

Université de Lausanne

Travaux de Science Politique

Political Science Working Paper Series

INDividual SURveys in RAllies (INSURA)

A new tool for exploring transnational
activism ?

Olivier Fillieule et Philippe Blanchard

N° 35 (2008)

Editeur responsable

Dr. André Mach

Université de Lausanne
Institut d'Études Politiques et Internationales
Bâtiment Humense • 1015 Lausanne
CH – Switzerland

Tel +41 21 692 31 40

Fax +41 21 692 31 45

marie-francoise.herizo@unil.ch ou nicole.ferrari@unil.ch

<http://www.unil.ch/iepi>

La collection **Travaux de Science Politique** vise à diffuser des travaux de chercheuses et chercheurs rattachés à l'Institut d'Etudes Politiques et Internationales (IEPI) de l'Université de Lausanne. Il peut s'agir de textes en prépublication, de communications scientifiques ou d'excellents mémoires d'étudiants. Ces travaux sont publiés sur la base d'une évaluation interne par deux membres de l'IEPI. Les opinions émises n'engagent cependant que la responsabilité de l'auteur•e.

Les **Travaux de Science Politique** sont accessibles gratuitement sur www.unil.ch/iepi (suivre le lien « Publications »).

The **Political Science Working Papers Series** is intended to promote the diffusion of work in progress, articles to be published and research findings by researchers of the Institute of Political and International Studies, University of Lausanne. The papers submitted are refereed by two members of the Institute. The opinions expressed are those of the author(s) only.

The **Political Science Working Papers** are available free of charge at www.unil.ch/iepi (click on « Publications »).

© Olivier Fillieule et Philippe Blanchard.

Layout : Alexandre Afonso

Couverture : Unicom, Université de Lausanne

Remerciements/Acknowledgements

That paper was initially discussed at the conference "Crossing borders. On the road towards transnational social movement analysis", organized by Simon Teune at the Wissenschaft Zentrum Berlin, October 5-7 2006. As far as possible, we have tried to take into account the results of its discussion and we are particularly grateful to Simon Teune for his remarks.

INDividual SURveys in RAllies (INSURA) A new tool for exploring transnational activism ?

Olivier Fillieule¹ et Philippe Blanchard²
Institut d'Études Politiques et Internationales, Université de Lausanne

Résumé

Avant le milieu des années 90, il était plutôt rare que l'on interviewe des manifestants 'en situation'. Les enquêtes individuelles dans les rassemblements de foules (INSURA) ne sont entrées dans la boîte à outil des chercheurs que dans la décennie suivante, après que Favre, Fillieule et Mayer (1997) ont mené une enquête de ce type aux fins de construire une méthode solide de recueil des données pouvant servir aux recherches ultérieures. Après quelques années de recours intensif aux INSURA, notamment dans le champ en expansion des recherches sur les mouvements altermondialistes, il paraît opportun de se demander si cette technique a répondu ou pas aux espoirs qu'elle avait suscité. Dans ce papier, les résultats d'une enquête collective sur les rassemblements alter d'Évian et de Paris Saint-Denis sont utilisés pour poser trois questions liées. Dans un premier temps, quelques questions méthodologiques de base sur la manière de recueillir les données sont posées. Quelles sont les difficultés propres au fait d'interviewer des manifestants au moment même où ils « expriment une opinion » ? Quelles contraintes spécifiques sont générées par la morphologie des événements couverts (problème de la construction de l'échantillon et de sa validité) ? Les auteurs s'interrogent ensuite, plus généralement, sur les questions qui peuvent être résolues ou pas au moyen de cette technique. Dans un second temps, le papier propose de mesurer les forces et les faiblesses des INSURA pour l'exploration de la dimension transnationale des mobilisations alter. Les auteurs montrent que les INSURA sont sans doute bien adaptées à l'analyse sociographique, aussi bien qu'aux réseaux relationnels et aux appartenances multiples. En revanche, il semble que les réseaux d'organisation et les frontières entre mouvements sont plus difficiles à approcher au moyen d'une telle méthode, ce qui limite sérieusement l'usage de l'instrument pour les comparaisons internationales des événements et des mouvements.

Manifestations, mouvements sociaux, événements protestataires, mouvement altermondialistes, mouvements transnationaux

¹ Full time professor in political sociology, IEPI, UNIL-DORIGNY, Anthrophole, 1015 Lausanne CH.
olivier.fillieule@unil.ch <http://www.people.unil.ch/olivier.fillieule>

² Teaching assistant in political sociology, IEPI, UNIL-DORIGNY, Anthrophole, 1015 Lausanne CH.
Philippe.blanchard@unil.ch

Abstract

Prior the middle of the 90', interviewing participants in protest events was quiet rare. Individual SURveys in RAllies (INSURA) did enter the social researcher's usual toolkit only in the following decade after Favre, Fillieule and Mayer (1997) conducted such a survey with as a primary ambition to build a solid methodological framework that could be subsequently applied by other researchers. After some years of intensive use of INSURA, one is entitled to wonder whether that technique has fulfilled social researchers' hopes or not. In that paper, results of a collective work on alter-global rallies in Evian and Saint-Denis are used to answer three interrelated questions. Firstly, some basic methodological questions about how to collect data on crowds are adressed. What are the specific constraints of interviewing people at the very moment they are "expressing" a political opinion? What specific constraints result from the morphology of the covered events, that is to say, how to build a valid sampling frame? The authors then turn to a more general point about the questions that can be solved, or not, using that technique. Secondly it is the strenghts and weaknesses of INSURA in exploring the transnational dimension of alter global protests that is adressed. The authors show that INSURA is certainly well suited to explore the demographics of alter-global events, as well as relational networks of individuals and multiple belongings. On the contrary, it is assumed that organization networks and movement's boundaries are far more difficult to explore through that method, a fact that seriously limits international cross comparisons of events and movements based on that tool.

Demonstrations, Social movements, Protest events, no global movements, transnational protests

Zusammenfassung

Bis zur Mitte der neunziger Jahre wurden ziemlich selten Demonstranten während Protestereignissen interviewt. Individuelle Befragungen in Kundgebungen (Individual SURveys in RAllies, INSURA) wurden erst im folgenden Jahrzehnt zur gebräuchlichen Methode von Bewegungsforschern, nachdem Favre, Fillieule und Mayer (1997) eine solche Befragung durchgeführt hatten mit dem Ziel, eine solide Methodik der Datenerhebung zu entwickeln für künftige Forschungen. Nach einigen Jahren extensiven Gebrauchs dieser Methode, vor allem in den zahlreichen Forschungen über die Anti-Globalisierungsbewegung, scheint die Zeit reif für eine Lagebeurteilung. Kann diese Methode die Erwartungen, die in sie gesetzt wurden, erfüllen? In diesem Artikel werden Daten einer Kollektivforschung über die globalisierungskritischen Kundgebungen in Evian und Paris Saint-Denis benutzt, um drei zusammenhängende Fragen zu stellen. Zunächst werden einige methodologische Probleme über die Art der Datenerhebung erörtert. Welches sind die spezifischen Schwierigkeiten wenn Demonstrierende interviewt werden währenddem sie ihre Meinung öffentlich kundtun? Welche Einschränkungen sind durch die morphologischen Eigenschaften des untersuchten Ereignisses bedingt, das heisst, wie kann ein valides Sampling aufgebaut werden? Auf allgemeinere Art erörtern die Autoren darauf, welche Forschungsfragen mit Hilfe dieser Methode beantwortet werden können oder nicht. Schliesslich werden die Stärken und Schwächen von INSURA bei der Erforschung der transnationalen Dimensionen

von globalisierungskritischen Protesten untersucht. Die Autoren zeigen, dass INSURA sich gut eignet für die soziographische Analyse sowie für die Untersuchung individueller Netzwerke und multipler Zugehörigkeiten. Hingegen scheinen organisatorische Netzwerke und Grenzen der Bewegungen wesentlich schwieriger mit dieser Methodik erfasst werden zu können, was die Anwendung dieses Instrumentes bei internationalen Vergleichen der Protestereignisse und Bewegungen erheblich einschränkt.

Demonstrationen, Sozialbewegungen, Protestereignisse, *no global* Bewegungen, Globalisierungsgegner

Contents

RÉSUMÉ	3
ABSTRACT	4
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	4
INTRODUCTION.....	7
INSURA. TECHNICAL PROBLEMS AND SAMPLING STRATEGIES	10
IF I HAD A HAMMER... ..	14
ALTER-GLOBAL DEMOGRAPHICS. FIGHTING COMMON SENSE.....	14
INDIVIDUAL FEATURES OF COSMOPOLITANISM...BUT ROOTED COSMOPOLITANISM..	15
IS COMPARISON REASON ?	16
INSURA AS A TOOL TO MEASURE MULTI-ORGANIZATIONAL FIELDS	17
REFERENCE LIST	22
ANNEX.....	25

Introduction

Social movement understanding has been dominated for long by a legitimist bias that conceived of demonstrators and protest actions as the product of deprivation and abnormal conduct. With the emergence of resource mobilisation theory (RMT), these interpretations have been radically replaced by models which emphasize costs and benefits of participation in collective action as well as the importance of social movement organisations in mobilizing resources and distributing positive or negative incentives. RMT was further refined by the growing importance in explanatory models of the so called "political opportunity structure" which helped to stress contextual factors in collective action. To date, structural factors, political contexts, organisations and not the actors themselves, have been at the centre of social movement research for more than thirty years. That direction has been further reinforced by the quasi exclusive recourse to methods like organisational surveys or protest events analysis (PEA).

As a result, scholars have certainly gone too far in the rejection of the actors themselves, those who engage in collective action, their social and biological characteristics, their very motivations and their irreducible heterogeneity. Even the more recent developments of social movement theory, by taking into account the cultural turn and further hybridizing between American and European research, has let unexplored the individual who actually participate in demonstrations, protest activities and, broadly speaking, social movements.

