

Chapter 10

New Social Movements, Protest Politics, and the Internet

Previous chapters have focused on indicators of conventional political participation including electoral turnout and party membership, as well as the role of churches and unions, but it could be that in doing so we have overlooked many of the most important ways that modes of activism have been reinvented in recent decades. In particular, traditional theoretical and conceptual frameworks derived from the literature in the 1960s and 1970s, and even the definition of what we mean by 'political participation', need to be revised and updated to take account of how opportunities for civic engagement have evolved and diversified over the years. Part I of this chapter outlines theories about transformations from interest groups to new social movements that have altered the *agencies* (collective organizations), *repertoires* (the actions commonly used for political expression), and *targets* (the political actors that participants seek to influence). Part II examines evidence for the distribution of protest politics, including who is most likely to engage in this form of activism in different countries, and whether there is considerable overlap today between conventional and protest modes. Part III analyzes environmental activists, taken as exemplifying new social movements, to see whether these participants are particularly attracted towards protest politics. Part IV considers the rise of the Internet and the capacity of this bundle of technologies to accelerate opportunities for transnational policy advocacy in a global civic society. The conclusion considers the implications of these developments for the transformation from the politics of loyalties towards the politics of choice.

The Transformation of Political Participation?

The distinction between traditional interest groups, alternative social movements and transnational advocacy networks are fluid and imprecise, so that all these forms of association in civic society are compared in this chapter¹. The term 'interest group' conventionally refers to more formal organizations that are either focused on particular social groups and economic sectors, such as trade unions, business and professional associations, like the NAACP or the American Medical Association, or on more specific issues such as abortion, gun control, or the environment. Often traditional interest groups have well-established organizational structures, formal membership rules, and their primary orientation is towards influencing government and the policy process and providing direct services for members, like trade union negotiations over pay levels in industry or the provision of informational networks for professional associations. Some develop an extensive mass membership base while others are essentially lobbying organizations focusing on insider strategies, with little need for maintaining a larger constituency. New social movements, exemplified by the civil rights and anti-nuclear movements in the 1950s, and the counter-culture environmental and women's movement of the 1970s, tend to have more fluid and decentralized organizational structures, more open membership criteria, and to focus on influencing lifestyles and achieving social change through direct action and community-building as much as formal decision-making processes. Lastly transnational advocacy networks bring together loose coalitions of these organizations under a common umbrella organization that crosses national borders.

From Interest Groups to New Social Movements?

Many believe that the channels commonly used for political activism and mobilization have been transformed during the postwar era. The issue of 'agency' concerns the organizational structures through which people mobilize for political expression. Traditional interest groups that evolved with the rise of democracy in nineteenth and early twentieth century industrial societies usually involved regularized, institutionalized, structured, and measurable activities: people signed up and paid up to become card-carrying members of the Norwegian trade unions, the American Elks, and the British Women's Institute. Interest groups and parties typically had Weberian

bureaucratic organizations, characterized by formal rules and regulations, fulltime paid officials, hierarchical mass-branch structures, and clear boundaries demarcating who did, and did not, belong². Our parents and grand-parents' generations often served on a local governing board or belonged to community associations, holding fundraisers, publishing newsletters, manning publicity stalls, chairing meetings, and attending socials for the Red Cross, the Parent-Teacher Association, and the Rotary club.

Recent decades have seen the rise of new social movements and transnational advocacy networks³. These channels of citizen involvement are emerging as an alternative mechanism for activists, yet one far more amorphous and tricky to gauge⁴. The capacity for social movements concerned about issues like globalization, human rights, debt-relief, and world trade to cross national borders may signal the emergence of a global civic society⁵. Networked agencies are characterized by direct action strategies and Internet communications, loose coalitions, relatively flat organizational structures, and more informal modes of belonging focused on shared concern about diverse issues and identity politics⁶. Traditional hierarchical and bureaucratic organizations persist, but social movements may be emerging as the most popular avenue for informal political mobilization, protest and expression. If this shift has occurred, it has important implications for interpreting and measuring trends in civic engagement. In particular, if studies are limited to traditional indicators of political participation, such as party membership, union density, and voting turnout, then any apparent erosion of civic engagement may disguise the simultaneous transformation towards alternative movements characterized by fuzzier boundaries and informal forms of support.

From Conventional Repertoires Towards Protest Politics?

The question of agencies is closely related to that of '*repertoires*', meaning the ways that people choose to express themselves politically. Much of the traditional literature on political participation has focused extensively upon conventional repertoires of civic engagement. Rather than a unidimensional 'ladder of participation', the original typology developed by Verba and his colleagues distinguished among four main 'modes' of political participation: voting, campaign activism, community organizing, and particularized contacting activity⁷. These modes differed systematically in their costs and benefits. Voting, for example, can be classified as one of the most ubiquitous political activities, yet one that exerts diffuse pressure over leaders, with a broad outcome affecting all citizens. Campaign work for parties or candidates like leafleting, attending local party meetings, and get-out-the-vote drives, also typically generates collective benefits, but requires greater initiative, time and effort than casting a ballot. Communal organization involves cooperation with others on some general social issue, such as raising money for a local school, or helping at an arts collective, with varying demands depending upon the level and kind of activism. Lastly, particularized contacting, like writing to an elected official about a specific problem, requires high levels of information and initiative, generating individual benefits but little need for political cooperation. These conceptual distinctions remain important, so this study has maintained this tradition by examining the three most common repertoires of political expression generating collective benefits, namely: voting turnout, party campaigning, and community organizing in civic society.

But the early literature also drew an important line between 'conventional' and 'protest' forms of activism, and it is not clear whether this distinction remains appropriate today. Recent decades have seen a diversification of the types of activities used for political expression. In particular, new social movements may be adopting mixed action repertoires combining traditional acts such as voting and lobbying with a variety of alternative modes such as Internet networking, street protests, consumer boycotts, and direct action. The use of mass demonstrations in radical movements is nothing novel; indeed historically there have been periodic waves of protest and vigorous political dissent by citizens throughout Western democracies⁸. The mid-1950s saw the start of the most recent cycle of organized protest politics in established democracies,

symbolized by passive resistance techniques used by the civil rights movement in the US and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Western Europe⁹. The following decade saw the resurgence of direct action with the anti-Vietnam demonstrations, the fashionable wave of student protest movements and social upheaval that swept the streets of Paris, Tokyo and London, the espousal of community action by new social movements concerned about women's equality, nuclear power, and the environment, the use of economic boycotts directed against apartheid in South Africa, and the adoption by trade unions of more aggressive industrial action, including strikes, occupations, blockades and mass demonstration, occasionally accompanied by arson, damage and violence, directed against Western governments¹⁰. This development generated studies of 'protest potential' by Barnes and Kasse, among others, examining the willingness of citizens to engage in forms of dissent such as unofficial strikes, boycotts, petitions, the occupation of buildings, mass demonstrations, and even acts of political violence¹¹. The late 1980s and early 1990s saw the spread of 'people power' which helped to topple the old regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, followed by the anti-capitalism and anti-globalization forces of the late 1990s.

