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D5

Report on WP2 – SEARCHING THE NET

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Chapter 1. Searching the Net

by Donatella della Porta and Lorenzo Mosca

1.1. Searching the Net: an Introduction

The Demos project analyses the evolution of the conceptions and practices of participatory forms of democracy within social movement organizations (SMOs). The Work Package 2 (Searching the Net) of the project focuses on the online presence of SMOs belonging to the Global Justice Movement (GJM) in six different countries (France, Italy, Germany, Spain, Switzerland and United Kingdom) and on networks and campaigns active at the transnational level.

The main goal of this report consists in evaluating the way in which social movement organizations belonging to the GJM use the Internet as an instrument for spreading information, constructing identities, involving new members, mobilizing on- and off-line and to intervene on the digital divide. Additionally, we shall reflect upon the extent to which the use of the Internet influences and/or reflects the movement's practices and conceptions of democracy. One driving hypothesis of this part of the research is that new interactive technologies (such as the Internet) could facilitate the participation of members to the life of an organization and their involvement in the decision making process (della Porta and Reiter 2005). In this direction, we looked at the movement's websites in order to understand alternative communicative strategies by movement actors.

The first chapter of this report is devoted to the presentation of the research. In the next paragraph of this chapter, the main focus will be on the Internet as an instrument of democracy within SMOs. This topic has been scarcely considered in recent social movement studies focusing both on the use of the Internet by SMOs and on democracy within social movements, but usually not exploring the relationship between democracy in movements and the use of the Internet. The third paragraph will explain the methodology used for a comparative survey on SMOs websites, with particular attention to the sampling strategy. The main dimensions of the codebook used for the analysis will be clarified and the main results of the reliability test among coders will be presented. We shall moreover provide some data on the organizational characteristics of the selected websites in the different countries.

The forth paragraph of this chapter will focus on the presentation of cross-national comparative results. It shall discuss crossnationally and at the transnational level the distribution on the main dimensions we selected for the analysis: quality of communication, identity building, transparency, mobilization and intervention on the digital divide. In

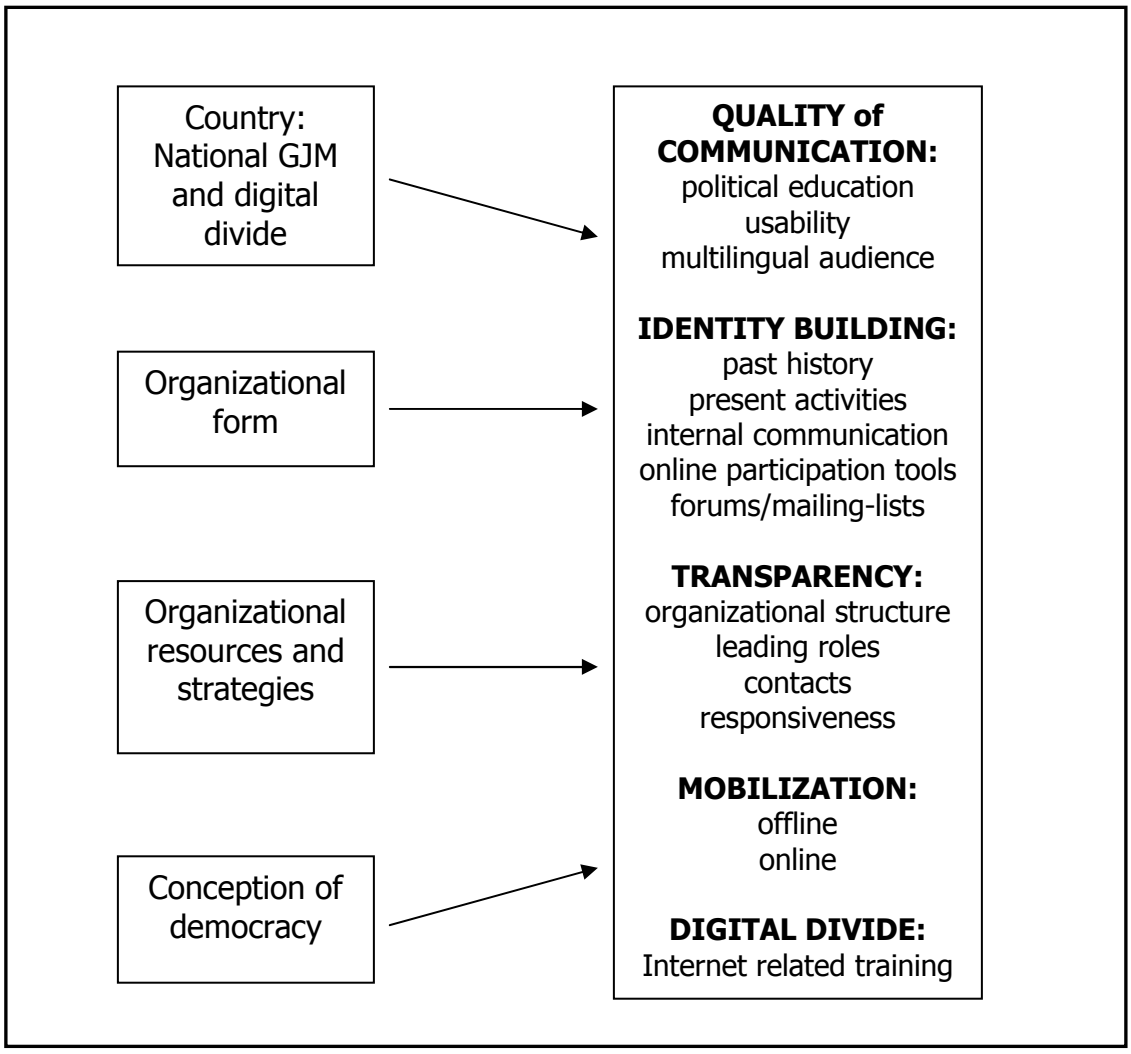
paragraph five, we cross instead our main indexes with organizational characteristics, presenting statistical correlation indexes.

The following chapters will present the specific results of the research in the single countries and at the transnational level, providing rationale for national peculiarities in websites selection, explaining the general characteristics of the websites, integrating the qualitative information collected during the analysis, presenting the replies received by the info services of websites and by their webmasters; contrasting the national cases with the general trends (considering the ranking of one country on the main indexes).

1.2. Democracy in the Internet: a presentation

The aim of this report is to present the results of our analysis of websites of the GJM on some main dimensions, and to explain the differences in the emerging styles. In this part, we present in particular our explanatory model, which is graphically shown in figure 1. In what follows, we shall start by presenting the debate on the potential of Internet for democratic developments, with particular attention to social movement research. We shall then discuss some possible explanations for the website styles, focusing on environmental as well as organizational characteristics.

Figure 1. Explanatory model



1.2.1. Democracy and the Internet: summarizing the debate on our dependent variable

The debate on Internet and politics has been often dominated by the confrontation between sceptic and optimistic views, especially upon the potential contribution of new technologies to improve democracy. The effects of the Internet have been indeed discussed on the main democratic dimensions that we consider in our research: the effects on participation as well as on the quality of communication.

As for *participation*, differently than the television and other high-cost media of communication, Internet has been presented as a technology that allows for a broad participation and also reduces hierarchies, favouring horizontal forms of communication. Internet has been considered a medium that could reduce political inequalities at different levels: increasing the channels of political information and participation at the individual level, providing new opportunities for communication and interaction at the organizational level, creating new pluralist public spheres where citizens can debate issues of general interest oriented to the public good at the macro level. More optimistic scholars like Ayers (1999) and Meyers (2001) stressed the capacity of the Internet to give more voice and power to the powerless. The equalizing effect of the Internet has been, however, denied by more sceptical scholars like Margolis and Resnick (2000) who have claimed that this new medium would favour people and organizations already rich in resources and already engaged in politics.

A second dimension of democracy often debated in terms of the potential effects of the Internet refers to the *quality of communication*. Internet has for sure increased the number of information available and facilitated access to them. Together with the quantity, also the pluralism of information seems to have improved. Easier contacts between diverse groups and individuals have also been seen as preconditions for mutual understanding. However, also on these issues, some scepticism emerged on the quality of information available in Internet (in particular, the difficulties in assessing their reliability) as well as on the capacity of Internet communication to overcome social and/or ideological barriers.

For many years, the debate on Internet and politics has been mainly focused on an abstract level, with scarce references to empirical data. First studies on Internet and politics referred mainly to the political parties on the Net and to their strategies of communication via the Internet during electoral campaigns. The main results of these studies point at the low interactivity of websites of political parties (Gibson and Ward 1998; Margolis, Resnick and Wolfe 1999; Cuhna, Martin, Newell and Ramiro 2003; Gibson, Nixon and Ward 2003) and institutions (Coleman, Taylor and Van de Donk 1999). According to these analyses, the Internet does not increase interactivity in party communication with voters, activists and citizens. Moreover, when interactivity occurs, it is controlled by the organizations rather than

the citizens. Websites seemed instruments of propaganda more than tools for communication or exchange of ideas. In this sense, Internet seemed not to differ from other media technologies.

The choice of the research object could in some way have biased the results. As Bennett (2003a) claims, “much of the attention to the Internet has been directed at the places where the least significant change is likely to occur: the realm of conventional politics.” In fact, he argues, established organizations are more likely to adapt new technologies to their existing missions and agendas than to be transformed by the Internet. Hence, the focus has to be moved towards loose networks and unconventional forms of politics. In this environment, social science research has indeed singled out a more innovative and dynamic use of the Internet (for instance, on NGOs’ websites in Eastern Europe, see Vedres, Brustz and Stark 2005). Indeed, even some political parties seem to have been able to develop participation on the web, with relevant effects on their activities (see Kies 2005 on the Radical Party in Italy).

This debate has been recently followed by a new interest for empirical research on the relationship between Internet and social movements. Attention to “virtual” mobilization developed together with the symbolic relevance of the *Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*, one of the first actors who has succeeded in exploiting effectively the Internet introducing in the collective imaginary a region of the globe that was until then ignored and a protest campaign that the traditional mass-media had neglected (Olesen 2005). The Internet has been said to provide social movements with a cheap and fast means of communication beyond borders which simplify mobilization and favor the adoption of very flexible and loose organizational structures. As Bennett (2003b) puts it: the Internet "becomes an organization force shaping both the relation among organizations and in some cases, the organizations themselves". The Internet facilitates internal and external communication, allowing to send contemporarily identical copies of the same message to hundreds of addresses, breaking temporal and spatial barriers. Being horizontal, bi-directional and interactive (Bentivegna 1999), the Internet is said to favor participatory organizational processes (Warkentin 2001). The networked organizational structure of contemporary social movements crossing national borders is also facilitated by the Internet, which allows "to transform an aggregate of individuals with similar problems [and interests], but geographically and/or socially far, in a densely connected and integrated population, resolving one of the fundamental problems of mobilization" (Diani 2000: 32). Also organizational structures are affected by the Internet since, as Smith writes, "the advancement of communication and transportation technologies has made more decentralized organizational structures viable" (1997: 58). According to Castells, the Internet "fits with the basic features of the kind of social movements emerging in

the Information Age (…) To build an historical analogy, the constitution of the labor movement in the industrial era cannot be separated from the industrial factory as its organizational setting (…) the Internet is not simply a technology: it is a communication media, and it is the material infrastructure of a given organizational form: the network" (2001: 135-6). Online resource networks facilitate mobilization: they function as common Internet getaways to hundreds of NGOs; offer them and individual activists Internet-based services; provide established means for the affiliates to communicate, serve as information resource site for the interested public (Warkentin 2001: 143). Internet has also been seen as a medium capable to foster new public spheres since it disseminates alternative information and creates alternative (semi)public spaces for the discussion. Internet also give opportunities to media activists that aim at "criticize, create and repackage media forms and content" (Klinenberg 2005).

Even in the field of social movement studies, some authors have however presented a pessimistic view on the participatory and deliberating potential of the Internet underlying a limited offer of interactive channels but also a low use of these applications when offered (Rucht 2004: 80). Not only conventional political actors but also unconventional ones would be incapable of fulfilling the democratic potential of the Internet. More in general, even if they struggle for different forms of democracy, their implementation of democratic standards within their own organization seems less than satisfactory (i.e. see Rucht 1993 for environmental groups; see della Porta 2004 for corporatist unions; see Lehr-Lehnardt 2005 for NGOs in general).

The democratic functions of the Internet are often explicitly recognized and claimed by social movement activists and organizations when they state for example that a mailing-list is like a “permanent assembly” because interactive applications give them the possibility to go on and on with discussions. Nevertheless, the use of the Internet as a medium to make social movement organizations more democratic has been poorly investigated. In what follows, we shall indeed address the issue of the degree in which the Internet potentials are fulfilled in SMOs’ websites on such dimensions as provision of information, identity building, external accountability, participation and reduction of users’ inequalities (digital divide).

In this Work Package of the Demos project we aim at an empirical analysis of the use of the Internet by social movement organizations active on the issue of global justice and “globalization from below”. Is online politics of unconventional actors “politics as usual” (Margolis and Reisnick 2000) or is it a different politics where interaction, discussion and even deliberation could took place? Are SMOs able to successfully address the issues of an horizontal participation in the net? And do movement organizations’ websites pay attention to

the quality of communication? In what follows we will try to address these issues at the meso level, analyzing the Internet presence of a sample of Global Justice Movement Organizations (GJMOs).

1.2.2. Explaining the websites' style: some hypotheses

Beside measuring some main characteristics of organizational websites, and so their potential to improve democratic communication in the movement, we shall also discuss possible explanations for the internal differences among different social movement organizations. Technological explanations have been frequently adopted when explaining the effects of technological innovation. The comparison between television and Internet often refers to the technological opportunities and constraints offered by the two media. Parallely, technological skills have been quoted in order to explain the quality of the organization of websites, and an improvement in the websites of the political organizations has been explained by the contracting out of websites' design and management to professional webmasters. Recent research on websites has, however, singled out the presence of different models that adapt technology to the organizational styles and strategies (Vedres, Bruzts and Stark 2005).

As in other part of our research, our explanatory model considers environmental dimensions as well as organizational ones (see Fig. 1 above). That is, we assume that offline characteristics matters in explaining online presence of SMOs. In fact, we consider that studying how SMOs present themselves on the Internet implies taking into account both offline and online environments that cannot be conceived as separate settings (Paccagnella 2002). As for the environmental dimensions, that we explore mainly cross-nationally, we shall consider two main sets of variable: one referring to the "Internet culture" and the other to the characteristics of the global justice movement.

1.2.3. The digital divide: some cross-national information

A discussion of the democratic potential of the Internet should take into account the traditional critic concerning the issue of the digital divide. In fact when reflecting on the democratic potential of the Internet, it should be recalled that even in rich and technologically developed countries a significant part of the population is excluded by the access to this new medium. Digital differences emerge in the access between different territorial levels (not only rich versus poor macro-regions but also nations with similar standard of wealth within the same macro-region), between different social classes in the same nation (penalizing the groups of citizens lacking economic and cultural resources), and between social sectors with different degree of interest in politics (favoring groups of citizens already active and

interested in politics) (Norris 2001). A large amount of studies demonstrated that people without access to the Internet have peculiar socio-demographic characteristics. In fact Internet access reflects a gender divide, a generational divide, a wealth divide and an educational divide, as Internet is more likely to be used by male, younger, affluent and educated people (ibidem).

As we can see in table 1, the selected Demos countries show different percentages of Internet penetration, measured by access to the Internet (with France and Spain below the average of European countries; Italy around the average; Germany, UK and Switzerland clearly above it). Hence, the Internet is a medium that is accessible only by a (limited) percentage of the population that in the analyzed countries varies from one third in Spain to two thirds in Switzerland. These data show that the digital divide is an open problem in the countries considered in our analysis.

Table 1. Internet penetration in the Demos countries (%)

Countries	*Percentage of access (2005)*	*User growth (2000-2005)*
Spain	33.6	170.8
France	41.2	192.3
Italy	48.8	116.7
Germany	56.0	93.0
United Kingdom	58.7	128.4
Switzerland	62.9	119.7
European Union (average)	46.9	131.6

Source: Internet World Stats[1]

However even if Internet access is still limited to a part of the population with clear socio-demographic feature, the growth of Internet users is very rapid and significant (especially in countries with lower access rates like France and Spain).

Moreover, the statistics concern the whole population of the countries analyzed in the Demos project. We should also consider, however, that –as confirmed by a survey of the participants in the first European Social Forum of Florence (November 2002)– a very high percentage of activists access the Internet: almost 50% of the sample declared to use it daily and 88% to use it at least once a week (table 2). Hence, social movement participants seem to be frequent users of the Internet. Additionally, although the ranking of the activists by country on the "never" item reflects that of the entire population, the differences between countries

[1] http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats4.htm, accessed on the 24th of May 2005.

seem smaller for movement activists than for the population as a whole. According to these data, moreover, Spanish and French activists appear as more present than British ones and close to the Germans in the group of daily users.

Table 2. Use of the Internet by the European Social Forum participants (%)

Internet use	Country of Origin					Total	Retro-cumulative
	Italy	France	Germany	Spain	UK		
Never	9.5	7.2	0.0	6.2	4.1	5.9	100.0
Once a month	6.8	8.0	4.8	2.7	6.8	6.0	94.1
Once a week	10.9	8.7	6.0	9.7	10.1	9.4	88.1
Several times a week	32.7	25.4	37.3	25.7	37.2	31.5	78.7
Daily	40.1	50.7	51.8	55.8	41.9	47.2	47.2
Total (N)	147	138	83	113	148	629	629

Source: della Porta *et al.* 2005

If we can expect therefore more sophisticated websites in countries where socialization to the Internet is more widespread, the high and quite homogeneous levels of Internet use among activists could reduce this type of differences.

1.2.4. The Global Justice Movement in the different countries

In our analysis of the data, we will take into account the cross-national differences just mentioned about the digital divide. We shall however also consider the way in which the movement websites (and their users) reflect the differences in the composition of the global justice movements in the various countries and the styles of different SMOs.

As mentioned in the Demos report on the Work Package 1 (della Porta and Reiter 2005), beyond these similarities in singling out some strengths and weaknesses in/of the global justice movement/s, specific national images emerge. At the risk of some simplification, we can single out the presence of two different constellations of GJMs: In the first constellation (which we hypothesized as more typical of Italy, Spain, and France), protest dynamics appear as more dominant, the networks are more dense and decentralised with participation of both informal groupings and formal associations, the issue of global justice is linked with a struggle against neoliberalism at home (framing the struggle against neoliberalism at home) within a global discourse and a conception of radical participatory democracy. In the second constellation (including Germany, Switzerland, and to some extent Great Britain), collective action relies more intensively on lobbying and media campaigns,

strong associations and NGOs are more visible, although not unchallenged.; solidarity with the South of the world is a master frame (global justice issues are framed especially, although not exclusively, in terms of solidarity with the South) and associational conceptions of democracy prevail. In the first constellation, unions are (more) present in the GJM, both in the forms of the "critical unions" that emerged in an already fragmented system of industrial relations, and in that of the left-wing component of the traditional unions; the political opportunities appear as closed, and the GJM is stronger in terms of its capacity to mobilise in the street. In the second constellation, with more institutionalised systems of industrial relations, critical unions are weak or nonexistent and traditional unions, involved in neocorporatist agreements, remain more distant from the GJM (with the exception of public sector and metal workers unions). With more open political opportunities, the GJMs tend to rely less on street mobilisation.

Our main assumption is that the dominant characteristics of the movement shall impact upon the website styles, with more "participatory" websites' features prevailing in the more "mobilized" countries and, viceversa, more formal accountability in the other countries.

1.2.5. Organizational resources and strategies

Notwithstanding these cross-national differences, we have observed that all national movement milieus are very heterogeneous, with the presence of quite important cleavages between formal associations and informal rank-and-file, grassroots groups. A main general question we address in the Demos project refers to the differences in the democratic conceptions of different organizations within the GJM. We expect these differences to be reflected also in the organizational websites.

If the audience of the Internet is still limited to a particular (but growing) sector of the society, social movement activists are more connected than the general public and this has been an important incentive for the creation of SMOs websites. Furthermore, the Internet represents for SMOs an important opportunity to overcome traditional communication flows of vertical and hierarchical mass media, to communicate, and to organize beyond borders. This is the reason why in the past years the number of SMOs with an online presence has grown dramatically. When creating their websites, social movement organizations have referred rhetorically to the Internet presenting it as an extraordinary mean to involve members and sympathizers in the democratic processes of an organization.

The design and management of websites implies however several choices, often between a number of aims that are in reciprocal tensions: stressing the organizational identity or opening up to outsiders; increasing transparency or reserving sections to members; using the websites

mainly for informing the users or for mobilizing them; broadening the debate to people with different opinion or deepening the discussion in homogeneous groupings. In this report, we shall discuss the impacts of structural and symbolic characteristics of the individual social movement organizations upon the style of the websites.

We expect indeed that some organizational material resources (such as members or money) are likely to influence the characteristics of the websites. In fact, if it is quite easy and inexpensive to create a website and to let it float in the cyberspace, a well-organized, updated and interactive website demands significant investment of resources. Since SMOs are often defined as resource-less organizations, should we expect them (or at least the "poorest" among them) to contradict the claim according to which the Internet would democratize social movements? Additionally, we believe that SMOs attempts at adapting their websites to their own conceptions of democracy. We shall therefore ask to which extent the organizations that opt for more radical (participatory and/or deliberative) forms of internal democracy are more likely to innovate also on the Internet and experiment with more horizontal forms of communication.

In what follows, we discuss the websites' styles of selected samples of SMOs belonging to the GJM, and try to explain them on the bases of the mentioned explanatory set of variables.

1.3. Our empirical research: the main choices

In this chapter, we shall present the main empirical choices of our research, that took particular inspiration in two (already mentioned) recent studies: an analysis of the websites of Eastern European NGOs and an analysis of parties' and parliaments' websites (Vedres, Bruszt and Stark 2005; Trechsel, Kies, Mendez and Schmitter 2003).

In what follows we shall in particular focus on sampling strategies and the designing of the codebook.

1.3.1. Sampling strategy: the selection process of relevant websites

In order to assess the democratic potential of the Internet for social movements, we decided to focus on the websites of the most relevant (not the largest, but the most representative) SMOs involved in the GJM in the countries of the Demos project. A common sampling strategy was agreed upon in order to collect comparable data, covering SMOs focusing upon different issues (environment, peace, women's rights, labour issues, solidarity, gay rights, migrant and human rights, etc.). Moreover, different kinds of media websites close to the GJM were also selected (periodical magazines, radios, newspapers, and networks of independent communication). Besides, where present, also websites of local social forums were included in the sample.

The selection was facilitated by the fact that some of the most relevant organizations in each country and at the transnational level had been already identified in the national reports of Work Package 1, where all teams were asked to provide information on the emergence of the GJM within social movement families in each countries and at the supranational level.

To complement the information collected in the national reports, lists of organizations which signed calls for action of social forums (at the national, at the European and at the global level) and other important movement events were collected and used in order to single out the groups belonging to the "core" of the GJM's networks. Groups critical of the social forum process were also included when symbolically influent for their impact upon the activists' debate on democracy.

According to the mentioned criteria, the Italian team provided a list to be used by the other national teams as a model, but allowing for differences between the national cases to be taken into account (e.g. think tanks for the French case; organizations mainly active at the local or at the regional level in the Spanish case; socialist groups in the German case; etc.).

Each team compiled its list using the following guideline: to select at least 20 websites of organizations that are functionally equivalent to the ones included in the Italian list; and at least 10 websites of organizations reflecting the national characteristics of the movement. All

teams also selected (if existing) the national websites of Attac, the Euromarches, Pax Christi, the World March of Women, Caritas and Indymedia. The Urbino team, working on the transnational level, included in its list of websites also a few groups based in the USA which were considered relevant for the global justice movement in general. Lists of national teams can be found in the appendix A of this report.

As table 3 shows, each team selected and analyzed between 30 (transnational level) and 43 (Germany) websites of networks/organizations for a total of 261 websites. The selection at the transnational level was characterized by a high presence of environmental and agricultural organizations (like Friends of the Earth International and Via Campesina) and of international platforms active on economic issues. Reflecting the national characteristics of the GJM in the respective country, minority groups and groups "de sans" are more present in the French sample; local social forums, religious groups, and human rights' organizations in the German sample (that does not include political parties but political foundations); political parties and party youth organizations, local social forums and networks of independent communication in the Italian, Spanish [2] and Swiss samples (in the latter, also anarchist/anti-capitalist organizations are more present); religious, minority, environmental and agriculture groups as well as networks of independent communication in the British sample.

[2] Political parties are, in general, not at kernel of the Spanish GJM; however *Izquierda Unida* (coalition of radical left parties) has been quite relevant for the constitution of local fora in Spain. Some of its factions (*Corriente Roja*, *Espacio Alternativo*) have been more involved in the development of protests and new repertoires of action.

Table 3. Websites selection by the different Demos teams (%)

Type of organization	*CH*	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*[3]	*TN*	**Total**
Debt relief	3	3	2	5	3	3	3	3
Euromarches	3	5	2	5	3	0	3	3
Attac	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	3
Religious	6	5	7	5	3	8	7	6
Peace	3	3	2	5	5	3	3	3
Women/gay/etno/migrants	8	14	12	9	8	14	3	10
Human rights	6	5	9	2	5	3	3	5
Parties and youth organizations	17	8	0	12	11	5	3	9
Environmental/ agriculture	3	5	2	2	5	8	17	6
Unions	8	8	9	10	8	6	7	8
Anarchists/ anticapitalists	8	3	7	5	5	8	7	6
NGOs/solidarity	6	3	5	10	6	8	7	6
Fair/ethical trade	3	8	5	2	3	5	17	6
Communication	11	8	12	17	16	16	3	12
Social forums	6	5	8	7	8	5	3	6
Other	6	14	16	2	8	5	11	8
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	37	30	261

Legenda: CH = Confederation Helvetica; F = France; G = Germany;
I = Italy; SP = Spain; UK = United Kingdom; TN = Transnational level

1.3.2. The codebook for the analysis of websites of SMOs

The analysis of websites of the GJMOs was carried out using a structured codebook (see appendix B). The main objective of the codebook was to collect information on characteristics of websites that might affect the extent to which online organizations fulfil the democratic potential of the Internet. In order to have a reliable instrument for websites coding, the codebook was tested several times by all coders.

Two reliability tests were done on two different websites each. The first reliability test was conducted on the Oxfam UK (http://www.oxfam.org.uk) and on the Urban75 (http://www.urban75.com) websites. The choice of the two websites was done in order to evaluate if the codebook would work with two very different types of websites: one of a formal and structured organization (like Oxfam), the other of an independent online media (like Urban75). The results of the first test showed that the codebook needed to be improved in order to fit the analysis of websites of both formal organizations and informal groupings.

[3] The UK sample included 38 GJMOs but in this part of the analysis we only considered 37 of them since the website of the Manchester social forum (http://www.manchestersocialforum.org.uk) has been suspended.

The second test (results are shown in appendix C) was conducted on the websites of the European Trade Union Confederation (http://www.etuc.org) and of the Wombles (http://www.wombles.org.uk). Like in the previous test, we selected one website of a very formal organization (ETUC) and one website of a very informal one (the Wombles).

After the second test, we intervened in particular upon variables that had not worked well (scores of intercoders' reliability below 50%). There had been in particular problems with nine variables: internet related training (NRTLBR, NRTHLP, NRTPPS, NRTTHR); ongoing campaigns (CMPNVL); presence of local branches or groups affiliated to the organization (SPCLCR and LCGNFW); and news section and newsletter (NWSSTT and NWSLTT). We therefore identified a set of solutions to avoid coding errors. Variables that had not worked were eliminated and when possible were replaced with new ones. Besides, we decided to reduce the possible bias in the coding process (the variables used for the coding were in many cases dichotomies), asking the coders to record if a series of information or applications were present or not on the analyzed website. To make the coding process more reliable, we instructed the coders to follow some general rules, such as: a) to limit some searches to specific parts (i.e. the homepage) or sections of the website; b) to use the internal search engine (when present) or an equivalent searching function of Google that allows to search for a specific information limiting the search to a single website; c) to use the operational definitions provided in the glossary that was inserted at the beginning of the codebook.

In order to complement the quantitative coding with additional information, we asked the coders to record some webpages (statistics, website map, statute, links page, etc.) and to add a final note about peculiarities of the website with a particular emphasis on symbols, discourses, actions and coordination.

The final codebook was structured around the following dimensions that we consider as relevant for a democratic use of the Internet:

a) *general information provision.* Information dissemination is considered as a pre-condition of a deliberative process. All people involved in a discussion should have the same basic information in order to follow a debate and to intervene in it. A set of variables aimed at estimating the amount of information provided by the organization's website. We estimated information dissemination with quantitative observations and analyzed how information on the website is organized. Related with the provision of information is their *usability*, a dimension linked to the quality of communication. In fact, it is not sufficient to put information on a website if they are not well organized and easily searchable and accessible through applications like search engines and website maps. A set of variables of our codebook is indeed oriented to investigate whether an organization provides tools that help users to

properly navigate in its website. We also considered the translation in different languages because it might facilitate access.

b) *identity building*. Internet (as an additional medium of communication) is said to facilitate the development of collective identities (Ayers 2003). Some organizations make a strong distinction between members and non-members and provide their members with additional content and possibilities for participation in a non public area of their website. From a democratic point of view this element is controversial: on the one hand, an organization that offer to its members more possibilities to participate to the internal life of the organization can be said to give more voice to rank-and-file members; on the other, an organization closed to non-members discourages inclusive public participation and discussion. We have coded if an organization uses its website for internal communication allowing access to a part of it only to its members, or making it fully readable by general users. We also considered instruments for *multilateral interactivity* that offer arenas for online debates. We focused indeed on different tools (synchronous and asynchronous) for promoting political debates: forums, mailing-lists and chat-lines. At this step, we only recorded the presence or the absence of such interactive tools without going more in depth in the use of such applications.

c) *transparency.* Internet might increase transparency on an organization's activities, and therefore its accountability to the public. A set of variables in our codebook aims at measuring the extent to which the Internet is used by an organization to publish information that makes it more transparent and accountable to the general public. Hence, we coded if a website gives detailed information to users on statute, organizational structure, work agenda, physical existence and reachability, activities, economic situation, number of website users. We also observed if the websites offered information useful to access the related organizations—what is often referred to as *bilateral interactivity*, i.e. the willingness of an organization to offer channels of direct communication with citizens, creating more participative organizational structures (Rommele 2003: 10). A set of variables estimated indeed the possibilities given to citizens to directly contact members performing different roles in the organization with different competencies (leaders, webmasters, issue-experts, etc.), to ask for information and to give comments / suggestions / complaints on the website. Here we only explored the availability of email contacts on a website, but national teams also tested the responsiveness to email of request of basic information (these data are shown in the following chapters).

d) *mobilization.* As other media of communication, also Internet provides important instruments for mobilization. A set of variable in our codebook aimed indeed at measuring whether an organization exploits the new chances offered by the Internet to activate its users

and to stimulate them to intervene in the democratic process with various forms of actions both offline (demonstration, events, etc.) and online (netstrike, mailbombing, petition, etc.).

e) *intervention on digital divide.* Social movements (as well as other actors) express concern for the digital divide. As mentioned above, the digital divide is related not only to access to the Internet, but also to alphabetization and socialization to this new medium. SMOs could have an important role in socializing their members and sympathizers to the Internet. We coded to which extent our selected websites addressed this problem, offering occasions for training and providing a series of different resources to socialize their users to the Internet.

The data analysis will show comparative results on a series of different indicators. Afterwards, some indexes are presented in order to better investigate the different dimensions of democracy included in the codebook.

1.3.3. The cross-national organizational characteristics of our samples

As already mentioned, at the end of the coding process the full sample of the analyzed websites adds up to 261 cases. In the next paragraph, we will discuss the comparative results with a particular attention to the indicators of the democratic dimensions just presented above while a more specific focus on the national cases will be provided in the following chapters.

In order to provide more elements for interpreting our data, we shall present a series of characteristics of selected groups such their territorial level, degree of formalization and membership type. Afterwards, we will focus on the mentioned democratic dimensions.

As the table below shows, in the case of Switzerland and Spain the national teams selected a high percentage of local groups (more than half of the cases in Spain and almost one third of the cases in Switzerland). In these countries where important national minorities are present and formally recognized, groups tend to organize mainly at the local and at the regional level (*Comunidades Autonomas* in Spain and *Cantons* in Switzerland) while national coordination are not very frequent.[4] In all the other countries that --excluding Germany-- have no federal structure (see della Porta and Reiter 2005), the presence of local groups is below 12%.