On the contrary, students of political participation, in addition to studying voting behaviour, have also investigated the so-called unconventional forms of social and political participation. Based on opinion polls conducted in many Western countries, researchers have tried to study political attitudes towards protest. The modes of actions investigated, ranging from signing petitions and lawful demonstrations to damaging property, have since become a permanent item in many national election studies almost everywhere in the United States and Europe, through World Values Surveys and European Social Surveys. The most significant findings of these cross national opinion polls can be summed up by the so-called Socio-Economic Standard model (SES), which establishes that age, gender and level of education are the most important factors of protest behaviour (Fillieule and Tartakowsky, 2008, chapter 2).

The advantage of population surveys is that they allow cross-national and historical comparisons. But, most of the time, they measure the willingness to protest rather than the actual participation to protest. As a result, there are no figures on actual rates of mobilization. Moreover, in these surveys, people are asked about their participation in general, which makes it difficult to distinguish between different protest issues. As Van Aelst and Walgrave (2001) state, "declared willingness to participate in a demonstration is a poor indicator of actual participation in collective action. 'The action potential of individuals reflects not what they will do but what they think they ought to do' (Topf, 1995: 59)"³. That difference between willingness to act and actual behaviour can be explained by a whole set of factors, among them the relational context, which seems to play a central role (Fillieule, 1997; Favre and al., 1997). Finally, one should note that even in the most recent studies, which try to measure the

³ See also Favre and al., 1997 for a systematic critic of the biases related to opinion polls about unconventional action.

actual past participation into protest actions, biases remain since one knows that there can be discrepancies between what people say about what they did in the past and what they actually did.

Coming back to social movement research, one knows that the development of the so-called political process approach has been backed by a parallel expansion of the PEA method which has the advantage of focussing on protest actions themselves and, as a consequence, on actual participation to demonstrations. Yet, as we just said, PEA was never meant to answer any questions about demonstrators but more to determine, in a historical sociology and macro comparison perspective inspired by Tilly's work, broad trends in protest activity. In any case, since newspaper cuttings have massively been chosen as source, and in some rarer cases police archives, the material gathered is of little interest for those who would try to provide consistent information about people involved in protest actions.

To date, it seems that only by interviewing people during protest events can we gather substantial information about participants. However, as Favre et al. (1997) stated, we are here confronted with "a strange lacuna in the sociology of mobilisation". Before the end of the 90', actually, very few students did try to collect individual data directly in the course of protest events.

The central reason for that situation is certainly to be found in epistemological considerations. Having recourse to an individual survey during protest events could at first sight seem paradoxical or contradictory, since the individual survey technique appears as incompatible with the situation one wants to explore. As a matter of fact, individual surveys are by nature individualistic: the interviewee is isolated from its environment and is asked to express an "opinion" about questions he has not been forcibly informed about in advance. Moreover, answering the questions does not mean he is personally involved in the issue at stake. And finally, expressing an opinion will by no way have any personal consequence for the interviewee. In a demonstration, on the contrary, the interviewee is not isolated at all, since the march in itself is instituting a collective, and also because people usually demonstrate within small groups of friends, relatives, etc. (McPhail and Miller 1973 ; Fillieule, 1997; Drury and Reicher, 1999; Van Aelst and Walgrave, 2001); the interviewee is already expressing an opinion by the very fact of demonstrating, he expresses that opinion in a visible manner, which means he is concerned by the issue at stake, and ready to assume the possible risks and costs of his acts. From all these differences, it follows that the recourse to individual survey in the course of collective events collides with the economists' well known "no bridge problem" between a micro and a macro level of analysis.

As a result, prior the middle of the 90', interviewing participants in protest events has only been used in a few studies⁴. Individual Surveys in RAllies (hereafter INSURA) did enter the social researcher's usual toolkit only in the following decade. It was at the beginning of 1994, that Favre and his colleagues conducted such a survey with as a primary ambition to build a solid methodological framework that could be subsequently applied by other researchers interested in gathering representative data on crowd participants

⁴ See Fillieule and Tartakowsky (2008, chapter 4) for a review.

(Favre et ali., 1997)⁵. Their method was first used, in 1998, by Van Aelst for a research on the normalisation of protest in Belgium. (Van Aelst and Walgrave, 2001).

The new century marked a new era in the use of INSURA. More precisely, with the public emergence and tremendous development of alter-global protest events and Forums, researchers began to have recourse to that method which appeared as particularly suited to that object of study. In effect, one knows the importance of events as epiphanic moments for the movement, the public debate that emerged around the qualification of participants as mere looters, terrorists or politically aware people, the debate about the consistency of the ideology of the movement and its constituency (are these people "rooted cosmopolitans" (Tarrow, 2001) or "modernization losers"), and finally, the question about how to measure and assess the heterogeneity of the "movement of movements", in terms of organisations as well as constituencies? To answer all these questions, the INSURA technique seems appropriate.

To date, and apart some data on demonstrators collected here and there (e. g. Levi et Murphy, 2002; Lichbach and Almeida, 2001), the GRACE (University of Florence) was the first to launch an ambitious program to survey the so-called GJM movement in Italy at different settings (e.g. Andretta et al, 2002; Della Porta, 2004), followed by Bedoyan and Van Aelst, (2003) on an alter-global demonstration that was held in Brussels on December 14th 2001, and our own surveys during the anti G8 protest of Evian in Geneva and Lausanne and at the Saint-Denis European Social Forum in France (Fillieule, Blanchard et al., 2004; Fillieule, Blanchard, 2005; Agrikoliansky and Sommier, 2005). More recently, the DEMOS project also included a workpackage dedicated to INSURA (see <http://demos.iue.it>, workpackage 5 on Athen's Social Forum)⁶ and finally, a group of social researchers coordinated by Stefaan Walgrave has conducted the most ambitious INSURA ever conducted at the international 15 February protest in 2003 against an imminent war in Iraq. The survey was conducted at the same time in some cities of the US, Great-Britain, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden and Belgium More than 6,000 participants answered the questionnaires in eight countries and eleven cities⁷.

After some years of intensive use of INSURA, one is entitled to wonder whether that technique has fulfilled social researchers' hopes or not. We learned from the past that, in social movement theory, due to an intensive and fertile competition that often drives us to quantity instead of quality, new methods of inquiry have been used at length without always ensuring a sufficient degree of epistemological vigilance and methodological scruple. It is certainly too early to

⁵ One should note that the design of the methodology as well as the administration of the questionnaires were realised in collaboration with Louis Harris France. All the interviewers were paid staff, and were trained long in advance. The research was financially supported by the CEVIPOF (Science-Po Paris and by Louis Harris, who had a vested interest in developing a new technique).

⁶ One should also mention other specific INSURA that have been conducted, more or less in the framework of the DEMOS project, like Giugni and Bandler's surveys in Zurich on January 17 2004 and for the other summit of Davos the same year, Rucht, Teune and Haug's research on The first national social forum in Germany (Erfurt) in 2005 and Saunders and Rootes on the Make poverty history march in 2005.

⁷ If February 15th was not exactly an alter-globalisation event, it remains that "it was coordinated and staged by an international network of movement organisations, most of which originated within the so-called global justice movement. It was on the European Social Forum meetings of the global justice movement that the protest was set up and organised" (Walgrave, S and Verhulst J. 2003).

decide whether INSURA will mark a real progress in social movement theory. Yet, some remarks can be made and some questions can be asked.

In that contribution, we use some results of a collective work on alter-global rallies in Evian and Saint-Denis⁸ to first answer some basic methodological questions about how to collect data on crowds (2) and then demonstrate the strenghts and weaknesses of INSURA in exploring the transnational dimension of alter global protests based on our work (3).

INSURA. Technical problems and sampling strategies

Assessing the entire realm of methodological and epistemological questions raised by INSURA would largely exceed the framework of that paper. We will only deal here with some questions centred around specific problems applied to alterglobal events. Three main questions should be first addressed. What are the specific constraints of interviewing people at the very moment they are "expressing" a political opinion? What specific constraints result from the morphology of the covered events, that is to say, how to build a valid sampling frame? We then turn to a more general point about the questions that can be solved, or not, using that technique.

People attending a protest event or a political rally are by nature in an expressive situation. They do actually express their feelings and their opinions, if only by being there, by chanting and shouting slogans, by raising their fists, by wearing masks or costumes, by holding banners or placards. Two consequences follow. One is that people's willingness to participate is generally optimal, apart for those groups and individuals who reject as a whole poll techniques and sociological surveys as being part of the "dominant order"⁹. The other is that in case of face-to-face interviews, people will certainly pay little attention to the questions since they are engaged at the same time in a collective action, surrounded by colleagues, friends, relatives and the whole crowd. That point will not be developed here. Suffices it to say that as a consequence, questionnaires must be short enough, and that too demanding questions, like multiple choice questions or open-ended questions, should be as far as possible avoided. One possible solution can be to ask participants to fill in the questionnaire at home and then post it. That solution, which introduces a huge difference in the data

⁸ The Groupe de recherches sur l'activisme altermondialiste (GRAAL, University of Paris - Sorbonne, France) and the Centre de Recherche sur l'Action Politique de l'Université de Lausanne (CRAPUL, Suisse) have undertaken a series of studies about large anti/alter-global protest events, where activists from all countries have recurrently been meeting since the beginning of the 1990s. This chapter deals with two events: the No-G8 protest in the French-Swiss region of Evian-Lausanne-Geneva, in June 2003, and the 2nd European Social Forum in Paris region, in November 2003. The same research design was applied: a four-languages (French, English, German, Italian) questionnaire distributed to militants who were to fill it in right on the protest place, except a few of them who sent it back by mail. About 2 000 questionnaires were gathered in each event, without any strict statistical sampling. The research team only aimed at hitting the most diverse profiles in the different places where people met and discussed, demonstrated, lived: conference rooms, camping villages in Evian region, streets.