During the late-1960s and early 1970s protests by anti-war hippies, black power advocates, militant workers, progressive intellectuals, students, and feminists were commonly regarded as radical politics, or even the start of violent revolutionary ferment. Today there remains a substantial difference between peaceful protests and violent political acts which harm property or people, exemplified by long-standing ethnic-nationalist and ethnic-religious conflict in the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, Colombia, and the Basque region, and the events surrounding the destruction of the World Trade Center and the distribution of anthrax to political and media targets through the US mail. Incidents of violent terrorist activities, assassinations, hijackings and the use of bombs for political purposes all fall into this category. Despite this distinction, developments in recent decades mean that the sharp dividing line drawn in earlier studies between 'conventional' electoral activities and peaceful protests has dissolved somewhat over time. Lawful street demonstrations are often used today by political parties, traditional interest groups and unions, as well as by ordinary middle-class citizens. Studies suggest that the number of people willing to attend lawful demonstrations has risen since the mid-1970s, so that the social characteristics of the protest population have gradually 'normalized'¹². Public demonstrations are used today by a multiplicity groups ranging from Norwegian anti-fuel tax car-owners to Florida retirees protesting the ballot design of Miami-Dade county, Philippino 'people power' intent on ousting President Estrada, local farmers critical of the McDonaldisation of French culture, street theatre like the gay Mardi Gras in Sydney, and consumer boycotts such as those used against British supermarkets stocking genetically-modified foods. Events at Genoa combined a mélange of mainstream charities like Oxfam and Christian Aid, as well as radicals like British Drop the Debt protestors, the German Freie ArbeiterInnen Union, and Italian anarchists like Tute Bianchi and Ya Basta! Collective action through peaceful channels has become a generally accepted way to express political grievances, voice opposition, and challenge authorities.

Direct action strategies have also broadened towards engaging in life-style politics, where the precise dividing line between the 'social' and 'political' breaks down even further, such as volunteer work at recycling cooperatives, helping at battered women's shelters, or fundraising for a local hospital, as well as protesting at sites for timber logging, the location of airport runway expansions, and the use of animals in medical research. It could be argued that these types of activities, while having important social and economic consequences, fall outside of the sphere of the strictly 'political' per se. This conceptualization would demarcate between, for example, running the Parent-Teachers Association fund drive (understood as a social activity) and pressuring local officials to increase public spending upon education (understood as a political activity). Yet the distinction between the 'public' and the 'private' spheres remains controversial, as the feminist literature has long emphasized¹³. Social movements often seek to reform the

law or influence the policy process, as well as directly altering systematic patterns of social behavior, for example by establishing bottle bank recycling facilities, battered women's shelters, and art collectives. In many developing societies, loose and amorphous networks of community groups and grass-roots voluntary associations often seek direct action within local communities over basic issues of livelihood, such as access to water, the distribution of agricultural aid, or health care and schools¹⁴. The 'social' and the 'political' are commonly blurred around issues of identity politics, where, for example, a revivalist meeting of 'born again' Christians in South Carolina, a gay and lesbian arts festival in San Francisco, or the Million Man March in DC, can all be understood as expressions or assertions of political communities. Therefore in general the older definition of political participation, based on citizenship activities designed to influence government and the policy process within the nation-state, seems unduly limited today, by excluding too much that is commonly understood as broadly 'political'. Accordingly as well as analyzing electoral turnout, party work, and civic activism, this chapter needs to compare legitimate protest activity as a common mainstream form of expression today.

The Target of Participation

This leads towards a closely related and equally important development, namely whether the *target* of participation, meaning the *actors* that participants are attempting to influence, has widened well beyond the nation-state. Traditional theories of representative democracy suggest that citizens hold elected representatives and governments to account directly through the mechanism of regular elections, and indirectly in intra-electoral periods via the news media, parties, interest groups, NGOs and social movements in civil society. Verba, Nie and Kim, for example, defined political participation as "...those legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take."¹⁵ Within this model, typical *state-oriented* activities are designed to influence the institutions of representative government and the policy process, to communicate public concerns to government officials, and to pressure them to respond. These activities remain important, but today the diffusion of power following the simultaneous process of both globalization and decentralization, means that this represents an excessively narrow conceptualization that excludes some of the most common targets of civic engagement.

Non-state oriented activities are directed towards diverse actors in the public, non-profit and private sectors. Well-known examples include international human rights organizations, women's NGOs, transnational environmental organizations, the anti-sweatshop and anti-land mines networks, the peace movement, and anti-globalization and anti-capitalism forces¹⁶. The targets are often major multinational corporations, such as consumer boycotts of Nike running shoes, McDonald's hamburgers, and Californian grapes, as well as protest demonstrations directed against international agencies and intergovernmental organizations, such as the World Trade Organization, the World Economic Forum in Davos, and the European Commission¹⁷. The process of globalization is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, but one of the clearest political manifestations of this development is the declining autonomy of the nation-state, including the core executive, as power has shifted simultaneously towards intergovernmental organizations like the U.N. and WTO, and down towards regional and local assemblies¹⁸. Moreover the 'shrinkage of the state' through initiatives such as privatization, marketization and de-regulation mean that decision-making has flowed away from public bodies and official government agencies that were directly accountable to elected representatives, dispersing to a complex variety of non-profit and private agencies operating at local, national and international levels¹⁹. Due to these developments, it has become more difficult for citizens to use conventional state-oriented channels of participation, exemplified by national elections, as a way of challenging those in power, reinforcing the need for alternative avenues and targets for political expression and mobilization.

The Rise of Protest Politics

For all these reasons, therefore, any conceptualization and measurement of the mainstream forms of civic engagement and political participation needs to take account of the way that the agencies, repertoires and targets may have been transformed since the classic studies of the 1950s and 1960s. Not all these developments can be examined from the available evidence, within the scope and methodology of this limited study, but we can explore the propensity to engage in protest politics and to support the environmental movement, to see whether these are distinct dimensions of political participation today compared with the channels of electoral, party and civic activism, and how we explain patterns of protest politics and support for new social movements in different countries.

One major challenge facing attempts to understanding and document the extent of protest politics is that these activities are often situational rather than generic. In other words, demonstrations, occupations and unofficial strikes are often triggered in reaction to specific events and particular circumstances, depending upon the structure of opportunities generated by particular issues, specific events and the role of leaders, rather than reflecting the distinctive social or attitudinal profile of citizens²⁰. The American and British use of air strikes in Afghanistan triggered an outpouring of street rallies in Karachi, Jakarta and Islamabad, but it is doubtful if residents would have displayed particularly a-typical propensities to protest outside of this context. In the past specific critical events such as the American urban riots in the 1960s, reactions to the Vietnam War, the decision to site US nuclear weapons at Greenham Common, and the Chernoble disaster, may have played a similarly catalytic function, leading to approaches focusing on event analysis²¹. Reflecting these considerations, studies have often focused on 'protest potential', or the propensity to express dissent. Yet this can be problematic: surveys are usually stronger at tapping attitudes and values rather than actual behavior, and they are generally more reliable at reporting routine and repetitive actions ('How often do you attend church?') rather than occasional acts. Unfortunately hypothetical questions ('might you ever demonstrate or join in boycotts?') may well prove a poor predictor of actual behavior. These items may prompt answers that are regarded as socially acceptable, or just tap a more general orientation towards the political system (such as approval of freedom of association or tolerance of dissent)²². Given these limitations, this study focuses on those acts that people say they actually *have* done, taken as the most accurate and reliable indicator of protest activism, and excludes those that people say they *might* do, or protest potential.

The first issue to analyze is whether there continues to be a distinct dimension of 'protest' politics, or whether this has now become merged with other common activities like joining unions or parties. Following the tradition established by Barnes and Kaase, protest activism is measured using five items in the World Value Survey, including signing a petition, joining in boycotts, attending lawful demonstrations, joining unofficial strikes, and occupying buildings or factories. Factor analysis can be used to examine whether these activities fall into a distinct dimension compared with the others already examined throughout the book, including electoral participation, political party membership, and belonging to civic groups like unions, religious-organizations, sports and arts clubs, professional associations, charitable associations, environmental groups.

[Table 10.1 about here]

The results of the factor analysis presented in table 10.1 confirm that, as expected, three distinct modes of political participation emerge. All the protest items cluster consistently together, suggesting that a citizen who would do one of these activities would probably do others as well. In contrast, civic activism emerged as another distinctive dimension, so that belonging to parties was inter-correlated with membership of unions and social clubs. Lastly electoral turnout proved a third distinctive dimension of participation; as commonly emphasized the relatively low-cost, low-benefit aspect of

casting a vote means that it is atypical of the more demanding types of engagement. As the result of the analysis a 'protest activism' scale was constructed, ranging from low (zero) for someone who had no experience of any of the acts to high (5) for someone who had actually done all five types of protest acts.