Table 4. Territorial level of the group (%)

Local level	**Countries**							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
% of Yes	31	8	12	7	54	8	3	17
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	37	30	261

The degree of formalization of the groups belonging to the GJM also varies a lot from one country to another, reflecting different national and transnational characteristics of the movement. As we can see in table 5, the Spanish and the transnational levels are characterized by the presence of a high number (40%) of informal groups. The data on Spain is consistent with the previous data showing a high presence of groups at the local level where the necessity for a formal structure is less present. At the transnational level, the high presence of groups without leaders and leading roles mirrors the necessity to create very loose, open and inclusive networks, that could reduce the high material costs involved in organizing transnationally. The presence of leading roles would indeed discourage such transnational coordinations. In a comparative perspective, France and Italy--that have a limited presence of local groups (less than 10%)--show a higher percentage of formalized groups. Switzerland, UK and Germany are in between. Thus, we find here a relation between the territorial level of the organizations and the degree of formalization of a group: formalization is preferred by national associations that have to coordinate local branches, while it is considered as less important by groups focusing on the local level and could be even problematic at the transnational level.

Table 5. Degree of formalization of the group (%)

Informal group	**Countries**							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
No	69	81	70	76	60	68	60	69
Yes, without leading roles	3	8	9	2	0	13	7	6
Yes, without leaders and other identified roles	29	11	21	21	41	19	33	24
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	37	30	261

Another important characteristic defining the structure of a group is if it is a network made of different (local) chapters and/or organizations or not. In some cases it was not possible to capture this information from the analyzed website. As table 6 shows, in 78% of the cases we did not select a single organization but networks of different nodes. Considering the national cases, we can notice that Spain, Italy and the transnational level selected a higher number of organizations that where networks of different groups or of local knots of the same organization, while Germany and Switzerland are below the average and France and the UK are in between. Even if we cannot generalize from this data, these results could be considered

[4] In the Spanish case the presence of local groups is due not only to the institutional structure but also to the prevalence of a libertarian culture within traditional frames of mobilization (see chapter 5).

as an indication of the different types of networking and of the structure of the GJMOs in the different countries.

Table 6. Type of group -- network and membership (%)

	Countries							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
Network	65	76	58	95	87	71	93	78
Total (N)	23	37	36	41	24	34	29	224
Membership	83	72	55	74	94	65	73	73
Total (N)	29	32	38	35	32	29	22	217

As an additional characteristic that could explain the results of this part of the analysis on our dependent variable (democracy within SMOs), we also considered the presence/absence of formal membership. We can observe again a higher presence of positive answers in the Swiss and in the Spanish case, with Italy, France and the transnational level close to the average percentage and Germany and UK quite below. We have to take into account, however, that the lack of formal membership could reflect different organizational models: either a very informal structure or an umbrella groups or campaign, where no proper membership is foreseen.

After this brief presentation of some characteristics of the groups selected for our analysis, we will discuss the result concerning indicators of democracy and styles of communication. We shall then use the indexes in order to measure correlations between these organizational characteristics and dimensions of websites' styles.

The national reports will also refer to these organizational characteristics in interpreting internal variation in styles. We have however anticipated these data since they can be useful in the interpretation of cross-national results presented in the next paragraph.

1.4. Cross-national comparison of websites' styles

In this paragraph we shall present the results of our analysis of the websites of the GJMOs crossnationally. We have arranged our data along five sets of characteristics, all somewhat related with the democratic potential of the websites, and the capacity of the Internet to perform some main functions for social movements' organization and mobilization.

1.4.1. Websites and the quality of communication: the provision of information

An important dimension stressed in models of deliberative democracy is the role of reason in decision-making. Social movement organizations belonging to the global justice movement reflect this appeal by stressing, more than most social movements in the past, the importance of building a specialized knowledge (della Porta *et al.* 2005). The Internet has a *cognitive function* performed through information dissemination and gathering. Epistemic communities and advocacy networks (Keck and Sikkink 1998) spread information on global issues, highlighting negative consequences of economic globalization and on possible alternatives to neoliberalism. They favored the creation of the global justice movement, providing alternative knowledge on specific issues, access and visibility on the web and linking organizations acting on different parts of the globe. Beyond supranational protest events, long-lasting campaigns make use of the Internet: "weblogs, lists, and networked campaign sites create an epistemic community that makes the campaign a source of knowledge about credible problems, while making the target an example of both problems and solutions" (Bennett 2003b). Within the global justice movement, some organizations (among which, many of those we analysed) specialize in the diffusion of information via the Internet.

Since information dissemination can be considered as a basic starting point for a deliberation among equals, the analysis of SMOs websites focused on which type of information is provided online. Overall, most of the analyzed websites present a significant amount of information.

The widely used form of political education consists in publishing articles, papers and dossiers (90%) while bibliographical references are given in 40% of the cases. Interestingly, more than half of the websites presents conference and seminar materials that allow interested people to deepen their knowledge on specific topics. A news section is present in almost four fifth of our websites, with results above the average in Germany, Italy and Switzerland. In order to put our data on SMOs websites in a wider comparative perspective we can recall that Eastern-European NGOs websites offered a news section in a much lower 48% of the cases and information about conferences in only 16% (Vedres, Bruszt and Stark 2005: 154).

Table 7. Online forms of political education (%)

Political education	**Countries**							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
Articles/papers/dossiers	91	97	88	90	81	95	93	91
Conference/seminar materials	17	70	42	67	54	62	57	53
Bibliography	20	51	26	55	51	43	30	40
News section	83	68	88	83	70	78	77	78
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	37	30	261

Considering various indicators of what we defined as "political education" (table 7), there is a group of countries (Italy, France and UK) that is (almost) always above the mean and another one (Germany and Switzerland) that is below the mean while Spain and the transnational level are in between. This suggests that in some countries GJMOs use their websites as additional and inexpensive instruments for the political education of citizens. The attention paid to the spreading of information is therefore not so much related to Internet access (or lower level of digital divide) but to the degree and forms of mobilization of the GJM, growing where the GJM has been more mobilized.

An important aspect that affects the quality of information is the *usability* of a website, that is the possibility for users to find information but also to access them. The presence of search engines and website maps should help the user: to rapidly find what he/she is searching for. It seems that organizations perceive this necessity (table 8): almost 60% has a search engine (particularly spread in Germany and in UK) and almost 30% has a website map (particularly spread in Germany and in Switzerland).

Table 8. Indicators of userfriendliness/usability (%)

Usability	**Countries**							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
Search engine	49	63	81	52	40	81	47	60
Website map	40	38	39	12	19	35	27	30
Text only	3	8	2	5	5	11	3	5
Accessibility	0	3	0	2	3	11	7	3
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	37	30	261

The presence of a text-only version of the website allows people with slow connection and old hardware to access the contents of a website. This concern is only present in about 5% of the websites, a percent doubling in the UK. We also looked if an explicit reference to the accessibility issue was made on the homepage but we found that it was very rarely the case.

Hence, if SMOs are quite prone to providing tools to search for information, little attention is given to the accessibility of such contents.

As far as the usability of websites is concerned, the countries that (such as Germany and the UK) have lower degrees of digital divide and a larger formalization of (at least part of) the social movement organizations seems to score better. Switzerland (with high spread of Internet technology but relatively low attention to usability) and France (with lower spread of technological skills and high degree of user-friendliness) are however exceptions to these trends.

Internet has also been considered as a means of communication enhancing democracy since it reduces the cost of communication and allows people and civil society groups to communicate beyond borders (Zimmermann and Erbe 2002). If we consider the presence of multilingual websites (table 9), we find that about one forth of the websites provides translations of basic information on the group and about one fifth translates the section identifying the group (about one third of Eastern-European NGOs translate at least part of their websites, see Vedres, Bruszt and Stark 2005: 154). Here, the relatively high percentage of Italian and transnational level websites (40%) represents an exception. Although one could argue that transnational communication is usually done with email and not through websites it seems that, in a globalizing world, national civil society organizations find still difficult to speak to each other cross-border: differences in languages still represents problematic barriers for transnational communication. This result is consistent with other researches focusing on the Europeanization of the public sphere on the Internet (Koopmans and Zimmermann 2003).

Table 9. Information in more than one language (%)

Multilingual audience	**Countries**							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
Translation of basic information on the group	26	11	28	40	19	11	40	27
Translation of the section identifying the group	9	11	19	12	16	8	67	19
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	37	30	261

1.4.2. Identity building and websites

The cyberspace has been singled out as a promising setting for deliberative forms of democracy.[5] Social movement scholars underlined its capacity to generate new identities. For

[5] Especially if attention is paid to such elements as the issues of debate, the degree of autonomy of the setting, the technological applications employed, the rules of discourse instituted and the type of discussion management undertaken (Dahlberg 2001; see also Salter 2003).

example Park observed that "not only the formation of collective identity is easier due to the Internet's ability to put [together] people of similar grievances in disparate geographical area, but also the diffusion of collective identity is faster and easier" (2002, chapter II: 19). If Diani (2000) claims that the Internet's contribution to the collective identities of social movements is mainly in reinforcing existing ones, Freschi (2002) studied how virtual communities can develop an identifying function, creating social networks with internal solidarity and common believes, acting online and offline. In fact, "real community can and do take root in Internet-based space" (Gurak and Logie 2003: 43). Our previous research on the use of GJMOs websites during the mobilization against the G8 in Genoa in 2001 (della Porta and Mosca 2005; Andretta, della Porta, Mosca and Reiter 2002 and 2003) indicates that the Internet provides occasions for a reflexive work. Online forums and mailing-lists favor debates on specific aspects (such as forms of actions, alliances, slogans, etc.) before a protest takes place and, later on, a collective reflection on a demonstration's success and failure among "distant" activists. Before the G8 countersummit in Genoa, discussion forums and mailing-lists facilitated the emergence of common interpretative schemes among activists and organizations. In particular, the activists of rete Lilliput (nonviolent Italian organizational network; http://www.retelilliput.it) made an intense use of the Internet not only to spread information, but also to internally discuss themes of interest (for instance, with a list focusing on the G8 countersummit), through a national, regional and local system of newsletters and mailing-lists. The more radical Disobedients organized a referendum on the web about legitimate forms of action.

A type of information that is generally published on GJMOs' websites concerns indeed the identity and the history of the group itself. In fact, the Internet represents an important opportunity for SMOs to overcome the gatekeeping of traditional media and to present themselves to the general public without external manipulation. Overall, as table 10 shows, around two thirds of the websites provide an archive of press releases (that is also an important source of information for journalists of traditional media) and an archive of annual reports or a chronology of the history of the organization. Also the old leaflets give us interesting information about the history of the organization: about its actions, its campaigns, its mobilizations, etc. About two fifths of the surveyed organizations archive this type of material and provide documents on past assemblies that are considered fundamental steps in their collective history.

Table 10. Information on the past history of the organization (%)

History	**Countries**							**All**
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	
Archive of press releases	57	78	65	79	54	59	63	65
Archive of reports/chronology	60	76	60	64	57	62	67	64
Archive of old leaflets	31	73	33	64	49	27	20	43
Documents of past assemblies	17	40	26	62	38	40	57	40
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	37	30	261

If we focus on the presence of information concerning the past history of the organization, we can underline patterns similar to those we found on political education. Italian and French websites are more interested by this aspect, while German, Swiss and Spanish ones seem to invest less resources on it. These indicators have in general higher scores in the two European countries where the GJM has indeed a longer history of mobilization. If we consider the high presence of more informal groups, also Spanish scores emerge as quite high. A considerable attention to the building of collective identities on the web is also shown by transnational organizations, that in fact have to rely to a large extent on the Internet for their communication.

If information on the past history are particularly interesting for people new to an organization, information on the current life of the organization are of primary importance both for neophytes and for older activists. Interesting to note, more than 50% of the analyzed websites has a newsletter that in the large majority of the cases is accessible by all users (table 11). Newsletter are much more widespread in the UK, Germany and in Italy while this form of one-way communication is less diffuse in Spain and at the transnational level (where in the 23% of the cases the possibility to subscribe is limited to paying members). On average, less than 25% of websites present the internal work agenda of the group, with much higher percents (around 40%) for Italy and France.

Table 11. Information on present activities of the organization (%)

Newsletter	**Countries**							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
Not present	54	54	42	43	68	30	60	49
Only if paying member	0	3	0	0	3	5	23	4
Only if registered member (giving data)	3	3	16	2	0	3	7	5
For all users (giving only email)	43	40	42	55	30	62	10	41
Internal work agenda	26	40	23	38	11	11	20	24
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	37	30	261

If an organization is interested in enhancing internal communication with its members, it can provide a members-only section on its website where it offers more contents than to the general public. As the table below shows, about one quarter of the analyzed websites have a specific section restricted to members. The French case is the one where members-only sections are more diffuse (around 40%) while sections with restricted access are rarely present in the Swiss case. We can interpret this data as a specific attention of one organization towards internal communication and towards its members.

Table 12. Indicators of intranet function (%)

Section reserved to members	**Countries**							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
Yes	8	42	19	18	27	32	35	26
Total (N)	24	26	21	27	37	31	20	186

This takes us to another question, referring this time to the type of identity facilitated by Internet use. A wide set of empirical studies seems to indicate that Internet users have richer social relationships (Hampton and Wellman 2001; Haythornthwaite 2001; Howard, Rainie and Jones 2001; Katz, Rice and Aspden 2001; Nie 2001; Müller 2002). According to empirical research, "the Internet favors glocalization: it increases the local contacts as the global ones" (Hampton and Wellman 2001: 492). As Caroline Haythornthwaite suggested, “a medium such as email can be established to act as a diffuse, background contact mechanism, one that operates to connect the very weakest of ties, and which requires little work on the part of the individual to access the social network" (1999, 4). The Internet can link isolated, disperse and separated networks, favoring the collective action in sight of the common good. According to these studies, the Internet should facilitate pluralist, open identities as it allows in fact to develop contacts between individuals that do know each other offline through

knowledge mediated by the common affiliation to communicative shared spaces such as newsgroups or mailing-lists or occasional exchange of messages. This process is favored by the fact that "in sharp contrast to telephoning, online messages are extremely non-intrusive because receivers can retrieve, read, store (or delete) and answer them at any chosen time" (Geser 2001). However, other researchers stressed a sort of “balkanization” of the web, with a tendency for web-users to get in contact only with ideologically homogeneous groups (Sunstein 2001).

If we cannot fully answer these types of questions with our data, we can however observe the degree to which debates on the web are linked to the websites’ styles. In fact, the presence of specific applications like forums, mailing-lists or chat-lines on a website indicates the organization’s commitment to multilateral interactivity that is the creation of open spaces for the discussion between different people.

Applications for multilateral interactivity like forums, mailing-lists and chat lines are differently spread on the analyzed websites (table 13). About one third of the websites provide an asynchronous space for discussion (forum and/or mailing-list).[6] Interactive tools are more used in Italian and Spanish websites while the use of these applications is very limited in the German case. Chat-lines are scarcely used by GJMOs (only 3% of the websites) in fact this type of applications are not generally used for political debates.

Table 13. Offer of different tools for the online discussion among website users (%)

Offer of online participation tools	**Countries**							**All**
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	
Forums/mailing-lists	31	30	16	45	62	38	30	36
React to a specific request of comments	11	5	12	26	8	38	20	17
Questionnaire/survey	14	8	2	12	13	24	3	11
Directly publish	14	3	9	12	16	13	7	11
Chat-line	0	0	0	9	5	3	0	3
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	37	30	261

If we focus on the offer of other tools for the online participation of website users, we notice that the use of these applications is limited in general, and more widespread in the Italian and British websites. New forms of information management like the open publishing (possibility for all users to publish news, calls, proposals, etc. without any filter) are used in 10% of the cases. A similar percentage concerns the possibility to react to a specific request of

[6] On similar indicators about one fifth of the Eastern European NGOs provide instruments for participation via bulletin board, chat-room and the like (see Vedres, Bruszt and Stark 2005: 154).

comments by the organization. Finally, around 10% of the websites uses survey and questionnaire to collect the opinion of the users on different types of topics.

If we come back to the websites that have introduced forums/mailing-lists we notice (table 14) that when one of these applications is present, more than half of the websites offer to their users the possibility to read archived messages without subscribing to them and about one third specifies rules (i.e. "netiquette") for participation in forums and mailing lists.

Table 14. Additional information on forums/mailing-lists (%)

Characteristics of forums/mailing-lists	**Countries**							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
Possibility to read archived messages for all users	100	82	57	42	56	50	11	56
Policy or rules to participate to forums/mailing	36	45	29	21	4	64	33	30
Total (N)	11	11	7	19	23	14	9	94

We can conclude that lower levels of digital divide are not sufficient stimulus for the provision of instruments of multilateral interactivity, that are instead favoured by orientation to mobilization and larger presence of participatory groups. If Italy and the UK score systematically high on these indicators, also the Spanish groups and transnational organizations seems attracted by some of these possibilities to facilitate debates. The presence of rules regulating online debates seems instead influenced by the spread of technological skills being again more widespread in Switzerland and the UK—but in France more than in Germany.

1.4.3. Transparency and accountability on the web

After focusing on the quality of communication and on identity building, we considered the website as an instrument giving opportunities for the transparent functioning and the accountability of an organization. These functions can be measured by the provision of a series of information on the organization itself (organizational structure, statute or equivalent document, reachability, information/contacts of the leader and of other identified roles) and on its finances. Besides, we also investigate if information referring to the website itself is offered to the general users (number of users and information on the updating).

As table 15 shows, in 80% of the cases the website offers information on the physical existence and reachability of the organization.[7] In 70% of the cases such information are

[7] A similar percent is noticed for Eastern European NGOs (see Vedres, Bruszt and Stark 2005: 154).

directly published on the homepage or just one click away from the homepage (data not shown in the table). In the Spanish case, information on the reachablity of the organization are given only in 62% of the cases.

Table 15. Information on the organizational structure and online recruitment (%)

Organizational structure	**Countries**							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
Presence of statute or equivalent doc.	97	35	95	86	89	97	90	84
Info on reachability of the organization	89	84	86	76	62	86	77	80
Organizational structure	71	54	74	69	62	46	73	64
Information on last updating	34	11	28	21	27	19	47	26
Info on organization's finance	34	19	39	19	19	30	13	25
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	35	34	261
Join online	83	42	82	32	28	70	53	54
Total (N)	24	24	22	25	32	20	17	164

If we consider other dimensions of transparency (at least as far as it is reflected in our indicators), we find that --with the exception of France-- more than 85% of the websites published online the statute (or an equivalent document) of their organization. Furthermore, almost two thirds of the websites contain information on the organizational structure of the group. Information on this aspect is less frequent in the France and British case while Germany and the transnational level provide more information than the others. If information on the structure and on the decision-making rules of the organization are quite frequent, considering information on the website itself, in only one forth of the websites we find information about the last updating and only 16% give some kind of indication on users' access to the website (but statistics are often unclear and very imprecise lacking also of a temporal reference).

Overall, only 25% of the websites provide information on organization's finance. This result could be partially explained by frequent low budgets: a large amount of the selected groups (in particular at the transnational level) do not have a paying membership and do not receive money from public or private institutions. In fact, money is generally collected ad hoc by the group for specific purposes through the organization of initiatives for self-financing.

In a cross-national comparison, Italian, France, Spanish and transnational websites provide less information on the organizations' structures (below 90%) and finance (about 20%) than German, Swiss and British ones (respectively above 95% and between 30% and 40%). This could be an indication of a reduced transparency of Southern European GJMOs, but also a

consequence of the presence of GJMOs with different models of organization in these countries.

In table 15, we can also notice that in about half of the cases it is possible to join the organization online. In this sense, the online presence through a website is considered by some organizations as an occasion for members' recruitment. This is particularly evident in the cases of Germany, Switzerland and the UK.

Finally, focusing only on the organizations that in their websites declare the presence of a leader, less than half gives some kind of information on the person that perform this role (table 16). About 25% of the websites provides leader contacts to the general users (data not shown in the table). The picture is not very different if we consider information on other identified roles within the organization: 44% of websites provide some information but only 20% gives their personal contacts (data not shown in the table).

Table 16. Information on leading role (%)

	Countries							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
Information on the leader	47	15	58	41	67	68	60	48
Total (N)	15	20	26	29	6	19	10	125
Information on other roles	60	23	56	52	32	56	40	44
Total (N)	25	35	34	31	37	27	30	219

Another set of indicators (usually considered under the label of bilateral interactivity) concerns the presence of contacts of people actively involved in the organizations both with leading roles and with other identified roles. The presence of these contacts indicates the willingness of the organization to open up to public scrutiny by creating direct channels of communication with website users. In this sense, the presence of contacts represents a step beyond unidirectional instruments of communication (like a newsletter). As we can see in the table below, almost 90% of the websites provide a general email of the organization[8] and 30% of the analyzed websites put it on their homepage (data not shown in the table).

Table 17. Presence of contacts of people of the group and possibility of joining online (%)

Contacts	**Countries**							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
General email of the organization	10	70	95	90	97	84	87	89
Webmaster email	46	43	58	43	8	49	33	41
Email of other people/departments	37	22	35	36	19	40	27	31
Email of international relation responsible	6	5	21	19	8	13	23	14
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	37	30	261
Leader	58	0	43	17	50	31	37	31
Total (N)	12	15	23	29	6	16	8	108
Other people's email	28	6	50	19	11	26	10	21
Total (N)	25	35	34	31	37	27	30	219

However, the provision of email addresses of other people involved in the organization is not very widespread: only 40% of the websites provide the email of the webmaster; 31% the email of other people/departments within the organization and only 14% the email of the responsible for international relations (this data seems consistent with the one on multilingual audience). If we then consider leader's email, its presence varies from 58% in Switzerland to zero in France while the presence of the email of other people covering leading roles within the organization varies from 50% in Germany to 6% in France.

In order to address the transparency of the organizations we tested the responsiveness of the general information service and of the webmaster using the emails published on the website. The info request was also sent to collect information about the management of websites. Hence, when an email was available we emailed the persons responsible of the information and the webmasters sending them a message with some questions (see appendix B for details). As table 18 shows, as may as 90% of the websites have a general information email, but a lower 41% of them have a webmaster email. Overall, the response rate varied from 31% for the request sent to the general email to 45% for the one sent to webmaster emails.[9] For websites having no webmaster email we sent the questions addressed to the webmaster to the general email. In the table below we can observe very interesting differences

[8] A similar percent (respectively 85% and 87%) was found in the case of Eastern European NGOs (Vedres, Bruszt and Stark 2005: 154) and in the analysis of European parliaments online (Trechsel, Kies, Mendez and Schmitter 2003: 23).

[9] This rate was calculated considering only the websites that published the email of the person responsible of the information and of the webmaster.

among different countries: Germany, Italy and the UK show a high response rate, while Switzerland is in between and the other countries have a low response rate.[10]

Table 18. Responsiveness of the information and webmaster's emails (%)

Countries	General emails' response rate	Webmasters' response rate	Presence of general email address	Presence of email address of webmaster	N
France	15	37	70	43	37
Germany	54	52	95	58	43
Italy	51	40	93	48	42
Spain	8	67	97	8	37
Switzerland	29	25	100	46	35
United Kingdom	35	56	84	49	37
Transnational level	11	20	87	33	30
Mean	31 (N=234)	45 (N=108)	90	41	261

Summarising, indicators of information on websites that facilitate external accountability increase in countries characterized by more widespread technological skills and, especially, a national GJM characterised by a large presence of state-sponsored NGOs. Germany, Switzerland and the UK scored indeed quite high on all indicators of public transparency. Results are more nuanced when the responsiveness of websites is tested.

1.4.4. Mobilization in the web

Research on unconventional political participation (and not only) have stressed that the organization of supranational protest has very high transaction costs —that explains, among other factors, why, although competences increase at the international level, protest remains mainly national, if not local. However, the Internet has substantially reduced the cost of communicating with large number of individuals spread all around the globe. Already for the campaign against land mines, it was observed that "the global web of electronic media, including telecommunications, fax machines, and especially the Internet and the World Wide Web, have played an unprecedented role in facilitating a global network of concerned supporters around the issue" (Price 1998: 625). There is quite a lot of evidence that "protests are increasingly conceived, planned, implemented and evaluated with the help of the Internet" (O'Brien 1999). In the last few years, Internet has allowed for the organization of very large,

[10] It should be considered that the high response rate of the webmasters in the case of Spain is due to the scarce presence of their contacts on the analyzed websites.

transnational demonstrations, that have occurred with a frequency and a numerical consistence unknown before. Internet facilitates the organization of transnational mobilizations that either occur contemporarily in different countries[11] or unwind in a unique place with the participation of activists coming from different countries and continents —as in the case of the World Social Forums. Connected rapidly and cheaply in the Net, networks of activists and more and more global organizations have worked together in Seattle, Genoa, Porto Alegre, Florence, Paris, London, etc. For instance, the Internet allowed the organizers of the first ESF to consistently lower the costs of mobilization offering to virtual visitors the possibility to collect information on the genesis and objectives of the forum, to access the official program, to consult preparatory and conclusive documents (see della Porta *et al.* 2005). Website users had the possibility to register online to the forum and to book a place (for-free or paying) where to sleep during the days of the ESF. An online forum was created to discuss and make decisions on the official program: anybody had the possibility to propose (and organize, once accepted) a specific workshop.

The Internet has been considered as an instrument for not only more democratic and open forms of communication but also offline and online mobilization. The websites of our GJMOs perform this function to very different degrees (table 19). More than 60% of the organizations publish online their action calendar. [12] About one third publishes also the action calendar of other GJMOs and provides concrete information (through manuals or links to useful resources) on offline forms of action. The organization of physical meetings for offline forms of action concerns almost one fifth of the analyzed websites (between 16% and 22% organizes workshops and helping desks to socialize people to offline forms of action); information on offline forms of action are present in about one third (36%). As many as two thirds of our w`ebsites advertise the participation of their organization in a protest campaign. The action alert --that has the specific purpose of informing and immediately mobilizing members and activists of an organization when a very important political events occurs (i.e. political repression, human rights violation, etc.)-- is not much present in the websites of GJMOs, with higher scores for the British websites.

In general, indicators of offline mobilization have higher scores in France, Italy, the UK and at the transnational level. Considering the high presence of informal groups in the sample, also Spanish websites seem to devote a lot of attention to offline mobilisation.

[11] As is the case of the hundreds of demonstrations opposing the war against Iraq on February 15th 2003.

Table 19. Indicators of offline mobilization (%)

Offline mobilization	**Countries**							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
Action calendar of the organization	37	68	56	64	73	54	73	60
Concrete info on offline forms of action	14	65	30	36	5	62	43	36
Action calendar of other GJMOs	14	57	21	45	43	27	10	32
Laboratories/courses/workshop on offline action forms	0	40	9	60	3	27	7	22
Helping desk/info point to practise offline action forms	9	35	9	26	3	19	7	16
Presence of an action alert	3	5	5	0	5	65	17	14
Involvement in an ongoing campaign	26	65	58	95	59	89	73	67
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	37	30	261

The Internet is also an instrument of *protest* being used for online mobilization and for the online performance of acts of dissent. This is the case of online petitions, netstrikes and mail-bombings. The term "electronic advocacy" refers to “the use of high technology to influence the decision-making process, or to the use of technology in an effort to support policy-change efforts” (Hick and McNutt 2002: 8). Many hackers, with their attention to the Internet and online protest, belong to the global justice movement, taking up issues such as copyright and right to privacy (Freschi 2003; Jordan 2002).

Computer-mediated communication allowed mounting the transnational campaigns against multinational corporations such as De Beers, Microsoft, Monsanto, Nike, etc. run especially via *online petitions*. International mobilizations through online petitions also denounced specific human rights violation and put pressure on national governments against death penalty.[13] Thanks to the Internet, these campaigns became more longlasting, less centrally controlled, more difficult to turn on and off, and changing in term of networks and goals (Bennett 2003b).

Another form of online protest is the *netstrike*, that proliferated in the past years among radical organizations as a "virtual practice for real conflicts" (according to the association StranoNetwork, quoted in Freschi 2000: 104). The netstrike consists of a large number of people connecting simultaneously to the same domain at a prearranged time, in order to “jam”

[12] In the case of Eastern European NGOs a lower 42% for the provision of information on meetings and calendar of events was found (Vedres, Bruszt and Stark 2005: 154).

[13] See, for example, the campaigns about two Nigerian women, Amina and Safya, sentenced to death for violating *Sharia*, the Islamic law, by having a child outside of marriage; after the decision of the judge the information was spread online an international mobilization finally succeeded in avoiding their execution.

a site considered as a symbolic target and to make it impossible for other users to reach it. The mobilization and its motivation is normally communicated in advance to the owner of the site against which the netstrike is addressed. The netstrike is comparable to a physical procession that occupies a road and make it inaccessible to other people. A netstrike was for instance promoted against the WTO web site during the protests in Seattle, ideally linking offline and online environments (Jordan 2002). Similar to the netstrike, *mail-bombing* consists of sending emails to a web site or a server until it overloads and gets jammed.

In our websites, online forms of actions are less promoted than offline ones (table 20): the online petition is used by almost 30% of the analyzed websites; 15% of them publish on the website concrete information on online forms of actions. The percentage is even lower if we consider the presence of calls to netstrikes and/or calls to mailbombings that seems to be used almost only in Italy and the UK while other forms of online mobilizations are much more widespread, although still limited to a minority of websites: almost 18% of websites propose a form of online mobilization like the epostcard (particularly in the UK) to their users.

Table 20. Indicators of online mobilization (%)

Online mobilization	**Countries**							
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	**All**
Sign an online petition	6	46	7	67	13	46	37	32
Send an epostcard to institutions	11	10	12	26	8	43	17	18
Concrete info on online forms of action	6	24	12	14	5	24	27	16
Call for a mailbombing	3	5	0	17	3	11	10	7
Call for a netstrike	3	0	0	29	0	5	0	6
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	37	30	261

Summarizing, the use of websites for mobilization seems indeed more common not where technological skills are more widespread, but where the GJM has a longer history of mass protest (as in the Italian and French case). However, technological skills and tradition seems to play a role—as the UK case indicates. Additionally, transnational websites are important instruments for mobilization at the international level, where other media of communication are more difficult to use.

1.4.5. Intervening on the digital divide

To which extent, the Internet allows for mobilizing different groups of the population, especially the least "technologically educated" is an open question, often discussed in the literature on Internet and protest. If, therefore, the Internet offers logistic support to social

movements, it is however an open question to which extent it has an equalizing effect. Reflecting on this aspect, McChesney (1996) has talked of a "partial" public sphere in the cyberspace since access to the Internet is still limited to an elite with high levels of education and income, while female and the older cohorts are less present within the information society. As mentioned, the Internet is in fact the specific source of a new form of inequality which has been described by the concept of “digital divide” (see § 1.2.3). Significantly, institutions of global governance recently put in their agenda the issue of digital divide. Our own data on the ESF participants confirm to a certain degree the existence of a digital divide also within movements, but also point at the socializing role to the Internet played by movement organizations (della Porta and Mosca 2005).

As we already noticed the digital divide is strictly related to the issue of democracy—and especially with the focus on participation models of democracy—since it concerns both access to the Internet and the skills in using electronic applications. We considered the offer of some electronic resources as indicators of the attention of the organization to the digital divide.

The organizations we selected for our analysis are not very concerned with this issue (table 21). In fact less than the 10% provide laboratories, helping desk and other electronic application to socialize their users to the use of the Internet. Only 5% of this groups offers free email to their users and just 8% hosts webpages or websites. The presence of this resources is generally very low, although French, Italian and English organizations show a larger commitment to overcome this important source of inequality.

Table 21. Indicators of Internet related training (%)

Offer of Internet related training	**Countries**							**All**
	CH	*F*	*G*	*I*	*SP*	*UK*	*TN*	
Laboratories	0	16	2	17	8	19	0	9
Specific applications	9	13	2	12	11	16	0	9
Webpage/website hosting	3	3	7	14	8	13	3	8
Helping desk	0	22	0	7	8	11	0	7
Other electronic resources	6	13	2	12	3	8	0	6
Free email	6	3	0	12	5	5	3	5
Total (N)	35	37	43	42	37	37	30	261

1.5. Organizational structures and websites' styles: some conclusive remarks

Most scholars agree that, at least in the short run, the impact of the Internet on organizational structures would vary a lot: organizations with a longer history will be more reluctant to adopt Internet or, even when they do, would continue to use it as the old media of communication, not exploiting the most innovative aspects, such as interactivity. In fact, while "newer, resource-poor organizations that tend to reject conventional politics may be defined in important ways by their Internet presence" (Bennett 2003b), established organizations seem to have a conservative approach toward the Internet (Smith 1997). As Tarrow argues "the Internet as a form of movement communication has had a more transformative effect on new movement organizations than on established ones, which continue to rely more on face-to-face communication and on conventional organizational channels of communication" (2003: 31). But we should also consider that the resources available for an organization influence more effective use of the Internet—as some findings on political parties (Ward 2001) and NGOs (Warkentin 2001) seem to point out.

In this paragraph, we will present five synthetic indexes that summarize the main democratic dimensions presented above: quality of communication (indicators of political education), identity building (indicators of the past history of the organization), transparency (indicators of information on the organizational structure), mobilization (indicators of offline and online forms of action), awareness of the digital divide (indicators of alphabetization to the Internet). Additive indexes result from the summing up of different normalized indicators (varying from 0 to 1). Indexes were also standardized varying from 0 to 1. In order to control for the influence of a series of variables on the democratic dimensions we selected for the analysis, we present the values of correlation indexes.