⁹ Which means that in alter-globalisation events, a more or less reduced of the participants will systematically refuse being interviewed (black blocs and more generally anarchist activists).

collection process, is very much in favour in contemporary INSURA and comprises many advantages. Since, one has to be aware that the answers will be of a different nature than those gathered in the course of the event, especially when the considered event has immediate consequences (e.g. at Genoa, or, more routinely, the occurrence of clashes with the police in the dispersion phase of a demonstration). In these cases, media coverage of the event, organisers' press conferences and public official declarations will certainly have an impact on attitudinal answers. And the problem is all the more puzzling if the survey strategy is mixing face-to face interviews and a mail survey (at least when attitudinal data are not subsequently studied separately).

To date, four types of crowd gatherings have been submitted to INSURA. Outdoor static gatherings, indoor meetings (like in the case of European social fora), protest camps or villages, and marches. In each case, constraints differ and diverse solutions must be invented to conduct the survey. In most situations, the aforementioned events combined more or less the four morphological situations. It is not possible here to deal at length with technical solutions that have been used in each specific case. We will only deal here with surveys in demonstrations, since it is certainly the most complicated case.

To put it briefly, usual sampling strategies are here impossible to use. In protest Events, only some people are affiliated to organisations, and the number of organisations makes impossible any proximate to the research population. Since it is not possible to use a sampling strategy based on quotas, one has to use a probabilistic method, that is to say, to guarantee that all possible participants would have equal opportunity of being interviewed. To achieve that, one must take into account the fact that participants' spatial and temporal distribution is never aleatoric: "For the most part of them, people do assemble at a meeting point, march under a banner, depending on multiple belongings, following a march order that is predetermined by organizers. Others are more erratic, travelling from one group to another, from the very heart of the demonstration to its margins. These numerous spatial and temporal distributions have a clear consequence: one must use two different methods, depending on which stage of a demonstration is concerned, the assembling phase or the march itself" (Fillieule, 1997, methodological appendix). In the first phase, the best method is derived from Seidler et al. (1976) and Favre et al. (1997). The gathering space (generally a square and its adjacent streets) is divided in advance into sectors clearly identified by some spatial distinguishing marks. One generally knows in advance where the different groups are due to assemble under their banners, carts etc. For big events, the press will even publish maps indicating the different meeting points. It is also sometimes possible to have in advance an idea of the rough number of people per group or cluster of groups. In each cell, interviewers (the number of which is defined depending on the expected density of demonstrators per cells) must randomly select interviewees. At that stage, a fixed number of interviewees per cells can be decided in advance or not, since the length of the assembling process is always difficult to evaluate¹⁰. As usually in probabilistic methods, the only criterion for the selection of the respondents is randomness. This can best be achieved by relying on a counting system always taking, for example, the Xth person in a group. Two persons who stand alongside may not be interviewed both. In case of refusal, on the contrary, one should try to interview the nearest person in the group. In the case of alter-global protest events, these requirements are all the more important that people usually attend different kind of events; Moreover, for some of them, these

¹⁰ For an alternative method also based on Seidler, see McPhail and al., 2006.

activities are mutually exclusive. Villages, zaps and blockades, demonstrations, conferences and meetings can be held at the same time. That is why it is usually very fruitful to conduct interviews in the villages like some of us did, since it is obvious that the kind of activity influences who participate. People who attend a meeting are not necessarily the same as the people who participate in the demonstration. Yet, all two groups of people are and probably see themselves as participants in the same movement.

In the second phase of the survey, questionnaires must be distributed or interviews be conducted during the protest march itself. Many solutions are available here and we have explored some of them (Favre et ali., 1997). For technical reasons that will not be discussed here, the best solution is to divide the interviewers in two squads. One is placed at the front of the demonstration and the other at the end of it. The first group starts its interviews at the head of the march and gradually comes down the demonstration to the end of it. The second group starts at the end (and must then wait for the end of the procession to leave the gathering place) and walk up to the head of the demonstration (Favre et ali., 1997). Depending on the available resources, it is always possible to multiply the number of squads as long as they are intervening in a symmetrical way in the procession. Each squad of interviewers is ruled by two head persons whose mission is to offer spatial points of reference on each side of the demonstration and to decide who will be interviewed by whom and in what row (that rule could be of an utmost importance, especially if the interviewers are not professional staff or specifically trained personnel). Finally, experience proves that things never go exactly as previously planned. Crowd events are very awkward social phenomena and one must always be ready for alternative solutions.

One more problem to be solved if one wants to assure the reliability and validity of ones data depends upon high survey response rates, which reduce the possibility that the group of respondents is systematically different from the population the interviewers tried to question. Biases due to non response are well identified in the survey literature. In INSURA, as we said before, apart from those who are by definition hostile to any kind of sociological investigation, it seems that whenever they are able to answer, people do accept the interview. However, one must take every possible step both to limit non response bias (which means simple and not too long questionnaires) and, if possible, to understand its dimensions. That is why, in face-to-face interviews, the interviewers must systematically mention on a separate grid every person who refuses to cooperate or give up answering the questionnaire after a while. To that, the interviewers should add information about the spatial location of failed interviews (that will help, for example in the assembling phase, to know with which group the interviewee is assembling). By doing that, the researcher can at a minimum determine whether the pool of respondents over-represents particular organizational affiliations, demographics, or any other pertinent categories. This knowledge can improve the validity of one's conclusions from an imperfect sample by allowing a more accurate interpretation of survey results. On the contrary, it is much more difficult to have a clue of the non response bias in mail survey, apart from the total number of questionnaires returned out of the total number of questionnaires distributed. Finding technical solutions for securing that the interviewees' population does actually represent the people composing the crowd is certainly difficult, but still possible to attain. Yet, one more central question remains. What does the crowd itself represent? Four remarks could help to find the answer:

First of all, INSURA consist in one-shot surveys on actual participants in a given event. Participation is generally not submitted to any condition. People do not need to be a member of an organization, they usually do not have to register (apart in the case of Social fora where you have to pay fees), etc. That means that the reference population, the crowd itself, can be composed of core militants, sympathisers, bystanders, sight-seers, lost people, tourists and sometimes opponents! A crowd can't be considered as equal to a social movement constituency. Its heterogeneity is far more important and different in nature. In social movement organizations, a number of empirical studies have called attention to the diversity of beliefs and motivations in the same social movement. In a crowd, heterogeneity does not only refer to that diversity of beliefs and motivations but primarily to the fact that only a limited part of the people, in a way or another, is part of the SMOs that organize the event.

Secondly, and consequently, people attending a gathering may participate for the first time in their life. Ladd and his colleagues (1983) were among the first to stress that point in their study of a national anti nuclear rally in Washington D.C. They found that half of the sample of persons attending the demonstration were participating in their first antinuclear power activity (and we know from existing studies of alter-global events that it is usually the case in almost all the events studied by INSURA). Still, they consider that the people interviewed are actually representing the anti nuclear movement. In their opinion: "by studying an actual movement demonstration, we are defining social movement membership in terms of participation in collective action" (Ladd et ali, 1983:269). Yet, it makes no sense to admit that social movement participation can be epitomized in a one-shot participation, especially in the case of the alter-global movement which is marked by a "secular, inclusive and non-totalising approach" and "tolerant identities" (Della Porta, 2004), as opposed to the "totalitarian", or at least organisational, identities of the past, which means that there are generally not "entry costs" in such events or groups.

Thirdly, INSURA, by definition, only capture the image of a crowd at one point in time and in one specific location. That very point has crucial consequences. To begin with, one can never assume that those who participate for the first time in a rally will stay involved in the movement, or even remain interested in the cause. Some will certainly, but one knows that all movements are marked by a high level of turn over. That means newcomers can't be considered without further considerations as being part of the movement. Only those who declare they did previously participate in alter-global activities (at least once!) or say they are members of that or that alter organization can be considered part of the movement. Furthermore, all INSURA dedicated to alter-globalisation events constantly stress the fact that about half of the interviewees are "local people"¹¹. Those among local people who are not formally involved in alter SMOs can certainly not be easily aggregated to other participants. For them, barriers to participation are lower than for other people.

Finally and more broadly, movement participation and mobilization are processes that evolve over time. Movements expand and contract in phases of mobilization

¹¹ That notion is not so evident to define. Nationality is certainly one indicator but it is not enough. People do not always live in « their » country, and, depending on the location of the event, foreign people living abroad can be closer to the event than national people living far away from the considered location. That was for example the case for our INSURA in Lausanne and Geneva, for obvious reasons. That is why Bedoyan and Van Aelst (2003) attempt to compare participation costs at demonstration in Brussel for different nationality is, among other reasons, not very convincing.

and demobilization. Here again, it is all the more true in the case of alter-global events that gather people coming from different countries. In each specific country, the position of the movement along the cycle can be different and submitted to very different contextual factors that affect the level of mobilization. That very fact makes very difficult research designs ambitioning to compare in one single event different national constituencies. We will come back to that point later.

If I had a hammer...

In INSURA, the unit of analysis is by definition the individual, not organizations. That means INSURA are certainly not appropriate tools for addressing all research questions in social movements. As Klandermans and Smith remind us: "Research that takes the individual as its unit of analysis necessarily restricts itself to the explanation of individual opinions, attitudes and behaviour. It can help us to understand why individuals participate in social movements (...) but it can tell us very little about the organizations and actors that stage movement events. (...) The supply-side of protest is a different matter that cannot be assessed at the individual level with the individual as the unit of analysis ». In the remaining section, we show that INSURA is certainly well suited to explore the demographics of alter-global events, as well as relational networks of individuals and multiple belongings. We then argue that organization networks and movement's boundaries are far more difficult to explore through INSURA, a fact that seriously limits international cross comparisons of movements based on that tool.

Alter-global demographics. Fighting common sense

The definition of the so-called alter-global movement is by no doubt ambiguous and submitted to different strategies by different actors. Alter organizations, political elites, governments, journalists and... social scientists, are all engaged in a symbolic fight for the right definition of what "the movement" is, if one can talk about A movement (Sommier and al., 2008). At the very heart of that debate lies the question of the identification of those people composing the movement. At a very general level, can one speak of a "transnational civil society", or an "international working class" or "modernization losers"? At a more specific level, can one identify different kinds of groups involved, with different motivations and social characteristics? Globally speaking, the resulting image of alter-global movements and constituencies is not that clear and partially contradictory, depending on commentators' vested interests: for sympathetic commentators, the alter-global movement is supposed to assemble people coming from multiple geographic origins, being then truly internationalist.