[Figure 10.1 about here]

How many have experience of these different types of activities? Table 10.2 shows the frequency of protest behavior in the mid-1900s, compared with the standard indicators of conventional forms of participation, across different types of political system. Of these, the most popular protest activities across all countries were signing a petition, done by 28% of all citizens, attending a demonstration (16%) and joining a consumer boycott (9%). In contrast, industrial action was confined to a small minority (5%), as was occupying a building (2%). Among the conventional acts, discussing politics, voting turnout, and civic activism (belonging to at least one voluntary association) all proved by far the most common, involving about two-thirds of the public. These acts were obviously far more ubiquitous than protest politics. On the other hand, petitioning, demonstrating and boycotting were all fairly common acts, far more so than being an active party member. The comparison across different political systems shows that these activities were consistently most common among older democracies with the longest tradition of active citizenship, but nevertheless the difference among semi-democracies and even non-democracies was far less than might have been expected based on the opportunities for political rights and civil liberties in these countries. For example, there was almost as much political discussion and voting turnout reported in non-democracies as in older democracies, and about the same level of reported experience of demonstrations. Whether political participation in non-democracies is meaningful in terms of influencing the selection of leaders or the policy process remains an open question, which cannot be examined here from the available data, but the similarities in levels of activism across many common modes is notable.

[Table 10.2 about here]

Moreover the systematic survey evidence confirms the rise in protest politics that many observers and commentators believe has occurred. Protest politics is not simply a passing fad of the hot politics of the 1960s and early 1970s that faded with the end of the civil right struggle, the Vietnam War, and the Watergate generation. Instead the proportion of citizens engaged in protest politics has risen, and risen dramatically, during the late twentieth century. Eight nations (Britain, West Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, the United States, Italy, Switzerland and Finland) were included in the original Political Action survey conducted from 1973-1976. The protest politics items were replicated in the same countries in successive waves of the World Values Study²³. The results of the comparisons of trends from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s in these nations, shown in Table 10.3, confirm that experience of protest politics has surged steadily over the years. The proportion of citizens who had signed a petition in these countries doubled from 32 to 60%; the proportion who had attended a demonstration escalated from 7 to 19%; the proportion participating in a consumer boycott tripled from 5 to 15%. Participation in unofficial strikes and in occupations remains confined to only a limited minority, but even here there is evidence of growing numbers.

[Table 10.3 about here]

Broader comparisons confirm that the rise of protest politics is by no means confined to postindustrial societies and established democracies. Tables 10.3 show experience of demonstrating from the early-1980s to the early-1990s in the wider range of 22 societies for which evidence is available. The results confirm that demonstration activism became more common in 17 nations, with particularly marked increases in South Korea, the Netherlands and Mexico. In contrast, participation in demonstrations only fell slightly in a few places, including Argentina and Finland. Across all these societies, the proportion of citizens with experience of taking part in demonstrations rose

from 14 to 20 percent of the population during this decade. Table 10.4 shows that participation through signing a petition has become even more commonplace, rising from just over a third (38%) to half the population. Again steep rises in petitioning were evident in South Korea, Mexico and the Netherlands, as well as in Northern Ireland, Belgium and Sweden.

[Tables 10.3 and 10.4 about here]

The distribution of nations on the protest activism scale in Figure 10.1 compares the countries where WVS data is available in the mid-1990s. Although we might expect that protest might be strongest in countries without many other opportunities for democratic participation, or that it would be most prevalent in poorer nations, in fact the results show that it is strongest in established democracies and in affluent postindustrial societies. There was a strong correlation between national levels of protest activism and the UNDP Human Development Index ($R=.529$ Sig. 001), as well as with Freedom House measures of democratization ($R=.386$ Sig. 001). Sweden, West Germany, Norway and Australia lead the ranking, with poorer countries such as Ghana, El Salvador, India, Egypt lagging at the bottom of the comparison.

[Figure 10.1 about here]

Examples of dramatic events like the anti-globalization movement disruption of international summits and the peace demonstrations triggered by the US air strikes in Afghanistan suggest that willingness to engage in protest politics has increased in recent decades in many places around the world, but on the other hand this perception could reflect changes in the new media's propensity to cover these events. Confirming the more anecdotal evidence, there was an increase in the protest activism scale registered in all the 23 nations where WVS survey was conducted in both the early 1980s and the mid-1990s, with strong gains registered in some of developing countries such as South Africa, South Korea and Mexico, as well as in older democracies like Switzerland, Sweden and West Germany. There may be more media coverage of street demonstrations, rallies and public meetings, but these images reflect real changes in political behavior in many societies.

Who protests?

Earlier studies have shown that during the mid-1970s protest potential was generally highest among the younger generation, the better educated, men, and the non-religious, while public sector professionals and students were particularly active through these channels²⁴. In more recent years, however, some suggest that as protest has gone from margin to mainstream so that the population willing to engage in such acts has 'normalized.'²⁵ Table 10.6 analyzes the social background of protest activists, measured by whether people had carried out at least one protest act and the mean score on the activism scale by social group, for the pooled WVS sample across all societies in the mid-1990s. The results show that one third of the public had carried out at least one protest act. There was a modest gender gap, as expected, with men slightly more willing to protest than women. But overall education proved by far the best predictor of experience of protest politics, followed by social class. In a familiar pattern found in many earlier studies, 40% of those with high education had protested, compared with only one quarter of those with low education. In contrast to studies in the mid-1970s, the age profile was curvilinear, reflecting common patterns found with civic activism. It was the middle-aged who proved the strongest protest activists, with a fall off among both the youngest and the oldest cohorts. Whether this is a life-cycle effect or a generational effect is difficult to establish from cross-sectional data but this evidence probably suggests that far from being confined to the student generation, as in the past, today the protest activism has normalized as the 1960s and 1970s cohorts have aged.

[Table 10.6 about here]

Support for New Social Movements

But how does protest politics relate to the growth of new social movements, and in particular, as often assumed, are supporters of these groups more likely to engage in demonstrations, boycotts and petitions than in elections and party work? One difficulty facing any systematic analysis is that new social movements and transnational advocacy networks encompass a diverse *mélange* of organizations and causes. As exemplified by the G8 summit in Genoa in July 2001, an estimated 700 groups attended the Genoa Social Forum, ranging from traditional trade unions and charities like Oxfam and Christian Aid, as well as groups concerned with peaceful protests about globalization, the protection of human rights, environmentalism, the peace movement, poverty and debt relief for developing nations, to the more radical anarchists and anti-capitalist forces at the forefront of the 'black block'.

Here we focus on environmental activism, taken as exemplifying typical forms of participation in other new social movements. There is nothing novel about concern for wildlife, biodiversity and preservation of natural habitats, indeed traditional British associations in the voluntary sector that continue to campaign on these issues, founded more than a century ago, include the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew (1840), the Royal Society for the Protection of Animals (1864), the National Trust (1895). But the late twentieth century witnessed a dramatic rise in public concern about environmental issues, membership in environmental groups, the formation of government environmental agencies, and the number of environmental regulations and international treaties, making this movement one of the most important forces in the policy process²⁶. The diverse organizational structure of environmental groups, and the emphasis on 'life-style politics' and direct action for recycling and environmental protection of local areas, exemplifies many of the defining features of new social movements. Environmentalism encompasses a diverse coalition: ecologists and peace activists, holistic theorists and anti-nuclear power activists, feminists, animal rights activists, the organic farming movement, the soft energy movement, consumers concerned about genetically modified food, and converts from radical left groups, as well as traditional organizations seeking to preserve the countryside and wildlife habitats. There are fuzzy boundaries. Support includes activities as different as joining the Friends of the Earth or Greenpeace, recycling bottles and cans, boycotting non-organic produce, signing a petition against a road development, helping restore a local wildlife habitat, voting for a Green party, or protesting against a multinational company²⁷.

