependent variable: participation indicator

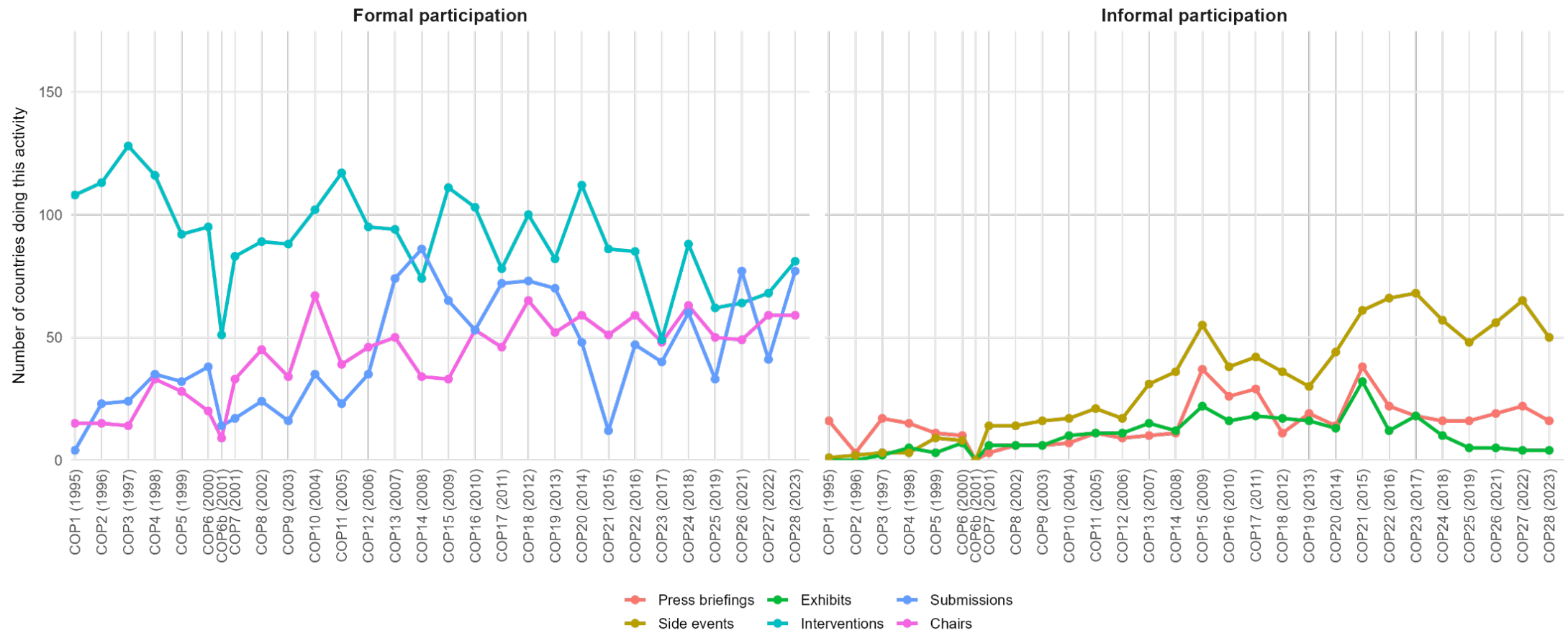


2. The participation dataset

DV: participation at party-COP level

- Indicator as dummy → ***diversity*** of participation (how many different types of activities)
- Indicator as count (and then normalized) → ***intensity*** of participation (how much)

Today: focus on diversity of participation



Explanations of participation:

We argue that **participation** hinges on
→ *whether* and *how* countries are represented in international negotiations.

Beyond **delegation size** – how many diplomats and other delegates represent a country,

Delegation composition matters for participation →
A small delegation can engage meaningfully if it has the right people.