As a new social movement developing in the context of a crisis of representative democracy, it would be composed of new militants rejecting traditional affiliations to classical political parties, unions and voluntary groups. That "political virginity" would be connected with a blurring of traditional class, gender and age cleavages usually structuring social conflicts and organizations. For hostile commentators, on the contrary, alter-global militants are characterized as a bunch of heteroclitite naïve and unrealistic people rejecting modernization processes because of their own dominated situation, manipulated by small groups of political violent agitators, criminal and even terrorists. The

development of INSURA, in that ideologically polarized context, has offered an opportunity to build objective descriptions of participants to alter global events.

If one turns now to the results of our own surveys one notes that respondents are more often men than women, especially at the No-G8 (see figure 1 in annex). They are much younger: 40% to 60% of them are less than 30 years (two to four times more than the population) and only 1% to 5% more than 64 (4 to 12 times less than population). This goes along with a high proportion of students, especially at the No-G8, and few retired people. Universities and other higher education establishments being located in cities, anti-global militants do live more than others in cities.

Although many of the militants are still studying, and therefore have not obtained their highest diploma yet, the average duration of studies is very high. Especially at the ESF, many participants have attended higher education and have or have had contacts with science and other intellectual domains: they own a high cultural capital. At the same time, militants' religiosity is weak. They seldom believe in God, nor practice, be it praying alone, attending religious meetings or ceremonies, engaging in religious groups.

Militants who are not studying often work or are unemployed. They rarely stay at home for housework. The ones who work often own a favoured position: professionals, executives, managers and employees. These sociological properties can be summed up as pertaining to the "middle class radicalism" Cotgrove and Duff have described (Cotgrove and Duff, 1980). Indeed, they place themselves clearly at the extreme left side of the left-right scale, while the distribution of the population is rather symmetrical. Some of them also refuse the scale test: what usually appears as a sign of lack of political competence here proves to be another sign of a critical approach to classical politics, as the examination of the socio-ideological profile of "no answers" to this question shows.

Individual features of cosmopolitanism...but rooted cosmopolitanism

The respondents, although more than four out of five come from the countries where the two events took place, show high levels of cosmopolitanism, that is a propensity to keep up links with other countries. Figure 2 in annex shows that 75% of the No-G8 militants (respectively 77% of the FSE militants) speak at least one foreign language and 50% (resp. 45%) at least two. 53% (resp. 22%) have spent more than one year abroad and most of them keep up professional, friendship or family ties with people living abroad. 50% (resp. 41%) have already been abroad for militant purposes. As a result, part of the people at the No-G8 and the FSE come from abroad. These activists already seem to belong to a social class that travels freely across borders and cultures

Their ideological views seem to be in keeping with their social properties. In accordance with the "altermondialiste" label most of them agree on, their ideological world is centred on worldly issues and their attacks target international institutions and phenomena. North-South inequalities, fight against capitalism, against multinational firms and against war come first among the political issues that drove them to come to the events (figure 3 in annex).

The organizational belongings they declare fit with these ideological stances. Some of them belong to international organizations. Several of the most important organizations they belong to aim at international political transformations. The strictly "altermondialiste" organizations logically come out

first. This seems to confirm the existence of a specific anti-global militant field, that would mainly exist at a transnational level. Then the militants declare membership to organizations that promote ecology, peace, human rights in general and the migrants rights in particular (figure 4 in annex).

At the same time, anti-globals declare several memberships to national organizations. 18% of the No-G8 (22% of the ESF) participants declare membership to political parties, which seldom develop noteworthy links with foreign parties. Only 3% of the militants at the ESF are members of trade unions, because of the intellectual, academic nature of this meeting, 17% of the militants at the No-G8 did. In both events, some people declared to be involved in other rather nationally rooted movements: movements advocating local issues, homeless and unemployed people, or farmers. Their political practice appears to be based on strong local belongings, from which they gain information, competence and access to social networks necessary to engage in global politics. As Tarrow put it, they are rooted cosmopolitans (Tarrow, 2001).

This is confirmed by the political integration of the ESF and No-G8 militants. They are much more involved in politics than the whole population (figure 5 in annex). They more often discuss politics or current affairs, which appears as an evidence of political competence: they did not come by accident, they know anti-global events are fully political events. Most of them declare they take part to all polls, which is noteworthy in countries like France, where there are six levels of power, and above all in Switzerland, where the number of elections is outrun by the number of federal and local votations. More over, they share high levels of conventional and non-conventional political participation. Not only do they take part to large much-mediated protest events like in Paris and Evian, but they also commonly take part to smaller demonstrations, go on strikes or sign petitions, while a minority also takes part to violent actions : resistance to police, occupation of buildings or holding up traffic. The ESF and the No-G8 look like steps in the continuity of coherent militant biographies, more than exceptional participation in the course of quieter political lives. In this context, one hardly thinks of a new militantism enlarged to newly open transnational spaces, but rather of a mix of militant generations more and more devoted to international issues.

Is comparison reason ?

At that point of our demonstration, the consistency of our results must be nuanced by some methodological considerations. At least two questions can be asked.

First of all, can INSURA results be interpreted identically year after year and in the different countries where meetings have taken place? Linguistic and ideological contexts should bias answers, all the more that the proportion of militants from different countries and languages will vary. The cultural and linguistic bias comes out again at the event level. Spanish and German demonstrators might not understand similarly questions related to professional sectors and status or to general values. We might over-, under- or misinterpret differences related to the degree of "confidence in regional authorities", to the wish to "increase the State's intervention" or to "break off with present development models". Answers from Italian, French and British militants to the left-right positioning surely do not fit together. The comparison between ESF and No-G8 results must be careful. An inquiry based on 83% of French respondents like in Paris in June 2003 must encompass severe cultural biases compared to an inquiry based on militants from more diverse origins, even mostly European. The education variable for example is biased by strongly differing education systems

between France, Switzerland and Germany: apprenticeship is unevenly developed and rated by students and employers; higher education is unevenly developed and homogeneous; the researchers share differing representations of what each diploma means sociologically. Our coding scheme, as an illustration, did not achieve to articulate properly with the ESS surveys (which explains that some figures are missing). This well-known problem of comparative studies proves even more complex for religion, left-right positioning, values or policy opinions.

Secondly, do our results represent the anti-global movement as a whole? Anti-global events are all the more ephemeral that their public is young. Therefore many participants are newcomers to protest politics, as the age structure shows (figure 1 in annex). Part of them might persist in protest politics and be back at the next Anti-global event: they will keep most of their sociological properties and simply move from the newcomers category to a category of older and more experimented militant. But part of them will drop out. They might be replaced by clearly different profiles. The replacement of cohorts reduces the capacity of punctual surveys to represent a more general mobilized population.

We still do not know much about the militants' biographies, which have been proved decisive to explain their engagement. Tracing the exact succession of employments, family changes, political engagements, associational memberships would require much more thorough questions than what can be done during a street demonstration or a public conference. Biographies are all the more crucial to explain current activism and its transnational aspects. Contrary to general population surveys, social reasons of engagement can't be considered as mere consequences of objective and subjective class belonging, religious faith and practice, cultural and ideological cleavages and so on: all these properties are also determined by years of militant practice, that is a pretty powerful process of secondary socialization inside militant organizations.

Moreover, the ESF took place near the city of Paris, which concentrates several large Universities. It was a rather intellectual mobilization, made of numerous conferences and debates about globalization and related topics, while the No-G8 in Geneva's region combined conferences with street demonstrations and other outside performances. Not only are the militants locally rooted, but the events themselves are. They aimed at different audiences. This brings down the possibility of generalization of the results. Many militants declare they came with an organization to the event. Collective trips reducing material cost of participation, a marginal organization is able to get overrepresented, while a larger organization that did not plan any collective travel will be represented by only a few well-off and/or very motivated militants. This largely reduces the longitudinal ambitions of event-focused questionnaire studies: one given survey does not necessarily faithfully represent a moment of the history of anti-globals.

INSURA as a tool to measure multi-organizational fields

Since the beginning of the century, in the context of a dramatic development of network analysis (Diani and McAdam, 2003), social researchers have more and more used individual data on multiple belongings to formulate hypotheses and draw conclusions about organizational networks. Two questions arise here. First,

on what ground can we use a measure of multiple belongings to determine an organizational web? Second, can we define a social movement as a network of people and/or organizations, a network that would be turning transnational?

The measure of multiple memberships can be converted into a coincidence matrix, that allows to formulate hypotheses about the extent to which organisations and organisational fields are linked by means of multiple memberships, participation or identification. Such a reasoning is based on the concept of "multi-organizational field" (Curtis and Zurcher, 1973). Curtis and Zurcher suggest that "organisations in a community setting approximate an ordered, coordinated system. Inter-organizational processes within the field can be identified on two levels, which conceptually overlap: the organizational level, where networks are established by joint activities, staff, boards of directors, target clientele, resources, etc; the individual level, where networks are established by multiple affiliations of members" (ibidem: 53). With INSURA data, one cannot characterize directly the web of existing relations among individuals since no variable compiles inter individual relationships, like, for example in Fernandez and McAdam (1999). One has to rely on a description of declared proximities or belongings of individuals to given organizations or clusters of organizations (e.g. environmental or human rights movement).