As we can see in table 22, the formalization of a group is significantly and positively correlated with indexes of information quality and transparency while the other correlations are not significant. The opposite result concerns the territorial level of a group (from the local to the transnational) that is negatively correlated with transparency. This data could be related to the fact that websites of local organizations are generally less complex, rich and articulated than websites of organizations at higher territorial levels. Besides, we also tested the correlation between presence of members and indexes of online democracy but we found only one significant correlation: membership organizations are more likely to be transparent (a sort of accountability towards their members). Finally, we also considered the age of the websites of the organizations that is positively correlated with information quality and transparency. That is, being longer online increases the likelihood to improve quality of the information and public accountability in the Net.

Table 22. Online democracy and organization's characteristics (Spearman's correlations)

	CHARACTERISTICS of the ORGANIZATION			
INDEXES	*Formalization*	*Local group*	*Members presence*	*Age of the website*
Information quality	0.258**	n.s.	n.s.	0.146*
Identity building	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Transparency	0.389**	-0.202**	0.163*	0.328**
Mobilization	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Intervention on digital divide	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Total (N)	261	261	217	261

Legenda: ** = significant at 0.01 level (2-tailed); * = significant at 0.05 level (2-tailed); n.s. = not significant

We then looked at the correlation of the different indexes of online democracy in order to check if they reinforce each other or not. We found some significant correlations: information quality is particularly related to mobilization and to identity building, while transparency has only a significant (but low) correlation with information quality, and online and offline mobilization is highly correlated with identity building and intervention on digital divide (see table 23).

Concluding, we have observed that SMOs are able to use technological innovation in order to reach specific goals. Different websites present different styles apparently reflecting different models of democracy (and of democratic communication).

Some organizations are very engaged with online democracy while other seems less interested in the Internet as an arena for democratic communication. The next stages of the Demos research will allow us to investigate to which extent offline practices and conceptions of democracy have an influence on the online presence and style of communication of the GJMOs.

Table 23. Matrix of correlations (Spearman's)

INDEXES	*Information quality*	*Identity building*	*Transparency*	*Mobilization*	*Digital divide*
Information quality		0.295**	0.187*	0.317**	0.182**
Identity building	0.295**		0.147*	0.382**	0.123*
Transparency	0.187**	0.147*		n.s.	n.s.
Mobilization	0.317**	0.382**	n.s.		0.281**
Intervention on digital divide	0.182**	0.123*	n.s.	0.281**	
Total (N)	261	261	261	261	261

Legenda: ** = significant at 0.01 level (2-tailed); * = significant at 0.05 level (2-tailed); n.s. = not significant

We have also noticed that national political context and movement characteristics affect the websites' styles. In the following chapters, we are going to present more information on the national styles in Internet use and their internal differences.

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2. French report

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2.1. Introduction

This report aims at analyzing the peculiarities of the *Global Justice Movement* (GJM) in France by focusing on the use of the Internet. This study is of particular interest in the French case. One must remember that France is one of the European countries with the lowest Internet penetration rate among the countries studied in the framework of Demos: only 41.4% of the population has access to the Internet.[14] In the eighties, the creation and the very large diffusion of a French system in competition with the Internet - the *Minitel,* system which allows access to sites of information, discussions and online debates – explains in part the late diffusion of the Internet in France. In this context it is then interesting to see if Internet is, or not, largely used by social movements. We will assess the use of Internet in the French GJM movement mostly in a comparative perspective. In order to do so, we will study the results of the data base elaborated from a sample of 37 organizations, and compare these results with the global European *Demos* sample.

In a first section, we will refer back to the criteria upon which our sample was built. We will then briefly describe the French websites, and analyze a series of variables (general information provision, usability and transparency, bilateral, multilateral interactivity, mobilization) in a comparative approach.

2.2. Selection process of websites of most relevant GJMOs in France

We have tried to cover the whole thematic spectrum of the GJM in France by taking into account its history and the structuring of the French activist sphere. The choice of 37 organizations reflects the variety and the specificities of the GJM in France. For instance, think tanks like *Espace Marx* and the *Fondation Copernic* have been included in our sample. The movement of the "sans" ("have not movement") is, for its part, widely represented considering its importance in the protest movement of the 90s in France and in the genesis of the GJM (Sommier, 2003).[15]

The anarchist organizations are less present in the French sample than in the other samples (3% of the organizations versus 6% for the whole sample of the European teams –

[14] France has reached the highest growth rate between 2000 and 2005 with a raise of 192.3% of the number of users (Internet World State, WP2 general report).

[15] The organizations of the « sans » movement (WP1 French report) have been sorted out according to the cause they are struggling for (*Euromarch*, migrants, etc.).

Table 3 in general report). The anarchist groups experienced a resurgence of mobilization in the 90s in France. This increase of their activity often went along with the multi-positioning of their activists. Many of them have been very active within the "sans" movement in which they have sometimes constituted "quasi-faction" of the organizations. The anarchist influence is thus diffuse and not concentrated in one organization, and this explains their apparent weakness in the French sample.[16] However the French anarchist movement is quite active, as shown for instance in the organization of the Libertarian Social Forum in 2003 in Paris (http://fa.globenet.org).

The NGOs and the solidarity organizations have played a role quite late in the GJM (especially for the Evian Summit, see WP1).[17] Indeed, the NGOs of "third-worldist" sensibility were slow in taking part in the events of the GJM despite the organization, in 1989, of a countersummit on debt cancellation in parallel with the celebrations of the French revolution bicentenary that could be seen as prefiguring the GJM. They can be therefore considered as well as "ancestors" of the GJM (Agrikolianski, 2005). The fair trade organizations are better represented in the French case than in the whole sample (8% versus 5% - *Table 3*). We have chosen "Artisans du Monde" which has developed a commercial network throughout the country (160 points of sale). We also considered the Local Exchanges Systems (Systèmes d'Echanges Locaux, SEL) that have experienced significant development during the second half of the 90s, and "De l'éthique sur l'étiquette" which started a large program of ethical purchase with local collectivities.

As for the media, we have chosen *Le Monde diplomatique* and *Politis*. The first has played a central role in the creation of ATTAC. The second journal is one of the most important sources of information on the GJM in France. Furthermore, its readers mostly belong to the activists of the social left. On another hand, we have not been able to choose alternative radio stations or TV channels. The radio stations we could have studied (Fréquences Paris Pluriel, Radio Aligre, etc.) have airtime that is shared by very numerous organizations, and thus do not have a specific position and identity.

In the French case workers and activists in the cultural sphere form an important category. In the WP1, we have pointed out the renewal of intellectual and cultural groups and journals in the middle of the 90s. This is the reason why we decided to include in our sample an organization which proposes an alternative cultural offer, the cooperative *Co-errances*. On another hand, the movement of the temporary workers of show-business (*Intermittents du*

[16] The remark about the multi-positioning also goes for other types of organizations as those of religious nature or the human rights ones whose number of militants have been very active in the movement of the « sans » and in the organizations selected in our sample.
[17] Furthermore, some NGOs (Cimade, CCFD) were sorted out in the category of religious organization.

spectacle) has been active within the GJM, especially during the ESF in Paris, where its members were very involved (36% of the French participants in the ESF - CRPS data base).

. More institutional organizations like some left parties (*Les Verts*, the Revolutionary Communist League –*LCR*) and unions also played a role in the GJM (Johsua, Raison du Cleuziou, 2005, 249) that should not be neglected. We have chosen the movement of young communists (*Mouvement des jeunes communistes*) as a youth organization – in order to respect a certain organizational diversity within the left spectrum, and because this youth movement was very active in the ESF youth coordination (Bargel, Hmed, Mathieu, 2005, 223). One must however notice that almost the whole French political class has paid court to the GJM. Indeed, in 2002, almost the whole French political spectrum (with the exception of the Nation Front (extreme right), and notably the parliamentary right wing, had sent representatives to the WSF. In France however, political parties have not been a motive force of the GJM. ATTAC and the GMJ's sphere of influence appear as a quite direct political challenger to conventional politics. For example, in 2004, candidates close to the GJM have participated in regional elections under the name "100% alter" (100% No global). In 2005, during the campaign for the referendum on the European constitution, some GJMO (principally ATTAC) and some left parties (*Parti communiste*, la *LCR*, les *Verts*, and a wing of the Socialist party) have developed a competition/collaboration relationship. They organized common meetings in favour of the "no", while competing for media coverage in order to appear as the "real" leader of the "no".

We have also included the largest union of the public sector (FSU) together with the most active "workers" union (CGT). However, theses choices raise some problems. It should not be concluded that these unions have participated as a whole, from every angle, in the GJM. On another hand, the activism of some trade unions officials within these unions or some of their professional sections (for instance some sections of the CGT-EDF - Electricité de France, a public sector company until recently- which have been involved for many years in a reflection and north/south actions) is undeniable. Furthermore, as Isabelle Sommier points out, the CGT had an ambiguous position toward the GJM, but got significantly involved in the organization of the ESF (Sommier, 2005, 23). The presence of these unions in the GJM is a result of an individual over-involvement of some activists with mandates that are not always clearly defined. However, in both cases, the websites which are very rich have archives on the ESF and the WSF.

Our sample takes also in account the critical unions and the renewal of unionism with the emergence of the SUD in the 90s and of the G10 now joined around Union syndicale Solidaires, an organization selected in our sample. One must underline that the involvement

of these unions in the GJM is much clearer than in the case of the traditional unions. They even were the main actors of the GJM in France.

In our sample, we have mostly chosen national organizations. This choice refers to the structuring of the French protest spectrum, with in general a national implantation of the organizations. Besides, in 81% of cases (see table 4) our sample is composed of formal organizations, which is the highest rate of all the countries studied. This can be mostly explained by the fact that in France most organizations chose the statutes of association based on a 1901 law. This statute is easy to obtain and allows easy administration (bank, access to subsidies, etc. - for any kind of group: activist, sport, etc.). The existence of this statute is a strong incitement for institutionalizing the organizations: the associations are required to organize a general assembly each year, to have an executive board with a chairman, a general secretary, a treasurer, etc.

2.3. General characteristics of the websites

Is there a correlation between the size of an organization and the resources of the website? Large and institutionalized organizations (unions, political parties, organizations with international branches like Greenpeace) have rich and relatively interactive websites (bilateral interactivity) while most of the small and middle-size organizations have relatively basic and weak interactive websites. Only few small organizations have very rich and interactive websites (bilateral and sometimes multilateral). However, a few of them focus their activist life mostly on the web (for instance: *Les Pénélopes*).

If one considers the access of the organizations to the Internet tools,[18] it appears that the richest organizations, or those having important resources in terms of activists (especially volunteer workers) have the most developed and interactive websites. For instance, the LCR website is managed by 10 volunteer activists (*mail response LCR*). Greenpeace employs one person full time and one half time just for the website and gets the help of 20 activists throughout the country (*mail response Greenpeace*). These two examples show a case where financial and human resources are complementary.

On another hand, as mentioned above, there is an exception in the case of small organizations which have meager resources, but rich and relatively interactive websites. In that case, the lack of material resources is compensated by the websites managers' cultural capital (example*: Les Pénélopes* composed by journalists with Internet skills) often with a zealous commitment by webmasters (*Samizdat* or *Act-Up*). Small organizations whose activists have a lower cultural capital and belong to minorities have basic websites (for

[18] On overall, 67% of the websites have been created after 2000.

instance the Mouvement de l'Immigration et des Banlieues or Pajol- 9ème collectif).[19] We reach here the same conclusions as Norris (1998) and Margolis and Resnick (2000).

We will now look at the different variables used in order to study Internet use by GJMOs.

2.4. Quality of communication and identity building

The most frequent information on French websites is articles, either produced by the organization, or about it. For instance, the website of the *Confédération Paysanne* is almost exclusively composed of texts written for press conferences. The webmaster explains the poverty of the website by the lack of resources (mail response *Confédération Paysanne*). The text of press conferences does not require any financial resource or additional activist mobilization.

Table 1. Characteristics of the French organizations and quality of the communication (%)

Quality of communication	**General**	**Informal group**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
		No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Articles/papers/dossiers	97	97	100	89	100	92	100
Conference/seminar materials	70	67	86	78	56	75	67
Bibliography	51	63	0	61	61	50	50
News section	68	67	71	74	74	50	75
Search engine	62	60	71	56	56	75	54
Website map	38	43	14	39	39	25	46
Translation of basic information	11	13	0	13	13	12	8
Total (N)	37	30	7	9	23	24	12

One finds also very frequently files about topics at the heart of the organization's goals. The whole set of documents available is rarely produced only by the organization. The files are mostly put together on the basis of articles provided by other organizations. Therefore, one can often find the same information on several websites when the organizations are in the same network. This happens either when organizations are trying to be as exhaustive as possible on a specific topic (*CRID* or *CEDETIM*), or when some organizations are too small and therefore borrow resources from other organizations. As Cardon and Granjon write: " (...) the French activist milieu of information has developed practices of cooperation and exchanges of articles between publications and organizations" (Cardon, Granjon, 2003, 69).

[19] In the case of small organizations, it seems there is also a generational gap : organizations born in the 1970-80, whose activist population is around 45-50 years old (example : the *Confédération Paysanne*) have basic websites.

In 51% of the cases, one finds documents which provide a bibliography. The French rate is quite high, compared to the average of the whole sample (40% - General report, Table 7). But bibliographies are most often basic. However, the presence of bibliographies and more generally of detailed files shows the importance of the transfer or re-use of academic know-how in the GJM. The influence of activists close to the academic world in the GJM is not specific to the French case: 73% of the participants in the fifth WSF were linked to the academic world (students or professors) (Brunette, 2005, 2). Furthermore, only few articles on the websites provide a bibliography. Only a few organizations (*ATTAC, CRID, Agir ici*) provide more systematically a bibliography. As we can see on table 1, "members presence" is a factor of higher score of quality of the communication, according to survey criterion. And finally, one also finds press reviews about the organization's actions, together with texts whose source is sometimes quite difficult to determine. The information provided is nevertheless fragmented. Yet, websites of organizations allow, in many fields, access to information that is seldom or not enough provided by the commercial press.

On French websites, information about public activities (participation in demonstrations, meetings, etc.) of the organizations is much more available than in the *Demos* sample (65% versus 36% – General report, Table 7). It is the same with information about workshops or basic services provided by the organizations (40 versus 22% - General report, Table 7). "Members presence" (see table 1) is determinant for the presence of this type of information. This result may be explained by the nature of the activities proposed by the organizations to their militants, or more widely by the kind of people they address. Indeed, many French protest organizations, especially in the sphere of influence of the "*sans"* are providers of services.[20] The information about basic services, legal assistance, etc., is quite substantial because it is an important part of their everyday activism.

However, one must nuance the results about public activities. Even if in a great number of cases the activities of the organization are posted, the information is not always up to date or is provided for the very short term. We have carried out the coding of the WP2 at two different moments: at a time of weak mobilization in February 2005 and at a time of very strong mobilization at the end of April 2005 around the referendum on the European Constitution. We noticed that at a time of intense mobilization information about the organization's activities is up to date. One can then say that the Internet websites are abeyance in a period of non-mobilization and are intensely exploited for activist information and

[20] Besides, as Cardon and Granjon point out, the websites of the « *sans* » movement « put the information directly at the disposition of militant action (tracts, meeting places, real time on line monitoring demonstrations, etc.) while remaining suspicious of hierarchical forms of control and on constraints on mobilizations. (Cardon, Granjon, 2003: 72).

recruitment at a time of mobilization. As the Spanish team notices, the use of the Internet is deeply related to mobilization cycles.

On French websites, one also finds quite often texts presented by the organization or one of its leaders in the framework of the ESF or the WSF, of congresses or conferences. However, one can consider here that the identity building dimension is as important as the political education dimension.

Table 2. Characteristics of the French organizations and identity building (%)

Identity building	**General**	**Informal group**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
		No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*Pre2000*
Archive of press releases	78	73	100	78	74	67	83
Archive of reports/chronology	76	77	71	56	87	83	71
Archive of old leaflets	73	67	100	67	74	67	79
Documents of past assemblies	40	40	43	22	52	42	42
Internal work agenda	40	43	28	33	39	42	42
Newsletter	46	50	28	33	48	42	50
Total (N)	37	30	7	9	23	12	24

In fact, it is a matter of showing the representativeness, the action, the slogans, the symbols, etc. of the organization. The Internet website also plays the role of an "archives place" of the organization in some cases (Local Forum of the 13th district of Paris). It is then possible to find reports of general assemblies, workshops or meetings. On the French websites, there is often a chronology in the section "about us". One can also frequently find former leaflets. As we can see one the table 2, when the organizations were born after 2000 and when they have a membership, the identity building is higher. More generally, French websites have high scores, as far as identity building is concerned.

We can conclude from this first section that French websites are mostly aimed at political education and identity building according to survey criterion.

2.5. Usability and transparency

As for usability, French websites stay in the average of the European sample (table 11-General report). French websites provide mechanisms which make the use easier for the web surfer. The search engines are quite frequent together with the website maps. On another hand, little attention is given to accessibility. As for transparency, French websites have lower scores, according to survey criterion.

Table 3. Characteristics of the French organizations and transparency (%)

Information on organizational structure	**General**	**Informal group**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
		No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Presence of statute (or equivalent)	35	40	14	22	43	42	33
Reachability of the organization	84	93	43	56	96	75	87
Organizational structure	54	60	28	44	65	50	58
Organization's finance	19	20	14	0	30	17	17
Total (N)	37	30	7	9	23	12	24

The status are on line only in 35% of the cases versus 84% of the cases for the whole European sample (table 12-General report). This result looks paradoxical if put in parallel with the heavy percentage of formal organizations in France. One thus could have expected to find frequently the status online. We can however precisely assume that both aspects are linked. Indeed, France organizations have a legal obligation to register the status at the State administration (préfecture) at the moment of the founding of the association, and to indicate later on any modification which could have happened during an extraordinary general meeting. Therefore, status do not reflect exactly the democratic life of an organization, but are dependent on a legal obligation. They do not correspond to an activist impulse but to an obligation toward the State. The modifications of the statutes must be recorded by the prefecture. This is a long, complex and costly procedure. Then organizations do not announce systematically the changes which occurred in their working procedure. Therefore, the practice becomes often very different from the statutes, which often become obsolete.

This situation is quite well illustrated by the answer of a militant in charge of Act Up asked about the status: "We put the status on the table when there is a power struggle". We can actually notice that organizations that went through internal conflicts in the past years (ATTAC, the LDH), as well as unions and political parties traditionally characterized by competitions of factions put their status online. In short, it seems to exist in the French case a correlation between internal conflicts and presence of the status on the websites. In other words transparency seems to be the result of a strong activist's pressure further to a crisis and a strong claim for internal democratization coming from some sectors of the organization.

In conclusion, the absence of the statutes on the French websites can be explained by a lack of resources and the complexity of the administrative procedure as far as the change of rules is concerned.

The lack of information about the leaders is another French characteristic. As a matter of fact, one can find information about the leaders only on 15% of the French websites versus 48% for the whole sample (table 13-General report). This can be considered as a reflection of a trend going on within the French social movements. This phenomenon has proved to be especially true in the case of the "sans" movement (Sommier, 2003, 280). However in practice, the lack of formalization of the internal life, the recourse to procedures of direct democracy and the mediatization, favor the emergence of charismatic leaders (example : Christophe Aguiton and AC !, Madjiguène Cissé and immigrants without document, etc.).

2.6. Bilateral, multilateral interactivity and alphabetization to Internet

The refusal of personalization has consequences in the type of interactivity of the French websites. It is therefore extremely rare to find the leader's e-mail address online on the website (0% in our sample, versus 31% for the whole Demos sample – table 14). One finds more frequently the webmaster's e-mail address. Those are either professionals who keep track of the websites, or activists who sometimes do this job for several organizations for which they do volunteer work. For instance, a webmaster answered our e-mail by asking on which of the four websites he manages we were asking information (CRID webmaster).

As a result, there is a low rate of answer to the emails sent for our survey : 16% of the webmasters have answered; this result raises to 48% if we only take in account the websites on which the webmaster's address is specifically mentioned. The Internet websites seem to be disembodied and it is quite difficult for the user to get information about activists through this channel. On another hand, it seems clear that the human resources allocated to the French websites are weak.

The presence of forums or mailing-lists is less important in the French case than for the whole sample. In the French case, 30% of the websites indicate forums and mailing-lists versus 36% for the whole European sample (table 15). Many local sections of the organizations have also mailing lists, but the information about the existence of these lists is rarely present on the national website. For instance, some local mailing lists of ATTAC are very active and contribute beyond ATTAC in the structuration of local protest spheres. They provide information on all the protest demonstration and actions organized at the local level. However these results must be handled cautiously. As a matter of fact, in many cases the access to mailing lists is already a sign of militant integration: in a space of competitive social movements, mailing-lists are a militant resource. Therefore the information is not always on the website. Mailing-lists are like "permanent meetings" which involve in a majority of cases a kind of selection of its participants. The registration on a mailing-list can be quite informal:

one can be recommended by an activist already well introduced in the organization, who will ask the moderator to include a new participant; or one can attend a meeting in which a calling list has been circulating. Beyond the question of interactivity, this result enlightens another aspect: the Internet remains a marginal space for activism recruitment. It is mainly during meetings that organizations try to recruit activists.

More generally, French websites have a limited multilateral interactivity: few possibilities to react with a question or a comment, very few possibilities to publish information directly and use the chat. Here again, it is difficult to know whether this is a conscious choice of the organization or simply a lack of technical competence. The second hypothesis seems quite more likely. The democratic potential of the Internet seems to have been exploited in a limited way for technical reasons. We reach here a limit in the study of democracy through the relationship to the Internet. An important interactivity requires know-how and resources which are quite rare in the French militant space. The link between financial resources and the high level of interactivity is obvious, when one looks at commercial or institutional websites which get important financial and human resources. For instance, the website of the newspaper *Libération* includes numerous discussion forums on militant and political topics, and chats. During the referendum campaign on the European constitution, *Libération* has also proposed to create blogs.

Table 4. Characteristics of the organizations and intervention on the digital divide (%)

Offer of Internet related training	**General**	**Informal Groups**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
		No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Laboratories	16	10	43	11	13	25	12
Specific applications	13	10	28	22	9	25	8
Webpage/website hosting	3	0	14	11	0	8	0
Helping desk	22	13	57	22	17	25	21
Other electronic resources	13	10	28	22	9	25	8
Free email	3	0	14	11	0	8	0
Total (N)	37	30	7	9	23	12	24

When forums and mailing-lists exist, the archives of the messages are frequently filed and accessible to the public. Furthermore in the French case, the “netiquette” is relatively developed. Half of French websites refer on their homepage to free software or open source. Moreover, some French websites propose some Internet trainings. The rate of organizations providing Internet services is higher in the French sample than in the whole sample (16%

versus 9%, Table 18- General report). *Les Pénélopes* define themselves as a feminist group of No Global Internet activists and propose online workbooks of Internet use and more generally of computer science. Local groups of *AC !* propose workshops in order to install and use Linux. On another hand only one organization proposes a free e-mail and the hosting of the site. The lack of members presence is a criteria which allows to understand the important result of the digital divide. Excepted for the helping desk, the organizations without membership have a tendency to provide services to the web surfers.

2.7. Strategies of mobilization

In the French case according to survey criterion, the Internet website is partly used to mobilize web users on the activities of the organization. Thus, the percentage of websites of our sample giving practical information about the activities of the organization (meetings, full time staff, workshops, etc.) is higher than for the *Demos* sample (65% versus 36%). However these results must be dealt with carefully. In many cases, the information remains incomplete. For instance, one is informed that a meeting is scheduled every week, but the exact place of the meeting is not mentioned, etc. The observation of organization everyday functioning allows to say that the Internet does not seem to be a space or a tool for rallying new activists and is not a substitute to the physical spaces of activism.

Table 5. Characteristics of the French organizations and mobilization (%)

Mobilization	**General**	**Informal groups**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
		No	Yes	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Action calendar of the organization	68	71	67	56	65	58	58
Concrete info on offline forms of action	65	71	63	33	78	58	71
Action calendar of other GJMOs	57	57	57	67	48	50	79
Laboratories on offline action forms	40	43	40	11	52	42	42
Helping desk on offline forms of action	40	43	40	11	43	33	37
Involvement in an ongoing campaign	65	71	63	56	65	50	71
Sign an online petition	46	29	50	22	56	33	54
Send an epostcard	11	43	3	11	9	8	12
Concrete info on online forms of action	24	29	23	11	30	25	25
Call for a mailbombing	5	0	7	0	9	8	4
Call for a netstrike	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total (N)	37	30	7	9	23	24	12

Another striking aspect in the French case is the importance of the information about the other organizations of the GJM (57% versus 32% for the *Demos* sample). Several hypotheses can be advanced in order to explain this result. First of all, as Isabelle Sommier points out, the organization of the ESF in Paris has been the occasion for reinforcing the links between the participating organizations, creating "an unprecedented space of meeting and collaboration of the French movements" (Sommier, 2005, 22).

Furthermore, the organizations of the GJM in France are characterized by a large multiple membership of their members: the leaders of ATTAC are also members or even leaders of two or three other organizations. Moreover, a lot of networks create a significant interweaving of the GJM. Many organizations belong to the same network. Besides, France went through many mobilizations during the 1990s (November 1995, movement of the "sans", etc.) which were characterized by a significant collaboration between different sectors (union activism, movement of the "sans", human rights movements, etc.). Cycles of previous mobilizations strengthened activist links, and they also explain the type of web links present on the websites.

Actually, two types of use of links are clearly identifiable: educational and affinity links. Educational links aim at informing the web surfer of the existence of websites of organizations either active in the same field or defending values close to it. There is then an effort to reach a certain exhaustiveness or at least the will of giving numerous information. On another hand, the affinity links correspond to links having to do with fellow organizations: either satellite organizations (case of the LCR), or organizations involved in the same campaign or belonging to the same network, or organizations with which there are strong historical links (because of a former participation to a common mobilization or because of belonging to the same negotiators with public authorities). These affinity links could be better explored with a network analysis.

As far as the repertoire of action is concerned, some specificities of the French sample can be pointed out. First of all, there is an important recourse to the petition (on 46% of the websites of the French sample, versus 32% for the whole sample). This repertoire of action is typical of the French protest tradition (Contamin, 2001), and has found a renewal through the Internet. The *e-postcards* are poorly developed (11% versus 18% for the whole sample). The organizations which have used it are mainly French ramifications of groups with an international dimension. Hence, it seems that it is an action form imported mostly from Great Britain (for instance Greenpeace France proposes many e-postcards) characterized by an increasing diffusion (Della Porta, Tarrow, 2005, 3). The "new generation" of repertories of action born more specifically with the Internet (mail-bombing and netstrike, Costanza-Chock 2003) are poorly developed in France.

In almost all aspects of mobilization, the number of years the website has existed and *members presence* (table 5) helped explaining a more important offline mobilization.

2.8. Conclusion about national characteristics

As a conclusion, French websites are characterized by intermittence, depending upon the cycles of mobilization. With the referendum on the European constitution and the debates raised around it, not only websites were brought up to date but they also became more substantial and interactive. Strong mobilizations seem to be an incentive factor for more interactivity.

Generally speaking, French Internet websites get contrasted results within the dimension chosen for a comparison on the European scale. Websites of French organizations get, compared to the Italian ones, high scores in terms of quality of communication (and particularly on indicators of political education) and identity building. Internet websites are also part of the mobilization's strategies of the organizations. In fact, French GJMOs' websites show a high ranking on mobilization indicators. On another hand, as far as the possibility of *online participation* is concerned, it is weak in the case of French GJMOs websites, like in the German case. If they inform about the activities and the causes carried on by the organization, French Internet websites are not likely to be spaces of substitution to the physical places of activism. They reflect more or less precisely the public activities of the organization. As for the internal life, the Internet websites show very little about the internal functioning of the organization. French Internet websites also rank very low as far as transparency is concerned.

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3. German Report: Websites of the Global Justice Movement in Germany

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3.1. Introduction

Today websites are standard instruments for German social movement groups to present themselves to the public. This has been made possible because the internet has become a major source of information to a steadily growing public over the last few years. The purpose of this report is to explain differences on the aggregate level between German and other European websites related to the global justice movement (GJM). We refer to quantitative data collected during the coding process, which will be compared transnationally. Mapping national characteristics which typify the use of the internet requires reference to both the peculiarities of the German global justice movement and the importance attached to the internet as a means of communication within that movement.

The following section of this report will provide a rationale for the selection of 42 German websites included in the international data set. In subsequent sections, several questions will be addressed to shed light on the German cases in particular.

- What are the *usability* characteristics of German websites as compared to those of other countries?
- How comprehensive is the *supply of information* offered on the sites? To what degree are groups, their structure and workflow *transparent* to the public?
- How important is the internet for social movement organisations (SMOs) in the formation of a specific *identity*?
- Do SMOs use the internet to *mobilize* visitors and what role does online activism play in the German global justice movement?
- Do providers of websites tackle the problem of the digital divide by offering technical support or courses to increase citizens' skills in the use of the internet?
- To what extent is the potential of *interactivity* provided by the network structure of the internet tapped by the providers of German websites?

In order to gain a differentiated image of German websites differences within the national sample will be related to organisational characteristics of website providers (their degree of formalisation) and the age of websites as such. Hence, the report shall trace the purpose the internet fulfils for SMOs. Is the internet more a tool of announcement rather than one of interactive communication enhancing participation of members and non-members?

3.2. Selection of Websites

To compile a set of actors which span the entire spectre of the global justice movement in Germany several characteristics have to be considered. There are different thematic fields to be covered as well as different organisational forms. As a "movement of movements" the global justice movement unites organisations tackling different issues such as ecology, peace, women's rights, etc. At the same time groups with different organisational forms and varying degrees of formalisation joined the struggle against neo-liberal globalisation. Grassroots groups and networks have to be included as well as campaigns, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and trade unions. Adding to this, media and party foundations are not necessarily part of the movement but important sources of support.

In an initial step a broad set of groups within and related to the global justice movements was compiled. For each of the 28 categories proposed in the guideline for case selection one group or more was selected. This selection was based on information about the preparation and/or organisation of events of the global justice movements, scholarly knowledge and internet searches. Some of the categories are clearly matched by an organisation. Examples include cases like *Ärzte ohne Grenzen* (Médecins Sans Frontières –Doctors without Borders), *Attac*, *Pax Christi*, *IG Metall* (the German metal workers' union) and *Erlassjahr.de* (the German debt relief network). Other categories are more difficult to assign. For example, there are approximately 50 local social forums in Germany. Because of the federalist structure in Germany there is scarcely a distinct national organisation or umbrella representing a specific current of the global justice movement. This is particularly true for the Stop-the-War coalition or the antagonist spectre. Therefore, in a second step, one case was selected for each remaining category. Those groups were excluded, which seemed to be less active, less linked to and less thematically bound to the global justice movements than other groups. Information about these criteria was derived from online searches and publications about the movement. For these cases participation in World Social Forums, European Social Forums, national conferences and protests against neo-liberal globalisation was a strict criterion. The result of this selection process was a chosen set of 43 out of more than 100 relevant groups to be mapped onto the 28 categories given. For some categories deviant selections were necessary in order to grasp the peculiarities of the German GJM. Parties which have some impact in other countries, providing resources and infrastructure, are irrelevant in Germany; but foundations that are closely linked with the Greens (*Bündnis 90/Die Grünen*) and the former PDS (*Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus*) –namely the *Heinrich Böll Stiftung* and the *Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung* took the place of the parties and play a major role in the preparation of conferences and social forums. Furthermore, there are no rank-and-file unions in Germany

where labour is organised following a unitary principle. Still there is a small but highly visible anarchistic-syndicalist group, the *Freie ArbeiterInnen Union* (FAU) which was included in the sample. The same group characteristics apply to two Trotskyist groups, *Sozialistische Alternative* (SAV) and *Linksruck* who attempt fervently to gain influence in the Attac network and the newly founded *Wahlalternative Soziale Gerechtigkeit* (WASG). Resembling the situation in the German GJM, development aid organisations and Christian organisations are numerous in the sample of websites. Interestingly, there is one website in the sample that is funded by the German department of international development. The *Weltladen* umbrella site is funded to promote the concept of fair trade in general and to support fair trade initiatives in particular.

3.3. Sample Characteristics

In order to present a more detailed picture of German GJM websites, we will refer to three variables for comparison, which characterize the main differences between the websites and the organisations respectively. First, the formalisation of an organisation providing a website is a significant criterion. Informal groups in contrast to formal ones lack formal organisational characteristics such as fixed division of labour, definition of leading positions, formal membership or official legal status. Thirteen out of the 43 GJM groups in the German sample are informal. This constitutes about 30%, which is the same share of informal groups for the other national cases. Among the informal GJM groups there are five alternative media groups like *Indymedia* or *Freies Sender Kombinat*, three social forums, two antagonistic groups, two issue-oriented campaigns and the peace network, *Friedenskooperative*. The formal sector by contrast consists predominantly of NGOs and foundations (adding up to 18 cases), political organisations, campaigns and unions.