Anecdote: Sir. Carlos Fuller, representing Belize at the COPs since 1995; chair of SBSTA 2017-2018, chief negotiator for AOSIS



Hypotheses

- H1: The larger a **delegation**, the more active in **formal** and **informal** negotiations.
- H2: The more **negotiators** a country sends, the more active in **formal** negotiations.
- H3: The more **experienced** a country's negotiators, the more active in **formal** negotiations.
- H4: The higher a **delegation continuity**, the more active it is in the **formal** negotiations.
- H5: Countries with **high-level representatives** more active in **informal** negotiations.
- H6: The more **diverse** a delegation, the more active it is in **informal** climate negotiations.

Operationalization of IVs

– From the dataset on **negotiation composition** with individual participants(170.000 observations)

→ Indicators at party-COP level:

H1: **delegation size**

H2: **government size** (negotiators)

H3: **Experience** of the delegation: average **top 5** most experienced delegates

H4: **Continuity**: share of delegates that were there at previous COP

H5: **High level representatives**: ministers and «his highness»

H6: **Diversity index** of the delegation (a Simpson diversity index)

Control variables

material resources

poverty	GDP/capita
country size	population

ideational resources

vulnerability	ND-GAIN
fossil fuel dependency	share of oil, gas, and coal in GDP
language skills	English/French dummy

Some results

negative binomial regressions:

→experienced negotiators make a difference—even for small delegations

→delegation continuity as well

	Model1	Model2	Model3	Model4	Model5	Model6
Government Delegation Size	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)
Log GDP/Capita	0.184*** (0.026)	0.280*** (0.038)		0.212*** (0.026)	0.151*** (0.026)	0.134*** (0.026)
Log Population	0.216*** (0.018)	0.233*** (0.019)	0.187*** (0.020)	0.214*** (0.020)	0.218*** (0.020)	0.207*** (0.020)
Fossil Fuel Dependency	-0.009* (0.003)	-0.009** (0.003)	-0.008+ (0.004)	-0.008** (0.003)	-0.007* (0.003)	-0.007* (0.003)
Vulnerability		1.876** (0.645)	-2.193*** (0.482)			
Top 5 Experience (anywhere)				0.049*** (0.012)		0.047*** (0.012)
delegation continuity					0.258** (0.091)	0.228* (0.091)
French Speaking				-0.153 (0.094)	-0.081 (0.094)	-0.104 (0.094)
English Speaking				0.203 (0.133)	0.204 (0.133)	0.207 (0.133)
Num.Obs.	4474	4451	4451	4305	4032	4032
Log.Lik.	-5705.540	-5672.379	-5792.489	-5426.208	-5113.565	-5091.767
Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Negative binomial models with meeting dummies. Clustered standard errors by country.

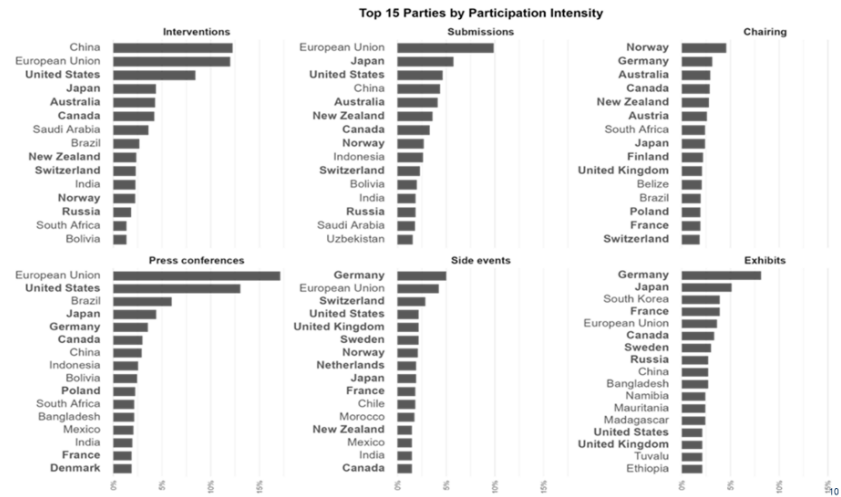
Research implications

- **Delegation composition appears to matter**
- Countries can compensate for delegation size by sending the right people.
 - Experience
 - Delegation continuity
- Next time: high-level representatives and diversity

Thank you for your attention.

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The evolution of participation over time