Although our questionnaire design aimed at individual participants to the ESF and to the No-G8, we are interested in understanding the social logics of engagement (figure 6 in annex). It appears that a majority of anti-globals are closely embedded in social and organizational structures. In both events, less than 20% of them declare that neither their colleagues, nor their family or their friends are "rather active militants". 34% of them declare that 2 or 3 of these 3 social circles are. This structural embedment translates into the concrete circumstances of participation. When questioned about "what impelled them to come", 23% mention their convictions (G8 only), but 38% (25% at the ESF) mention their friends and 28% (52% at the ESF) the organization they belong to. Although 32% came alone, 23% came (mainly) with close friends and 23% with their organization. Social constraints matter much than forecast by theories of disorganized individuals.

This encourages us to investigate further about organizational networks. We saw figure 4 recorded numerous multiple memberships. In both events, each militant declares on average about 2,5 present memberships, be they active or passive. This result calls for a thorough study of combinations of individual affiliations in order to scheme indirectly the organizational structure of the antiglobal field. This way, we follow the theoretical approach suggested by Doug McAdam in his study of Freedom Summer anti-segregation action (McAdam, 1986).

As for the method, both M1 [2 000 individuals x 20 memberships]¹² matrices are converted into M2 [20 x 20 memberships] matrices that are processed by means of ascending hierarchical cluster analysis¹³. Figures 7, 8 and 9 in annex translate the main resulting classes into clusters and proximity in the classification tree into two dimensions spatial proximity. The size of organizations labels is

¹² Respondents were asked about active or passive belongings. We assigned a double rating to the first in M1.

¹³ Our cluster analysis maximizes the mean between-clusters distance in order to discriminate clusters the most possible. Distance between clusters *i* and *j* is the sum of squares of distances between the organizations they respectively include. Profiles of organizations in M2 are centered and reduced to control size effects. Other algorithms have been tested in order to check for stability: instabilities do exist but they reveal local, and do not alter the general structure.

proportionated to the raw total of memberships and the thickness of links between two organizations to the raw number of shared memberships. We obtain what can be labelled schemes of the network of organizations as represented in the events through their (declared and presumed) members.

While some organizations seldom combine with each other, some do frequently, gathering themselves into clusters who share distinct mean socio-ideological properties and distinct mean political attitudes.

The properties of clusters are extracted from their "cores", that is the 7% to 16% of militants who best represent each of them¹⁴. As an example, the main cluster of the 2003 ESF organizational structure (figure 7) gathers anti-globals in general, peace and ecology militants. ATTAC, one of the core organizations of French anti-global field, logically provides a majority of these militants. They are younger than the mean, not very religious, with many full-time managers, who seldom vote, and, if so, who choose the Greens or the Ligue communiste révolutionnaire. They took part to former anti-global events, identify to this movement, like their relations.

Figure 9 compares six ESF organizational clusters according to their degree of cosmopolitanism, an index that synthesizes the ability to speak foreign languages and the time spent abroad. This criterium proves clearly discriminating. The cluster most exclusively devoted to (conventional, traditional) politics (# 3) reaches a very low (and homogeneous) level of cosmopolitanism: these militants appear are the most strongly rooted in national mobilizations and organizations. The feminist and gay and lesbian cluster (# 5) is composed of both very and very little cosmopolitan militants, which does not contradict its marginal structural coherence. Human rights and humanitarian militants (# 2) and anti-globals, ecologists and pacifists (# 1) are very cosmopolitan, as if international causes would correspond to international militants.

Comparing the mainly French ESF graph (figure 7) with the French part of the No-G8 graph (figure 8) one would overweigh local, temporary, contingent factors relatively to the system of organizations that irrigates each anti-global event. We can state that in both cases, strictly "anti-global" organizations are heavy and central, which is no surprise. We can also claim that ecology, humanitarian, trade unions and political parties are among the largest sub-fields, that unions and parties share a lot of militants, as well as feminist and gay-lesbian organizations, or humanitarian and human rights. We could also compare the No-G8 graphs according to the respondents' nationality (figures 8 and 9). Parties, unions and students compose one stable cluster, but obvious differences can be seen, notably the centrality of French anti-global militants and the more federal looking Swiss graph. This tends to show that the existence of a transnational anti-global field, seen from the organizational point of view, is still a fiction.

Similarly, from the contrast between the two organizational webs (made of French and Swiss militants), we dare not infer differences between national histories of social mobilization. Several studies have established such differences. But our analysis above all shows that organizations diversely tangle with the event, according to diverse political contexts. For example, taking part

¹⁴ For example, cluster 1 is made of 871 anti-globals, 393 ecologists and 376 pacifists, some of these cumulating two or three of these belongings. The core of cluster 1 is composed of 270 militants who define it particularly well, that is they belong to at least two of these three organizations, and they do not belong to too much organizations external to this cluster.

to the No-G8 must have cost more to the French: the distance was bigger, many people were off during the long Pentecost week-end, some were striking against cuts in public sector retired people's pensions, and some against the government's educational policies, which concerned a large part of the No-G8 public.

Another crucial objection lies in the translation from individual multiple belongings to an organizational net. Organizational ties do consist in exchanges through individuals with multiple activities, these exchanges being linked with common ideological motifs, common conceptions of society, common generational roots and common conceptions of engagement. But they also encompass concrete political alliances, historical links, participation to common struggles, leaders working together, and so on.

As a consequence, reducing the anti-global organizational field to our graphs would largely over interpret its institutional value.

The assumption lying under that kind of analyses is that activists participation in multiple organisations helps foster participation between the organisations, and can serve as a fairly reliable predictor of actual inter-organisational linkages. As Diani writes in a recent piece on the F15 demonstrations, "The web of the connections, produced by these involvements, constitutes the structural basis of the coalitions that promoted the demonstrations. (...) (It maps) the structure of the ties that linked the different types of organizational actors involved in the coalitions. This, regardless of whether they actually managed to establish publicly visible alliances on those specific occasions" (2005: 2-3). Such a conception is consistent with a number of recent studies tending to show that sustained communication and cooperation between people in a given milieu can foster a sense of solidarity and we-feeling, independently from organizational links (Bayat, 1997; Bennani and Fillieule, 2003) and Diani is certainly right to stress "the possibility that recurrent patterns of interactions generate the same type of solidarity and commitment that one experiences within associations. (...), it is also likely that a distinct sense of commonality and specific bonds will arise linking people repeatedly sharing the same experiences. In this particular sense, it is not unreasonable to think of sustained involvement in protest activities as a particular type of group membership" (Diani, 2005, italics added).

Ultimately, what is a social movement? Contemporary social movement theory lies upon a now challenged definition of the object. The political process perspective defines social movements as "a sustained challenge to power holders in the name of a population living under the jurisdiction of those power holders by means of repeated public displays of that population's worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment" (Tilly, 1999: 257). For more than a decade, that definition, which finds its main operationalization via protest event analysis, has been criticized for its exclusive focus on interactions between challengers and power holders, its objectivist and simplistic definition of the state (Goodwin and Jasper, 2003; Fillieule, 1997, 2005), its tendency to meld social movements and protest events, and to treat the former as aggregates of the latter (Armstrong, 2002; Taylor and Van Dycke, 2004; Fillieule, 2006).

The definitional question is all the more puzzling in the case of the alter-global movement, the boundaries of which are large and fluid, changing across time and national contexts. That is why the alternative definition of a social movement, offered by Diani (1992, 1995), who suggests that a movement is made up of a network of organisations and individuals with a collective identity

that engages in collective action using semi- or non-institutional channels¹⁵, is widely used by researchers working on the "movement of movements".

In our opinion, Diani is absolutely right in stressing the fact that "a movement is a form of collective organization with no formal boundaries, which allows participants to feel part of broad collective efforts while retaining their distinctive identities as individuals and/or as specific organizations and at the same time, that collective identities are reproduced through actual or virtual interactions" (2001). Yet, it remains that the belongings we mark through INSURA do not measure "recurrent pattern of interactions" between people "repeatedly sharing the same experience", neither are they the sign of "sustained involvement in protest activities". As we have shown before, most of the respondents are participating for the first time and because they live close to the location of the event. Except if one sets apart these people and only concentrate on people giving evidence that they endure links and commitments within protest activities, one can not reasonably consider that the data gathered on multiple belongings accurately picture the web of organizations.

*

* *

Research about transnationalisation of social movements might take two ways: either inquiries about structural efforts by organizations and individuals from different countries to merge across borders, or at least to work together; either inquiries about particular moments when foreign organizations and individuals mix and combine their actions along common causes. INSURA conducted during international events, like the ESF and No-G8 studies presented here, supposedly belong to the second way, through a comparison between individual profiles from different countries, from different national organizations and international organizations. Yet, this method can repeat, sometimes even increase, the problems met at national level, that is problems due to differential participation and relation to social science, differential contexts of mobilization, differential behaviour during the event and differential cultural background. Participation changes with distance and with the police opinion on their origin, increasing the part of noise among the polled population with the respondents'. Social science protocols might carry along differing opinions on questionnaire inquiries, varying reluctance to answer and varying liability to lie or distort answers. The ESF and the No-G8 do not have the same meaning and importance for militants from different origins, they do not insert the same way in national long-term mobilization agendas and in national ideological backgrounds. Sampling obstacles come from different behaviours during the event, possibly tricking the sampling strategies of researchers, for example spatial strategy or diversity strategy. Linguistic, cultural and institutional aspects of distinct origins make it all the more difficult to come up with wording that generate comparable answers for demographics, political attitudes or values; finding the right words comes even more knotty when thin biographical or ideological distinctions have to be made, requiring thin knowledge of multiple cultures. At the end, if one does not

¹⁵ « (social movements) are networks of interaction between different actors which may either include formal organizations or not, depending on shifting circumstances. As a consequence, a single organization, whatever its dominant traits, is not a social movement. Of course, it may be part of one, but the two are not identical, as they reflect different organizational principles » (Diani, 1992).

pay attention to all these obstacles, one may produce *Canada dry comparisons*, that is research that look, smell and taste comparative, but that are actually not real comparative research.

Reference List

Agrikoliansky E., Sommier I. (2005). *Radiographie du mouvement altermondialiste, le second Forum social européen*. Paris: La Dispute.