Second, organisations split into two groups in regard to membership – those which do not offer membership and those that do. In this respect the German sample differs significantly from the other national cases. While about half of the 43 German GJM groups offer the possibility to become a member on their websites, 62% of the other groups analyzed do so. At the same time congruence between the degree of formalisation and membership is not very high. While most of the informal groups do not have fixed membership, there are as many as eight formalised organisations which are not open to new members. The reason is that these organisations – party foundations, welfare or development assistance organisations – do not have an open membership base and rely on professional working relations between employees and employers.

Third, the age of the websites should be taken into account. It can be assumed that there

will be some degree of path dependency for specific types of websites which later on may be difficult to change. Therefore we divided the German sample into two groups of websites, those introduced in an initial version prior to the year 2000 and those generated after that date. In general, German GJM websites have existed much longer than comparable websites from other countries. Approximately three quarters of the German GJM websites were first updated prior to the year 2000. By comparison only about 45% of the other national cases can be traced back this far. Nevertheless it is important to note that the age of the websites does not necessarily coincide with the age of the organisations.

3.4. Usability Aspects

The usability of websites is important for estimating whether they can make a contribution to the work of activists. The higher the usability of websites, the faster can users access information. In comparison to other countries, we found a higher share of German websites offering an internal search engine or a website map (see table 1). This can be interpreted in two ways. Either it is indeed easier to oversee the content of German websites, or the presence of search engines and website maps suggest that German websites are generally larger and more complex, so that these tools are necessary.

Table 1. Usability characteristics of German vs. other GJM websites (%)

Usability	*German*	*Other*
Internal Search engine	81	44
Website map	40	29
Translated parts	28	33
Total (N)	43	210

In formal organisations high complexity of the website is accompanied by a process of professionalisation. Those organisations that have a high interest in up-to-date news on their online presence employ part-time or even full-time workers to maintain the websites. Informal groups rely on volunteers whose commitment is decisive for the level of sophistication of the website.

Concerning usability it is also important to know whether non-German speakers can access information online. Not surprisingly, transnational websites and those from trilingual Switzerland offer translations more frequently. While offering slightly more translations than French and British websites, German websites do not differ very much from the other national websites.

Websites are the media outlets of organisations, but often it is unclear to users who stands behind the contents presented. While 37 out of 43 (86%) German GJM websites offer contact information like address and telephone number, only 76% of the websites from other countries do so. Furthermore, 25 out of 43 (58%) of the German GJM websites publish the email addresses of their respective webmasters, enabling users to voice questions and critique. Only 35% of the other GJM websites provide this information. A general email address for user information requests is supplied by almost all groups analyzed. Ninety-six percent of the German and 87% of the other GJM websites offer such information, but no more than 35% of the webmasters and 35% of those accountable for the general content of the German GJM websites responded to emails requesting information about staff engaged in the maintenance of the online presence, usage statistics and more. In comparison to other samples, this is still satisfying. In other countries only 20% of the webmasters and 21% of those responsible for general contact replied to emails sent by researchers. Adding to this, duration of time waiting for a response differed significantly. While German groups replied on average in less than two days (12 days maximum) organisations in other countries needed on average about four days (29 days maximum) to reply. In Germany the difference between formal and informal organisations was irrelevant. Formal groups did not respond more often than the informal ones, and the former in general required somewhat longer periods of time for their responses than the latter. Of equally little significance for usability and information access were the factors "membership characteristics" and "age of the website". In three of the replies scepticism was expressed vis-à-vis our investigation. Interestingly, not only radical groups proofed to be reluctant. In fact, many of them answered within a short time without hesitation. By contrast, the catholic charity organisation *Misereor* shied away from answering questions considered as confidential.

3.5. Providing Information

By providing information like reports, news, documents and the like, websites become important tools for the political education of activists and sympathizers. Furthermore, websites present an opportunity to portray oneself vis-à-vis external actors like mass media, political allies and opponents. At the same time, the internet with its capacity to publish vast amounts of wide-ranging information can be an important factor in making an organisation transparent to the public. What kind of information can be found on German GJM websites? More German GJM websites than those of other countries contain reference to news (see table 2). Of those websites which provide a newsletter and/or have an independent news section, the share is higher in the German sample. Generally, informal groups in Germany do not

spread information via newsletter. By contrast 25 out of 30 formal organisations do offer a newsletter most of them have several thousand subscribers (see table 2a).

Unlike websites from other countries, many German sites request the registration of personal data as a condition for subscribing to their newsletters. Seven out of 11 sites characterized by this restriction in the full sample are located in Germany. The objections which informal groups have to newsletters may be explained by the unilateral character of that particular form of online communication.

Table 2. Information provision of German vs. other GJM websites (%)

Information Provision	*German*	*Other*
News section	88	78
Newsletter	58	48
Archive of press releases	65	65
Archive of annual reports/chronology	60	61
Articles/papers/dossiers	88	90
Old leaflets	33	40
Conference/seminar materials	42	53
Documents of past assemblies	26	41
Bibliography	26	42
Total (N)	43	210

Table 2a. Subscription to Newsletter: informal vs. formal groups (%)

Information Provision	*Informal (n)*	*Formal (n)*
Newsletter	0	25
Total (N)	0	25

In general, the spectrum of information which refers to offline sources (leaflets, assemblies, conferences, books) is not as frequently represented on German websites as in the other cases of the GJM. This may suggest that the use of websites within the German GJM is less linked to traditional communication modes. While a higher share of German GJM websites publishes news and newsletters, there is hardly any difference with regard to the publication of archived press releases, annual reports, chronologies and other text forms. These figures hold even when differences within the sample are considered. Informal groups do not lag significantly behind formal groups except in the case of newsletters. Neither age of the

website nor membership in the organisation makes any remarkable difference for accessing various forms of information.

The timeliness of German GJM websites could be observed in preparation for the federal elections in September 2005. Most of the websites in the sample provided information regarding the parties and their programmes. Especially single issue organisations tested election pledges referring to their respective policy field. The environmentalist *BUND* for instance asked visitors of their website to appeal to local candidates for sustainable politics. Additionally, the federal elections revealed the polity position of GJM organisations. The sample is split into groups that encourage visitors to vote and those sceptical of representative democracy. The former faction comprises NGOs, foundations and trade unions but at the same time trotskyist groups supporting the *Linkspartei* – a merger of the post-communist *PDS* and *WASG*. The latter share of the sample rejects elections as sham and promotes other than electoral strategies. Especially those groups with an antagonist profile emphasising the absence of hierarchy adopt this position on their website (e.g. *FAU*). In a less categorical position the *Attac* network criticises party programmes and appeals for a general debate about the distribution of labour beyond the election hype.

Information about structures and workflow published online enhances the transparency of GJM organisations. In contrast to other GJM websites, the German sites use their web pages to display their organisations' respective structures, portray their leaders and provide information on financing more frequently (see table 3). This result is coherent for all five categories listed in table 3. Thus German GJM groups seem to be more sensitized to the issue of transparency; however, an analysis of websites does not permit us to determine whether the information presented is accurate or sufficient for an elaborated concept of transparency. The information presented on income and budget, organisational structures and roles were not checked for consistency or up-to-datedness.

Table 3. Self-portrayal aspects of German vs. other GJM websites (%)

Self-portrayal	*German*	*Other*
Statute or a comparable document	95	83
information about organisational structure	74	63
information about leading role	57	44
information about other identified roles	56	37
information about income and budget	40	23
Total (N)	43	210

Table 3a. Self-portrayal aspects of informal vs. formal groups (%)

Self-portrayal	*Informal (n)*	*Formal (n)*
information about organisational structure	6	26
information about income and budget	2	15
Total (N)	13	30

In fact, the presence of self-portraying contents on the analysed websites depended on the organisational structure. If we compare cases based on transparency, there are marked differences between formal organisations' websites and those representing more informal groups. Informal groups generally offer little information about organisational structures and finances, be they German or some other nationality. However, like the formal organisations, nearly all informal groups present some kind of statute or a comparable document. Since it is a defining characteristic of these groups to not have formally assigned organisational roles, there is not much information on their sites about the leadership or other specialists. Consequently, the higher share of German GJM websites, which make their organisational structures and finances transparent, stems not from informal groups (since they do not have much to present) but rather from the formalised NGOs, foundations and professional organisations. For example, amongst the formal organisations one out of two German websites offers information about the organisation's finances and nine of ten describe their respective organisational structures online (see table 3a). The positive results in terms of transparency are thus probably due to the fact that many of these organisations follow the German law governing public associations that demands that information on accountability be made publicly available. Moreover, major organisations seek to fulfil the requirements for a special seal of approval (*Gütesiegel*) which guarantees that the organisations use donations effectively. The *Spendensiegel*, a special kind of certification, is distributed by the state-run *Deutsches Zentralinstitut für soziale Fragen* (http://www.dzi.de); having this seal of approval helps to attract further donations. Whereas DZI seal-of-approval requirements do not insist on public access to this kind of information, they may have nevertheless contributed to raising the public awareness of transparency in general.

3.6. Displaying Identities

Political information and self-portrayal are relevant aspects to creating an organisation's political identity and public image. The online publication of statements draws boundaries between GJM organisations and differing political positions of other groups both within and outside the GJM. The online contents of German GJM websites suggest where the ideological

and political borders between organisations and their environment are situated. For example, the *Berlin Social Forum* website offers much information about the group's political identity. Papers, articles and chronologies about the political work of the group are published here. Internal protocols and interviews with participating activists are also available from the site. Links are another means to draw lines between ideological communities. Including certain groups in a linklist specified as "left links" (which is a word-play in German) to some extent means to share a common identity. Thus, links are used to map the field of political groups which are acceptable to the websites' respective group. In general, it appears that the use of websites as a place for establishing a group's political identity is more often practiced amongst smaller, grassroots oriented, informal groups. NGOs, welfare institutions and more professionalized political groups place greater emphasis on presenting a pleasing picture of their organisations' political work. Political identity referring to a description of a distinct "we" while distancing "ourselves" from the "other" is hardly expressed in those terms on any of the larger, more professional websites.

Attac, trotskyist and antagonist groups feature another way to stress their identity on their internet presence. Those groups to which street protest is an important strategy underline their common identity with photos showing demonstrators, banners, or militant mummed activists. Especially radical leftists make use of symbols which stress frontiers between the own group or spectre and other currents of the movement. The militant language of a fist or a stylised fight which can be found on the *antifa.de* website serves to accent an unbending stance against capitalism and fascism.

3.7. Websites as Places for Mobilisation

Websites provided by actors from social movements can have a mobilising function for visitors, be it for online or offline forms of action. Still, none of the German websites we surveyed features mobilisation efforts as a central characteristic. Compared to other countries, German sites show figures below average for both offline and online mobilisation indicators (see table 4). The only exceptions to this are two features regarding fundraising. Primarily formal organisations use their online presence to enable visitors to donate. Only five out of 13 informal organisations offer information how to support them financially (see table 4a). While only one quarter of the formal organisations in Germany misses the chance to raise funds via the internet either by providing bank data or accepting online donations, fundraisers and non-fundraisers are evenly distributed in other countries.

A closer look at particular endeavours to mobilise users of websites may help to understand the low importance attached to mobilisation on German GJM websites. The only

feature that a majority of websites have in common is an events calendar detailing the respective organisations' own activities. Low figures for offline mobilisation variables suggest that offline mobilisation is primarily a matter of offline communication. But in our judgement mailing lists do supposedly play a role for offline mobilisation. The even lower rates of activity for online mobilisation can be explained separately for two modes of action. On the one hand, moderate forms of action such as sending an e-postcard or signing an electronic petition are not considered to be effective in Germany. Many activists consider electronic signatures to be ineffective because their authenticity is dubious for authorities. On the other hand, online forms of direct action have been subject to state repression. The first significant net strike in Germany on June, 20th 2001 led to litigation culminating in the conviction of the domain-owner of the website that had called for participation in the strike. This net strike was organised by anti-racist groups; its intention was to block the website of Germany's national airline company, Lufthansa, which is involved in the deportation of immigrants (see http://www.libertad.de/inhalt/projekte/depclass). The outcome of the event has certainly since discouraged activists from making use of this kind of protest.

Table 4. Mobilisation characteristics of German vs. other GJM websites (%)

Mobilisation	*German*	*Other*
information about how to financially support the group	63	43
possibility to donate online	56	37
action/event calendar	56	33
Concrete info on offline forms of action	30	36
send/download an e-postcard addressed to institutions/representatives	12	20
Concrete info on online forms of action	12	15
laboratories/courses/workshops	9	22
helping desk/info point	9	16
sign an online petition	7	36
call for a netstrike	0	7
call for a mail bombing	0	8
Total (N)	43	210

Table 4a. Mobilisation characteristics: informal vs. formal groups (%)

Mobilisation	*Informal (n)*	*Formal (n)*
information about how to financially support the group	5	22
possibility to donate online	1	17

Mobilisation	*Informal (n)*	*Formal (n)*
send/download an e-postcard addressed to institutions/representatives	0	5
Total (N)	13	30

Interestingly, online forms of action are more frequently deployed by formal organisations with a longer lasting presence in the internet (see table 4a). All of the websites we investigated, which call for signing online petitions or sending e-postcards, are formal organisations whose websites have been running since 2000 or earlier. Online petitions and e-postcards are a steadfast part of campaigns run by major NGOs. For example the *Clean Clothes Campaign* and the development network *INKOTA* organise conjoint urgent actions to call attention to miserable working conditions in the global south. Via protest e-mails politicians and entrepreneurs shall be made aware that their actions are kept under surveillance by critical citizens.

3.8. Interactivity

Interactive modules in particular have been praised as an example for the democratising effect of the internet. Therefore a special focus of the coding was set on both bilateral and multilateral tools of communication. Bilateral modules are those parts of websites, which invite users to make a contribution in reaction to a request proposed by the organisations on the website. Multilateral modules offer additionally the opportunity for users to interact with each other online.

Table 5. Interactivity of German vs. other GJM websites (%)

Interactivity	*German*	*Other*
Bilateral		
react to a specific request of comments	12	19
answer a questionnaire/survey	2	12
Multilateral		
directly publish news, calls, proposals, etc.	9	12
forums and/or mailing-lists	16	40
chat-line	0	3
Total (N)	43	210

Table 5a. Interactivity: informal vs. formal groups (%)

Interactivity	*Informal (n)*	*Formal (n)*	*Post-Seattle (n)*	*Pre-Seattle (n)*
Presence of interactive modules	7	4	4	7
Total (N)	13	30	11	32

Compared to the other cases, German GJM websites rarely feature interactive modules (see table 5). Online questionnaires or surveys, interactive forums and online mailing lists (to which users can subscribe) are rare for German websites. A deeper look into the German sample shows that predominantly formal organisations shy away from interactive modules. Only 11 out of 43 of the websites analysed have at least one interactive module. Although 30 of the German GJM websites are related to formal groups, only four of them use at least one interactive module. By contrast, seven out of 13 informal groups apply interactive devices (see table 5a). Typically highly formalised organisations like party foundations, development assistance organisations and NGOs do not offer interactive modules, while horizontal organisations such as the *social forums*, *Attac* or *Indymedia* use mostly interactive forums and mailing lists. Younger websites apply interactive modules more often than older ones. Four of the eleven post-2000 websites use interactive modules, while only seven of the 32 pre-2000 websites offer comparable tools online. These findings suggest that for some horizontal organisations the internet has become a tool of self-organisation in its own right. The hit rates for the respective websites underline this assumption. Whereas *Misereor*, the biggest German charity organisation, registered an average of 70.000 visits per month in the first quarter of 2005, *Attac* counted 177.000 visits in the same period.

3.9. Narrowing the Gap along the Digital Divide

When speaking about the digital divide, one should first and foremost be aware that sympathizers and activists of the German GJM belong mainly to the higher educated middle-classes, and that they have access to and frequently use all sorts of media. In general, these people are not negatively affected by the ever-widening gap between the information-rich and -poor. The share of the German population who have access to the internet amounts to around 56%. The penetration rate is considerably higher compared to other European countries (see introductory chapter, table 1). At the same time the rate of growth for this share (91% from 2000 to 2005) is much slower than the European average (132% for the same period). In Germany this seems to be an expression of maturation and declining enthusiasm for using the internet. From this perspective it is not very surprising that the German GJM

websites do not engage very much on behalf of decreasing the digital divide by providing facilitating and learning tools online (see table 6).

Table 6. Intervention along the digital divide by German vs. other GJM websites (%)

Intervention along the digital divide	*German*	*Other*
laboratories for internet-related training	2	10
helping desk for internet-related training	0	8
specific applications for internet-related training	2	10
other electronic resources for internet-related training	2	8
free email	0	6
webpage and/or website hosting	7	7
Total (N)	43	210

In comparison to the other cases analysed, only the share of websites providing web space for other groups is on a similar level (seven percent). Since there are a lot of tools and manuals available, German GJM websites do not regard the provision of learning, training and internet-related applications as their responsibility. For example the free German internet handbook, *selfhtml* (see http://de.selfhtml.org/), offers often-cited training materials for anyone who wants to program a website. Further, corporations like *weitblick* (see http://weitblick.net/) have specialized in providing websites for NGOs and movement organisations inexpensively. These particular features make internet-related training and learning on the part of social movement organisations increasingly more unnecessary.

Only five of the 43 German GJM websites analysed offer some kind of tools related to narrowing the gap along the digital divide. This group of five consists of three large organisations with formal membership – *BUND,* Germany's largest environmental association, the *Weltladen-Dachverband*, a fair trade umbrella organisation and *ver.di* the service-sector public employees' trade union – and two informal groups, namely, the alternative media networks *nadir.org* and *Indymedia*. With the exceptions of *ver.di* and *indymedia*, the remaining groups offer only web space for other groups but no individual help or training tools.

3.10. Conclusions

The figures derived from a transnational comparison show that, on the aggregate level, German websites connected to the global justice movement have a specific profile. To a certain extent these findings might be contingent insofar as the online presence of GJM

organisations depends mostly on the commitment of one or two webmasters who have a major impact on the characteristics of a website. Still, on an aggregate level, German GJM websites are predominantly characterized by having a high degree of usability and being rich sources of information. Because of the situation specific to Germany, a high degree of transparency, e.g. accountability or budgetary information, is a common feature of German GJM websites. At the same time, however, only very few German websites feature elements that permit interactivity such as mailing lists and online forums. Actors with a high degree of formalisation in particular use the internet in a unilateral way. By contrast, grassroots and network organisations deploy interactive features more frequently, thus mirroring their more horizontal structures.

Except for the fact that donations are frequently facilitated, mobilisation is not one of the main features of GJM websites. Moderate forms of online activism are a means for NGOs to offer visitors to their websites low-threshold opportunities to become engaged. Online campaigning is still in its infancy in Germany. Just recently, a website resembling the concept of moveon.org was created (see http://www.campact.de).

The figures presented above do not reveal any glaring differences between individual websites. Some sites are updated only irregularly, designed for unilateral communication and present little information. Groups who operate these websites, such as the migrant *DIDF* or *Weltfriedensdienst*, are either short of resources or they disregard the internet as a communicative space. Other providers such as *Attac* or the *Berlin Social Forum* use the internet as a central tool to organise their activities. Their websites are rich in information, they are updated daily and they present many opportunities for multidirectional interactivity. Finally, formalised organisations like the German public employees' union, *ver.di*, or *Amnesty International* provide comprehensive information combined with a low interactivity profile.

4. Italian report: The Italian Global Justice Movement Online

by Lorenzo Mosca (European University Institute)

4.1. Introduction

The main goal of this national report consists in explaining the peculiarities of the Italian case emerged in the crossnational analysis using quantitative and qualitative data collected during the coding and interpreting them in the light of case knowledge.

In the first paragraph, the selection of the Italian GJMOs websites will be explained. Afterwards, we will focus on the quantitative results on the five dimensions used in the comparative part of the report complementing the information with qualitative data, replies of info services and webmasters and case knowledge.

To give an account of the variance in national websites, we will use a set of variables concerning the characteristics of the organization: formalization (definition of leading positions), members presence and affiliation to a transnational network.[21] We assume that more formal organizations, and membership organizations can rely upon more resources and therefore they can develop more complex websites. We also assume that the affiliation to a transnational network can have a series of important consequences on SMOs. In fact, being part of a multiorganizational and multilinguistic setting can influence the democratic conceptions and practices of an organization developing a positive attitude towards dialogue and confrontation with different opinions.

Besides, we also tried to discriminate between "new" and "old" websites using as a temporal reference the emergence of a global movement against neo-liberal globalization. According to an online archive (http://www.archive.org), 50% of the Italian GJMOs websites were created after 2000. This information can tell us something about the attitude of an organization towards the Internet. However, we have to consider that most organizations already existed before and they created their websites only in recent years because the Internet had a very limited penetration before. Since at this stage we don't have yet exhaustive information on other structural features of our GJMOs (which will be collected in WP3 and WP4), in our present analysis we will limit to take into account formalization, membership, affiliation to a transnational network and age of websites.

Before showing the results of the analysis it is worth underlying that the Internet can be considered as a relative new phenomenon in Italy, where the media system has been

[21] The territorial level of the organizations could also be an important explaining variable but in the Italian case we only selected 3 local groups: a number not sufficient for a comparison. We used instead a new variable concerning the affiliation to a transnational network. Our case knowledge allowed to create this variable with limited additional effort.

dominated since the fifties by a reduced competition between a public and a private monopoly that created a relative closed public sphere.

Besides, Italian media system can be described as a model of "polarized pluralism" that is characterized by a limited circulation of printed media (elite politically oriented press); a low degree of autonomy among license-financed radio and TV; weaker professionalization: low degree of professionalism; and strong government intervention (Hallin and Mancini 2004: 67). Since the television is the first source of information for Italians, and the TV system is based on an oligopoly with scarce opportunities for outsiders, a new media like the Internet became extremely appraised, especially by resource-poor organizations like social movement organizations generally are. Hence, the Internet has been perceived as an opportunity to foster pluralism by passing the traditional mass-media.

4.2. Selection process of the websites of the most relevant GJMOs in Italy

The Italian selection of websites mirrored the variety and the heterogeneity of the global justice movement in Italy. 42 organizations were selected, including in the sample the most relevant organizations belonging to the three main organizational networks of the movement (solidary-ecopacifism, institutional left and antagonism) that --although sharing a common master frame based on democracy and social justice-- differ for ideological orientations, organizational structures and repertoires of action (della Porta and Reiter 2005). Furthermore, we selected media and more institutional organizations close to the movement but also organizations at the margin of the ESF process, whose democratic deficit they criticize.

In the sector of solidary-ecopacifism we selected *rete Lilliput*, a network of environmental associations, international solidarity organizations and religious groups. To better cover organizations active on issues of environment and peace, we also included *Legambiente* (Environmental league, an important environmental organization created in 1980 and strictly linked to the Italian communist party but becoming autonomous in 1986); *Tavola della pace* (Table of Peace, an ample network of organizations mobilized on the issue of peace and organizing an annual march for peace going from Perugia to Assisi); the campaign against *Banche armate* (armed banks) involved in the arms' trade; *Botteghe del mondo* (the Italian Association of Worldshops, a network of 121 cooperatives and associations running over 300 fair trade shops). Besides, we also considered the Italian branch of Pax Christi (very committed with the issues of peace and justice) and *Sdebitarsi*, member of the Jubilee plus international campaign (following Jubilee 2000) aiming at cancelling the debt of the poorest and highly indebted countries.

We also included in the sample NGOs close to the sector of solidary-ecopacifism. In the field of NGOs, we selected *Unimondo* (the Italian branch of Oneworld), "Emergency - Life Support for Civilian War Victims" very committed in antiwar demonstrations, and "*Un ponte per…*" (A bridge for…) that took part in the WSF of Porto Alegre. We also included coordinations promoted by some of the organizations selected for our analysis: the Italian Consortium of Solidarity (founded to coordinate the humanitarian interventions of Italian NGOs during the war in former Yugoslavia) and the Permanent Forum of the Third Sector (created in 1997 to coordinate voluntary and solidarity Italian organizations and to give them political and social representation).

In the sector of the institutional left we selected the Italian branch of Attac (association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid to Citizens), the Cgil (major left-wing union initially critical towards the movement but then one of the main organizers of the Esf in Florence), the Fiom (Italian Federation of metalworkers, that participated in anti-globalization demonstrations since the very beginning of the movement) and Arci (Italian Cultural and Recreational Association born in 1956 as a satellite of the communist party but gaining autonomy since the nineties). The Communist Refoundation party and the Greens were included with their youth organizations being part of the movement or overlapping with some of its sectors. Also *Sinistra Giovanile* (Youth Left), the youth organization of the Left Democrats, was selected since it participated actively in important events of the movement such as the Genoa G8 counter-summit and the Florence Esf.

In the sector of the antagonist groups we selected the *Rete noglobal* (noglobal network), a network of squatted social centres operating in the south of Italy within the Disobedients area. Near to the antagonist sector, we also selected grassroots trade unions such as the Cobas confederation and the *Confederazione Unitaria di Base* (Unitary Basis Confederation --Cub), the first linked to the tradition of the *Autonomia Operaia* while the second more committed with anarchist and libertarian tradition. Cub has been one of the main organizers of the MayDay parade (criticizing the demonstration of traditional trade unions perceived as "old" and "institutional") that started in Milan in 2001 with 5,000 people and grew to the massive parade of 120,000 participants in 2005 (Curcio and Visco 2005). We also included organizations (like the Chainworkers) involved in the campaign against precarity of work that had a certain importance for the creation of the mobilization symbolized by *San Precario* (Saint protector of precarious workers) and for the organization of the mass MayDay parade in Milan. From the Italian parade a project to involve in the mobilization other European groups took place through the website Euromayday that served as a platform to help organizing a Eurocoordination. This network was considered relevant being among the

promoter of the alternative social forum of London born to oppose the Esf, considered as bureaucratic and undemocratic. Also at the margin of the movement, we selected the *Federazione Anarchica Italiana* (Italian Anarchist Federation) that was a significant component of the Italian GJM even if in Genoa and in Florence it promoted parallel events criticizing the role of the organizing committees of the Genoa Social Forum and of the Esf.

Another important actor we wanted to take into account were local social forums that after the antiG8 summit of Genoa spread all over the country. Lots of these forums later disappeared in the last stages of the cycle of protest, but some of them still survive and are active in a series of territorial campaigns linking the local and the global. We selected the Turin social forum which is involved in a protest campaign against the high speed railway system; the Venice social forum that organized a counter-summit against the 50th annual session of the Nato's assembly (November 2004); and the Abruzzo social forum involved in a campaign against the project of a third tunnel in the Gran Sasso mountain inserted in the framework of "great public works" (*grandi opere*) of Berlusconi's government.

Even if the organizations specifically focusing on gender and those made of migrants are quite marginal in the Italian global justice movement, we also selected such groups as being involved in the Genoa anti-G8 protest and because such issues are quite important within the Italian movement. Considering the gender issue, the Italian branch of the World March of Women and the Arcigay (that is the most important Italian gay association) were selected since they participated actively in the Genoa Social Forum. Besides, the first demonstration opening the countersummit in Genoa was a demonstration for migrant's rights under the slogan "we are all clandestines". Hence, on the issue of immigration we selected the anti-racist and interethnic association "3F" and the Committee of the immigrants in Italy. The association 3F (formed by both anti-racist Italians and immigrants) refers in its name to the 3rd of February in 1996, when a national self-organized and self-founded demonstration took place in Rome against a law of the Dini's government [22] that introduced in Italy the imprisonment of foreigners without residence permit (while before detention was only possible in the case of a penal sentence). The association describes such demonstration as the first one in Italy with a massive presence of immigrants, that directly mobilized and self-represented themselves. The Committee of the immigrants in Italy was created later (in 2002)

[22] The Dini's government was formed in 1995 after the dissolution of the first Berlusconi's government by the former Treasury minister of that government. The new government was presented as a "technical" one (non-political) and had a limited program concerning economic reforms (pensions) and the definition of some rules to grant equal media access to all political parties during electoral campaigns (*par condicio* law). The "technical" government was supported by a parliamentary majority made of *Partito Popolare* (Popular party), *Democratici di Sinistra* (Left Democrats), *Lega Nord* (Northern League) and other minor parties of the centre-left coalition while the Communist Refoundation party and the rest of the centre-right coalition were in the opposition (Ginsborg 2001).

and it defines itself as "a place for the meeting and the collaboration in order to establish immigrant's rights and dignity; to oppose all forms of racism and to oppose with more efficacy xenophobic and discriminating laws (Bossi-Fini law and other laws). A place where develop a leading role of immigrants in an open, plural and constructive form".[23]

Important online networks of communication were also included in the Italian sample: Peacelink belonging to the area of solidary-ecopacifism, the Internet portal of *Radio popolare* (Popular radio) belonging to the area of the institutional left, Global project "communic-action" portal close to the area of Disobedients, the European counter network belonging to the area of antagonism and finally the Italian branch of Indymedia with a libertarian orientation. Besides, important offline media for the movement like the daily newspaper "Il Manifesto" (launched in 1971 by a group of people expelled from the communist party) and the weekly magazine "Carta" (created at the end of 1998 as a periodical magazine distributed with "Il Manifesto" but then an independent magazine very close to the Italian movement) were selected.

The organizations selected for the Italian sample vary a lot in terms of territorial scale, formalization, number of members, resources, ideological orientation, views of globalization and democracy. In our sample, three quarter of the websites refer to a formal organization (with the precence of leading roles and other identified roles), 26 websites to organizations with a formal membership[24] and almost 40% to a group affiliated to a transnational organization. As for the age of the websites, 50% were created before and 50% after the year 2000.

4.3. Quality of communication

For what concerns the quality of communication, in a crossnational perspective the Italian GJMOs websites are above the average on indicators of political education and multi-lingual audience but below the average on usability indicators (limited presence of search engines and website maps that can help users to quickly find the information they are searching for).

As the table below shows, formalized organizations are generally more likely to invest on the quality of communication (except for the translation of identifying section). This result could depend on organizational resources. In fact, formal organizations are generally richer in resources than informal ones. Since richer organizations can invest more resources in online (and offline) communication, their sites tend to offer more information. The affiliation to a transnational network doesn't seem related to the quality of communication while it explains a

[23] http://www.comitatoimmigrati.it.

higher presence of translations in other languages. Finally, also websites of organizations with a formalized membership show higher values on quality of communication. This could be an indication that members are resources for the creation of more informative and more usable websites. Considering also the age of the websites, we found that older websites are more likely to disseminate more information, to be more usable and more multi-lingual.

Table 1. Characteristics of the organizations and quality of the communication (%)

Quality of communication	**Formal organization**		**Affiliation to a network**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Articles/papers/dossiers	80	94	92	87	100	92	86	95
Conference/seminar materials	40	75	65	69	67	73	62	71
Bibliography	40	59	65	37	56	65	33	76
News section	60	91	81	87	56	88	76	90
Search engine	30	59	50	56	33	61	48	57
Website map	10	12	15	6	11	15	9	14
Translation of basic information	40	41	35	50	22	46	29	52
Translation of identifying section	20	9	11	12	11	7	9	14
Total (N)	10	32	26	16	9	26	21	21

Within the Italian sample of GJMOs, the most interesting example of organization focusing a significant amount of its activity on information dissemination is Attac. Describing the online strategy of communication of Attac-Italy, Claudio Jampaglia (member of the national council of the organization) wrote "we decided (and we are still trying to implement it) to deepen our knowledge (…) we imagined that informatics could be an instrument for 'self-education', to propose reflections that do not find room elsewhere, also because of their length (...) In our opinion to communicate means first of all 'to understand in order to act'" (2002, 202-3). The Italia branch of Attac defines itself as "popular education movement oriented towards action." The same slogan is used by the other Attac national associations. As one of the funding members of the French association puts it "We don't want people turning out at demonstrations without really knowing why. So Attac members aren't activists in the French sense of the term, which differs from the English, since its connotation is action for action's sake. Our work is in the first instance --though not in the last-- educational".[25]

The website of Attac Italy has a section devoted to a long list of different issues: environment/health, labour, water, participative democracy, Europe, Fiat, pension funds,

[24] In the case of 10 websites it was not possible to establish neither the presence nor the absence of formal members.

migrants, movement, neo-liberalism, privatizations, war, fiscal paradises, intellectual propriety, World Trade Organization (Wto) and Gats. Besides, the website advertises the popular university of Attac that has started in 2004 and was convened three times on different topics such as economy and democracy; capitalism, environment and society. The recording of the lectures offered by experts are downloadable from the website. Furthermore, Attac produced a book on the Tobin tax and another on the second Wsf of Porto Alegre (in collaboration with the Italian publishing house Feltrinelli) and in 2004 it started to publish a series of books on specific topics such as pension fund; Wto and global trade; World Bank and International Monetary Fund. All the books can be ordered online on its website. Moreover, in 2003 Attac created a specific multi-linguistic Internet portal (http://www.attac.info) that covered movement's events like the Evian antiG8 summit, the Florence Esf, the Wsf in Porto Alegre in 2003 and the Wsf in Mumbai in 2004. Finally, Attac presents on its website a research project with 4 people working part-time on "public services and democratic participation." To support its campaign on the Tobin tax, Attac created a specific website and published books and comics to disseminate information on this issue, collecting 178.000 signatures on law initiative.