This study measures how far citizens had carried out a battery of five actions that cover some of the most typical forms of environmental activism, as shown in table 10.7, such as recycling, contributing to an environmental organization and attending a meeting about these issues. Active membership of an environmental organization, used earlier to gauge civic society, was added to this battery. Responses to all these six items scaled consistently into a single dimension, and proved highly inter-correlated (Cronbach's Alpha=0.77). Table 10.7 shows that environmental activism varied across these items, from 40% of the public who said that they had tried to reduce water consumption for environmental reasons down to 11% who had attended a meeting, signed a letter or petition aimed at protecting the environment. The 'lifestyle' dimensions of activism all proved more popular and widespread than those involving more narrowly policy-oriented forms of support.

[Table 10.7 about here]

To examine who was environmentally active, Table 10.8 shows the distribution who have done at least one environmental act and the mean score for groups on the scale. The results show that two-thirds claim to have done at least one environmental act. There was a slim gender gap, with women slightly more likely to be active on these issues than men. But again education and class proved far stronger predictors of activism, reflecting the well-known propensity for environmentalism to be strongest

among the well educated and among managerial and professional households. Age proved to be slightly curvilinear, with environmentalism strongest among the early middle-aged, rather than among the youngest cohort, but overall only a modest difference by age group.

[Table 10.8 about here]

Since the patterns that have been observed so far could be due to the type of societies included in the comparison, Table 10.9 introduces models that control for levels of human and democratic development, social structure and cultural attitudes, as in previous chapters. The models then tests for the impact of the environmental activism scale on the four dimensions of political participation studied in this book. The results show two important and distinctive findings. First, after introducing all these prior controls, environmental activism is *negatively* associated with voting turnout. The association is not particularly strong, but it is significant and it does stand up to many different statistical tests. This suggests that people who are most inclined to support environmentalism are less likely than average to cast a ballot in elections, and in contrast they are more likely to support protest activism like demonstrations, petitions, strikes, and boycotts. Figure 10.2 shows the clear relationship at societal level between the two scales of environmental activism and protest activism: postindustrial societies like Sweden, New Zealand, Germany and Australia that were strong on one dimension were often strong on the other as well, with development displaying a curvilinear relationship. In these regards, the green movement could indeed be regarded as the emergence of an alternative form of politics, as many advocates claim, which may also be evident with other new social movements, such as those concerned with feminism, human rights or conflict resolution.

[Figure 10.2 about here]

Yet at the same time environmental activism is both strongly and positively related to the conventional channels of party membership and civic activism. Indeed, environmental activism is one of the best predictors of membership in all the other forms of joining to community groups such as sports and arts clubs, as well as professional associations and unions. This suggests that rather than an alternative and distinctive form of civic engagement, people who are active through recycling, green shopping, and donating to environmental groups are also likely to be found among many other mainstream civic organizations.

[Table 10.9 about here]

The Role of the Internet

What is the role of the bundle of new technologies of information and communication associated with the Internet in promoting an alternative channel for new social movements and direct action politics? Protest movements have traditionally relied upon activities like street theatre, public demonstrations, and direct action to challenge authorities. The Internet has altered this dynamic by electronically promoting the diffusion of protest ideas and tactics efficiently and quickly across national borders²⁸. The mobilization of transnational advocacy networks has caught policymakers off guard. The World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle in late November 1999 exemplified this process, bringing together an alliance between labor and environmental activists – the Turtle Teamster partnership – along with a network of consumer advocates, anti-capitalists, and grassroots movements that attracted a media feeding frenzy. Groups integrated the Internet into their strategies, for example the International Civil Society website provided hourly updates about the major demonstrations in Seattle to a network of almost 700 NGOs in some 80 countries, including groups of environmentalists, students, religious groups, human rights organizations, trade unions and related movements²⁹. The Seattle meeting was a particularly dramatic demonstration of the potential of this medium but it is far from alone; other well-known examples include the anti land-mine campaign in the mid to late-1990s, the anti-globalization protests against

the World Bank and IMF in Prague, against the EU meetings in Gothenberg, and the G8 in Genoa, and the widespread anti-fuel tax protests that disrupted European politics in October 2000³⁰.

Many environmentalists have incorporated the multimedia capabilities of the Internet into their direct action strategies. Global Forest Watch, for example, is a transnational network of scientists and local groups regularly monitoring, recording and reporting the erosion of forests, using digital maps and web cams to publicize abuses by the timber industry and agribusiness, providing a flexible kind of regulatory process working outside of formal government structures³¹. Internet outlets can be particularly important under authoritarian regimes, where protest activities and the independent news media are severely constrained or silenced, although there are still cases like websites maintained by sympathizers of the Falun Gong in China and anti-state dissidents in Cuba that the authorities have effectively blocked and suppressed within their own borders³².

The Internet may serve multiple functions for all these organizations, including email lobbying of elected representatives, public officials, and policy elites; networking with related associations and organizations; mobilizing organizers, activists and members using action alerts, newsletters and emails; raising funds and recruiting supporters; and communicating their message to the public via the traditional news media. The global reach and real-time speed of the Internet make it particularly useful for transnational advocacy networks, exemplified by diverse campaigns such as the movement against the production and sale of land mines, demonstrators critical of the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle, environmentalists opposing genetically modified foods, and anti-sweatshop campaigners opposed to the manufacturing conditions of Nike shoes³³.

The potential activities for organization and mobilization involve far more than the passive reading of informational Web pages. Transnational advocacy networks represent 'umbrella' web sites aiming to amplify the impact of multiple smaller like-minded NGOs. As exemplified by the Institute for Global Communications progressive network, through the Internet people can subscribe to advocacy and lobbying groups, affiliate with the organization, receive emailed policy newsletters and action alerts, send faxes or emails to decision-makers, circulate electronic petitions, learn about forthcoming street demonstrations, protest events, job vacancies and voluntary activities, as well as share effective strategies for activism, contribute short news items to the site, and participate in online discussions³⁴. The IGC site, established in 1990, contains about 350,000 links contained in over 8000 pages. A similar networking function is fulfilled by OneWorld.net, founded in 1995, a website containing 15,000 pages with almost 100,000 links to progressive organizations promoting human rights and sustainable development. The website, available in four languages, contains news and press releases about trouble spots around the globe, in-depth policy reports, selected radio or watch TV reports, information about volunteer jobs, opportunities to become active in a range of campaigns, the ability to shop online. Future developments planned for the site include a learning channel promoting education for schools.

As illustrated by the Greenpeace site, social movements have taken advantage of many innovative features of the Internet; their website features breaking news, streaming audio and video clips, information resources, ways to join the organization, participate in a chat room and subscribe to 20-30 cyberactivism list-servs on topics such as bio-diversity or nuclear power, and national and local branch addresses³⁵. Daily counts show that www.Greenpeace.org receives about 58,000 visitors in a typical week in mid-2000, up four-fold from four years earlier, with about half a million visitors in total since the launch of the current site in late-1997. Domain analysis indicates that users of the website come from all over the world including Europe (15%), North America (10%), Australia (4%), South America (3%) and Asia (2%). In short, digital technologies facilitate the network of networks, which should be an environment where civic society and the public sphere flourish.