Andretta (M.), Della Porta D., Mosca L., Reiter H. (2002). *Global, noglobal, new global. La protesta contro il G8 a Genova*. Bari-Rome: Laterza.

Armstrong E. (2002), *Forging Gay Identities. Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950- 1974*. Chicago: The university press of Chicago.

Bayat A., 1997, *Street Politics. Poor People Movements in Iran*, Columbia University Press, New York.

Bedoyan I. and Van Aelst P. (2003). « *Limitations and possibilities of transnational mobilization. The case of the EU summit protesters in Brussels, 2001* », paper presented at the conference « *Les mobilisations altermondialistes, Paris, GERMM, nov 2003*.

Bennani-Chraïbi M., Fillieule O., dir. (2003). *Résistances et protestations dans le monde musulman*. Paris: presses de sciences po.

Cotgrove S., Duff A. (1980). « Environmentalism, Middle Class Radicalism and Politics », *Sociological review* 28 (2), p. 333-349

Curtis and Zurcher (1973). « Stable resources of Protest Movements :The Multi-Organisational Field », *Social Forces*, vol 52, n°1, septembre, p. 53-61.

Della Porta D. (2004). « *Multiple Belongings, Flexible Identities and the Construction of "Another Politics":Between the European Social Forum and the Local Social Fora* », in Della Porta (D.), Tarrow (S.), dir., *Transnational Movement and Global Activism*, Lanham Md, Rowman and Littlefield.

Diani M. (2005). "The structural bases of movement coalitions. Multiple memberships and networks in the February 15th 2003 peace demonstrations", Paper prepared for the American Sociological Association Centenary Meeting, Philadelphia, August 13-16 2005

Diani M., McAdam D.(2003). *Social Movements and Networks. Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. Oxford University Press.

Diani, M. (1995). *Green Networks. A Structural Analysis Of The Italian Environmental Movement*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Diani, Mario (2001). "A relational view of the social movement organisation vs. interest group distinction." Paper for the ECPR2001 General Conference, Canterbury, 6-8 September.

Diani, Mario (1992). "The Concept of Social Movement." *The Sociological Review* 40: 1-25. Doherty, Plows and Wall (2003) 'The Preferred Way of Doing Things': The British Direct Action Movement in *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol 56 No 4 oct ;

Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (1999). The intergroup dynamics of collective empowerment: Substantiating the social identity model of crowd behaviour. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 2, 1-22.

Favre P., O. Fillieule and N. Mayer (1997). 'La fin d'une étrange lacune de la sociologie des mobilisations: L'étude par sondage des manifestants: fondements théoriques et solutions techniques'. *Revue Française de Science Politique* 47: 3-28.

Fernandez R., and D. McAdam (1989). "Multiorganizational Fields And Recruitment To Social Movements." Pp.315-44 in *International Social Movement Research*, vol.2, Organizing For Change, edited by B. Klandermans. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press.

Fillieule O., (2006b). « On n'y voit rien. Le recours aux sources de presse pour l'analyse des mobilisations protestataires », in Favre P, Fillieule O. et Jobard F. (eds), *L'atelier du politiste*, Paris: La Découverte.

Fillieule O., (2006a). « Requiem pour un concept. Vie et mort de la notion de 'structure des opportunités politiques' », dans Dorronsoro G. (dir), *Les mouvements sociaux en Turquie*, Paris: presses du CNRS.

Fillieule O., Blanchard P. (2005). « Le champ multiorganisationnel altermondialiste. In: *Radiographie du mouvement altermondialiste* », in E. Agrikoliansky et I. Sommier, *Radiographie du mouvement altermondialiste, le second Forum social européen*, Paris: La Dispute.

Fillieule O., Blanchard. P., et al. (20049). "l'Altermondialisme en réseaux: Trajectoires militantes, multipositionnalité et formes de l'engagement: les participants du contre-sommet du g8 d'Evian (2003), *Politix*, n°5, décembre.

Fillieule O., and Tartakowsky D. (2008). *La manifestation*, Paris : Presses de sciences po.

Fillieule, O. (1996). 'Police Records and the National Press in France: Issues in the Methodology of Data-Collections from Newspapers'. *EUI Working Papers*, RSC No. 96/25. Florence: European University Institute.

Fillieule, O. (1997). *Stratégies de la rue. Les manifestations en France*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Goodwin, J. and Jasper, J. (2003). *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion*, Rowman and Littlefield.

Klandermans and Smith (2002). "Survey research: A Case for Comparative Designs », in Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg (eds.), *Methods of Social Movement Research*, Minnesota, University of Minnesota Press.

Ladd, A., Hood, T.& Van Liere, K.D. (1983). Ideological themes in the antinuclear movement: Consensus and diversity, *Sociological Inquiry* 53: 252-272.

Levi M., Murphy G. (2002). « Coalitions of Contention: The Case of the WTO Protests in Seattle. » Papier présenté lors de l'International Sociological Association Meeting, Brisbane, Australia.

Lichbach M., Almeida P. (2001). *Global Order and Local Resistance: The Neoliberal Institutional Trilemma and the Battle of Seattle*, Riverside, CA.

McAdam Doug, (1986). "Recruitment to High Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer", *American Journal of Sociology*, 92, 64-90.

McAdam D. and Roberto F. (1990). "Microstructural Bases Of Recruitment To Social Movements." Pp.1-33 in *Research In Social Movements, Conflict And Change*, vol.12, edited by L. Kriesberg. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press.

McAdam, Doug. (1986). "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer." *American Journal of Sociology*, 92:64--90.

McPhail, C. and D. L. Miller (1973). "The Assembling Process: A Theoretical and Empirical Examination." *American Sociological Review* 38:721-35.

McPhail, C., Schweingruber D. D., Ceobanu A. M. (2006). « Bridging the Collective Behavior/Social Movement Gap », paper presented at the ASA, Montréal.

Seidler J., K. Meyer, and L. MacGillivray (1976). "Collecting Data on Crowds and Rallies: A New Method of Stationary Sampling." *Social Forces* 55:507-18.

Sommier I., Fillieule O. and et Agrikoliansky E., (eds) (2008). *Généalogie des mouvements altermondialistes en Europe. Une perspective comparée*, Paris: Karthala.

Tarrow S. (2001). « Rooted Cosmopolitans: Transnational Activists in a World of States », papier presented at Wisconsin University, Madison, 2 novembre 2001.

Taylor V. et Van Dyke N. (2004). « Get Up, Stand Up : Tactical repertoires of Social Movements », Snow D. et al. (eds), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, Oxford: Blackwell, p. 262-293.

Topf, R. (1995). « Beyond electoral participation » (pp. 52–91), in D. Fuchs & H. Klingemann (eds.), *Citizens and the state*. Oxford: University Press.

Van Aelst P. and Walgrave S. (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

Walgrave, S. and Verhulst J. (2003). *Worldwide Anti-war-in-Iraq Protest: A Preliminary Test of the Transnational Movement Thesis*. Working Paper, Centre for Media, Movements, and Politics. University of Antwerp, Belgium.

Annex

**Fig. 1. Sociological properties of anti-global militants
in the European Social Forum (Paris - N = 2 198)
and in the No-G8 event (Evian - N = 2 282)
compared to general population from European Social Survey 2003 when available
% of all respondents**

	ESF	No-G8	ESS CH	ESS F
Sex				
Women	50	41	52	55
Men	48	57	48	45
na	3	2		
Age				
<25	24	44	12	10
25-29	15	21	8	6
30-34	9	10	10	9
35-39	6	4	9	11
40-44	7	4	8	10
45-49	8	4	8	9
50-54	8	5	8	8
55-59	8	4	8	8
60-64	6	2	7	7
>64	5	1	22	21
na	3	2	0	0
Place of living				
> 500 000 inh.	36	25	7	26
100 000 - 500 000 inh.	18	32		
50 000 - 100 000 inh.	14	7		
10 000 - 50 000 inh.	17	13		
5 000 - 10 000 inh.	5	4		
< 5 000 inh.	11	15	57	34
na		4		
Education				
No diploma	3	6	3	9
Short prof. educ.	5	11		
Secondary educ.	12	19	54	5
Long prof. educ.	10	10		
College	17	19	24	27
University	50	34	3	16
na	3	2		

	ESF	No-G8	ESS CH	ESS F
Religiosity (practicing pray, ceremonies, religious meetings, religious engagement, faith)				
None	75	75	5	19
Low	4	6	16	25
Medium	12	13	27	27
High	10	5	28	18
na	0	1	24	11
Professional situation				
School, studies	23	40	4	1
Housework	1	1	24	9
Unemployment	10	7	2	6
Retired	12	3	14	27
Full-time job	41	29	50	42
Part-time job	8	14		
Short term job	2	4	4	4
na	4	2	4	4
Professional status				
Farmers	1	0		
Crafts(wo)men, shoplifters	1	1		
Managers and intellectual p	31	19		
Intermediate professions	31	16		
Employees	6	6		
Work(wo)men	2	4		
Other without activity	8	39		
na	22	14		
Left-Right self positioning (1-9 scale)				
0	-	-	2	7
1-3	70	73	19	20
4-6	6	5	53	46
7-9	1	1	17	17
10	-	-	1	4
Can or does not want to pl:	18	18	8	6
na	6	3		

**Fig.2. Individual evidences
of cosmopolitanism (%)**

	ESF	No-G8
Foreign languages spoken		
0	23	25
1	32	23
2	30	32
3	12	14
>3	4	6
Spent time abroad		
No	59	22
Yes one year or less	19	25
Yes more than one year	22	54
Keeps up ties with people living abroad...		
Professional ties		
Lots of ties	9	10
Some ties	28	29
No ties	63	62
Ties with friends		
Lots of ties	25	31
Some ties	51	51
No ties	24	17
Ties with family		
Lots of ties	17	22
Some ties	31	37
No ties	52	41
Travelled abroad for militant purpose		
Often	5	6
Sometimes	17	19
Seldom	19	20
Never	59	56

Fig. 3. What issues impelled you to take part to the event ?
Up to 3 answers, from highest to lowest frequencies at the ESF.