If the website of Attac mirrors the commitment of the association towards popular education being probably the most focused on a cognitive function, also other Italian websites of GJMOs disseminate alternative information through the Internet. One of them belongs to Arcigay, the Italian gay association. This website has section comparing the juridical condition of gays in the different regions and nations of the world. Another section is devoted to health issues with a specific attention to prevention and information against Aids and other sexually transmitted diseases. The website advertises a service of counselling through phone calls giving information on homosexuality and on Hiv/Aids and other diseases. On the website there is also an online cd-rom addressing doctors and containing a sort of handbook focusing on how to avoid the discrimination of gay, lesbian and bisexual patients.

In the solidary-ecopacifism realm, the website of the Italian Association of Worldshops provides a rich juridical and practical information and has the goal to help create "not just shops, but cultural and political organizations".[26] On the website there is a section describing the projects in the world South financed by various shops; while in a download area there are special offers on how to get financing for a new shop, a focus on the ongoing campaigns and research reports (showing how buying in fair trade shops allows to fight the high inflation rate

[25] http://www.peoplesmarch.com/publications/wsf/what.htm.
[26] http://www.assobdm.it/modules/wordbook/entry.php?entryID=10.

that followed the introduction of the euro currency[27] and describing how people buying fair trade products perceive the alternative economy). Moreover, to better inform people on world inequalities, a shop can book on the website an exposition of photographs on ethnic conflicts, diseases and poor countries. Shops owners are also invited to download informative materials from the website and to show and distribute them in their shops. On the website there is also a glossary for general users containing definitions of fair trade, third sector and North-South relationships.

Also a good illustration of this emphasis is the provision of information in the website of Unimondo (Oneworld Italy) including a section devoted to book's presentation (with more than 60 books), possibility to download dossiers of the International Labour Organization, World Health Organization, Social watch, Unicef, Worldwatch institute, Caritas, Amnesty International, United Nations Development Programme, Human rights watch, Transparency International, etc. Besides, a database advertising courses, masters and other events of education on international cooperation, human rights, peace and environment is offered.

4.4. Building identities online

In a comparative perspective, building identities online is one of the main functions of the Italian GJMOs websites. Considering the Internet can be an instrument favoring the emergence of new identities, we found that the affiliation to a transnational network is generally associated with this function of a website. Most of the websites of organizations affiliated to a transnational network seem to be more focused on building identities online. As we are going to see below, most of these websites have specific sections devoted to the movement, its international relations and mobilizations. We also found that more formalized organizations and organizations with presence of members offer more resources oriented towards the building of identities online. Hence, it seems confirmed that resource-richer organizations invest more on their online presence. Besides, elder websites provide more resources for identity building than newer websites (except for the internal agenda). Interestingly enough, the archival of old leaflets show different trends.

[27] Even if the national institute of statistics (Istat) has denied it, distinguishing between "real inflation" and "perceived inflation", other independent institutes of statistics and consumer's associations demonstrated that inflation as estimated by official statistical indicators is lower that the factual rate of inflation.

Table 2. Characteristics of the organizations and identity building (%)

Identity building	**Formal organization**		**Affiliation to a network**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Archive of press releases	50	87	73	87	78	88	76	81
Archive of reports/chronology	40	72	61	69	44	77	52	76
Archive of old leaflets	70	62	61	69	67	65	67	72
Documents of past assemblies	50	66	58	69	67	69	57	67
Internal work agenda	40	37	31	50	22	38	43	33
Newsletter	20	69	58	56	44	61	52	62
Total (N)	10	32	21	16	9	26	21	21

One interesting feature of most websites of organizations that are part of transnational networks is to make this immediately evident in the homepage of their websites. In fact, one of the first message that these organizations communicate to the general public is that they are part of a broader network. Still, there are very different ways to communicate such affiliation: the Communist Refoundation party puts the symbol of the European left close to its symbol at the top of its homepage while Cgil and Attac insert a note under their banner specifying their transnational membership; Pax Christi puts the symbol of Lilliput network and other umbrella organizations it belongs to at the bottom of the homepage. The website of Arcigay claims on the homepage its membership in Ilga (International lesbian and gay association) and Ilga Europe.

Besides, lots of websites (Attac, Pax Christi, Lilliput, Fiom, Cgil, the committee of the immigrants in Italy, the Communist Refoundation party, Greens, Armed banks) have on their homepage the rainbow flag communicating to the public their belonging to the peace movement. Protest-oriented organizations are in some way identified by photos of demonstrations that are put on the banner opening the homepage: this is the case of Attac, the Lilliput network and the Global project. As figure 1 shows, in the case of the website of Lilliput, on the homepage (near the logo) there are three images of demonstrations where is it possible to read the words “justice”, “peace”, and “dropt the debt.” On the homepage of the website of Attac-Italy there are four different images of demonstration; one of this image is easily recognizable as the demonstration of nonviolent groups in Genoa (people that painted in white their hands white holding them high in front of the police). In the case of the Global project another recognizable image is put on the homepage: demonstrators covering their bodies with protective materials (foam rubber padding, shin-pads and underwater swimming

masks for protection against tear-gas, gas masks, and helmets) that is the typical way of demonstrating of the Disobedients.

Figure 1 – Images recalling different forms of protest on some websites

Sources: http://www.retelilliput.org; http://www.attac.it; http://www.globalproject.info

Other websites have a specific section devoted to their transnational relations: in these cases, participation in the GJM is explicitly mentioned. For example Legambiente provides its international curriculum where it declares its participation in transnational movement's events from Seattle onwards and its belonging to international environmentalist networks (European Environmental Bureau, Climate Action Network, The International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources), but also to civil thematic networks (mainly national).

The websites of rank and file unions have similar sections, too. The Cobas confederation has a multi-lingual section devoted to its international committee where it presents itself and its vision of neo-liberal globalization. Besides --like in the case of Legambiente-- it presents a series of transnational events in which it participated. Also in the website of the Cub there is a section specifically devoted to the antiG8 summit of Genoa and to the Esf of Florence. The section contains articles explaining the participation of the organization in such events but also photos of demonstrations and links to the main networks coordinating the protests. The website of the Communist Refoundation party gives high visibility to the section of the international department but also has a specific section devoted to social movements with an

agenda of events and debates on violence/nonviolence.[28] The website of Lilliput has a section devoted to the participation of the organization in the GJM, showing different initiatives, campaigns and articles on recent mobilizations. Also in the Attac's website there is a specific section devoted to movements, providing documents and information on recent demonstrations, and the website of Pax Christi has a section devoted to networks and umbrella groups with the same ideological orientation.

Identity is built online also with the use of newsletters and forums/mailing-lists. Even if they are very different instruments, both can be considered as oriented to identity building. Newsletters give accounts on the present activities of the organizations; a discussion forums are places where different opinions can be exchanged and common ideas (and identity) emerge.

According to the info services of the analyzed websites the presence and the spread of newsletters varies. In the Italian case, political parties and NGOs declared to have a higher number of subscribers to their newsletters than the other types of organizations. However, the number of subscribers varies a lot from one case to another: from a maximum of 200.000 subscribers (the newsletter of the NGO Emergency) to a minimum of 1.000 subscribers (the newsletter of the Permanent Forum of the Third Sector, that is still quite significant considering that this organization is a coordination of different organizations). In between we find "A bridge for…" with 13.500 subscribers, the green party with 4.000 subscribers to its "econews" and the Italian Consortium of Solidarity with 1.500 subscribers. Considering other types of organizations, we can underline the case of Attac with 7.200 subscribers to its newsletter ("sable grain") that of the Abruzzo social forum and the Noglobal network with about 1.000 subscribers each. In some cases (like *Sdebitarsi*), the newsletter is archived and one can also personalize it, asking to be informed by email when a new document or a new link is published on the website.

Considering mailing-lists, the cases of Peacelink and of the Italian branches of Oneword and of Attac are worth noticing: the webmaster of Peacelink estimates about 20.000 subscribers to all the forums, while the webmaster of Unimondo estimates about 10.000 subscribers. In the case of Attac we don't have precise data on the number of subscribers but the webmaster declared that there are 30 local mailing-lists and 10 single-issue mailing-lists with high number of users. Still, we should consider that in the case of Peacelink and

[28] Following the debate on violence/nonviolence, the sixth congress of the Communist Refoundation party (March 2005) decided to break with the tradition of communism conceiving violence as a legitimate means to achieve a classless society. The ideological change was the result of the adoption of the Gandhian theory of nonviolence claiming that means cannot be separated by ends (that is, good goals do not justify bad methods). This change worsened the relationships between the Communist Refoundation party and the most radical sector of the Italian GJM.

Oneword, these organizations host various mailing-lists and this explains the high number of subscribers. Considering other organizations, the number of people subscribing to mailing-lists is generally limited. The Turin social forum have 3.000 subscribers to a single mailing-list, while other organizations have a number of subscribers between 100 and 200 people. Sometimes mailing-lists are not public and open to everybody: in the case of the Global project the webmaster declared that they use a closed mailing-list with around 100 subscribers.

It is worth noticing that in some cases communication is not open to everybody because some organizations are aware of the risks of information control deriving from Internet communication. The website of the noglobal network publishes, under the title "digital tactics," a document focusing on the risks for privacy derived by the Internet defined as "the greatest form of control that the human mind has ever created until today."[29] The document proposes a series of free firewalls to avoid spy ware and to block pop-up windows. Besides, information are given on websites allowing anonymous surfing and on a software to be used to encrypt email communication in order to protect the privacy of users. According to the document, "the e-movement needs these very important tools; struggling organizations that are dispersed all around the globe through such instrument could exchange important information, keep constantly in contact, without being subjected to the forms of control used by the dominant class. (…) This is one of the answers that we are giving to whom wants to use informatics as an instrument of power: to use informatics to create counter-power."[30]

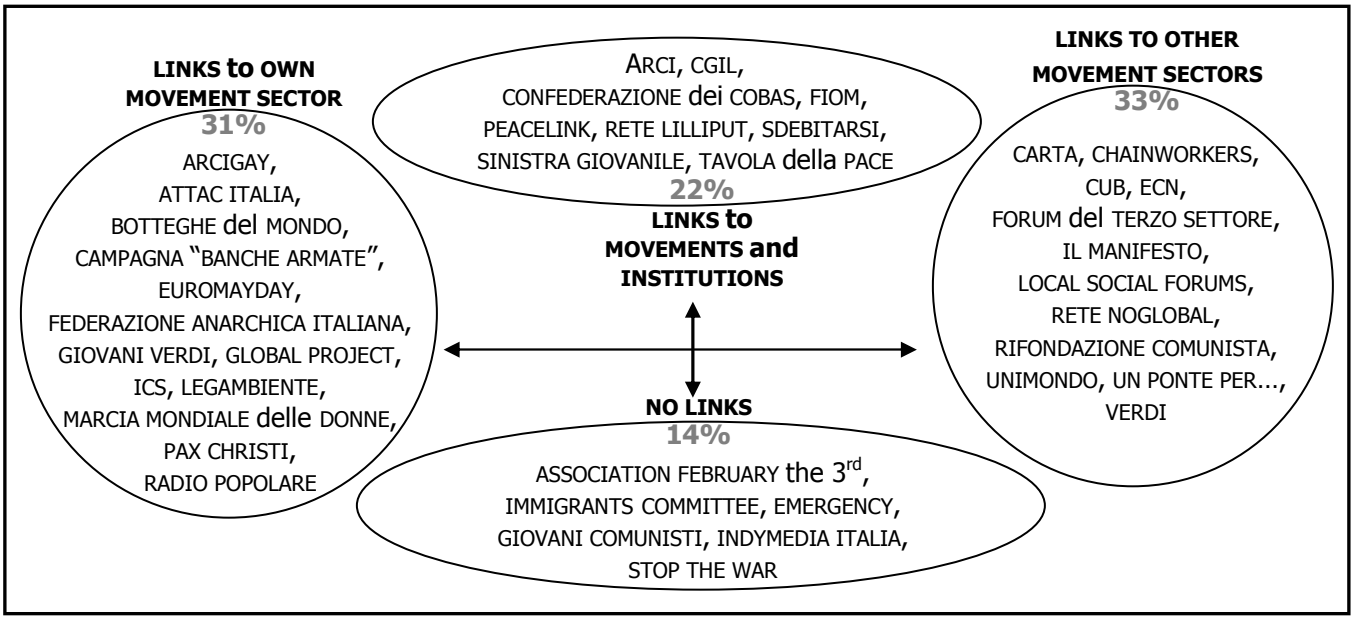
If some GJMOs stress the risk of online control, other organizations are experimenting with new types of online debates. An interesting experiment called "bubble's democracy" (*democrazia a bolle*) was conducted by rete Lilliput as an effort to apply the method of consensus online. This experiment was developed to enlarge consensus around basic documents. The idea consists in writing a document by building a broad consensus on a series of ideas: the first draft of a text is articulated in different "bubbles" (each contains only one clear idea) and everyone can express its opinion on the existing bubbles (full consensus, partial consensus, conditioned agreement, constructive disagreement, dissent) but also propose alternative bubbles. In this process, when one bubble reaches a broad consensus it emerges and is included in the final document while the other are left aside.

Identity building can be more or less inclusive. Analyzing the links that are published on the various websites, we found four different clusters that could give an idea of the openness of the organizations running the websites (figure 2). 14% of the websites have no links at all, 31% limit their links to organization belonging to the same movement sector; 33% provide

[29] http://www.noglobal.org/tattiche.htm.
[30] http://www.noglobal.org/PgP.htm.

links going to organization belonging to other movement sectors; and 22% provide links both to different movement organizations and to institutions.

Figure 2. Distribution of links on the analyzed websites



In their "policy of links" 45% organizations show a relative closure since they not provide any link or, when they provide them, they only refer to similar organizations. The other 55% of the organizations seem more open since they have links to different families of the movement or even to websites of institutions. Some scholars have stressed a sort of "balkanization" of the web, reinforced by the tendency to only contact online groups with an ideology similar to their own. For instance, Sunstein (2001) tried to test this hypothesis at the organizational level applying a link-analysis to a random sample of 60 political websites and found that only 15% provided links to websites with different opinions while almost 60% linked with websites of the same ideological orientation as themselves (2001: 59). Compared to these results, our GJMOs emerge as quite open to a plurality of ideas.

4.5. A transparent web-presence?

In a cross national comparison, Italy ranks below the average on some indicators of transparency. Internal variance can be interpreted considering the degree of formalization of Italian GJMOs: more formal organizations (like voluntary associations, cooperatives and Onlus)[31] are more likely to be more (formally) accountable, among others because the law oblige them to present their budget yearly. Organizations affiliated to transnational networks are also more transparent than the others (except for the presence of statutes or equivalent

[31] The acronym for "Social Aid Non-Profit Organization", as NGOs are called by the Italian law.

documents). This could be explained by the fact that normally this affiliation implies that more information on the organization are made public. Again, organizations with a formalized membership are more transparent than the others since they are generally formalized organizations. The same observation is valid for older websites (excluding the presence of last updating on the homepage) that are generally run by more formal organizations.

Table 3. Characteristics of the organizations and transparency (%)

Information on organizational structure	**Formal organization**		**Affiliation to a network**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Presence of statute (or equivalent)	80	87	88	81	78	92	81	90
Reachability of the organization	50	84	65	75	67	88	62	90
Organizational structure	40	78	73	81	44	88	57	81
Last updating on the homepage	20	22	15	31	11	31	24	19
Organization's finance	10	22	19	19	0	31	5	33
Total (N)	10	32	26	16	9	26	21	21

To test the responsiveness of GJMOs' websites, we sent two messages to each organization: one to the general email address and the other one to its webmaster. In the request to the general email address, we asked to specify how many people manage the information service; how many messages they receive in a month on average; how many messages they are able to respond to and how long it takes on average to receive a reply. In the email request to the webmaster we asked if there are individuals specifically employed to maintain the website; if there are volunteers helping with the website; the average number of visits in a month; the number of subscribers to newsletters/forums/mailing-lists; the frequency of updating; the use of free software/open source.

First, we should consider that not all the websites provide email contacts of the info service and of the webmaster. In the Italian case 90% of the websites provides a general email contact but a lower 43% of the websites provides a webmaster email. When such address was not present, we sent the questions directed to the webmaster to the general email address. Second, the rate of responses in the Italian case was around 50% for general email addresses and 52% in the case of webmasters. After one month without receiving a reply, the email request was sent again.[32] Sometimes the answers to the two sets of questions arrived from the same email address belonging to the responsible of organizational communication.

[32] In one case after the second email request, we received a reply claiming that the organization was not interested in such a kind of research.

We also calculated how long it took to have an answer from the organizations that replied to our email: average number of days was 15 in the case of the general email address and 9 in the case of webmasters. Almost all the general email services wrote in their reply that they generally answer to the majority of emails within 3 days even if in a significant number of cases this period was quite longer. Lots of replies indicated however that in many cases email requests are forwarded to competent people within the organization: this process makes the replies more precise but it also delays the answers.

Interestingly, in some cases (like local social forums and rete Lilliput) there is not a single webmaster but a group of people that manage the website. In these cases the method of consensus is explicitly adopted and mentioned by the organizations. Coherently with this method, they also try to find a consensual and open managing of their websites. Open managing and open publishing is a distinctive characteristic of the Indymedia network. In fact, the Italian knot of Indymedia adopted both the method of consensus (inspired to a text used by the Italian fair trade organizations in their decision-making; an interesting case of contamination of different sectors of the GJM) and open publishing (everybody who wants can publish its comments/articles/video/foto on the website). However, is that even Indymedia does not apply the open publishing to all parts of its website: in fact the right column of the homepage is open to everybody but messages with explicit fascist, racist and sexist contents can be removed. Decisions on the information to be inserted in the central column of the homepage are taken through a discussion in an open mailing-list (to whom everybody can subscribe and participate) that adopts the method of consensus.

4.6. Strategies of mobilization

If we consider the way in which the Internet is used as an instrument for mobilization both offline and online, compared with the other countries, the Italian GJMOs websites rank above the average on both types of mobilization. However, formal organizations are more focused on offline forms of action while --even if offline mobilization is still more used-- informal groups tend to promote more online forms of action (with the exception of the online petition). Not surprisingly, the affiliation to a transnational network is positively related to the presence of an action calendar of other GJMOs' events. Also in this case, members presence is positively related with almost all variables indicating that membership organizations are more oriented towards protest activities and mobilization. Newer websites seem to provide more information on some offline forms of action while the trend is the opposite if we consider the offer of training on offline forms of action (through laboratories and helping desks). The age

of the website doesn't seem related to online forms of action but younger websites are much more active in online forms.

Table 4. Characteristics of the organizations and mobilization (%)

Mobilization	**Formal organization**		**Affiliation to a network**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*After 2001*	*Before 2000*
Action calendar of the organization	50	69	65	62	33	65	67	62
Concrete info on offline forms of action	60	28	42	25	22	38	38	33
Action calendar of other GJMOs	60	41	35	62	22	50	48	43
Laboratories on offline action forms	50	62	50	75	33	73	57	62
Helping desk on offline forms of action	20	28	23	31	22	31	9	43
Involvement in an ongoing campaign	90	97	92	100	89	96	95	95
Sign an online petition	40	75	69	62	44	77	57	76
Send an epostcard	30	25	35	12	0	31	38	14
Concrete info on online forms of action	30	9	15	12	22	15	14	14
Call for a mailbombing	20	16	19	12	11	15	24	9
Call for a netstrike	50	22	27	31	33	31	29	29
Total (N)	10	32	26	16	9	26	21	21

One of the main objectives of the GJMOs consists in mobilizing people against neo-liberal globalization. Internet offers a new opportunity for online mobilizations beyond borders and it is also used sometimes for European and transnational protests. Digital activism requires a minor engagement and can easily spread even if it risks to be an ineffective substitute for offline activism (Rucht 2005: 82).

In a comparative perspective, the Italian GJMOs websites use more online mobilization tools than those from the other countries. This result is not surprising since, as Di Corinto and Tozzi (2002) puts it, lots of the unconventional online forms of action were created by Italian hacktivists (a neologism created by the combination of the words "hacker" and "activist").

As an example, the website of Sdebitarsi (Italian branch of Jubilee plus) still gives an account of a global online protest ("net the debt day") organized in 2000 to pressure the Okinawa summit of the G7 to cancel the debt of poor countries. The email action consisted in sending an email to the seven leaders of the G7 asking to dropt the debt.

On the website of the Euromayday, the possibility was given to the users "to be part of a piece of collective net art" participating in a netparade defined as "a virtual demo that runs thru a heavily guarded and branded city put under siege by insurgent legions of brain + chain

+ temp workers and assorted anarchists, commies, queers and greens".[33] On the Euromayday website a virtual Mayday parade is still present, each person participating in the netparade could specify its nickname, age, nationality, occupation and a brief claim. The netparade wanted to create a virtual projection of the physical parade showing the heterogeneity and the diversity of participants and keeping a memory of such demonstration.

Another online mobilization was proposed by rete Lilliput in cooperation with the Seattle to Brussels Network on the occasion of the European parliamentary elections of June 2004 (act against corporate globalization campaign). The online campaign targeted European parliament candidates with a questionnaire containing eight key demands on the Eu's stance in the Wto. The aim of the European parliament campaign was "to give voters, civil society groups and the media information about the MEP candidate positions on trade, to bring key demands of the alter globalization network to the new parliament in Strasbourg/Brussels, and to enhance parliamentary scrutiny of European trade policy-making".[34]

What is also worth noticing is that a common grammar of online mobilization doesn't exist yet: while a netstrike is usually defined as an online form of protest, in the case of the Italian metalworkers union (Fiom) they refer to a recent netstrike as an abstention from using informatics technologies during their work.

In the website of the European Counter Network (Ecn), some information on the genesis of the netstrike are offered. The first netstrike addressed the websites of the French government in 1995 to protest against nuclear experiments in Mururoa island. After the Genoa protest against the G8 summit, the Italian judges blocked the website http://www.ecn.org/netstrike that provided information on how to realize a netstrike and also offered a downloadable software that could make this protest more effective (to slow down or to block the website under attack). In order to make the censorship ineffective, the website of the Ecn asked other websites to mirror the contents of the censured website.

The netstrike is also a form of action linking the national and the transnational: the union Cgil promoted an online demonstration to protest against the Gats and the privatization of Italian public education and health, targeting the website of the Italian prime minister.

In other cases netstrikes and mail bombings are also used to link online and offline protests like in the case of the opposition to the Nato assembly, where the website of the Venice social forum asked its users to participate in both online actions (sending emails of protest to the Italian members of the assembly) and offline protests.

[33] http://www.autistici.org/molleindustria/netparade.
[34] http://www.s2bnetwork.org/europeanelections.htm.

In the Italian case, online protest was often focused on the war against Iraq. The website of rete Lilliput promoted the mail bombing "one vote for peace" in the occasion of a parliamentary session deciding on the Italian military presence in Iraq asking to the website users to fill in a form. Thanks to a sophisticated software, when the user indicates his/her postal address the call against Italian participation in the war on Iraq was directly sent to the representatives elected in that geographical area. Interestingly, other analyzed websites supported the same online campaign promoted by Lilliput. Hence, it is possible to underline that these campaigns have a multiplying effects on the Net that grant them high visibility in the cybersphere.

The website of the Turin social forum is also very active in online forms of protest. A mobilization opposed a new law to regulate the Internet that considered file sharing as a crime. The same protest was also supported by Peacelink that is the website with the higher number of references to online forms of protest.

4.7. Intervention on the digital divide

In general, the intervention by GJMOs on the digital divide seems quite limited. Still, Italian websites have shown a comparatively better result on this set of indicators: in a crossnational comparison the Italian websites seem more aware of this problem. As the table below shows, in this case we don't find a clear relation with the characteristics of the organization. The intervention on the digital divide is generally present in few organizations which openly express a concern with this topic, while the other ones tend to ignore it. Still, we can underline that informal organizations offer laboratories and specific applications to overcome this digital inequality. Organizations with an older online presence are more aware of the digital divide: those who started using the Internet before seem to know better risks and opportunities of this new medium of communication.

Table 5. Characteristics of the organizations and intervention on the digital divide (%)

Offer of Internet related training	**Formal organization**		**Affiliation to a network**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Laboratories	30	12	19	12	22	19	14	19
Specific applications	20	10	8	19	22	11	0	14
Webpage/website hosting	10	16	12	19	0	3,8	9	14
Helping desk	0	10	4	12	0	11	14	9
Other electronic resources	0	16	11	12	11	15	5	19
Free email	10	12	11	12	0	19	10	19
Total (N)	10	32	26	16	9	26	21	21

According to our data, those who answered to the email requests we sent declared to use free software in 75% of the cases. Interesting enough during the websites coding both the website of the Youth Left and the website of rete Lilliput were migrating their contents in new websites realized with free software. Even if the websites of GJMOs are often realized with free software, only 6 websites (Attac, Botteghe del Mondo, Abruzzo social forum, Peacelink, Sinistra Giovanile, Giovani Comunisti) quote explicitly free software/open source on their homepage. This means that only few organizations conceive it as a strategic resource to empower social movements.

In the case of rete Lilliput, the website is managed by a group of people that have explicitly chose to change the original website and to create a new one realized with free software. The decision was taken because "to decide to use free software and to elude Microsoft monopoly is not different from deciding to buy fair trade products, from participating in boycott campaigns or from depositing your money in an ethical bank: to use free software means to consume critically also in the informatics domain" (Glo Internet 2003).

Besides, in 2003 rete Lilliput created also Lillinet a freenet that nowadays has around 3.000 subscribers. The main goal of creating such provider was to finance the organization (in fact a certain percentage of the whole cost of the users' connection is devolved to it) and to give to Internet users the possibility to chose a provider using free software and promoting it.

The section of the Communist Refoundation party devoted to social movements, contains a logo and a link to the website of Mozilla Italia (http://www.mozillaitalia.org), that is an association aiming to disseminate, develop and translate free software. On its website a series of open source applications can be downloaded for free.

Besides using free software for their websites and their servers, some organizations use the Internet to advertise events aiming at socializing participants to the philosophy of the open

source movement. This is the case of the Abruzzo social forum that advertises on its website the “Metro Olografix Camp” (Moca - international geeks meeting celebrating ten years of cyber-resistance and alternative cultures) but also the case of the noglobal network that advertises free seminars on Linux.

What we also found in the survey on GJMOs websites is that free software is not only employed by civil society websites but it is promoted as a general alternative to proprietary software also for institutional websites. For example, the green party presented a law proposal to apply free software to public administration for a series of reasons: being more economic, granting more security and privacy to the citizens, being more flexible (bug and errors can always be corrected because the source of the software is open) and adaptable (the software can be changed and adapted to personal necessities).

4.8. Some conclusions

Summarizing, we have seen that in a comparative perspective Italian GJMOs websites show a high ranking on all relevant dimensions, with the exception of transparency. High scores on quality of communication (and particularly on indicators of political education), identity building and mobilization can be explained considering the higher level of mobilization and with the longer history of the GJM in Italy. Internal variance was interpreted using indicators of organizational characteristics such as degree of formalization, affiliation to transnational networks, members presence and age of online presence.

The degree of formalization helped explaining the quality of communication while network affiliation better explained identity building. Transparency was explained by both formalization and network affiliation. A reduced formalization partially explains online mobilization. In all cases, members presence presents results similar to those of the indicator of formalization, adding little information. The age of the website seems to have an impact on all considered dimensions except for mobilization. Among the selected explicative indicators, the age of the website is the only one explaining the concern with the digital divide.

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5. Spanish report: Internet and the Spanish Global Justice Movement

by Manuel Jiménez and Ángel Calle (IESA-CSIC)

5.1. Introduction: about the Spanish sample

Some particularities of Spanish patterns of mobilization have determined the way we have approached the sample choice made up of 37 organisations. On the one hand, there is a local orientation in collective action, that predominantly makes (Spanish state) networks to be built up from a bottom-up process of small groups safeguarding their autonomy. This local orientation in collective action is shaped by cultural frames such as nationalisms (as in Catalonia, Basque Country, Galicia), that also have helped in developing a decentralized state (through regional parliaments) reinforcing at the same time this locally oriented protest culture. Moreover, horizontal-local ways of thinking mobilization is influenced by libertarian traditions, that are not represented by a traditional anarchism coming out from CNT (historical anarchist trade union), but with an updated hyper-scepticism and rejection of power structures even if they are made up of representatives (Álvarez Junco 1994).

On the other hand, political opportunities have fed the local and the radical orientation of Spanish social movements. For most of the leftist social movements political institutions have been closed to their demands. The difficulties in accessing resources and penetrating political and mass media agenda have led social movements to radicalize discourses and practices around diffuse and very horizontal networks.

As a consequence of this, Spanish sample of GJMs organizations will be made up of tiny groups that maintain diffuse ties, reflecting the atomization of Spanish social movements. For instance, only nominally we can talk of ATTAC-Spain. It does not exist as an organisation itself. It is just a loose networks of contacts that maintains sporadic meetings. ATTAC groups have been brought up independently in cities and villages. Each ATTAC will maintain some features closed to ATTAC profiles of other countries: emphasis on global and economic changes, moderation in terms of repertoire of actions, emphasis on political education, support of WSF, class media or intellectuals (professors, economists) as members. However, we will be able to make distinctions. ATTAC-Barcelona will have a more pro-institutions (global and local) orientation, being more or less a pressure group with ties with NGOs and social democrat parties (*PSOE*, *Izquierda Unida*) and trade unions (*CC.OO*, *UGT*). On the contrary, city groups like ATTAC-Albacete will have a more movement oriented profile, expressed in a more radical discourse and in their distances to social democrats groups. Therefore, ATTAC-Madrid, our sample choice, will only to some extent represent the varieties of ATTAC present in Spain.

Other groups that have been part of the GJMs core have come out also as a result of local impulses and coalitions. It is the case of *RCADE* (Citizens Network for the Abolition of Foreign Debt), a network of local nodes, and the different *MRG* (Global Resistance Movement) that locally galvanized protests against World Bank meeting of Prague (2001). The last organisations are represented in the sample by the Euskadi version that is *Hemen eta Munduan* as we have tried to reflect national diversity of Spain in our work. Even those more formalized groups are networks of autonomous groups, such as the Trotskyst party *Espacio Alternativo* or the libertarian trade union *STE*. Furthermore, initiatives that have had a considerable impact on the GJMs as the alternative media are in fact local experiences boosted by a dozen of people: *Nodo50*, Indymedia-Barcelona (there is no Indymedia-Spain). The same can be said about social fora promoted after WSF experience in 2001 and that are mainly focused on the development of local mobilization and sensibilisation, paying none or scarce attention to keep in touch with other social fora.[35]

For these reasons, the use of internet by GJMs will reflect this situation. Studied groups will tend to be local, reduced in terms of size, highly informal, not having or not offering information about the organization structure, not specifying roles inside the organizations. Nevertheless, we have to underline this extreme network orientation does not keep GJMs from carrying out important protests, above all when counting with the support of parties such as PSOE and their media allies. This was the case of anti-war demonstrations, with around three million people on the streets on 15th of February, and during the Spanish presidency semester of EU.

At the same time, the radical network orientation will imply that usually Spanish social movements do not have a single reference in terms of action and expression, unlike the role assumed by ATTAC in Germany or a set of organizations in Italy (ATTAC, ARCI, Rete Lilliput, Disobbedienti, etc.). Therefore, there is not a large national newspaper as a reference for the GJMS, neither a party, nor a trade union (although here CGT plays an important role, but nationalisms or regional contexts make other alternative trade unions be part of the alterglobalisation protests).

The Spanish peculiarities, nevertheless, do not keep them from adhere GJMs profile that have been observed in Europe, and even around the world: tackling mobilizations and situations of problems from a global view (counter summits, increase of ties with international networks or spaces, critic of world actors such as WTO or European Union); emergence of

[35] Of course, traditional networks like thematic NGOs (*Intermón-Oxfam*, *Amnistía Internacional – España*, *Coordinadora Estatal de Comercio Justo*, *Justicia y Paz*, *APDHA*), parties (*Izquierda Unida*) or foundations (*Red con Voz*) will offer a different profile, more state-wide institutionalised in terms of organisation and pressure goals.

new master frames, particularly a radical democracy perspective; increase of civil disobedience as part of the repertoire of actions; reconfiguration and intensification of alliances from 90s onwards; and others.

5.2. Internet: context and use

In analysing key actors or representative groups of GJM in Spain, we have detected through our sample the post-Seattle rise in terms of use of internet as a tool for developing or supporting mobilizations. 84% of internet sites will have the first year of updating after 2000.[36] The peak is reflected in 2002, in parallel to the counter summits held during Spanish presidency of European Union. In this sense, it is important to stress that internet is a tool that amplifies protests and favour local and horizontal trends in mobilization, but do not constitute for itself "the seed" for GJMs, that are anchored in real dynamics of protests and re-constitution of discourses and alliances during 90s against, predominantly, neoliberal globalization.