More systematic analysis of which groups and organizations have moved online, however, is far from straightforward. Others have used search engines like InfoSeek and Yahoo! to provide a sampling frame, analyzing a random selection of American groups listed in these indexes, like the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association of Women, and the National Audubon Society³⁶. This approach provides a representative selection of groups on the Internet that are identified by these common search engines, but unfortunately this process can tell us nothing about the broader universe of interest groups and social movements. For this we can turn to the Union of International Organizations (UIA) based in Brussels, which has published the *Yearbook of International Organizations* since 1908-9³⁷. This source provides the most comprehensive list available of multifarious types of organizations worldwide, including non-profit associations, societies, federations, institutes, bureaus and associations, as well as scientific and academic research centers, trade unions, business groups, and non-profit foundations. The Yearbook is probably stronger on traditional interest associations with a formal organizational structure rather than more disparate alternative social movements, especially groups and coalitions that only exist online, but nevertheless its geographic scope and subject coverage is comprehensive. The online UIA database lists details about 55,465 international governmental organizations (IGOs) and national non-governmental organizations (NGOs) worldwide in November 1999, including their location, type, and whether they have established a web site. A representative sample of 468 organizations was selected from this source by a process of random selection (picking the first organization on each page of the database listed alphabetically), and the websites were examined for those organizations found to be online.

The diverse and eclectic organizations under comparison ranged from the African Democratic League, the Anti-Slavery International, and the Association for Lesbian, Gay and Bi-Sexual Psychologies to the Woodworking Association of North America, the World Copyright Organization and the Zoo Conservation Outreach Group. Overall from the random sample of 468 organizations the analysis suggests that about one quarter (109) had a web site identified by the UIA. This may seem like a relatively low proportion, but even if this is a conservative estimate (underestimating the recent proliferation of web sites by new social movements), if we extrapolate more generally from this sample the results suggest that about 12,400 interest groups are online worldwide. A systematic analysis of these groups by type, organizational structure and sector, as well as the contents of these web sites, would require a much larger sample to prove reliable, but nevertheless a glance through the list of websites quickly confirmed the multiplicity and variety of the groups found online: the Christian Jugglers Association and the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation mixed company in cyberspace alongside the European Metalworkers' Federation, the International Potato Center, the European Board of Urology, the International Naturist Federation, the Mammal Society, the Nordic Youth Committee and the International Chamber of Shipping. Beyond geography, there was no discernable pattern to the groups found online: the sacred and the profane coexisted together, as did business associations and trade unions, and the Christian right and the progressive liberals. The geographic analysis established the predominance of sites for organizations headquartered in North America, Western Europe, Scandinavia and Australia, even if their mission was broader, for example Australian associations promoting international human rights and conflict resolution, Nordic academicians studying Middle Eastern cultures, or Virginian evangelists concerned to spread the word in Africa. The initial impression of interest groups and transnational advocacy networks on the Internet based on this comparison, and it remains only an impression, is one of tremendous diversity where a plurality of new social movements, transnational policy networks and traditional interest groups can and do find opportunities to network, organize, and express diverse viewpoints. We need more information about who uses these websites in many different countries as the Internet grows to maturity to analyze whether this represents a distinctive channel of civic activism, but the available evidence

from many American and West European surveys strongly suggests that, while the Internet does facilitate political expression and mobilization, reducing the costs of information and communication, nevertheless those who use these resources tend to be those who are already the most active through non-virtual channels³⁸.

Conclusions

What this chapter suggests is that there are many reasons to believe that the shift from traditional interest groups to new social movements has influenced the agencies, repertoires and targets of political participation. It is more difficult to find systematic evidence to analyze these issues, but the analysis presented in this chapter presents four main findings:

- (i) First the factor analysis confirms that protest activism remains a consistent dimension of political participation, which proves distinct from voting participation, and to conventional civic activism through belonging to parties, voluntary associations, and community organizations.
- (ii) The analysis of protest politics shows that today many of these forms of activity, such as petitions, demonstrations, and consumer boycotts, are both fairly pervasive and they became increasingly popular during the 1980s. Protest politics is on the rise as a channel of political expression and mobilization.
- (iii) Protest politics is particularly strong among the well-educated managerial and professional classes in postindustrial societies, as many other have suggested, but it has also become more 'mainstream' today because by the mid-1990s it is no longer confined to the students and the younger generation. The social background of protest activists today generally reflects the propensity of groups to participate through conventional means as well.
- (iv) Lastly participation within new social movements is measured in this study by environmental activism, which proved to be negatively related to voting turnout, but positively linked to party membership, civic activism and protest politics.

The role of the Internet is fostering new opportunities for civic engagement, and, as argued elsewhere, the new technology provides an environment most conducive to social movements with the organizational flexibility, resources, and technical know-how to adapt. As the network of networks, the Internet provides multiple opportunities for information, communication and mobilization and many alternative groups and organizations have found it a conducive home. The culture of the Internet makes it favorable for new social movements, as does the social profile of users among the well-educated and affluent sectors of society³⁹. Therefore before we can conclude that the vitality of civic activism is under threat, studies of conventional forms of political participation need to take into account of all these multiple alternative avenues for political expression. Twenty or thirty years ago, elections, parties and interest groups were the mainstream channel for affecting the policy process within the nation-state but today the diversification of agencies, repertoires and targets means that energies flow through new tributaries. As a result of this process, governments face new challenges in balancing and aggregating more complex demands from multiple channels, but from the perspective of citizens this provides more diverse opportunities for engagement that may well be healthy for representative democracy.

Table 10.1: Dimensions of Political Participation

	Civic Activism	Protest Activism	Voting Turnout
Belong to environmental organization	.680		
Belong to charitable organization	.647		
Belong to art, music or educational organization	.643		
Belong to professional association	.638		
Belong to political party	.584		
Belong to sport or recreational organization	.536		
Belong to church or religious organization	.521		
Belong to labour union	.423		
Attend a lawful demonstration		.765	
Join in boycotts		.764	
Join unofficial strike		.756	
Sign a petition		.687	
Occupy buildings or factories		.680	
Voted in election			.926
% Variance	20.1	19.6	7.2

Notes: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Protest activism: *“Now I’d like you to look at this card. I’m going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I’d like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it, or would never, under any circumstances, do it.”*

Source: World Values Survey, mid-1990s

Table 10.2: Experience of Political Activism, mid-1990s

% 'Have done'	Older democracy	Newer democracy	Semi- democracy	Non- democratic	All
Discuss politics	72.3	72.2	68.2	65.6	70.0
Voting turnout	73.1	68.9	56.3	60.8	64.5
Civic activism	73.0	60.3	63.1	40.7	62.4
<i>Signed a petition *</i>	60.7	22.6	19.4	10.0	28.5
<i>Attended demonstrations*</i>	19.1	12.5	15.7	19.1	15.7
<i>Joined in boycott *</i>	17.1	6.7	7.5	3.0	8.9
Active union member	8.2	5.0	4.7	3.5	5.4
<i>Joined unofficial strike *</i>	4.8	4.4	5.6	5.2	5.0
Active party member	5.8	4.2	4.7	2.5	4.6
<i>Occupied buildings *</i>	1.5	2.0	1.6	0.3	1.6

Notes:

(Highlighted in italic) * Protest acts: "Now I'd like you to look at this card. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it, or would never, under any circumstances, do it." % 'Have actually done'

Active Party Member: see Table

Active Union Member: see Table

Discuss politics: % 'Frequently' or 'Occasionally'

Civic activism: Active or passive member of at least one voluntary association (i.e. a sports club, arts club, environmental group, charitable group, excluding party or union)

Voting Turnout: Aggregate mean Vote/VAP 1990s.

Source: World Values Survey, mid-1990s

Table 10.3 The Rise of Protest Politics, mid-1970s to mid-1990s

	Mid-1970s	Early 1980s	1990	mid-1990s
Signed petition	32	46	54	60
Demonstrated	9	14	18	17
Consumer Boycott	5	8	11	15
Unofficial Strike	2	3	4	4
Occupied buildings	1	2	2	2

Note: Protest acts: *"Now I'd like you to look at this card. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it, or would never, under any circumstances, do it."* % 'Have done'

The proportion of citizens who reported actual experience of these protest activities in eight postindustrial societies (Britain, West Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, the United States, Italy, Switzerland and Finland). The Political Action survey was conducted from 1973-1976. Comparable figures for subsequent years in the same nations are drawn from successive waves of the World Values Study.