	ESF	No-G8
North-South inequalities	44	57
Threat on Public services	38	21
Environment issues	35	33
Struggle against capitalism	28	38
Absolute power of multinational companies	27	42
European Union	20	
Struggle against war	20	23
Unlawfulness of international organizations	19	22
Unemployment and precariousness	18	5
Thnic, racial, homosexual discriminations	14	8
Inequality between men and women	12	6
Financial speculations	10	12

Example: 44% of all the people at the ESF declare they took part because of North-South inequalities.

Figure 4. Present memberships
 % of militants, any number of responses possible,
 from highest to lowest frequencies at the ESF.

Kind of organization	ESF	No-G8	Kind of organization	ESF	No-G8
"Altermondialiste"	40	35	Youth	7	13
Humanitarian	22	20	Students	7	15
Ecology	18	22	Homeless	7	6
Political party	18	22	Religious	6	7
Peace	17	16	Unemployment	6	3
Human rights	16	16	Squatters	5	9
Migrants	12	17	Consumption	5	5
Charity	12	13	Gay and lesbian	4	3
Other	11	17	Farmers	3	2
Feminists	8	8	Trade unions	3	17
Local	8	7	All organizations	235	276

Example: 40% of all the people at the ESF declare they are or have been member of an "altermondialiste" organization.

Fig. 5. Political properties of anti-global militants
 Compared to general population from European Social Survey 2003 when available.
 % of all respondents

	ESF	No-G8	ESS CH	ESS F	Means of political action already used	
Talking about politics						
Never	0	1	4	13	Sign petition	92 95
Seldom	9	7	19	23	Take part to demonstration	90 97
Sometimes	36	32	30	29	Take part in discussion groups	76 75
Often	53	55	46	35	Boycott goods, shops, country	68 64
na	2	5	1	0	Deliver leaflets	66 66
Vote					Take part to strike	63 56
Always	76	57			Take part in symbolic actions	56 80
Often	11	18			Block traffic (sit-in...)	40 53
Sometimes	2	6			Occupy building (factory, school...)	34 36
Seldom	2	4			Resist to armed forces	26 35
Never	2	7			Engage in fasting or say prayers	10 11
Not the right	4	8			Cause material damage	5 12
na	3	1			Take part in hunger strike	2 4
					Put physical pressure on somebody	2 5

Figure 6. Social embeddings of participants (%)

	ESF	No-G8
Are your colleagues, family, friends not at all/rather not or rather/very active militants ? Count of groups of relatives that are rather or very active militants		
None	18	17
One	36	33
Two	30	32
Three	12	12
dk	4	6
Who did you come to the event with ? First answer given		
Alone	32	13
With close friends	23	57
With acquaintances, neighbours	2	5
With colleagues	6	3
With member(s) of your family	8	7
With your organization, group	23	15
Who or what impelled you to take part to the event ? Up to 3 (ESF) or 5 (No-G8) answers possible		
Close friends	25	38
Colleagues	9	4
Acquaintances, neighbours	6	7
Family	9	8
The organization, group you belong to	52	28
Another organization, group	12	9
Internet	13	13
The media	14	16
Posters, handbills	7	15
Your convictions, ideals*	-	23
Other	19	21

* Only at the ESF.

Fig. 7: Network of organizations according to their audience among 2003 ESF militants

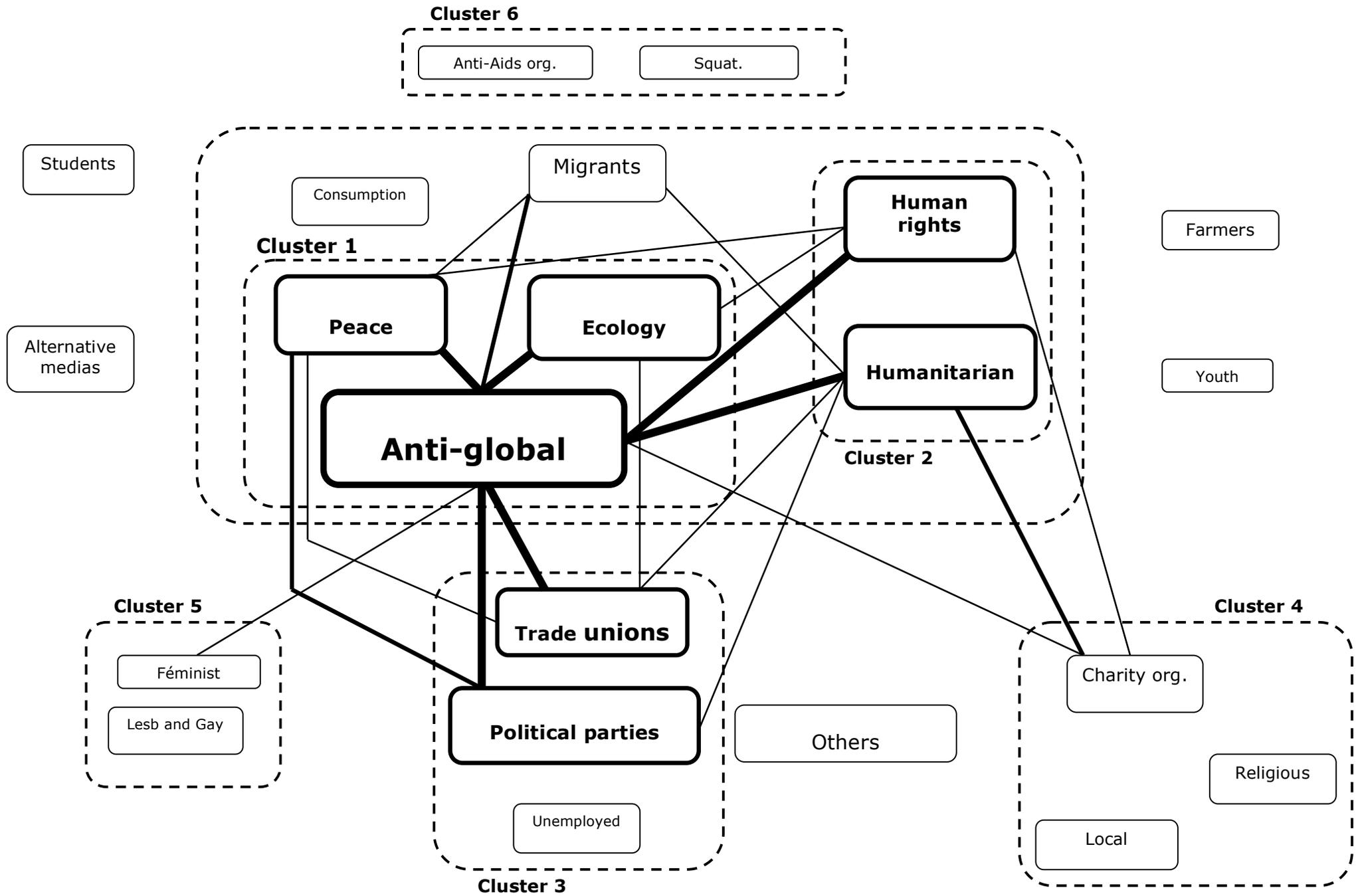


Fig. 8: Network of organisations according to their audience among French No-G8 militants