The internet network that is built up over the physical networks of organizations amplifies also the physical lack of stability and the diffuseness of ties. Although still "on", some organizations such as *RCADE* or *Plataforma 0,7* have undergone periods in which their webs have been "off".[37] According to *Archive* site there is a low frequency of updating: 51.5% will count with less than 10 "main updates" during their whole existence Interaction, that requires resources or a stable volunteers team in order to support it, is low: only 9 organisations replied to questions addressed by DEMOS Spanish team; the e-mail of the webmaster/webmistress was offered by three organizations; only in three cases the web was designed to "react to specific comments" beyond forums.

5.3. Describing Spanish features

We will go through different set indexes in order to expose most relevant features of the internet usage by GJMs organisations.

5.3.1. Quality of communication

Dissemination of information through internet is an important channel for political education. In Spain 81% of sites offers articles or dossiers about different topics, 51% offers

[36] Based upon statistics offered by *http://www.archive.org*.
[37] Webs disappear along with the groups (most local MRG groups) or remain static denotating lack of activities of these groups like Foro Social de Barcelona.

bibliography and 54% material related to conferences/seminars. These percentages are closed to the European average analysed in the selected countries of DEMOS project.

Nevertheless, formal organisations, established before Seattle protests in 1999 will clearly tend to put more emphasis on political sensibilisation. This can be explained in terms of a better and regular access to resources and probably by the fact that those organisations tend to count with well founded and closed ideologies as a reference of their collective identity and action; therefore, these organisations could be more "eager" and experienced in providing political bibliography or materials for education.

Table 1. Characteristics of the organizations and quality of the communication (%)

Quality of communication	**Formal organization**		**Age of the organization**	
	No	*Yes*	*pre2000*	*post2000*
Articles/papers/dossiers	80	82	81	81
Conference/seminar materials	40	64	71	31
Bibliography	33	64	67	31
News section	47	86	86	50
Search engine	27	50	43	37
Website map	13	23	19	19
Translation of basic information	27	23	29	25
Translation of identifying section	27	23	24	25
Total (N)	15	22	21	16

Internet is a public sphere used to publicized present and past activities of the group. In these cases, the percentages are slightly below the total mean: for instance 54% of sites has an archive of press release and 38% offers past assemblies documents (compared to the total percentages of 65% and 40% respectively).

The presence of a news section (in 70% of the sites) is also slightly below the total average (79%). Similarly, 60% includes information about ongoing campaigns (7 percentage points below the average).

These efforts aim to reach the public in general, notwithstanding lack of resources may limit their capacity to do so: although the Spanish webs show the lowest percentage in terms of offering newsletter (which we might think highly depending on resources), when they have one is available to all users to a greater extent that in the rest of the countries; 62% of webs offered forums or mailing lists for a online participation, quite above European organisations (average 36%); furthermore, only 4% of forums or mailing lists exhibit a specific policy to

participate at them, stressing the role of internet in Spain as an open communication tool between groups and people. Lack of formalisation, network coordination and presence of the radical democracy frame would help us to explain why internet plays the role of a tool for public debates and internal coordination in Spain.

Lack of resources (particularly volunteers to develop and administrate webs) could also explain the few occasions in which sites offer information in more than one language. And even more informal organisations (more open to local participation or aware of reflecting cultural diversity under radical democracy frames) present higher indexes in terms of documents translation. Spanish indexes keep slightly below when considering translations of basic information (19% of Spanish webs versus 27% of Europeans) and the section identifying the group (16% versus 19%). We have to bear in mind the multilingual context of the Spanish State that could make us think of a larger presence of multilingual webs.[38]

5.3.2. Identity, transparency and organisational structure

We believe that these three items are severely conditioned by and linked to national contexts and by specific and transnational identities of some GJMs groups. For instance, the absence of formal statutes is more prominent in France and Spain.[39] This could be due, not to the lack of motivation or capability to expose these documents through internet, but to the fact that groups do not tend to make use them, or that we are dealing with a very diffuse network.

Table 2. Characteristics of the organizations and identity building (%)

Identity building	**Formal organization**		**Age of the organization**	
	No	*Yes*	*pre2000*	*post2000*
Archive of press releases	33	68	62	44
Archive of reports/chronology	33	73	71	38
Archive of old leaflets	47	50	48	50
Documents of past assemblies	27	45	38	38
Internal work agenda	20	5	10	13
Newsletter	13	45	38	25
Total (N)	15	22	21	16

[38] However, when excluding transnational part of the European sample, Spanish webs are above the average. 5 webs out of 37 used on their webpages as default languages Basque (one group) and Catalan (four).

[39] Basing upon WP3 data, Spanish organisations with formal statutes (not only a manifesto or a internal document) accounts to 40.5%.

In this sense, Spanish indicators reflecting identity (archives of documents) or some aspects related to transparency (information about organisation) that are below the European average underline the informal, networked, local orientation and scarcity of resources typical of Spanish movements. In this table can be observed that formal organizations (more prone to reflect their ideology or objectives and with more resources) present higher percentages in terms of archives or news selection. On the contrary, more informal organisations are more focused on action (see table 4) and, also due to the presence of a radical democracy frame in post Seattle networks, more open and prone to participation, therefore offering more frequently their internal work agenda.

Table 3. Characteristics of the organizations and transparency (%)

Information on organizational structure	**Formal organization**		**Age of the organization**	
	No	*Yes*	*pre2000*	*post2000*
Presence of statute (or equivalent)	93	86	90	88
Reachability of the organization	40	77	86	31
Organizational structure	33	82	71	50
Last updating on the homepage	20	32	29	25
Organization's finance	0	32	29	6
Total (N)	15	22	21	16

The current Spanish context of mobilization under the GJMs explains the use of internet as a coordination and deliberation tool: 62,2% of sites allowed users to communicate through forums or mailing lists; 27% of webs have a reserved area for members (26% European average), a fact that partially could be understood by the lack of physical offices in assemblearian networks like *RCADE* or the former *MRG* or *Hemen eta Munduan*.

Some groups (i.e. *SinDominio* –NoDomain- or *Otra Democracia es Posible* -Another Democracy is Possible-) go beyond the coordination scope, concerning themselves as public agoras or virtual communities, active in building up a "democracy from below".

5.3.3. A Structure for Mobilisation

Internet is highly linked to protests cycles. Organizations tend to increase updating of web pages when a campaign is active. Some webs are specifically created in order to promote protest events like ad hoc platforms, counter summits or some social fora.[40]

[40] In the sample this would be the case of platforms like *Coordinadora Estatal contra la Constitución Europea*, and *the Fòrum Social de Barcelona* developed the months preceding Barcelona UE summit (March 2002).

Not surprisingly, Spanish websites are above the average in offering an action calendar of the organisation (73% versus 60% marked by European average) and the action calendar of other GJMs (43% versus 32%). This is particular relevant for post-Seattle GJMs, and it is promoted by the diversity, the networked orientation and the regular support of Call to actions coming from PGA circles that are present as key features of Spanish social movements.

Table 4. Characteristics of the organizations and mobilization (%)

Mobilization	**Formal organization**		**Age of the organization**	
	No	*Yes*	*pre2000*	*post2000*
Action calendar of the organization	73	73	67	81
Concrete info on offline forms of action	7	5	5	6
Action calendar of other GJMOs	60	32	33	56
Laboratories on offline action forms	7	0	5	0
Helping desk on offline forms of action	7	0	5	0
Involvement in an ongoing campaign	73	50	57	63
Sign an online petition	0	23	19	6
Send an epostcard	0	14	14	0
Concrete info on online forms of action	0	9	10	0
Call for a mailbombing	7	0	0	6
Call for a netstrike	0	0	0	0
Total (N)	15	22	21	16

However, internet is scarcely presented as a resource for action on itself: 5 out of 37 offered the possibility to sign an online petition, 3 allowed to send an e-postcard to political institutions or representatives, just one web made a call for a mail-bombing and there was no call for a netstrike.

Internet is also a powerful tool to gain visibility and audience among citizens, above all offer the use of internet in Spain has spread during recent years.[41] Only one organization did not offer a general e-mail to get in touch with them. 24,3% of webs offered the possibility to join as a member the organization online. However, this figure is quite below the European average (33,7%) and far from countries like Germany (41,9%) or Switzerland (57,1%). This could be explained by the absence in local/informal groups of a specific policy oriented towards enlarging its number of stable members, unlike more formal organisations with more and regular access to resources.

[41] The EGM control of internet (http://www.aimc.es) gives these percentages of population accessing to internet: 1,6% (1996), 8,2% (1999), 32,9% (2004).

5.3.4. Digital divide

Concerning the offer of internet related training, again our sample reveals the split between the more informal post-Seattle organisations and the more structured organisations.

Table 5. Characteristics of the organizations and intervention on the digital divide (%)

Offer of Internet related training	**Formal organization**		**Age of the organization**	
	No	*Yes*	*pre2000*	*post2000*
Laboratories	7	9	14	0
Specific applications	7	14	14	6
Webpage/website hosting	0	14	14	0
Helping desk	7	9	10	6
Other electronic resources	0	5	5	0
Free email	0	9	10	0
Total (N)	15	22	21	16

With the exception of networks that already in working in hackers environments or in the promotion of free software (La Haine, Indymedias or Otra Democracia es Posible), analysed post-Seattle organisations (RCADE, Hemen eta Munduan, Xarxa de Mobilització Global, Consulta Social Madrid) are more devoted to spread social mobilisations rather than offering internet services to the public.

5.3.5. Communication versus Action

Taking into account the previous data, we could identify two general patterns as a reference for the different websites: internet as a *communication* tool and internet as a *structure for action*.

Internet as a *communication* tool could be approached in a horizontal manner (virtual communities or public spheres for debate, internal coordination) or in a more vertical one (education, get public support), when the organizations are rather much interested in promoting an already "closed" program for action (a social/political program in parties like *Izquierda Unida*, volunteering or punctual support characteristic of more vertical pressure groups of NGOs like *Intermón-Oxfam*). In the last case, fundraising, protests via e-mail or how to contact with departments are the kind of actions available for the user.

Internet as a *structure for action* would correspond to those webs that emphasis offline action, tend to be very dynamic reflecting reality or calls for action, and in which plural, critic and alternative information is offered as a way to promote a critic activism.

The existence of these two patterns could be supported statistically by identifying the existence of two index variables groups that are highly correlated (see Appendix A). On the one hand, internet as a communication pattern would be reflected on the relationship maintained by Offline Mobilization, Updating and Political Education. On the other hand, internet as a structure for action would be pointed by the high correlation maintained by Fundraising, Contacts, Online Mobilization and Transparency.

5.4. GJMs features on the Internet

Some GJMs characteristics that we have attached to leftist social movements in Spain (see WP1 reports), can be identified on the internet. These are times for the consolidation of frames inspired in radical democracy. These frames are expressed, and at the same time strengthened, via internet in terms of coordination and action (horizontality, intensive networking inside and among social organisations, openness to participation and public dialogue), and of course through discourses (global critic of neoliberalism as an anti-democratic agenda).

Most of examined websites do not present a person as having a leading role in the organization, just 6 out of 37 (one female) do. Due to the atomization of Spanish social movements, and in particular of GJMs, and the networking orientation boosted by the radical democracy frame, 53% of organizations said to be made up of more that 20 groups and 75,7% presented a specific link-page section in order to contact other social organisations.

The emergence of a global "network of networks", or at least the attempt to build it up, is reflected in the amount of sites that offered the calendar of other GJMs organizations or campaigns (16 out of 37), some feature that is not present at classical NGOs and, in general, in pre-Seattle organizations. As Nodo50, a server that supplies internet services to social organisations, points out, we are in internet "to work in the construction of an interconnected archipelago of resistances and collective actions" (http://www.nodo50.org/faq.htm#que).

Nevertheless, multiple questions are raised about the possibility for internet to really develop a "democracy from below": for some people, specialization of groups could lead to the consolidation of elites, whereas for others, it is positive as they basically act as "interconnectors" or "dynamizers"; internet is also a technology that reproduces social inequalities in terms of access based on differences in education, income, sex, etc.[42]

Both the recent emergence of a radical democracy frame and the protest orientation of post-Seattle organizations, that will be examined later on, give way to web sites in which the

[42] See http://revistacontrapoder.net/article.php3?id_article=64 and Calle (2004).

collective identity is not as remarkable as in other countries or for classical NGOs (*International Amnesty*, *Intermón Oxfam*, *Coordinadora Estatal de Comercio Justo*): 45.9% of organizations did not offer an archive of press releases (this fact also would be correlated with the lack of resources of more radical organizations); 43.2% did not count with an archive or annual reports; and only 37.8% made documents of past assemblies available. It is quite usual in Spain to present the organization by a very brief and open "who we are".[43]

In general, web sites tend to be regarded as an opportunity to demand more participatory dynamics (internal to the organizations, and in relation to the political institutions) and to practice it, reflected by the comparative high presence of open forums. As a webmaster replied to Demos: "our web has some self-publications systems in order for this web to be quite participatory". The demand of a "democracy from below" is present in discourses that introduce the main goals of the organization as in Red con Voz or the Foro Social de Palencia.

At the beginning, in terms of how to produce information in a more democratic way, Indymedia's sites advocated for direct self-publication of news and comments as an illustration of the lemma "don't hate the media, become the media" (www.indymedia.org). However, this openness without any minimum control produced "undesirable effects" like the use of the list to spread false news, offences, not very "productive" debates or proclaims by extreme-right groups.[44] This led to adopt a conditioned self-publication policy in websites as La Haine or Indymedia Barcelona (that still maintain the access to the uncensored list, to allow users to be informed about censorship activities by administrators) in order to avoid those problems.

5.5. Exploring grouping

Is there a rational or identity that could allow us to identify GJMs groups through the public identity and the use they make of internet? Apart from the divisions coming out of different access to resources and the degree of formalisation of groups, in this part we are going to (temptatively) explore possible dimensions reflecting political debates at GJM.

5.5.1. WSF/ATTAC and PGA/neo-zapatism/Euromarches

After Seattle, new structures of participation emerged internationally and Spanish new groups reflect their different orientations in terms of action, coordination and meaning frames. Some

[43] See for instance web sites of ATTAC-Madrid (http://www.attacmadrid.org/informacion.php) or Baladre (http://redasociativa.org/baladre).

[44] See http://www.lahaine.org/global/columna_autopublicacion.htm and http://docs.indymedia.org/view/Local/EhAktakAportacionesProximaAsambleaZialdoka.

authors have pointed out the presence in Spain of two sectors: "PGA environment" and "ATTAC environment" (González 2003, Enara, López y Orozco 2005: 60). Internationally, Fernández Buey (2004: 205) talks about of the resurgence of two poles, "neoanarchism" and "neomarxism". Nevertheless we would approach the existence of two groups from a multiple-dimension perspective (also more gradual and open) rather than from an antagonist one, taking into account mixtures and the structure of networks of networks of the GJMs that gives way to the coexistence on these debates of hybrids discourses, context influences and a diversity of identities (Calle 2004).

To explore the existence and the features of these constellations we have provisionally classified organizations into four categories:[45]

- *Structuralist or WSF/ATTAC* environments (29,7% of selected organisations). Those groups that have directly and actively participated in the development of encounters or agendas promoted by the World Social Forum or the European Social Forum.
- *Movimentist or PGA/Neo-zapatism/Euromarches* (21,6%). Those groups adamants of encounters or repertoires of actions promoted by the mentioned networks.
- *Mixed* (21,6%). Those groups that could be attached to both constellations.
- *In the Frontier or Classical* (21,6%). Groups that can not be classified into the previous categories.

In general, WSF/ATTAC groups would advocate for the need of political programs and institutional structures to govern globalization, and would regularly make use of traditional action via lobbying or even parties alliances. The PGA/Neo-zapatist/Euromarches environment would tend to be more involved in protest dynamics, supporting civil disobedience in their (international) calls for local action. Quite often, anti-capitalism is underlined as a principle.

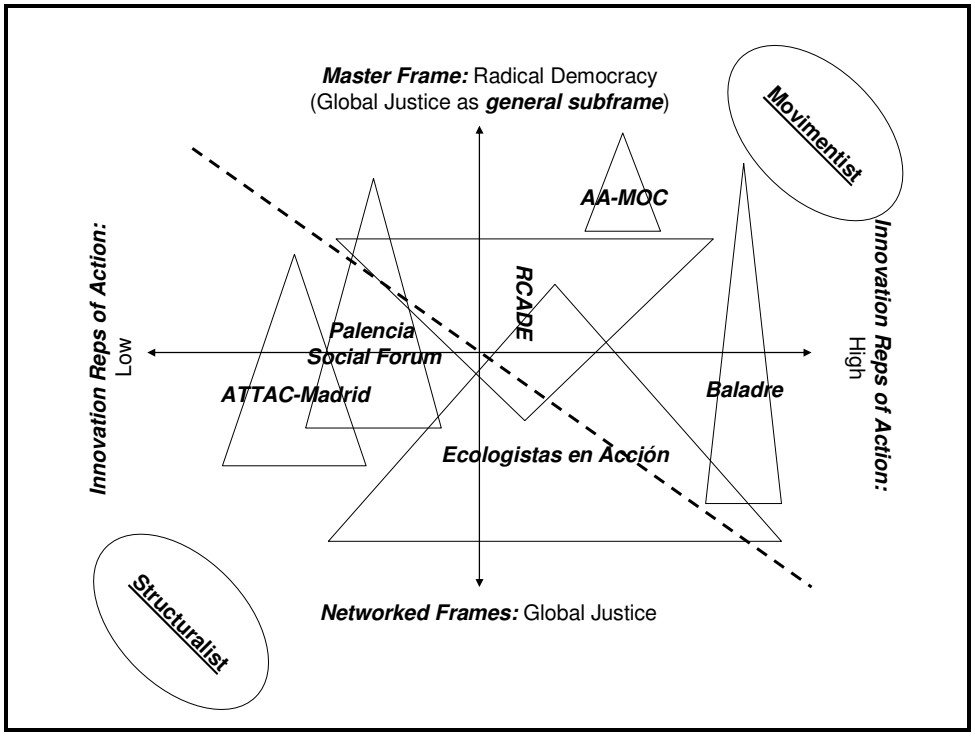
About meaning frames the Movimentist constellation emphasises the *role of radical democracy* as a master frame. This master frame would have allowed to bridge under the same umbrella traditional frames coming from worker movements (material claims) and new social movements (demands concerning expression). Radical democracy supporters tend to

[45] We are revising our categorization. In order to make it usable by the other European teams, we will both interview organizations and check web pages to assert which label to assign to them. A organization would be situated in one constellation if has taken part actively on their activities (attending meetings, making visible its participation on the development of the event or encouraging to take part on it). Events at WSF/ATTAC could include European social forum. PGA/Neo-zapatism/Euromarches would comprise as a constellation those groups involved at the mentioned campaigns or encounters.

directly reinterpret their demands in terms of participation/autonomy on issues that shape globalization and societies.

Structuralist groups tend to recognise the radical democracy frame as a demand, but it is more or less comprised at an equal level under a *networked frame* that gives way to a *Global Justice set of demands*.[46]

Figure 1. GJMs constellation according to "radicalness"



Both sectors would recognize a critic of the neoliberal agenda and a demand of a "democracy from below". In terms of repertoires of actions, and due to the presence of a shared democratic perspective, they would advocate for an exploration of new forms of confluence.[47] They usually join in common protests, share symbolic references (like zapatism to some extent) and support the need for the development of international "network of networks".

[46] For instance, at PGA/Euromarches constellation, issues like foreign debt or international trade agreements are not only regarded in economical terms but, under a radical democracy mater frame, are mainly criticized for their capability to impose a political agenda, neoliberal in this case; international institutions like WTO or IMF are rejected by being "opaque" and non democratic. WSF/ATTAC constellation could emphasize in their prognosis frame the need for such international links (institutions or policies) although they could be built up under basis that would be rejected under a radical democracy frame. WSF/ATTAC groups would tend to present their diagnosis more in terms of related claims that range from wealth distribution to gender equality.

[47] More decentralised and locally rooted for PGA/Neo-zapatist/Euromarches constellations, and more oriented towards "unity" (under a programme or political structure) for the others.

In fact, frontiers between sectors are diffuse. Debates are open and repertoires of action and frames of organizations and international events (social fora, countersummits) appear to be a mixture of these two ideal poles.[48] Furthermore, taking into account that international protest dynamics undergoes a new cycle of mobilization, groups tend to work on a plurality of repertoires of actions, some more innovative than others. Therefore, some groups, even new networks like RCADE or ATTAC groups, make use of classical frames (Debt relief, institutional control of capital flows) and repertoires (lobbying, petition signs) while promoting innovative initiatives that can be more easily associated to the advent of a new cycle of mobilisation (social consultations, counter-summits and blockades of official meetings). This fact is illustrated in figure 1 by triangles that would stress which is the frame base where the groups come from (radical democracy; workers or new social movements), and which are the "surface" of repertories and discourses they cover, some of them managing repertoires belonging to the different influence areas created by WSF/ATTAC and PGA/Neo-zapatism/Euromarches "ideal" poles of reference.

Lastly, movements at the border, even taking part on GJMs events, present a more classical profile. This would be the case of NGOs groups in Spain (particularly those involved in international aid) and those maintaining ties and discourse well attached to their worker movements roots, like *Corriente Roja* (Red Trend, Marxist-Leninist).

These two references would be reflected in the use the organizations under the different constellations make of internet.

Table 6. Characteristics of the organizations and transparency

	Offline Mobilization Index	**Calendar of other GJMs (%)**	**Communicate through forum/mailing-list (%)**	**Fundraising Index**
Movimentist	0,42	62	62	0,16
Structuralist	0,16	18	72	0,33
Mixed	0,28	70	70	0,26
Classical	0,17	25	37	0,33

Provisional statistical analysis (to be reviewed)[49] shows significant differences among the four groups when the variable Offline Mobilization is considered as an output.[50] Movimentist

[48] We could argue that the multi-nodal phenomena (in terms of coordination and framing) suits as a format to express the multiple mobilization poles that are used for reference, namely, those supported by classical "thematic" movements (workers, new social movements) or for new lines explored or coming out from impoverished countries like indigenous movements.

[49] Indexes are not strictly continuous variable. Rather than Pearson correlations other measures could be though to be more suitable: Tau B de Kendall or others. Hypothesis to qualify these analysis to be tested (independence,

groups are more prone to establish links with other GJMs events, and they do not identify their organisations leading roles at all. Their orientation is towards action, not to gain organizational stability through fundraising.

It is interesting to remark that all these "new constellations" (Movimentist, Structuralist and Mixed) make extensively use of forums in comparison to the Classical group. This could be interpreted as a consequence of the general impact of the radical democracy frame in the way internet is conceived, as a participatory tool that allows public and open debate. On the contrary, the Fundraising index is higher for Structuralist and those classical groups at the border.

Most post Seattle networks in Spain (MRG, RCADE, Hemen eta Munduan, even some ATTAC groups) would fall under the Movimentist categorisation, without excluding the possibility of maintaining the other pole as a reference for mobilisation.

5.5.2. Internal GJM links

Another way of grouping organizations, is by paying attention to the type of links they establish with other groups. This is important as collective identity find its way through interaction with other groups: regular links inform both the political identity and the action agenda of the group. Thus, paying attention to the link section of the webpages, we could outline three basic groups that could correspond to different reference identities in terms of protest:

- Movement oriented links: *RCADE*, *Baladre*, *Grupo Antimilitarista de Carabanchel (Alternativa Antimilitarista-MOC)*, *Ecologistas en Acción*, *XMG*, *Derechos para Todos*, *Espacio Alternativo*, *APDHA*, *Red con Voz*, *Indymedia*, *Nodo 50*, *Foro Social de Sevilla*, *Foro Social de Palencia*, *Otra Democracia es Posible, Hemen eta Munduan, Red de Apoyo Zapatista, Plataforma Rural*.
- Institutional or NGOs links: *Izquierda Unida*, *Red Acoge*, *Justicia y Paz*, *Coordinadora Estatal de Comercio Justo*, *Amnistía Internacional-España* and *Intermón-Oxfam* (the last two organisation are presented as a Spanish section of international networks).
- Both previous links: *ATTAC-Madrid*, *Jóvenes Izquierda Unida*, *STE*.

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sample homogeneity, normality), above all the small number of cases and possible bias on the sample could challenge our conclusions. Also a new categorization could result in showing that part of our postulates should be reviewed.

[50] Offline Mobilization includes information about offline forms of action, action calendar of the organization and the GJMs, the presence of an action alert and current campaigns involvement. Still we have to study the

Quite thematic links in comparison with the first type of links (that are more open to different GJM profiles) are those of *La Haine* (radical autonomous movement oriented) and *SinDominio* (free software, hackers). Well structured workers sectors as *Corriente Roja* (Marxists), *CGT* (libertarian) and *Sindicato de Estudiantes* (radical leftist student trade union) are thematic and linked to worker movements with which they share a tie (ideologically, in terms of action).

In the previous categorisation we have not included those groups in which links do not extensively and remarkably point to other social actors: some of the organizations focused on the production of information (*Diagonal*, *Mujeres en Red*); platforms or campaigns that tend to be scarce in their links to other movements (*Consulta Social Madrid*, *Coordinadora Estatal contra la Constitución Europea*, *Plataforma Aturem la Guerra*, *Fòrum Social de Barcelona*).

5.5.3. Post Seattle versus Pre Seattle

Lastly, it is interesting to explore differences between pre and post-Seattle actors (see APPENDIX C). Some mean comparisons of indexes variables are statistically significant: Political Education, Updating and Transparency. Post-Seattle groups means are lower for these variables. This could be due to the bigger access to resources of the more stable and formal organisations founded before Seattle.

New structures of participation are more devoted to protest agenda, more informal, closer to the PGA environment classification and less permeated by stable ideologies and organisational structures. They present a higher percentage of organisations that offers information about internal and GJMs event calendar. Atomization and search for more horizontal spaces, perhaps related to a higher influence of radical democracy frame, make them use more frequently forums or mailing lists.

On the contrary, pre-Seattle organisations present more news sections and more organizational information is offered (variable Transparency).

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consistency and the validity of analysis performed in terms of statistical hypothesis and sample size. ANOVA significance was 0,007.

5.6. From collective action to internet expression: Spanish factors

Let us briefly summarize some of the hypotheses that underlines our analysis of internet usage in terms of both GJMs international features and Spanish culture of mobilisation.

Table 7. Characteristics of the organizations and intervention on the digital divide

Type	Factors	General collective action expression	Internet expression and comparison with other 5 European countries	Feedback to other factors
Cultural and Political	Nationalisms, Regionalisms	Coordination: decentralised, networked, locally autonomous Discourse: anti-authoritarian, democracy	More informal, networked and local websites A tool for open debates Information on action is important	Radical democracy frame
Cultural and Political	Libertarian roots			Radical democracy frame and Protest profile GJM
Economical	Less income per capita, less access to internet	More informal and smaller groups	Less resources invested on internet: low scores in terms of usability, news sections, reachability, history	Less stable structures, more devoted to protest
Institutional and political opportunities	Poor or inexistent stable alliances at state level with parties or big trade unions			
Mobilisation Culture	Protest and Radical Democracy profile with multiple ideological references (autonomist, anarchist, zapatist, PGA or Euromarches sectors)	More oriented to street mobilisation and participation; higher heterogeneity and decentralisation/horizontality; Less institutionalized actions and discourses	More oriented to mobilisation and participation	Radicalness

Basically Spanish cultures of mobilization have been shaped by two modern tendencies (particularly after political transition after Franco's death) that are reflected on the use made of internet by GJMs organizations. On the one hand, the existence of frames and protest cultures that root mobilization on the basis of decentralization and coordination through autonomous and local groups: (peripheral) nationalism and libertarian cultures. On the other hand, the conflictual relationship between political elites and social movements: public networks are not permeable to their demands, organizations are poor in terms of resources for mobilization, relationship with major parties and trade unions have been guided by permanent attempts of co-optation. These two trends have been boosted or at least consolidated by the emergence of a radical democracy frame: there is a rise of both a locally networked protest and the authoritarian critic that is also used to frame international institutions. At the same time, these multiple factors influence each other, as it is stated in the last column of the previous table.

Consequently, internet usage in Spain will reproduce these dynamics: local and networked websites, orientation to action and participation inside GJMs, lack of resources to make use of this technology compared to other European countries.

5.7. Virtual versus real dynamics

Variables as access to resources, organisational structure or group size, or even communicative culture, determine how and to which extent self-constructed internet public image reflects real dynamics of mobilisation. That is, organisations with problems in maintaining a web page will not have usually news sections, neither updated their site with their action calendar. For instance, *RCADE* took part during 2005 of the campaign "Who owes who?", and no effort was devoted to maintain their own web but the campaign site.

Also, very decentralized networks could pay more attention to local webs rather than the umbrella web of the organisation (*Ecologistas en Acción*). Hackers culture make some web sites very dynamic (as it is the case of *Otra Democracia es Posible*, *SinDominio*), at least more than other groups that do not consider internet as a socialization space and privilege protest or pressure over government as the main goal of their collective identity.

Usually, those networks created ad hoc could not "properly reflect" in internet their internal discourses. Experiences that directed their critics to the European constitution project as *Consulta Social Madrid* or *Coordinadora Estatal contra la Constitución Europea*, and that share a diagnostic of this treaty as "anti-democratic", were poor, specially in the latter case in offering "participatory tools" in internet (like public and open forums, assembly documents, surveys) in comparison with other well established web sites (*Baladre*, *Otra Democracia es Posible*).

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APPENDIX A. Correlations matrix among indexes variables

Pearson's Correlation	Trans-Nationalization	Political education	Offline Mobilization	Online Mobilization	Alpha-betization	History	Updating	Fund-raising	Contacts	Feed-back	Multilateral Interactivity	Transpa-rency
Trans-nationalization	1	0.144	0.002	0.499(**)	0.409(*)	0.087	0.196	0.281	0.176	-0.102	0.284	0.323
Political education	0.144	1	0.375(*)	0.177	0.281	0.308	0.486(**)	0.304	0.155	0.363(*)	0.148	0.398(*)
Offline Mobilization	0.002	0.375(*)	1	0.021	0.055	0.282	0.379(*)	-0.013	-0.213	0.156	0.012	-0.160
Online Mobilization	0.499(**)	0.177	0.021	1	-0.060	0.324	0.300	0.625(**)	0.078	-0.061	-0.023	0.319
Alphabetization	0.409(*)	0.281	0.055	-0.060	1	-0.083	0.497(**)	-0.181	0.226	0.222	0.316	0.313
History	0.087	0.308	0.282	0.324	-0.083	1	0.395(*)	0.453(**)	-0.145	0.090	0.214	0.179
Updating	0.196	0.486(**)	0.379(*)	0.300	0.497(**)	0.395(*)	1	0.145	0.105	0.350(*)	0.267	0.225
Fundraising	0.281	0.304	-0.013	0.625(**)	-0.181	0.453(**)	0.145	1	0.231	-0.071	-0.108	0.428(**)
Contacts	0.176	0.155	-0.213	0.078	0.226	-0.145	0.105	0.231	1	-0.006	-0.011	0.568(**)
Feedback	-0.102	0.363(*)	0.156	-0.061	0.222	0.090	0.350(*)	-0.071	-0.006	1	0.347(*)	0.029
Multilateral Interactivity	0.284	0.148	0.012	-0.023	0.316	0.214	0.267	-0.108	-0.011	0.347(*)	1	0.056
Transparency	0.323	0.398(*)	-0.160	0.319	0.313	0.179	0.225	0.428(**)	0.568(**)	0.029	0.056	1
N	37	37	37	37	37	37	37	37	37	37	37	37

** Significant correlation at the 0.01 level (bilateral).

* Significant correlation at the 0.05 level (bilateral).