Table 10.4: Rise in Demonstration Activism, early 1980s to the early 1990

	Early 1980s	Early 1990s	Change 1980-1990
South Korea	5.4	18.9	13.5
Netherlands	11.9	25.0	13.1
Mexico	7.7	20.2	12.5
Iceland	13.6	23.4	9.8
Italy	24.7	34.1	9.4
Denmark	17.8	27.0	9.2
Belgium	12.7	21.2	8.5
Canada	13.0	21.0	8.0
South Africa	6.4	13.3	6.9
Sweden	15.1	21.8	6.7
Australia	12.0	18.0	6.0
West Germany	13.8	19.5	5.7
France	25.8	31.2	5.4
Ireland	12.2	16.3	4.1
Britain	9.7	13.6	3.9
US	12.2	15.1	2.9
Japan	6.6	9.4	2.8
Northern Ireland	17.9	17.8	-0.1
Norway	19.4	19.0	-0.4
Spain	21.8	21.2	-0.6
Finland	14.2	11.9	-2.3
Argentina	18.8	14.6	-4.2
MEAN	14.2	19.7	5.5

Note: "Now I'd like you to look at this card. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it, or would never, under any circumstances, do it." % 'Have actually attended lawful demonstration'

Source: World Values Survey.

Table 10.5: Rise in Petitioning, early 1980s to the early 1990

	Early 1980s	Early 1990s	Change 1980-1990
South Korea	15.7	40.6	24.9
Northern Ireland	33.0	57.9	24.9
Mexico	8.2	31.4	23.2
Belgium	21.6	44.5	22.9
Netherlands	33.1	50.1	17.0
Sweden	53.0	69.9	16.9
Canada	60.6	76.5	15.9
South Africa	17.1	31.5	14.4
Ireland	27.9	41.4	13.5
Britain	62.6	74.5	11.9
Japan	40.7	52.0	11.3
Iceland	36.7	46.6	9.9
Australia	68.7	78.6	9.9
West Germany	45.5	55.1	9.6
US	61.2	70.1	8.9
Denmark	42.0	50.3	8.3
France	43.8	51.4	7.6
Italy	37.5	44.2	6.7
Finland	29.0	34.0	5.0
Norway	54.4	59.4	5.0
Spain	20.6	17.5	-3.1
Argentina	28.6	21.4	-7.2
MEAN	38.3	50.0	11.7

Note: "Now I'd like you to look at this card. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it, or would never, under any circumstances, do it." % 'Have actually signed a petition'

Source: World Values Survey.

Table 10.6: Protest Activism by Social Background, mid-1990s

	% Have done at least one protest act	Mean score protest activism scale	Eta (Sig.)
All	33.7	.53	
Gender			
Men	36.1	.59	
Women	31.5	.47	.07***
Age			
18-24	30.6	.46	
25-34	34.4	.55	
35-44	36.4	.59	
45-54	37.5	.61	
55-64	35.2	.51	
65+	30.7	.42	.07***
Education			
High education	40.5	.70	
Medium education	33.7	.52	
Low education	24.1	.35	.15***
Occupational Class			
Managerial and professional	43.7	.74	
Other white collar	43.1	.64	
Skilled manual	32.4	.51	
Unskilled manual	25.6	.38	.13***

Note: For the protest activism 0-6-point scale see 10.2. The strength (Eta) and significance of the difference in the group mean is measured by ANOVA. Sig. ***=p.000

Source: World Values Survey, mid-1990s. (N.80583)

Table 10.7: Environmental activism scale, mid-1990s

% 'Yes'	
Have you tried to reduce water consumption for environmental reasons?	40.8
Have you decided for environmental reasons to reuse or recycle something rather than throw it away?	34.2
Have you chosen household products that you think are better for the environment?	33.6
Are you an active or inactive member of an environmental organization? *	13.8
Have you contributed to an environmental organization?	11.5
Have you attended a meeting or signed a letter or petition aimed at protecting the environment?	10.6

Note: *"Which, if any, of these things have you done in the last twelve months, out of concern for the environment?"* (% 'Yes')

(*) *Voluntary organization membership: See Table 9.4.*

Source: World Values Survey, mid-1990s.

Table 10.8: Environmental Activism by Social Background, mid-1990s

	% Have done at least one environmental act	Mean score environmental activism scale	Eta (Sig.)
All	63.9	1.43	
Gender			
Men	62.9	1.40	
Women	64.8	1.46	.01***
Age			
18-24	63.5	1.36	
25-34	67.1	1.51	
35-44	66.1	1.49	
45-54	68.4	1.57	
55-64	63.3	1.40	
65+	65.0	1.38	.05***
Education			
High education	70.2	1.64	
Medium education	65.2	1.45	
Low education	56.0	1.16	.12***
Occupational Class			
Managerial and professional	71.9	1.73	
Other white collar	70.4	1.67	
Skilled manual	65.6	1.41	
Unskilled manual	59.0	1.19	.13***

Note: For the environmental activism 0-6-point scale see 10.4. The strength (Eta) and significance of the difference in the group mean is measured by ANOVA. Sig. ***=p.000

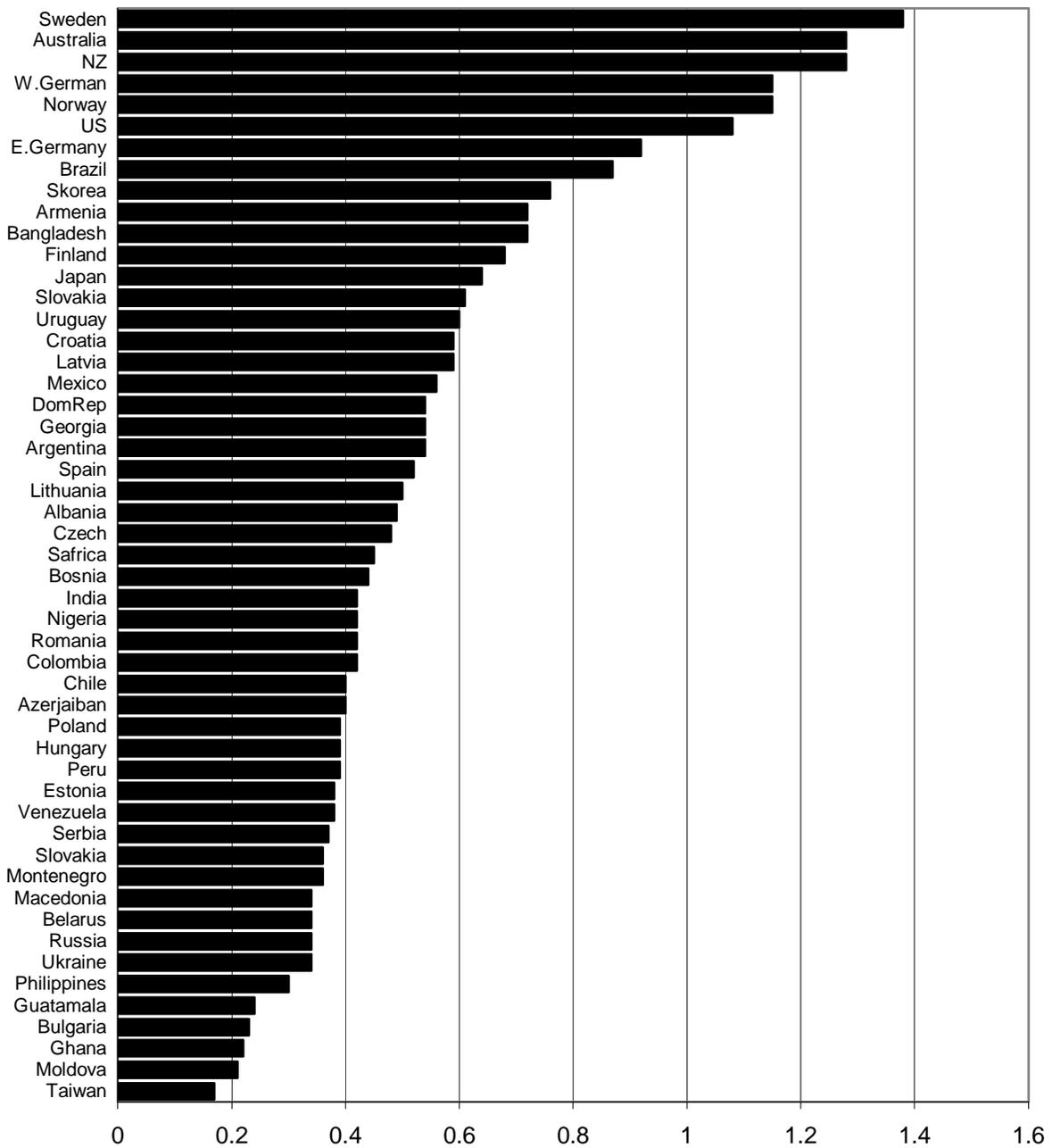
Source: World Values Survey, mid-1990s. (N.80583)