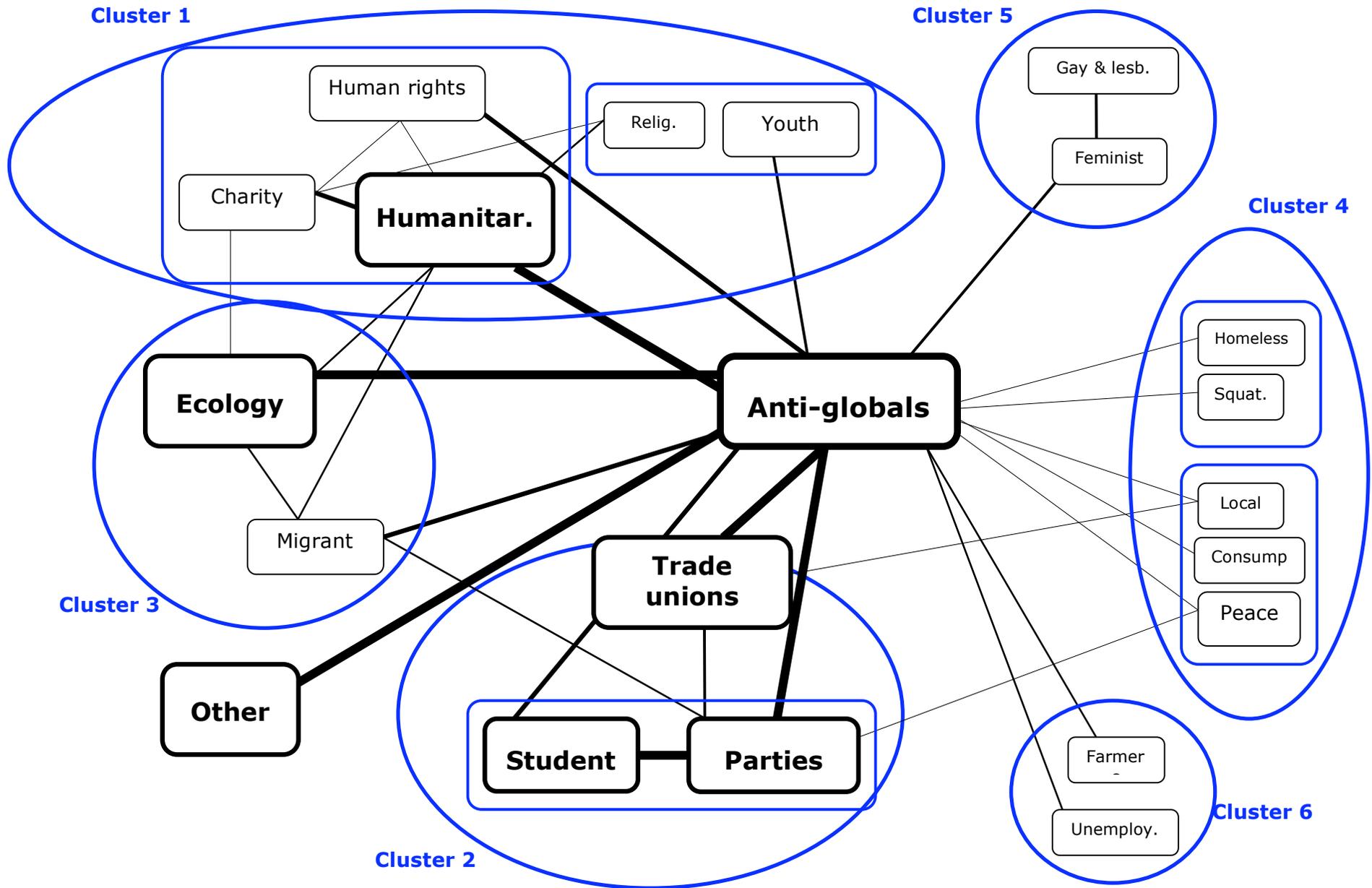
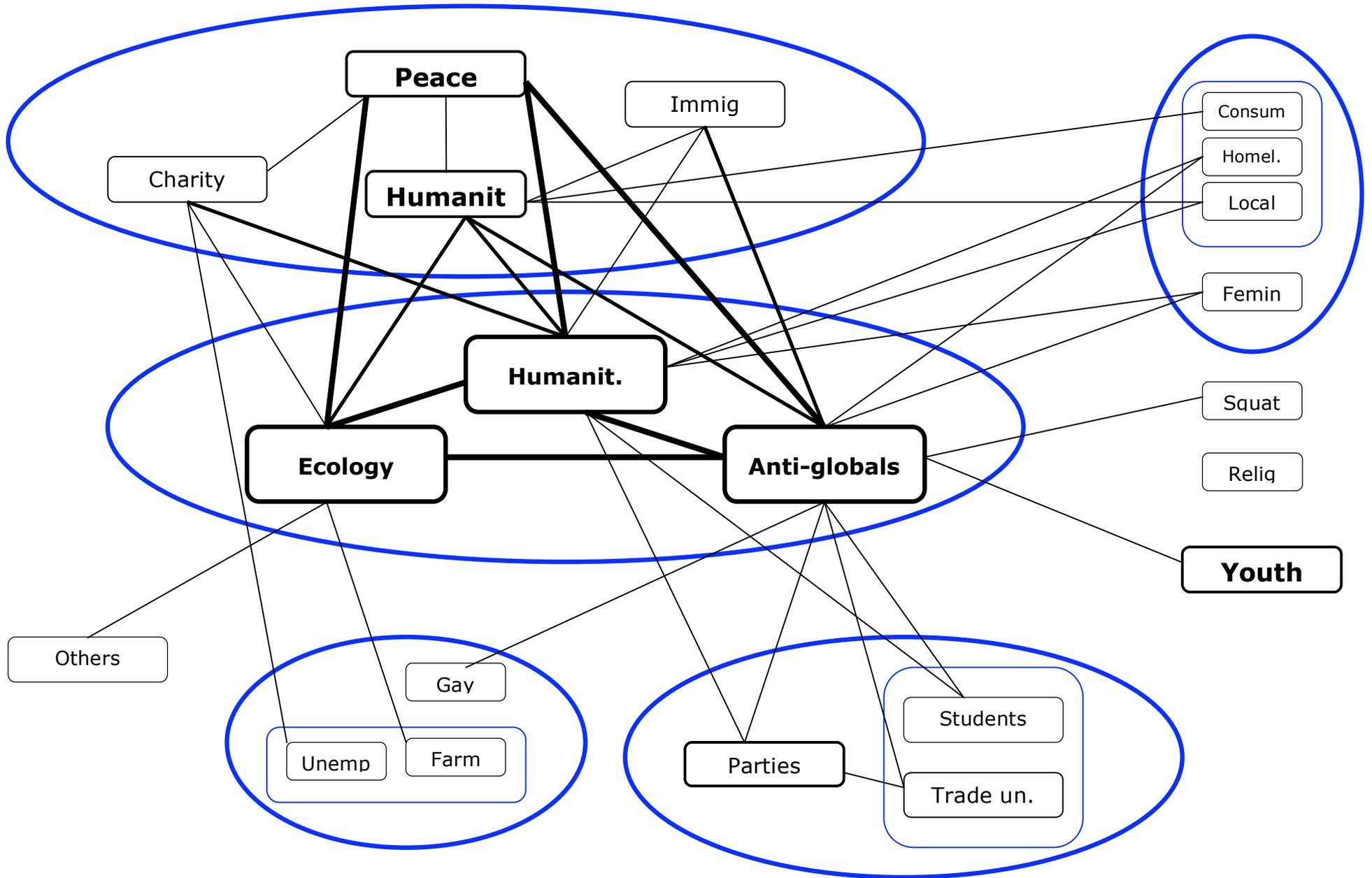


Fig. 9: Network of organisations according to their audience among Swiss No-G8 militants



Dans la collection « Travaux de Science Politique »

Disponibles sur www.unil.ch/iepi

34. **Dupuis Johann** (2008). Analyse politique des conditions de succès et d'échec des marchés de droits d'émissions.
33. **Dietmar Braun et Björn Uhlmann** (2007). Ideas and Power in Swiss Health Care Party Politics.
32. **Fabrizio Gilardi, Katharina Füglistner, Stéphane Luyet** (2007). Learning from Others: The Diffusion of Hospital Financing Reforms in OECD Countries.
31. **Natalia Gerodetti** (2007). Enduring Legacies – Intersecting Discourses in the Context of Eugenics.
30. **Véronique Mottier** (2007). Meaning, Identity, Power : Metaphors and Discourse Analysis.
29. **Olivier Fillieule** (2007). On n'y voit rien ! Le recours aux sources de presse pour l'analyse des mobilisations protestataires.
28. **Kathrin Daep** (2006). La re-régulation sélective de la finance internationale : l'initiative sur les pays ou territoires non-coopératifs du GAFI.
27. **Martino Maggetti** (2006). Assessing the De Facto Independence of Regulatory Agencies. The Case of the Swiss Federal Banking Commission in the 1990?
26. **Dietmar Braun** (2006). Modernising Federalism. Towards Convergence in the Organisation of Intergovernmental Relations?
25. **Gilardi Fabrizio** (2006). The Same, but Different. Central Banks, Regulatory Agencies, and the Politics of Delegation to Independent Authorities.
24. **Péchu Cécile** (2006). Entre résistance et contestation. La genèse du squat comme mode d'action.
23. **Gotheil Sarah** (2005) ACCOBAMS. Les pays de mer noire, méditerranée et zone atlantique adjacente s'unissent pour la protection des cétacés.
22. **Schnyder, Gerhard, Martin Lüpold, André Mach et Thomas David** (2005) The Rise and Decline of the Swiss Company Network during the 20th Century.
21. **Buffat Aurélien** (2005) La mise en oeuvre de la réforme de l'armée suisse « Armée XXI » : les changements vécus à l'interne. Etude de cas des militaires professionnels des écoles, hôpital de la place d'armes de Moudon.
20. **Rey Léonard** (2005) La construction du marché intérieur suisse à la lumière de l'expérience européenne : centralité et intervention contrastée des Hautes Cours dans les processus d'intégration économique.
19. **Csikos Patrick** (2005) Emergence d'une nouvelle gouvernance internationale privée/publique : les cas des agences de notation financière et des normes comptables.

Fig. 8: Network of organisations according to their audience among French No-G8 militants

18. **Voegtli Michael** (2004) Entre paternalisme et Etat social. Le cas de la fabrique de chocolat Suchard (1870-1940).
 17. **Chinotti Luca** (2004) Les effets de l'Accord sur l'Agriculture de l'Uruguay Round sur les pays en développement. Une entrave ou une opportunité pour le développement?.
 16. **Afonso Alexandre** (2004) Internationalisation, économie et politique migratoire dans la Suisse des années 1990.
 15. **Freymond Nicolas** (2003) La question des institutions dans la science politique contemporaine: l'exemple du néo-institutionnalisme.
 14. **Steiner Yves** (2003) Le coût réel de l'indépendance de la banque centrale: économie politique comparée de la Deutsche Bundesbank et de la Banque du Japon dans les années soixante-dix.
 13. **Braun Dietmar** (1999) Toward a heuristic framework of the Territorial division of Power in comparative public Policy research.
 12. **Braun Dietmar** (1998) Bringing State structures back in: The Significance of Political Arena's in Political Decision-making.
 11. **Kübler Daniel** (1996) Neighbourhood conflicts and dialogues.
 10. **Mach André** (1995) Représentation des intérêts et capacité d'adaptation de l'économie suisse.
 9. **Sancey Yves** (1995) Le Gentlemen's agreement de 1927. Lutte autour de la (non-)politisation de l'exportation du capital.
 8. **Kübler Daniel** (1993) L'Etat face à la toxicomanie, action publique et contrat social.
 7. **Leresche Jean-Philippe** (1993) Les transformations du pouvoir local en Suisse.
 6. **Voutat Bernard** (1993) Les minorités territoriales, quelques considérations théoriques.
 5. **Voutat Bernard** (1992) Les origines sociales de la "question jurassienne".
 4. **Seiler Daniel-Louis** (1991) Le cas des partis politiques dans les nouvelles démocraties de l'Est européen.
 3. **Kobi Silvia** (1991) Les "Neinsager" dans le processus référendaire suisse: des variations sur un thème mythique.
 2. **Papadopoulos Ioannis** (1991) La Suisse: un "Sonderfall" pour la théorie politique?.
- Spang Nadia** (1991) Scholarly View of Japan throughout the XXth Century.
- Vaziri Shahrokh** (1990) Eléments de réflexion sur les partis politiques et références idéologiques dans le Tiers Monde.