APPENDIX B. Classification according references poles of mobilisation

Organization	Group	Doubts in classifying
RCADE	Mixed	
Baladre	Movimentist	
Otra Democracia es Posible	Frontier or Classical	It has a radical democracy perspective
ATTAC – Madrid	Structuralist	
Justicia y Paz	Structuralist	
Coordinadora Estatal contra la Constitución Europea	Mixed	Punctual classical platform
Plataforma Aturem la Guerra	Mixed	Very active only for anti-war demonstrations. Movimentist groups did not fully got into
Grupo Antimilitarista de Carabanchel	Movimentist	
Mujeres en Red	Frontier or Classical	Virtual network at internet
Jóvenes de IU-Madrid	Structuralist	
Ecologistas en Acción	Mixed	
Confederación de Sindicatos de Trabajadores de la Enseñanza (STE)	Mixed	Libertarian
Xarxa de Mobilització Global	Mixed	Autonomous/Trostkyst
Hemen eta Munduan	Mixed	
Confederación General del Trabajo	Movimentist	
Intermón-Oxfam	Structuralist	NGO that do not get into local protests
Red de Apoyo Zapatista de Madrid	Movimentist	
Derechos Para Todos	Frontier or Classical	Active network in global, anti-war and immigrants rights protests
Red Acoge - Federación de Asociaciones pro Inmigrantes	Frontier or Classical	Active network at immigrants rights protests
Izquierda Unida	Structuralist	
Espacio Alternativo	Structuralist	
Corriente Roja	Structuralist	Classical Leninist, critical with ATTAC and WSF
Coordinadora Estatal de Comercio Justo	Frontier or Classical	
Amnistía Internacional – España	Frontier or Classical	NGO
Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos de Andalucía	Frontier or Classical	Take part in global protest
Diagonal	Movimentist	Newspaper
Red con Voz	Structuralist	Radio
Indymedia Barcelona	Movimentist	Mainly diffuse PGA actions
Nodo50	Mixed	Managed by autonomist profile activists
Foro Social de Palencia	Structuralist	
Foro Social de Sevilla	Mixed	PGA environments were not present, although they were (past) Euromarches supporters
Fòrum Social de Barcelona	Structuralist	
Sindicatos de Estudiantes	Frontier or Classical	
Plataforma Rural	Structuralist	Adhered to Via Campesina
La Haine	Movimentist	Radical left-wing
Sindominio	Movimentist	
Consulta Social Madrid	Mixed	Punctual platform

APPENDIX C. Post and Pre-Seattle comparisons

		Political Education	Offline Mobili-zation	Alpha-Betization	Updating	Contacts	Transpa-rency	News section	Action / event calendar	Action / event calendar of other GJMs organi-zations	Informa l group	Leading role	Local organi-zation	Communi-cate with other users through forum/s and/or mailing-list/s
Pre-Seattle	Mean (N = 21)	0.5595	0.2286	0.0952	0.5079	0.2163	0.3748	0.8571	0.6667	0.3333	0.3810	0.3333	0.3333	0.5238
	Desv. típ.	0.30521	0.21247	0.16587	0.30946	0.16699	0.12387	0.35857	0.48305	0.48305	0.80475	0.57735	0.48305	0.51177
Post-Seattle	Mean (N = 16)	0.3594	0.2875	0.0208	0.3194	0.1432	0.2240	0.5000	0.8125	0.5625	10.3750	0.0000	0.8125	0.7500
	Desv. típ.	0.25769	0.14549	0.08333	0.31131	0.10968	0.10378	0.51640	0.40311	0.51235	0.95743	0.00000	0.40311	0.44721
Total	Mean (N = 37)	0.4730	0.2541	0.0631	0.4264	0.1847	0.3096	0.7027	0.7297	0.4324	0.8108	0.1892	0.5405	0.6216
	St. Dev.	0.29921	0.18648	0.13991	0.32023	0.14782	0.13693	0.46337	0.45023	0.50225	0.99549	0.46175	0.50523	0.49167

6. Swiss report

by Nina Eggert and Marco Giugni (University of Geneva)

6.1. Introduction

Switzerland is characterized by a high degree of Internet penetration. The access to Internet for everyone is seen as a priority in new technology policies. Furthermore, the use of Internet is getting important in political campaigns. But no research has analyzed the use of Internet by social movement organizations or by global justice movement organizations (GJMOs).

A previous research conducted during the anti-WEF demonstration in Davos in 2003 shows that GJM activists often use the Internet for information purposes, much more than other media (table 1). Internet is the second much used media after daily newspapers. No data is available on the frequency of use of the Internet by GJM activists comparable to the cross-national data, but the data collected during the anti-WEF demonstrations show that the use of the Internet, as compared to other media, is also high among GJM activists.

Table 1. Weekly use of media by anti-WEF demonstrators (%)

	Television	**Radio**	**Daily newspapers**	**Periodicals**	**Internet**
Never	17.7	18.7	2.1	14.6	18.1
Less than 1 hour	28.5	35.8	18.1	28.9	29.6
Between 1 and 2 hours	25.9	19.7	28.3	28.1	17.6
Between 2 and 3 hours	15.8	12.1	24.7	16.2	13.9
More than 3 hours	12.1	13.7	26.8	12.2	20.8
N	379	380	381	377	375

Source: Own data.

These first remarks suggest that the preconditions for the use of the Internet by the GJM in Switzerland are present. But the questions about the use of Internet and its democratic potential by GJM organizations remain open. What are the general characteristics of GJMOs websites in Switzerland? What are the peculiarities of the websites of GJM organizations in Switzerland in comparison with other European countries? The objective of this report is to draw a general picture of the use of the Internet by GJM organizations in terms of quality of communication, identity building, transparency, offline as well as online mobilization, intervention on digital divide in relation to the formal character of the organizations, the presence of formal members in the organizations, the territorial scope of the organizations and the age of the websites. We do not take into consideration the affiliation to transnational

networks, as most of the organizations selected for the Swiss case do not mention explicitly or visibly that they belong to these types of networks. Even if this does not mean that Swiss organizations are not participating in those networks, this does not seem to be an important information to be mentioned on the websites. Instead, we consider these different dimensions in relation to the local or national scope of the organizations, as one third of the selected organizations selected are local ones.

In the first part of the report we describe the sampling method used for the selection of the organizations of the Swiss GJM. In the second part we describe the characteristics of the websites following the dimensions mentioned earlier. The main hypothesis is that the structure of the organizations has an impact on these dimensions of democracy.

6.2. Websites selection

The Swiss sample is made of 35 organizations selected according to two criteria. The first criterion is the type of organization as defined in the Italian list. We selected as least one organization for each category based on the lists of participants in the European Social Forum (ESF) and local Social Fora, such as the Swiss Social Forum (SSF) and the Forum Social Lémanique (FSL), as well as calls to action to different protest events, such as the anti-WEF demonstrations, the anti-WTO demonstrations in Geneva and the demonstrations against the G8 in Evian. Nevertheless, some categories of organizations are not relevant for the Swiss GJM, or at least they do not take actively part in the GJM, such as gay and lesbian organizations or migrant organizations.

Once these groups were selected we had to make a second selection. Indeed, some of the selected organizations have two or even three websites. The Swiss organizations are strongly decentralized, following the political organization of Switzerland, so many of them have one website for each linguistic region. These websites in different languages are sometimes hosted on the same domain or start on the same home page, sometimes they are totally independent from each other. On the homepage of Attac Switzerland one has to choose between two languages (German and French) before entering the website. Other organizations such as the Bern Declaration or the Swiss Coalition have a homepage in German, but then the user can again choose other languages. The problem encountered here was to define what is the original website and which one has been translated from the original one. This distinction is not always possible, as the regional branches are sometimes very autonomous and run their own website, hosted on the same home page but managed by different teams, so that the contents can vary from one region to the other. In this case we selected the more complete and elaborated website.

Finally, we showed the list to German-speaking Swiss in order to avoid selecting organizations only active in the French-speaking part due to a better knowledge of the GJM in this linguistic region (we thank in particular Michelle Beyeler of the University of Zurich).

We selected the most relevant organizations for the Swiss GJM from this first list and ended up with a list of 35 organizations. The Swiss GJM is heterogeneous, if not divided. Two main branches coexist within the movement, each with its own strategies and forms of action: a moderate, relatively institutionalized branch relying mostly upon organizations and activists of the ecology and solidarity movements as well as institutional actors such as small left-wing parties and labor unions, and a more radical and less institutionalized branch pivoting around the autonomous, anarchist, and squatters' milieus. The Swiss GJM is characterized by an important presence of quite formalized, structured, and professionalized organizations of the environmental and solidarity movements. Again, more informal and loosely structured organizations and groups are certainly very active within the movement (and are indeed at the core of its definition, just as they were for the new social movements), but this does not seem to be what characterizes the GJM, as compared to other countries (e.g. Italy). Our sample reflects this composition.

Concerning the sector of solidarity and ecology, we selected the Aktion Finanzplatz Schweiz, an independent network monitoring the Swiss financial system and very active in denouncing the presence of money from dictatorships in the Swiss banks. A second important organization in this sector is the Swiss Coalition, a coalition of the most important solidarity organizations in Switzerland, most of them being of religious inspiration. Actively involved in lobbying the Swiss authorities against the North-South gap, the Swiss Coalition has recently been criticized by the GJM for not taking position explicitly against the neoliberal policies implemented by the Swiss authorities. The Swiss Coalition answered this criticism through the publication in 2004 of "La mondialisation et après?". In this publication the Swiss Coalition takes explicitly position against the "liberal imperialism" by developing concrete alternative political objectives. We also included Pro Natura, the most important environmental organization, which is member of Friends of the Earth International and, together with the Bern Declaration, is organizing every year the "Public Eye in Davos", a parallel summit watching over the activities of the annual meeting of the WEF and challenging through conferences the neoliberal policies promoted by it. The Bern Declaration is also included in our sample, as it is the leading solidarity NGO of the GJM in Switzerland. We also selected organizations such as Magasins du Monde, a fair trade organization founded in 1974; the Centre Europe Tiers-Monde (CETIM), a human rights organization lobbying the

United Nations Human Rights Commission; and Réalise, an organization fighting against social exclusion which is active both in the ESF in London and in the Swiss Social Forum.

Concerning left-wing parties and unions, we selected the main leftist party, the Socialist party, and its youth organization. Even if the Socialist party is less supportive of the movement, especially when it comes to more radical groups and actions, it is not opposed to it. And in some cantons it goes even further in giving active support to the GJM. We also selected the Swiss ecology party. We further included smaller left-wing parties such as the Parti Suisse du Travail, the Communist Party and Solidarités. The Swiss Communist Party has been recreated in Geneva in 2002 and it is mainly active in this region. We included it in our sample because it has been active in demonstrations, although critical of mainstream GJMOs such as Attac and Social Fora. Solidarités is here considered as a party because it is taking part in the electoral competition, even if it defines itself as a movement. We also selected three labor unions. The Trade Union for Industry and Construction has recently merged with the Union for the Clock and Watchmaking Industry into UNIA, the most important union in Switzerland, which we selected as the metalworkers union. We also included the public sector union SSP-VPOD and the Syndicat Interprofessionel des Travailleurs (SIT), an independent, interprofessional union located in Geneva.

Concerning the more radical and less institutionalized branch pivoting around the autonomous, anarchist and squatters' milieus, we selected the Socialist Libertarian Organization (OSL), an anarchist organization. We also included the Movement for Socialism (MPS, BFS), a radical left organization very active in both anti-WEF/WTO demonstrations; the Gipfelblockade a platform for organizing blockades which includes the Mafalda Blockade Network which is very active in the anti-WEF demonstrations; Antifa, a radical anti-racist group; Augenauf, a human right group with ties to demonstrators against the WEF; Solidarity with Chiapas, the first group protesting against the WEF as early as 1994; and the Anti-WTO Coordination, a group close to the Bern squatters, founded in 1997 before the second WTO ministerial meeting and which participated in the creation of the PGA network. Groups such as the Geneva squatters who were very active in organizing the anti-WTO demonstrations in Geneva in 1998 and in launching the PGA network could not be included in our sample because they have no Internet presence. We also selected the Other Davos, created by Attac Switzerland and which has organized conferences in Zurich and demonstrations in Davos in parallel to the WEF.

Concerning the "Stop the war coalition", we could not include it in our sample because it has no Internet presence. Therefore we selected the Group for Switzerland without Army (GSsA), which is one of the leading organizations within the Coalition and is also one of the

most important pacifist organizations in Switzerland, founded in 1982 to launch a popular initiative to abolish the Swiss army. It provides assistance to those who refuse the mandatory military service and is one of the most important peace organizations in Switzerland.

Concerning the media of the GJM or close to it, we selected the Wochenzeitung (WOZ), a weekly independent newspaper; Le Courrier, a daily newspaper of the critical left; Radio Lora, an alternative radio from the Zurich squatters; and the national branch of Indymedia.

Finally, we included the Swiss Social Forum, the Lemanic Social forum, the Swiss branch of the World March of Women, the Swiss branch of Attac and Pax Christi Switzerland.

6.3. Quality of communication

Before presenting the results of the analysis we will look at the general data of the analyzed websites. From the 35 selected websites 69% are runned by formal organizations; this high share of formal organizations reflects the general characteristic of the Swiss GJM mentioned earlier. The highly decentralized structure of Switzerland is also reflected by our organization sample, as 31% of the selected websites are websites of local organization and 69% have a member presence. Finally, half of the websites have been created before 2000.

If we look at the quality of communication (table 2), we can see that in cross-national comparison Switzerland is ranking differently depending on the aspect at hand. Concerning provision of information, Switzerland shows results comparable to those of the other countries and above the average for the news section. In terms of usability the Swiss websites are also above the average for search engine and websites map, but largely below for text-only versions of the websites and accessibility.

Table 2. Characteristics of the organizations and quality of the communication (%)

Quality of communication	**Formal organization**		**Local organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Articles/papers/dossiers	81	96	92	91	80	96	94	89
Conference/seminar materials	18	17	17	18	40	13	29	6
Bibliography	9	25	25	9	20	17	29	11
News section	82	82	83	82	80	92	77	89
Search engine	27	54	50	36	20	58	24	67
Website map	18	50	54	9	20	50	29	50
Translation of basic information	43	63	75	18	60	58	53	61
Translation of identifying section	46	54	71	9	60	54	41	61
Total (N)	11	24	24	11	5	24	17	18

However, if we look at differences between Swiss websites according to the formal character of the organizations, their territorial scope, the presence of formal members and the age of the websites, we can draw a more nuanced picture.

More formal organizations as well as national organizations have a higher quality of information on their websites. The formal character and the territorial scope of the organization seem to be linked to the quality of information provided on the website. The explanation lies most probably in the resources of these organizations. Local organizations are either organizations existing only on the local level, thus having less human and financial resources, or local branches of national organizations, the resources being more concentrated on the national level than on the local one.

The presence of formal members seems also to have an impact on the quality of information, except for the presence of conference and seminar material and for the translation of the basic information about the organization. But these results are to be taken with caution since only five organizations do not have formal members.

Finally, if we look at the results concerning the age of the websites, it seems that websites created after 2000 invest more in providing information than older websites. But the latter are more likely to increase the usability and the translation of basic information about the organization. Older websites are more used as a showoff for the organization, a medium through which to present the organization to the public and make it accessible to as many people as possible. Younger websites seem to be more oriented towards the diffusion of information, which is sometimes seen as being a characteristic of GJMOs.

On the aspect of provision of information Switzerland ranks below average as compared to the other countries. But some websites provide much information. It seems that the formal character of the organization has an impact on the provision of information. Even if in cross-national comparison Switzerland is below the average for the provision of information, some organizations provide a large amount of articles and dossiers. If we take for example the website of the Swiss Coalition, its purpose is mainly information provision. The coalition offers on its website a wide range of articles and brochures on different topics concerning North-South relations and development issues. Furthermore, the most interesting feature of this website is perhaps that a section of it is devoted to education on development topics. This section provides brochures and articles for political education of children in schools on development issues such as globalization, water, poverty, etc. Some brochures can be downloaded, others can be ordered online. Other websites are well documented as well, such as the CETIM website which provides also dossiers on globalization aiming at explaining

why “there is no such thing as a developed and an underdeveloped world, there is only a single badly developed world” (http://www.cetim.ch/en/cetim.php?currentyear=&pid=).

The Gipfelblockade website has a whole open system section which gives everyone the possibility to publish articles and papers with the explicit aim of “creating a platform where people can get informed and where groups and individuals can publish their papers or articles. This platform is aimed at being developed in a responsible and respectful climate” (http://www.gipfelblockade.net/Gipfelblockade/Index.php?Site=Opensystem). The aim of the platform is to spread information from all possible ideological backgrounds within the limits of the existing legislation on racism and discrimination.

The Aktion Finanzplatz Schweiz website does not contain much information except for articles and dossiers. This website is well documented and offers a wide range of articles on money from dictatorships in Switzerland (organized following the country), bank secrecy law, tax evasion, assets by dictators blocked on Swiss accounts, alternative banking, International Apartheid Debt and Reparations Campaign, general odious debts. All these topics are relating to Swiss banking policy and global justice.

In terms of political education of citizens, some websites, such as those of Augenauf and SOSF, two organizations active in the defence of asylum seekers, publish short fact sheets explaining what to do in case they are contacted by asylum seekers threatened of expulsion and informing on the rights of asylum seekers.

The usability of Swiss GJMO websites is also low as compared to the other countries. But there are intra-national variations. The attention to usability is higher when the organization is formal, national, with formal members and the website was created before 2000. Another interesting characteristic of the Swiss websites is the large proportion of them having a search engine. But this is also more frequent for formal, national and membership organizations as well as for organizations with older websites.

If we look at translation of the website, we find a typical Swiss characteristic relating to the fact that there are three official languages. Almost all national websites translate the basic information in at least a second national language. Therefore for Switzerland it would be more useful to look at translation in languages other than the national ones. If we look at the websites translating the basic information or the identifying section of the organization, we see that only 7 organizations translate this information in English and 3 in Spanish. Another interesting characteristic relating to translation is that some organizations have two or even three different websites, one for each linguistic region. This is the case for example for Attac, the Bern Declaration, the GSsA and the Movement for Socialism. Being sometimes managed and updated by different teams, the content of the information varies from one region to

another according to the importance of issues in the linguistic regions, as the political culture differs from one region to another.

6.4. Building identities online

If we look at the identity building of organizations (table 3), Switzerland is again ranking very low in cross-national comparison. But here informal organizations are more likely to build identities online than formal organizations. The use of the Internet for identity building is more frequent for national organizations having formal members. Furthermore, websites created before 2000 are investing more in identity building. The only exception lies in the use of newsletters, which is more widespread in newer websites.

Table 3. Characteristics of the organizations and identity building (%)

Identity building	**Formal organization**		**Local organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Archive of press releases	55	58	71	27	40	58	53	61
Archive of reports/chronology	73	54	58	64	60	71	47	72
Archive of old leaflets	56	21	38	18	60	17	29	33
Documents of past assemblies	18	17	21	9	40	17	24	11
Internal work agenda	27	25	29	18	40	25	24	28
Newsletter	55	42	46	46	60	46	53	39
Total (N)	11	24	24	11	5	24	17	18

As compared to the Italian or the British websites, Swiss organizations do not mention their affiliation to a national or transnational network on their homepage. These information, if present, is to be found deeper on the website, mostly in the section devoted to campaigns (Attac, the Bern Declaration, Pro Natura). The affiliation of Pro Natura to Friends of the Earth International is published even deeper on the website and thus difficult to find.

The only organizations mentioning visibly their affiliation to a network are the more radical anti-WEF organizations and networks (anti WTO Coordination, Gipfelblockade), who are publishing on their homepage the anti WEF mascot Mafalda. Their mascot is also present on all their publications on the Indymedia website.

Again, the use of the Internet in identity building varies according to the indicator. Publishing archives of press releases is much more used by formal organizations with member presence, in other words the moderate, relatively institutionalized branch of the movement. Political parties, but also the Group for Switzerland without Army, the Bern Declaration, Pro Natura have a special section for press releases. Informal organizations do

publish some communiqués but to a much lesser extent and they are not published in a special section but in a section together with old leaflets.

Another element allowing organizations to build their identity online, is the publication of the internal work agenda. The publication of the internal work agenda, gives the opportunity to all visitors of the website, and not only to the members of the organization, to be informed about the issues discussed within the organization. The presence of members plays a role for the publication of the internal work agenda. 40% of the organizations having no member presence publish their work agenda, as opposed to only 25% of the organization having formal members.

Identity is also build by the presence of a newsletter of the organization, furthermore if the subscription of the newsletter is open to everyone and not only to members. 46% of the selected websites gives the possibility to subscribe to a newsletter, and only one organization (CETIM) is limiting the access to the newsletter to its members. Again, organizations with no member presence are more likely to have a newsletter and the age of the website also plays a role (53% of the websites created after 2000 have a newsletter and only 39% of websites created before 2000).

Finally, an interesting aspect of identity building does not appear in the tables, but it is of common practice among Swiss GJMOs on the Internet. Most of the organizations publish a journal on their website and offer the possibility to download the archive of the journal. This allows users to have an overview on past and present activities of the organization.

6.5. Transparency

Transparency (table 4) is the only dimension on which Swiss organizations invest more in cross-national comparison, especially concerning information on the organizational structure and finances. Formal organizations are more transparent, as for example all of them publish their statutes or a fundamental document on their website. The transparency is also higher for national organizations than for local ones. The age of the website does also have an impact on transparency, as organizations whose website was created before 2000 are more likely to be transparent.

Table 4. Characteristics of the organizations and transparency (%)

Information on organizational structure	**Formal organization**		**Local organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Presence of statute (or equivalent)	100	96	96	100	100	100	94	100
Reachability of the organization	63	100	88	91	60	92	88	89
Organizational structure	46	83	75	64	80	67	59	83
Last updating on the homepage	36	33	33	36	20	33	47	22
Organization's finance	27	38	33	36	40	42	18	39
Total (N)	11	24	24	11	5	24	17	18

We used another indicator to asses the transparency of the organization by testing the responsiveness of the information and webmaster's emails published on the website. To get more information about the management of websites we emailed the persons responsible of the information and the webmasters when an email was available. All 35 websites have a general information email and 16 of them have a webmaster email. The problem is the definition of the webmaster. Some consider as the webmaster only the person who created the website, which in some organizations is outsourced. Others consider as the webmaster the person who is updating the website. The response rate, as compared to other countries is very low: 17% for the general email and 31% for the webmaster email. We received only 6 responses from the general email and 11 from webmasters. For websites having no webmaster email we sent the questions addressed to the webmaster to the general email, but only 4 organizations answered the questions concerning the management of the website.

The emails could not be delivered to 2 organizations (The Swiss Social Forum and the Gipfelblockade). The Other Davos sent an automatic reply back saying that they will contact us soon, but we never received any answer.

If we look at the response delay, all organizations declare trying to answer within 2-3 days to at least 75% of the messages received and to forward the messages to more competent people in case of more complex questions, which can take longer. Most of the organizations declaring to answer within 2-3 days indeed did so, except for the SSF. When we sent the first email, the website of the SSF was no longer updated, as the first Forum took place two years earlier. When we sent the second email, the second Forum was in preparation. The website was updated (indeed major changes took place on the website, such as its general design, the organization of the information, etc.) and it took only two days to get an answer.

The answers came only from formal and membership organizations as well as from organizations with a website created before 2000, except for the metalworkers union (former SIB, now UNIA), which created their website only this year. But the age of this website is due to the fact that two majors Swiss unions merged this year and therefore created a new website.

All the organizations answered all the questions, with the exception of Attac. The response of the general email (which is also the email of the leader of Attac Switzerland) said that they could not answer our questions without having further information about the use and diffusion of the data.

6.6. Mobilization

Concerning online as well as offline mobilization (table 5), Switzerland ranks very low in cross-national comparison. Internet is not used as a mean for mobilization. The only way Internet is used for this purpose is the possibility to download from the website leaflets with calls to demonstrations, like in the websites of the Gipfelblockade and the Anti-WTO Coordination. But this is only to be found on the websites of informal, local and newer organizations and not at all on the websites of formal organizations.

Table 5. Characteristics of the organizations and mobilization (%)

Mobilization	**Formal organization**		**Local organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Action calendar of the organization	56	29	33	46	40	38	47	28
Concrete info on offline forms of action	27	8	21	0	20	8	6	22
Action calendar of other GJMOs	18	13	8	27	60	4	12	17
Laboratories on offline action forms	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Helping desk on offline forms of action	18	4	13	0	0	8	0	17
Involvement in an ongoing campaign	0	38	38	0	20	33	18	33
Sign an online petition	0	8	4	9	0	8	6	6
Send an epostcard	0	17	17	0	0	17	0	22
Concrete info on online forms of action	9	4	4	9	0	8	6	6
Call for a mailbombing	9	0	0	9	0	4	6	0
Call for a netstrike	9	0	0	9	0	4	6	0
Total (N)	11	24	24	11	5	24	17	18

If we look closer at the different types of mobilization, we can see that in general Swiss GJMOs do not use the Internet for mobilization purposes and even less for online

mobilization. The territorial scope of the organization and the age of the website do not have an impact.

If we make a distinction between online and offline mobilization, we can see a difference between types of organizations. Formal organizations with members presence invest more on offline mobilization. Concerning online mobilization, we can consider the involvement in a campaign, the possibility to sign an online petition and to send an e-postcard as more conventional forms of action. These forms of action are privileged by formal organizations with members presence. Organizations defending the rights of migrants and asylum seekers publish fact sheets about how to help these people. Furthermore, anti-fascists organizations such as Antifa also give Internet users the possibility to denounce in a safe way fascist websites or actions, explaining how to send the form in order to avoid Internet control. On the Gipfelblockade website there is a link to an anti-repression website (http://www.antirep.ch) which explains the rights of demonstrators vis-à-vis the police and gives mobile phone numbers to call in case of arrest during demonstrations.

Finally, informal organizations without formal members are more likely to give concrete information on online forms of mobilization. Webmobilization is almost inexistent in our sample. Calls for netstrike or mailbombing can be found on only one website, namely Indymedia Switzerland. But this call dates from 2002 and is interestingly posted by a social centre located in the Italian speaking part of Switzerland.

Calls for netstrikes are also only present on the Swiss Indymedia website. But here, the calls for netstrikes, even if published on the Swiss website of Indymedia, are all calls posted by foreign organizations, such as Act up France, Stop the Nato Network (http://www.stopthenato.org). The only Swiss based call for a netstrike is again a call from the same social centre.

6.7. Digital divide

The intervention on the digital divide (table 6) is the dimension on which Switzerland is ranking the lowest. Only few organizations offer Internet-related training. Even if there are only few cases, we can see that the territorial scope of the organization does not play a role in determining whether it intervenes on the digital divide. But the formal character of the organization plays a role, except for other electronic resources and for the fact that organizations with formal members are more likely to intervene on the digital divide. As an example, WOZ offers the possibility to download an Internet glossary which explains the main technical concepts and terms and the e-mail language. It also publishes a link to a

website which gives basic instructions on how to use the email, on the technical part on the one hand and on the kind of language used in emails on the other.

Table 6. Characteristics of the organizations and intervention on the digital divide (%)

Offer of Internet-related training	**Formal organization**		**Local organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Laboratories	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Specific applications	0	13	4	18	0	13	6	11
Webpage/website hosting	0	4	4	0	0	4	6	0
Helping desk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other electronic resources	18	0	0	18	0	8	12	0
Free email	0	8	4	9	0	8	6	6
Total (N)	11	24	24	11	5	24	17	18

6.8. Conclusion

In this report we showed how Swiss GJMOs use the Internet in terms of communication, transparency, identity building, mobilization and intervention on the digital divide. We saw that in general formal, national organizations with formal members invest more on the different dimensions of democracy. But in general the democratic potential of Internet is not fully used in Switzerland. This can be related to the general characteristics of the GJM in this country, which is relatively weak and moderate. The Internet is considered as one more media used essentially as a showoff for organizations allowing them to present themselves to the public and as a resource for getting new members (20 organizations give the possibility to join as a member online).

However, despite the low investment of the Swiss GJMOs in the democratic potential of the Internet, differences can be observed following the branch to which the organization belongs. The Swiss GJM is characterized by the presence of two different branches, one moderate, more institutionalized, stemming from the ecologist and pacifist movements, another more informal and radical close to the squatters milieu. The strategy of the Internet use varies between these two branches. Indeed, the results of this first analysis of the Swiss websites show that the more formal organizations tend to invest more on information dissemination and transparency. These organizations privilege a strategy of political education of citizens. The more informal and radical organizations tend to invest more on

identity building and mobilization. As these organizations are more protest oriented, the Internet gives them the opportunity to create the common identity necessary for mobilization.

7. United Kingdom report

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7.1. Introduction

This national report puts the cross national data into perspective, discusses some of the qualitative material collected, and attempts to use the qualitative information to explain the peculiarities of the British case. It begins by outlining the website selection process and provides some contextual background on the 37 organizations that were selected. This is followed by an exploration of some of the quantitative variables, which consider the impact of organizational characteristics upon certain qualities of the websites.

7.2.1 Selecting the most relevant GJMOs in Britain

This paper follows Diani's (1992) consensual definition of a movement, in suggesting that the British GJM consists of a network of formal and informally organised organizations and individuals that have a common concern to campaign or protest, in one way or another, against the global neo-liberal agenda. This is broad enough to allow a variety of SMOs and activists to participate, from anarchists, socialists and communists, to those concerned with environmental, peace, religious, feminist, homeless, indigenous rights, migration, race and social justice issues, the labour movement, urban squatters and others.

For the purposes of this paper, 37 key GJMOs were selected on the basis of their key role within social movement families that we consider to be part of the broader GJM, or 'movement of movements' (Saunders and Rootes 2005), and their presence at key GJM protest events since 1998. The selected websites cover the following movement sectors: debt relief, anti-war, religious inspiration, youth, the environment, trade unions, anarchist, antagonist, international solidarity, lesbian / gay, anti-racism / immigrants rights, political parties, human rights, fair trade, movement communication (journals, radio and internet communication) and social forums. The most important organization from each of these sectors was chosen on the basis of the extent of its participation in global justice movement events and our own nominal judgements about its importance within the movement. Internet searches were used to discover which British GJMOs had participated in the following protest events:

- **Anti-NATO protests**
  - Prague, Czechoslovakia, 21-22 November 2002
- **Anti G8 protests** Birmingham, UK, 15-17 May 1998

- Köln, Germany, 18-20 June 1999
- Okinawa, Japan, 21-23 July 2000
- Genoa, Italy, 20-22 July 2001
- Kananaskis, Canada, 26-27 June 2002
- Evian, France, 1-3 June 2003
- Sea Island, US, June 8-10 2004
- Gleneagles, Scotland, July 6-8 2005

- **Anti GATT / WTO protests**
  - Seattle, US, 1999
  - Doha, Qatar, 2001
  - Cancun, Mexico, 2003

- **Anti-Council of Europe**
  - Brussels, Belgium, December 2001
  - Seville, Spain, 19-16 March 2002
  - Thessaloniki, Greece, 2003

- **Disarm DSEI** (Defense Systems and Equipment International Exhibition and Conference)
  - London 2004

- **Anti-war march**
  - London, 15 February 2003

- **European Cultural Forum events**
  - Various events 2003-4

- **Peace not War Carnivals**
  - London, February 2003
  - London, September 2004

- **European Social Forums**
  - Florence, Italy, 2002
  - Paris, France, 2003
  - London, UK, 2004[51]

[51] Including Beyond ESF, the Wombles-organised autonomous alternative.

Figure 1: British GJMOs' attendance at GJM protest events

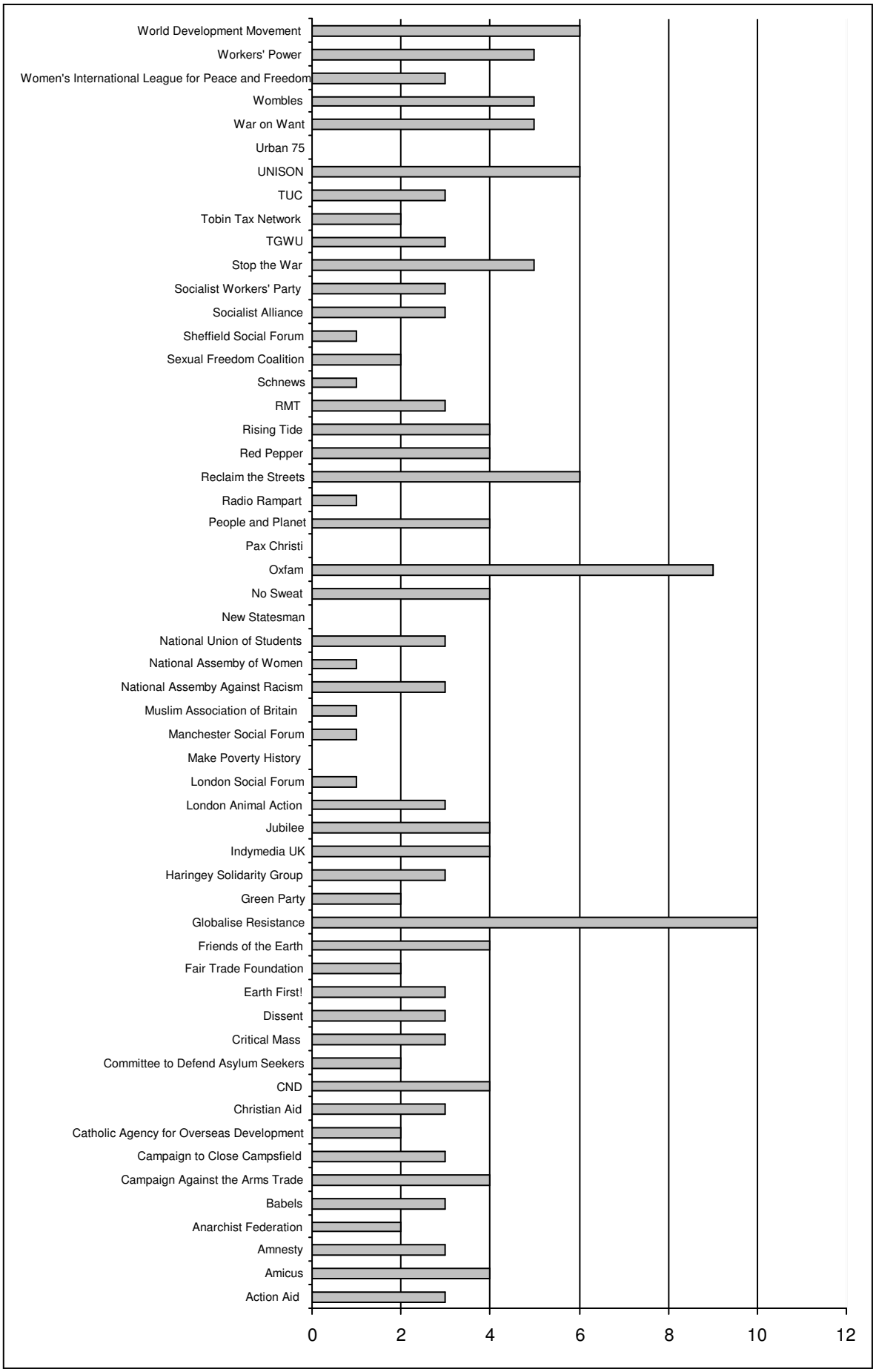


Figure 1 shows the attendance levels of a selection of British GJMOs in these GJM events. It includes all those organizations that have been selected for analysis, and for comparative purposes, all other organizations that were present at three or more events. The paper will now introduce the 37 websites chosen for analysis.