Table 10.9: Environmental activism and political participation, mid-1990s

	Voting Turnout			Party Member			Civic Activism		
	b	(s.e.)	Sig.	B	(s.e.)	Sig.	B	(s.e.)	Sig.
DEVELOPMENT									
Level of human development	2.14	.300	***	-3.26	.135	***	-1.05	.088	***
Level of democratization	.576	.020	***	-.035	.012	***	.045	.007	***
STRUCTURE									
Age (Years)	-.005	.001	***	.001	.001		-.005	.000	***
Gender (Male=1)	-.239	.050	***	.263	.029	***	.122	.016	***
Education (7-pt scale)	-.128	.012	***	.027	.007	***	.071	.004	***
Class (10-pt scale)	.003	.010		.011	.006		-.012	.003	***
CULTURAL ATTITUDES									
Political Interest (9-point scale)	.374	.013	***	.313	.007	***	.068	.004	***
NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT									
Environmental activism (6-point scale)	-.191	.018	***	.350	.010	***	.459	.006	***
Constant	-2.71			-2.56			.649		
<i>Nagelkerke R²</i>	.171			.178					
<i>Adjusted R²</i>							.174		
<i>% Correct</i>	94.7			84.7					

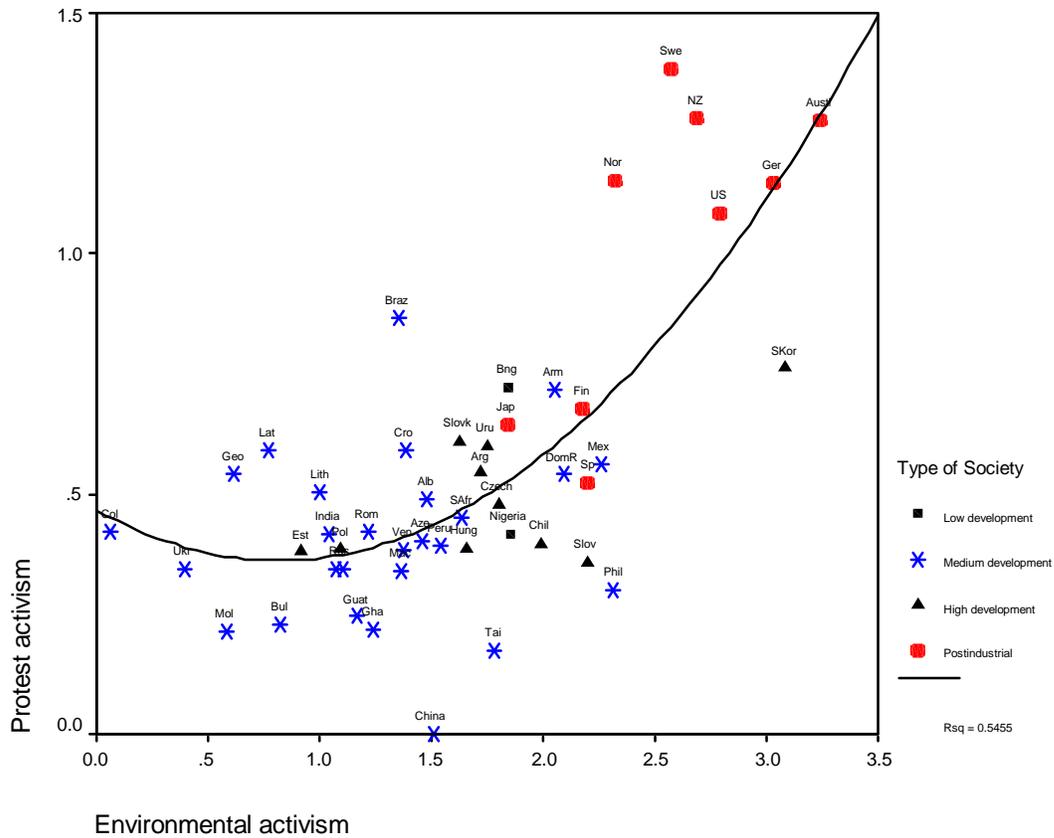
Notes: Voting turnout and party activism in the mid-1990s are analyzed using logistic regression with unstandardized regression coefficients, standard errors and significance. Civic activism and protest activism linear regression models. Sig. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ *Human Development*: Human Development I *Development Report*, NY: United Nations Development Program. *Level of Democratization*: Mean Freed political rights and civil liberties 1990-1996. www.freedomhouse.org. *New Social Movement* Environmen scale). See Table 10.4. *Cultural attitudes*: see Table 7.7. The 9-point interest scale combined political discuss salience of politics, which all also proved highly inter-correlated. *Voting turnout* (yes=1); *Party member* member); *Civic activism* (scale of active or passive member of church, sports club, arts club, professional, other group); *Protest activism* (5-point scale of having signed petition, joined boycott, demonstrated, joined t occupied building).

Figure 10.1: Protest Activism by Nation, mid-1990s



Source: World Values Survey.

Figure 10.2: Environmental and Protest Activism, mid-1990s



Environmental activism: See Table 10.7 for details.

Protest activism: See Table 10.1 for details.

Source: World Values Survey, mid-1990s.

¹ For a discussion of the conceptual distinctions and theoretical frameworks in the literature, as well as the structure, function and organization of interest groups and new social movements, see Jeffrey Berry. 1984. *The Interest Group Society*. Boston: Little Brown; Jack L. Walker. 1991. *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*: Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; Sidney Tarrow. 1994. *Power in Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Charles Tilly. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley; Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald. Eds. 1996. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

² Jeffrey Berry. 1984. *The Interest Group Society*. Boston: Little Brown; Jack L. Walker. 1991. *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*: Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; Terry Nichols Clarke and Michael Rempel. 1997. *Citizen Politics in Post-Industrial Societies: Interest Groups Transformed*. Boulder, Co: Westview Press.

³ Sidney Tarrow. 1994. *Power in Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Charles Tilly. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley; Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald. Eds. 1996. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Russell J. Dalton and Manfred Kuechler. Eds. 1990. *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁴ Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, 1998. *Activists beyond Borders - Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; J. Smith, C. Chatfield and R. Pagnucco. Eds. 1997. *Transnational social movements and global politics: Solidarity beyond the state*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press; H. Kriesi, D. D. Porta and Dieter Riucht. Eds. 1998. *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*. London: Macmillan.

⁵ James Rosenau. 1990. *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Ronnie Lipschutz. 1996. *Global Civic Society and Global Environmental Governance*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

⁶ Mayer Zald and John McCarthy. Eds. 1987. *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books; Anthony Oberschall. 1993. *Social Movements: Ideologies, Interests and Identities*. New Brunswick: Transaction; David Meyer and Sidney Tarrow. 1998. Eds. *The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield; Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston and Joseph R. Gudfield. Eds. 1994. *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press; Douglas McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald. 1996. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

⁷ Sidney Verba, Norman H. Nie and Jae-on Kim. 1971. *The Modes of Democratic Participation: A Cross-National Analysis*. Beverly Hill, CA: Sage; Sidney Verba and Norman Nie. 1972. *Participation in America: Social Equality and Political Participation*. New York: Harper Collins; Sidney Verba, Norman Nie and Jae-on Kim. 1978. *Participation and Political Equality: A Seven-Nation Comparison*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

⁸ Charles Tilly et al. 1975. *The Rebellious Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

⁹ Frank Parkin. 1968. *Middle Class Radicalism*. New York: Praeger.

¹⁰ Barbara Epstein. 1991. *Political Protest and Cultural Revolution: Nonviolent Direct Action in the 1970s and 1980s*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

¹¹ Samuel Barnes and Max Kaase. 1979. *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage. See also Alan Marsh. 1977. *Protest and Political Consciousness*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage; Charles Adrian and David A. Apter. 1995. *Political Protest and Social Change: Analyzing Politics*. NY: New York University Press.

¹² Peter Van Aelst and Stefaan Walgrave. 2001. 'Who is that (wo)man in the street? From the normalization of protest to the normalization of the protester.' *European Journal of Political Research*. 39: 461-486.

¹³ See Carole Pateman. 1988. *The Sexual Contract*. Cambridge: Polity Press; Anne Phillips. 1991. *Engendering Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

¹⁴ See Jonathan Baker. 1999. *Street-Level Democracy: Political Settings at the Margins of Global Power*. Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

¹⁵ Sidney Verba, Norman Nie and Jae-on Kim. 1978. *Participation and Political Equality: A Seven-Nation Comparison* New York: Cambridge University Press. P. 46. See also Sidney Verba, Kay Schlozman and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. P. 38.

¹⁶ Saskia Sassen. 1999. *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: New Press; Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; Michael Edwards and John Gaventa. Eds. 2001. *Global Citizen Action*. Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner Publishers; Peter Evans. 2000. 'Fighting marginalization with transnational networks: Counter-hegemonic globalization.' *Contemporary Sociology* 29(1): 230-241.

¹⁷ Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, 1998. *Activists beyond Borders - Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

¹⁸ For a discussion see David Held. 1999. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* London: Polity Press; Joseph S. Nye and John Donahue. 2001. *Governance in a Globalizing World*. Eds. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press; Daniele Archibugi, David Held and Martin Kohler. 1998. *Re-imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

¹⁹ Harvey B. Feigenbaum, J. Henig and C. Hamnett. 1998. *Shrinking the State: The Political Underpinnings of Privatization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²⁰ M. Kent Jennings and Jan W. van Deth, et al. 1989. *Continuities in Political Action: A Longitudinal Study of Political Orientations in Three Western Democracies*. New York: Walter de Gruyter.

²¹ Dieter Rucht, Ruud Koopmans, Friedhelm Neidhart. Eds. 1998. *Acts of Dissent: New Developments in the Study of Protest*. Berlin: Edition Sigma.

²² For a fuller discussion see Samuel Barnes and Max Kaase. 1979. *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage; Christo[pher A. Rootes. 1981. 'On the future of protest politics in Western democracies: A critique of Barnes, Kaase et al., Political Action.' *European Journal of Political Research* 9: 421-432.

²³ It should be noted that not every nation was included in every wave of the WVS survey, so the average figures across all eight nations are presented here, but further examinations suggests that this process did not influence the substantive findings.

-
- ²⁴ J. Craig Jenkins and Michael Wallace. 1996. 'The generalized action potential of protest movements: the new class, social trends, and political exclusion explanations.' *Sociological Forum*. 11(2): 183-207.
- ²⁵ Peter Van Aelst and Stefaan Walgrave. 2001. 'Who is that (wo)man in the street? From the normalization of protest to the normalization of the protester.' *European Journal of Political Research*. 39: 461-486.
- ²⁶ Russell Dalton. 1994. *The Green Rainbow: Environmental Interest Groups in Western Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press; Christopher Rootes. 1999. *Environmental Movements: Local, National and Global*. London: Frank Cass.
- ²⁷ Pippa Norris. 1997 'We're All Green Now: Public Opinion and Environmentalism in Britain.' *Government and Opposition* 32(3): 320-339.
- ²⁸ This section draws on analysis developed in more detail in Pippa Norris. 2001. *Digital Divide: Civic Engagement, Information Poverty, and the Internet Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. See also Jeffrey M. Ayres. 1999. 'From the streets to the Internet: The cyber-diffusion of contention.' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 566: 132-143; Jessica Matthews. 1997. 'Power Shifts.' *Foreign Affairs*. January/February.
- ²⁹ Sylvia Ostry. 2000. 'Making sense of it all: A post-mortem on the meaning of Seattle.' In *Seattle, the WTO, and the Future of the Multilateral Trading System*. Eds. Roger B. Porter and Pierre Sauve. Cambridge, MA: The Center for Business and Government, John F. Kennedy School of Government; Steve Cisler. 1999. 'Showdown in Seattle: Turtles, Teamsters and Tear Gas.' *First Monday* 4(2). www.firstmonday.dk/issues/issue4_12/cisler/index.html
- ³⁰ See Sylvia Ostry. 2000. 'Making sense of it all: A post-mortem on the meaning of Seattle.' In *Seattle, the WTO, and the Future of the Multilateral Trading System*. Eds. Roger B. Porter and Pierre Sauve. Cambridge, MA: The Center for Business and Government, John F. Kennedy School of Government; Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, 1998. *Activists beyond Borders - Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; Maxwell A. Cameron (ed). 1998. *To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; J. Zelwietro. 1998. 'The Politicization of Environmental Organizations through the Internet.' *Information Society* 14(1): 45-55.
- ³¹ Allen Hammond and Jonathan Lash. 2000. 'Cyber-Activism: The Rise of Civil Accountability and Its Consequences for Governance.' *IMP: Information Impacts Magazine*. May. www.cisp.org/imp/may_2000/05_00hammond.htm.
- ³² Mamoun Fandy. 1999. 'Cyberresistance: Saudi Opposition between Globalization and Localization.' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41(1): 124-147; William J. Drake, Shanthi Kalathil and Taylor C. Boas. 2000. 'Dictatorships in the Digital Age: Some Considerations on the Internet in China and Cuba.' *iMP: The Magazine on Information Impacts*. October. www.cisp.org/imp; Taylor C. Boas. 2000. 'The Dictator's Dilemma? The Internet and U.S. Policy toward Cuba.' *The Washington Quarterly*. 23(3): 57-67.
- ³³ Howard Frederick. 1992. 'Computer Communications in Cross-Border Coalition-Building: North American NGO Networking against NAFTA.' *Gazette* 50: 217-42; Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, 1998. *Activists beyond Borders - Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; J. Zelwietro. 1998. 'The Politicization of Environmental Organizations through the Internet.' *Information Society* 14(1): 45-55.

³⁴ The Institute for Global Communications can be found at www.igc.org. One World net can be located at www.OneWorld.org. For the range of volunteer activities and activist organizations available online see also <http://www.serviceleader.org/vv/forvols.html>.

³⁵ <http://www.greenpeace.org>

³⁶ See, for example, Kevin A. Hill and John E. Hughes. 1998. *Cyberpolitics: Citizen Activism in the Age of the Internet*. Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield. Chapter 6; Richard Davis. 1999. *The Web of Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 3.

³⁷ Union of International Organizations. <http://www.uia.org>

³⁸ For details see Chapters 10 and 11 in Pippa Norris. 2001. *Digital Divide: Civic Engagement, Information Poverty, and the Internet Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

³⁹ Ibid.