7.2.2 Organizations selected

The Jubilee Debt Campaign (JDC, http://www.jubileedebtcampaign.org.uk) was selected as representative of the debt relief movement sector. This campaign coalition, consisting of over 60 development, aid, trade, environmental, and religious organizations, and trade unions was founded in October 1997. Jubilee 2000's initial priority was to ensure that unpayable debts of heavily indebted countries were written off by 31st December 1999 and that all other debts be reduced to levels that would allow sustainable human, environmental and economic development (Pettifor 1998:121). After a short lapse in activity, Jubilee reformed as Jubilee Debt Campaign, without the suffix '2000'in 2001, and has continued to be a significant player in campaigns for debt relief (Greiner 2003). It is the coalition's critique of the G8, IMF and World Bank as contributors to the debt problem that assimilates the anti-debt movement to a broader movement that critiques international financial institutions and the agenda of Neoliberalism. Internet searches indicate that Jubilee has officially attended four of the protest movement events used here as indicators of movement membership. Indeed, in 1999, the participants in Jubilee 2000's symbolic human chain, timed to coincide with a G8 meeting in Birmingham, came from a range of NGOs and radical activist networks that are part of the broader movement. It was also important to include Jubilee in the sample because of its international significance. Although Jubilee began in Britain, the coalition soon became established in other countries across the globe, making it a worthwhile coalition to include for the purposes of cross-national comparison.

Jubilee Debt Campaign is one of three significant debt relief / trade justice networks in the GJM in Britain. The others, the Trade Justice Movement (TJM, http://www.tjm.org.uk) and Make Poverty History (MPH, http://www.makepovertyhistory.org) were also selected for analysis. The Trade Justice Movement (http://tjm.org.uk) was established in 2002 by a small steering group drawn from some forty British aid NGOs large and small to campaign 'for fundamental change to unjust rules and institutions governing international trade, so that trade is made to work for all'. It came to prominence when 25,000 people participated in its all-night vigil outside Parliament on 15 April 2005 in the lead-up to World Poverty Action Day. Describing itself as a 'fast growing group of organizations', it was in April 2005 a coalition of

66 organizations including trade, aid and development charities, churches, trade unions, and student and environmental organizations.

The Make Poverty History (MPH) coalition is more prominent and more inclusive. Bringing together nearly British NGOs including the Jubilee Debt Campaign, the TJM, and a host of other charities, campaigns, trade unions, faith groups, student unions and celebrities, MPH campaigns for, 'in nine words: trade justice, drop the debt, more and better aid'(http://www.makepovertyhistory.org). Like the TJM, which includes a prominent link to MPH on its website, the organisers of MPH believe that 2005 provides an unprecedented opportunity to tackle trade, aid and debt issues because the UK will be hosting the G8 summit (at which poverty in Africa is a key theme), and holding the EU Presidency. MPH successfully organised the 250,000-strong march and rally in Edinburgh on 2nd July 2005, prior to the commencement of the G8 summit. MPH has not been present at any of the key GJM events because it a newly established network (2005), and because it functions as a network that coordinates poverty-related protests, but which does not itself take part in other protest events. Many of its members have partaken in the key GJM events.

A key organization (rather than a network) in the British development / international solidarity movement sector is, of course, Oxfam (http://www.oxfam.org.uk). It is probably the best known and most well reputed British development and aid organization. Established in 1948, and well known for pioneering the 'charity shop', Oxfam has steadily grown organizationally, and influentially. From small beginnings in Oxford, it is now an international organization, making it also an important organization to include in the sample for the purposes of cross-national comparisons.[52] Despite being a reputable NGO, and the fact that many GJM protest events attract a degree of violent direct action to which it is averse, Oxfam UK stands out for its participation in nine GJM events, exceeded only by the energetic and persistent Globalise Resistance (present at ten GJM events, see Figure 1).

Despite attracting a great deal of controversy within the movement, a sample of GJMOs within Britain would not be complete without Globalise Resistance (http://www.resist.org.uk). Although it has a small number of members, and has been vociferously accused of hijacking the GJM, it has been hugely successful at mobilizing protesters for GJM events. Notably, at the G8 in Genoa, Globalise Resistance organised coaches for those wishing to attend the protest, something which was, at the time, beyond the organizational capacity of grassroots protest groups.

[52] Our partners have analyzed the websites of Oxfam Spain, Oxfam Germany, and Oxfam International. Oxfam also has a presence in Australia, Belgium, Canada, Hong Kong, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Quebec and the US.

Although ATTAC (Association for the Taxation of financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens) is a key player in the GJM in Germany, Italy and France, it barely exists as a national organization in Britain. The website of ATTAC UK is merely a hub for nascent local ATTAC groups. As an alternative, the website of the Stamp Out Poverty network (previously called the Tobin Tax Network) (http://www.tobintax.org.uk/?lid=721) was selected for analysis. Similarly to ATTAC, Stamp Out Poverty is a network that supports the Currency Transaction Tax Declaration. This Declaration calls for a small levy on the trade in currencies to generate revenue to be used to eliminate poverty. Stamp Out Poverty has over 50 member organizations, including ATTAC UK, Friends of the Earth, a range of religions organizations, trade unions and a host of international aid organizations. Despite being a relatively new coalition (est. 2002), Stamp Out Poverty (as the Tobin Tax Network) has attended two of the key GJM events (Figure1). War on Want (http://www.waronwant.org), which hosts the website of Stamp Out Poverty, was also selected because it is an important development, trade and aid organization that has also been present at many GJM events (five of those listed in Figure 1).

Christian Aid (http://www.christian-aid.org.uk) has been selected as the most important national organization of religious inspiration participating in the movement. Formed in 1945, Christian Aid has been campaigning relentlessly against poverty and under-development. It is known nationwide, especially for its Christian Aid week, during which volunteers collect door-to-door donations. Christian Aid is an active participant in Trade Justice campaigns, and in the Make Poverty History coalition, making it an important player in the GJM in Britain. It has been a participant in three of the GJM events (Figure 1). The website of Pax Christi (http://www.paxchristi.org.uk) (the British node of the International Catholic Movement for Peace) has been analyzed, not because Pax Christi is an important player in the British GJM, but because Pax Christi has been studied in other countries, and its inclusion facilitates cross-national comparisons. Pax Christi has not been party to any of the GJM events listed above (Figure 1). In addition to Pax Christi, the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD) has been selected as an active Catholic organization, and because it has been active in the actions and events of the GJM. Present in two of the GJM events listed above it has a remit that includes defending the rights of poor people, and challenging the systems that keep them poor.

The Stop the War Coalition (http://www.stopwar.org.uk), formed in 2002 to campaign against the prospects of a war in Iraq, has been selected as an organization representative of the British anti-war movement. It is a coalition consisting of approximately 650 national and local organizations, including trade unions, churches, environmental groups and student

groups, and, alongside the Muslim Association of Britain and CND, coordinated the huge anti-war march in London in February 2003. Although the only key GJM event (Figure 1) that the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB, http://www.mabonline.net) has been recorded as attending is the anti-war march, this is enough to set is apart from other ethnic minority groups which have not featured in any of the protest events.

Although the women's movement is a marginal player in the GJM in Britain (see Rootes and Saunders 2004), a women's movement organization has been selected for analysis for the purposes of cross-national comparison. In order to facilitate this comparison, we were asked to analyze the website of the national World March for Women group. However, this does not exist per se in Britain. The National Assembly of Women (NAW; http://www.sisters.org.uk) was selected instead because it is the most prominent of the twenty-five British women's groups involved in the World March of Women. Most of the others are small local groups and some do not even have websites.[53] Although the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) has been present at more GJM events (three) than NAW (one), WILPF has not been involved in the World March.

Although we were directed to select a youth party organisation, People and Planet (http://www.peopleandplanet.org) has been selected as an alternative, given that it is the most important youth organization that participates in the movement. Initially called Third World First, it campaigns on issues of poverty, debt relief, fair trade and the environment. It has been present at four of the key GJM events (Figure 1), and it plays a more considerable role in the movement than youth party organizations. For example, it held a weeklong festival of resistance at Stirling, to coincide with the G8 protests, during which other youth organizations were virtually invisible.

We consider Friends of the Earth England, Wales and Northern Ireland (FoE; http://www.foe.co.uk) to be the most important British environmental organization within the movement. Over the past decade, FoE has increasingly embraced issues of global justice and has embarked on a campaign to 'Derail the World Trade Organization'. FoE has attended a significantly higher proportion of GJM events (four) than other major environmental organizations in Britain; Greenpeace was only present at one of the protest events used to analyze movement participation, and WWF has been notably absent.

The public services union UNISON (http://www.unison.org.uk) has been present at more GJM events (six) than all other British trade unions. UNISON has been selected for analysis not only for its regular participation in GJM events, but also because of its size, and its

[53] For a list of UK women's organizations supporting the march, see http://www.marchemondiale.org/dyn/rech-res.php3?l=a&ID=81.

emphasis on transnational employment issues. It is Britain's largest trade union, with a membership exceeding 1.3 million. As well as domestic campaigns for improved workers rights and conditions, UNISON is also engaged in union activity at the transnational level. It has recognized that many of its members work for transnational organizations, and speaks out on behalf of its sister organizations that are campaigning for workers rights in countries including Serbia, Palestine and Iraq.

UNISON, however, only represents workers in the public sector. In order to represent the trade union sector more broadly, the website of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU, http://www.tgwu.org.uk/homepage.asp?NodeID=88397) has been analyzed. TGWU is the Britain's largest general workers union, representing 850,000 workers in the following sectors: food and agriculture, manufacturing, services, transport, and women, race and equalities. Although it does not have a transnational campaign agenda, TGWU has been present at three of the key GJM protest events, and actively promoted the Make Poverty History rally in Edinburgh, July 2005.

Although there are many anarchist groups in Britain, many of them are small and informal groups without a significant organizational presence. British anarchist groups often organize around specific protest events, after which they disband and reform as new networks and coalitions for later events. A good example is the J18 protest groups that formed in Brighton, Lancaster, Leeds, Manchester, Cardiff, London, Sheffield and Winchester in preparation for the Global Day of Action against capitalism on 18th July 1999. These have folded, but new direct activist / anarchist organizations have been established for other GJM events, including May Day groups (e.g. London May Day collective, Leeds May Day Group). According to Doherty (2004), the anarchistic groups that form part of direct action part of the GJM are 'rapidly biodegradable' … 'such that the same people might be present over a decade or more but in different organizational guises.' The exception to this is the relatively durable Anarchist Federation (http://flag.blackened.net/af), which formed in 1986, has a web presence, a postal address, and even a formal constitution.[54] The Anarchist Federation took part in two of the GJM events listed as indicators of GJM participation. Therefore the Anarchist Federation has been selected as the most important anarchist group in the GJM in Britain.[55]

This does not mean to suggest that other anarchist groups are not of interest in a study of GJMOs. The Wombles (http://www.wombles.org.uk) and the Dissent! Network (http://www.dissent.org.uk) are currently active anarchist-inspired networks that have been

[54] NB. The constitution of the Anarchist Federation is *not* available online.

[55] NB. Because of its formal organizational structure, the Anarchist Federation is not, however, representative of the British anarchist sector. Organizations like the Wombles and Dissent, which are also included in the sample, are more representative.

included in the sample of organizations whose websites have been analyzed for this paper. Although the Dissent! Network aimed to build resistance to neoliberalism for the G8 in Edinburgh and beyond, previous experiments in creating networks of resistance to specific events suggest that these do indeed rapidly dissolve after the key protest for which they are mobilized.

What are not of interest are networks and organizations that may still have a web presence, but which have disbanded in real life. These include the J18 groups, May Day groups and Reclaim the Streets (RTS). RTS, a network of London activists that emerged from London Earth First! stopped holding meetings in the summer of 2003. It was so concerned about the large-scale unproductive RTS open meetings - which were allegedly subject to increased police surveillance - that its organizers considered that their activism would be more effective if it were played out through smaller, more discreet groups, such as the anti-climate change direct action network, London Rising Tide. Although there has been a significant RTS presence at key GJM protest events (six, see Figure 1), it has not been analyzed. Firstly, because the organization is essentially defunct, and secondly, because the RTS became a generic term for the street-party-cum-protest tactic to such an extent that the presence of RTS does not indicate the presence of a particular organization, or group of people, but merely a tactic rolled out by different people in different parts of the country, and even across the world. The website of the direct action environmental group Rising Tide (http://www.risingtide.org.uk) has been analyzed because Rising Tide has been present at as many GJM events as FoE, because it represents the direct action part of the environmental movement, and because its founder members were renegades from the late London RTS.

Movements for the rights of homosexuals take a back stage in Britain's social movement arena. Unusual amongst organizations that campaign for the promotion of gay rights, the Sexual Freedom Coalition (SFC, http://www.sfc.org.uk) has been a participant in two of the key GJM events. It is the only such group to have had a presence at any of the key GJM events (Figure 1). The SFC campaigns not only for gay rights, but also against state repression of erotic events and the sale of erotic products. Approximately sixty associations including the Equality Alliance, the Campaign Against Censorship, and the direct action newsletter, *SchNEWS*, support the coalition. As well as participating in two of the GJM events used for this analysis, it claims to have participated in RTS parties, the Anarchist Bookfair and Gay Pride marches.

The National Assembly Against Racism (http://www.naar.org.uk) has been chosen as the most important national group against racism. It has been present at three of the key GJM events. It was selected not only because of its presence at GJM events, but also because it is

not a single organization, but rather a network of concerned groups including Churches Commission for Racial Justice, Jewish Council for Racial Equality, national trade unions, black organizations, refugee organizations and representatives of NAAR's youth and student wing, the Student Assembly Against Racism. The Committee to Defend Asylum Seekers (http://www.defend-asylum.org) was chosen in addition to NAAR, because of its specific focus on campaigning for the rights of immigrants. CDAS has attended two of key GJM protests, and is backed by a number of organizations including the Green Party, SWP, TGWU, and several local anti-deportation campaigns.

The most important properly constituted political party involved in the GJM in Britain is the Green Party (http://www.greenparty.org.uk). The Green Party has a broad ranging manifesto that not only highlights the environment, but also human rights and social equity, which are amongst the key concerns of GJM. We also chose to include the SWP (http://www.swp.org.uk) because it has a sometimes unwelcome but ubiquitous presence at GJM events, whether representing itself, or masquerading under the cloak of one of its front organizations, of which Globalise Resistance is the best-known.

The Fair Trade Foundation (http://www.fairtrade.org.uk) is responsible for licensing the Fair Trade Mark, and for promoting awareness of Fair Trade goods. Not only has it been present at two key GJM events (Figure 1), but it is also representative of the fair trade sector, and was established by a range of other well known GJMOs, including CAFOD, Christian Aid, Oxfam, Traidcraft and the World Development Movement.

Behind only Globalise Resistance and Oxfam, the World Development Movement (http://www.wdm.org.uk) has been present at six of the key GJM events (Figure 1). It has been selected as being representative of the human rights sector, although its remit is actually much broader. Its main concern is to address human suffering, injustices and poverty across the world.

In the media field, *Red Pepper* (http://www.redpepper.org.uk), Radio Rampart (http://www.rampartradio.co.nr), *The New Statesman* (http://www.newstatesman.org.uk), Indymedia UK (http://www.indymedia.org.uk), and *SchNEWS* (http://www.schnews.org.uk) were selected as being closest to the movement. *Red Pepper*, which has a green-socialist take on issues, has been present at four of the key GJM events (Figure 1). The *New Statesman* has not, in an organizational capacity at least, been involved in any of the protest events used to select the sample but it has covered many GJM events, and several of the freelance journalists who write for it are GJM activists (including Matt Salusbury and Paul Kingsnorth). Although we were directed to analyze the website of the most important newspaper of the critical left, and were given *Le Monde Diplomatique* in France; *TAZ* in Germany; *Il Manifesto* in Italy as

examples, we chose *not* to analyze the *Guardian*, even though it is widely regarded as *the* most progressive left-wing paper in Britain. However, although the *Guardian* was the ESF's media partner in London, it scarcely reported the ESF, and certainly did not report it in the way *Le Monde Diplomatique* or *Il Manifesto* reported previous forums. Therefore, as an alternative we selected the *New Statesman*, a left wing weekly magazine which is readily available on the shelves of most British newsagents.

Radio Rampart was established in October 2004 in the Rampart Social Centre, which was the home of the Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, to provide radio coverage for the London-based ESF, and has been live streaming politically oriented music and debate ever since. Indymedia UK was selected because of its importance in providing news, information and debate about the GJM, its presence in several GJM events (four of those shown in Figure 1), and because it is a large international network, making it an ideal case to compare with other European countries featured in the other sections of this report. *SchNEWS* was selected for similar reasons. It first started producing its well-known double-sided A4 newssheet during the campaigns against the Criminal Justice Bill, which was an important milestone in the development of the direct action part of British GJM (Saunders and Rootes 2005). It continues to produce weekly newssheets which it emails to countless supporters and displays on its website. Although *SchNEWS* appears to have been only involved in one of the key GJM events, one could be sure to see piles of its newsletters at virtually every one of these events, making it the most important national network of independent communication in the British GJM. Additionally, we chose to analyze the website of Urban 75 (http://www.urban75.com) which is an interactive website containing information and forums on protest and drugs.

In an attempt to capture the local dimensions of the movement, three local social forum sites (London [http://www.londonsocialforum.org/frontpage], Manchester [http://www.manchestersocialforum.org.uk] and Sheffield [http://www.sheffieldsocialforum.org]) were selected. However, by the time the coding had begun, the content of the Manchester Social Forum was inaccessible because the site had apparently exceeded its bandwidth. London Social Forum, initially concerned with democratising the ESF, is organised around the issues of economics/alternatives, peace, war, civil liberties, the media, Palestine and transport. It aims to foster networking among concerned individuals, NGOs, trade unions and voluntary groups. Sheffield Social Forum runs under the principle of 'people before profit', and aims to link together different campaigns with a view to organising and carrying out joint actions, and learning from others' experiences. It holds monthly 'democracy cafes' – opportunities to meet to discuss political issues in an unstructured, informal and agenda-free environment and more formal monthly

meetings. Its website is an important means of advertising protest events. Although similar social forum initiatives are developing in East Anglia, and Durham,[56] the social forum movement is not especially well developed in Britain. As most British local social forums only began to form in 2004, their participation in GJM events is, unsurprisingly, low. The only GJM event of those shown in Figure 1 that Sheffield and London Social Forums attended was the London-based ESF in October 2004.

The website of the Global Justice Movement, which is an organization rather than *the* movement itself (http://www.globaljustice.net), was also analyzed. This was chosen partly because of its name, but also because it appears to represent a broad range of movement issues and it may yet develop into an important organization. It formed in June 2003, and, at present, appears to be little more than a talking-shop that generates ideas about alternative economies.

Although section three of this (entire comparative) report (Sampling strategy: the selection process of relevant website), which discusses the website sampling procedure suggests that there are a large number of religious organizations present in the British sample, three of the four (Pax Christi, CAFOD and Christian Aid) are religious-inspired trade, aid and development organizations. The British sample also contains a higher proportion of women/gay/ethnic/migrants organizations, but it only contains one of each (National Assembly of Women, SFC, MAB, CDAS) in addition to the National Assembly Against Racism. In addition, the British sample is distinguished from those of other countries because it has a relatively low number of local groups (Table 4). In line with the website selection criteria we were provided with, the only local British groups chosen were three local social forums, one of which was not analyzed because its content was inaccessible.

7.3. Quality of communication

This section of the paper considers the availability of certain forms of information on websites, and the accessibility of that information. In relation to deliberative models of democracy, information provision and sharing is crucial for preference transformation, reasoning and the formation of rational argument within the (cyber) public sphere. Activists can use the internet to draw on a wealth of information and to enhance their capacity for engagement in deliberative debate of global justice issues.

The forms of information considered here are articles, conference materials, bibliographies and news sections. However, the presence of these forms of information contributes little to

[56] Students at Durham University coordinate the North East Social Forum.

the process of democracy if they are not easily accessible. Some websites are difficult to access in the first instance. For example, although the Anarchist Federation website contains a wealth of downloadable pamphlets on anarchist thought, this information is not easily accessible because the AF appears to change the URL address of its website frequently. At the time of coding, the website was accessible at http://flag.blackened.net/af), but as of mid-May 2005, that web address appeared to be defunct. When websites change URLs, they often have a facility that automatically redirects the user to the new site. However, attempts to access the AF's site through its old web address simply cause the server to 'time out', without redirection. A Google website search revealed that the new website address is http://www.libcom.org/hosted/af. There is a similar problem with the website of the London Social Forum which seems to fluctuate rapidly between being on- and off-line, due to hosting and administrative problems. The Manchester Social Forum website was not at all accessible during the coding period, and it remains inaccessible to date.

Assuming that the website itself can be accessed, the accessibility to the information is enhanced by the presence of website maps and search engines, and also depends on the way in which the site is laid out. The British sample scores the highest on presence of a search engine (81%), and has the highest percentage of websites with text only options (11%) and a consideration of accessibility (11%); and scores above average on the presence of a website map (35.1%). With regard to text only versions of information, the radical newssheet *Schnews*, which itself uses out-dated computing equipment it has reclaimed from skips, is particularly conscious of the need for easily accessible text-only versions of its newsletter and website. Although it has recently began sending out its newssheet as a PDF document to those subscribers who request it, the majority of its subscribers still receive the text only version.

Site maps were organized in different ways by different organizations – some were alphabetical, whilst others were listed under themes that were displayed randomly. One of the most extensive site maps, which reflects the complexity of the website, was that of Oxfam. When cut and pasted into Word, and formatted to be single-spaced and 12pt font, the Oxfam web site map extended to a total of 10 A4 pages. Oxfam's website map is organized alphabetically which makes it much easier to look up specific information on any of the projects that Oxfam is working on in various countries across the world. FoE's website map is only two A4 pages long when formatted in the same manner, and is not organized alphabetically, but grouped under the following titles (in order): community, campaigns, local campaigns, news and queries, publications and press releases. The information on the FoE website includes various publications, campaigning guides, education packs, and a series of

free briefings and reports on environmental issues. By contrast, the site map of NAAR is very short (less than half a page long), and this reflects the relatively small amount of material that the website contains. This website has a very small 'newsletters and reports section', but at least the information is easy to access. One website which makes it particularly easy to find the information sought is Urban75.com. This has both a website map and a search engine. When you go to the website map, the message appears 'if you can't find what you are looking for, try using the search page'.

Table 1 shows characteristics of organizations, tabulated against various indicators of the quality of communication. Unsurprisingly, organizations that are formally organized are much more likely to host website maps than are those that are informally organized, and the former are also more likely to host information such as articles, conference/seminar materials and bibliographies. This is probably a function of their greater resource base, which often results in more complex websites that are possibly in greater need of a website map to navigate the site, as demonstrated by the examples of FoE and Oxfam, which have lengthy website maps that reflect the complexity of the organizations themselves. Perhaps surprisingly, organizations with members differ little on the variables with regard to quality of communication. The age of the website also appears to make little difference.

With regard to the independent variables, the majority of British GJMOs whose websites were analyzed were formal (68%), part of a network (69%) and have members (65%), and just over half (54%) were established after 2000.

Table 1. Characteristics of the organizations and quality of the communication (%)

Quality of communication	**Formal organization**		**Affiliation to network[57]**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*Post2000*	*Pre2000*
Articles/papers/dossiers	83	100	89	96	90	95	95	94
Conference/seminar materials	58	64	22	71	40	68	65	59
Bibliography	33	48	67	38	50	42	30	59
News section	83	76	89	83	90	79	70	88
Search engine	83	80	89	83	90	84	76	88
Website map	25	83	33	38	20	42	20	53
Translation of basic information	8	12	11	13	10	11	5	18
Translation of identifying section	8	8	0	13	0	13	5	18
Total (N)	12	25	9	24	10	19	20	17

When it comes to translation of basic information and translation of the section identifying the group, the British website sample scores the lowest of all the country samples studied. This is unsurprising given the wide use of the English language in social movement circles, and the fact that Britons tend to be less proficient in other languages than continental Europeans. Only three of the British websites had any of their content translated (the Muslim Association of Britain, which had some text in Arabic, the Anarchist Federation which had some sections in other European languages and Esperanto, and CAFOD which had some material in Welsh and other European languages). The dataset therefore is too small to warrant comment about the effects of formality of organizations, participation a network, presence or absence of members, or the age of websites on the extent of translation.

Up to date information is important if citizens are to become involved in political debates. Therefore it is important not only to consider the presence of a news section, for which British organizations score just below average, but also to consider how often information is updated on the website. Using the records from the web archive website (http://internetarchive.org), and some simple calculations, it can be seen that the organizations in the British sample give their websites a major update seven times a year on average (median 6). Oxfam tops the chart with an average major update rate of 28 per year, followed by FoE with 17, *SchNEWS* with 15, Urban 75 and Globalise Resistance with 13, and TJM with 11. The organizations that are recorded as having one major update per year, or fewer, are organizations that are newly formed, or which were archived only recently, for example Sheffield Social Forum was founded in 2004 and has only had one archived major update in the past year.

Emails were sent to webmasters of the selected websites, asking them various questions about how their websites are managed, and about traffic. One question asked them how often information on their websites is updated. This perhaps gives us a more accurate impression of the degree to which GJM websites are updated, because those updates recorded from the Internet Archive were 'major updates' only. Of the nine GJMO webmasters who replied, the average number of website updates per month was 42 (median 20), indicating that GJMOs' website material is updated, on average, more than once a day. The UNISON website had the highest rate of updating, with the webmaster claiming that the content is updated 'Hourly, if not more often!' By contrast, CAFOD's website is, according to its webmaster, updated only once a month, the lowest level of updating of the nine websites whose webmasters responded. Thus we can see that GJMOs in Britain update their website material relatively frequently, making them potentially important sources of up-to-date information and news. Only the

[57] This does not mean affiliation to a transnational network, but to a network of organizations working together – whether transnational or not.

websites of FoE, Wombles, Indymedia, *SchNEWS*, Dissent! and the Socialist Workers' Party indicated the date of their last homepage update. Most of these are informal, radical organizations, which are perhaps keen to prove the currency of the information contained on their websites.

The internet is also a source of information via email lists, and electronic newsletter subscriptions. In the same email, webmasters were asked 'How many people have subscribed to the newsletter and/or mailing-list/forum?'. The figures here are consistently high for the nine GJMOs that responded, with an average subscription rate of 47,157; the lowest rate was CAFOD, with 1,200 subscribers, and the highest was Oxfam, with 197,000 subscribers. The direct action letter *SchNEWS* reaches approximately 50,000 people per week.

With regard to the provision of information, we also need consider the extent to which organizations respond, by email, to requests for information that have been directed to their information service staff and webmasters. Six of the thirty-seven websites did not have an email address to which requests for information could be directed. Despite sending a reminder email approximately one month after sending the first request, only ten replied (32%), and two of these replies were automated responses that did not include the requested data. Oxfam, Friends of the Earth, and, initially Christian Aid sent automated responses. Friends of the Earth's read:

> Thank you for contacting Friends of the Earth. It's really great to hear from you. We get hundreds of email each week and so it may not be possible for us to respond to you immediately. If your question is about an environmental issue that our Information
>
> Service Team can help with; we'll aim to get back to you personally within 5 working days. In the meantime, the answers you are looking for may be found in our Notes and Queries section of the website. (FoE Information Services Team)

Both Oxfam and Christian Aid sent similar automated messages informing to expect a delay in their response because they were preoccupied with relief work in the aftermath of the Southeast Asian Tsunami disaster (December 2004). Over a month after sending the initial automated response, Christian Aid's information services team sent a proper response explaining that Christian Aid's usual target of replying to requests for information within two days had been impossible to meet due to the overwhelming amount of work involved in the Tsunami disaster relief, and also due to some long-term sick leave within his department. I re-sent the request for information to Oxfam after receiving the first automated response, and received a new automated message the next day which directed me to the Oxfam website and library resources, and claimed that:

> I hope that with the above suggestions you will be able to complete your research successfully. As we do have limited time and resources, unfortunately we are unable to arrange interviews, complete questionnaires or organize visits to projects we support. However, I'm sure you will find the information you need from the resources that are available to you. (Oxfam GB Supporter Relations team)

Other organizations may have decided to not answer the email because they may have had more important campaign priorities than what they may have perceived to be a trivial academic project. It may also be the case that some of the emails may have not reached their intended recipients. For example, the request for information that I sent to the webmaster of Rising Tide apparently got lost in the 'junk mail filter'. On average, the eight GJMOs that provided data claimed to respond to 81% (median 93%) of the requests for information that they received, indicating that they must employ some kind of criteria to chose which queries are worthy of a response.

Data from the eight organizations that responded to the questions directed to information service staff suggests that GJMOs aspire to turnaround replies to emails much faster than they actually manage. The average number of days stated in response to the question 'Please specify how long it takes to obtain an answer from your service (please express the time in number of days)' was four (median = 3), whereas in reality, the average length of time was ten days (median 4). The average however, was partly skewed by the long response time of Christian Aid. GJMOs are clearly viewed as an important source of information by the public. The eight organizations that provided data claimed to receive, on average over 300 (median 40) requests for information per month. Christian Aid had the highest number of claimed requests (2000), and Rising Tide the lowest (2).

Hit statistics give us an indication of the popularity a website, and by implication can indicate how frequently the information that websites contain is accessed. A website which is visited more often may be argued to play a greater role in democratic processes in society as it provides more people with information. However, we should treat such statistics with caution. Not all hit counters work in the same way, there is often no indication of how long the counter has been active, and often they work on the basis of counting the number of visits to each page (i.e. hits), rather than the number of unique users, which means that the same visitor may be counted a number of times. An additional problem is that the number of hits that a website receives can vary considerably over time due to external exigent events. For example, the Green Party's website hits vary widely, depending on the proximity to elections, and Globalise Resistance's website which had only 61,925 hits in August 2004, had a staggering

301,296 hits in June 2005, the month immediately preceding the G8 summit in Gleneagles, Scotland.

Although the FoE webmaster did not reply to the email requesting information about its website, and the website of FoE does not have web hit statistics, its *Annual Review 2003-4* claims that during that year, its main website received 55,000 unique users per month, each spending on average 13 minutes per visit (FoE 2003). Urban 75 claims to have 'an independently accredited hit rate of over half a million individual users per month', which allegedly makes it 'one of the most popular sites of its type on the web.' Of the nine website masters who provided data, the average claimed number of 'hits' per month is 675,636 (median 335,000), indicating, at the very least that these websites are frequently accessed. UNISON claims the highest rates of internet hits at four million, followed by the Green Party, with two million. War on Want claims 620,000 monthly hits, followed by Christian Aid, with 170,000. CAFOD's webmaster, who may have misunderstood the question, claimed that the CAFOD site had an average of only 30 hits per month. Even if theses measures of website popularity are unreliable, (for example FoE uses 'unique users', Urban75 refers to 'individual users', and our question to webmasters asked for 'hits') this data shows that GJMO websites are either frequently consulted by a smaller number of people, or less frequently consulted by a larger number of people.

7.4. Building online identities

In comparative perspective, British websites tend to score low on many of the variables used as indicators of identity building. This might be partly explained by the fact that twenty of the thirty-seven organizations in the British sample were established post-Seattle, and in consequence of their histories, their sites are less likely to contain archival material such as old leaflets, chronologies, and past assemblies considered necessary for creating an on-line organizational identity. In particular, it is certainly the case that many radical GJMOs purposefully avoid the mainstream press, and therefore tend not to produce press releases. In addition, the media-based organizations in the sample, including Urban 75, Indymedia, *New Statesman*, Radio Rampart, *SchNEWS* and *Red Pepper*, being sources of, to varying degrees, 'alternative media' themselves, do not produce press releases at all. The other striking figure in the cross-national data is the very low score that British websites receive for archiving old leaflets on their websites; only 27% have records of old leaflets. Formal organizations tend to have an even lower proportion of old leaflets on their websites. This may be because formal organizations in Britain tend to prefer campaigning materials to be kept up-to-date. For example, in the year 2000, when I was a local group coordinator for Friends of the Earth, we

were asked by the Local Campaigns Department to refrain from using old leaflets because there was concern that the information was outdated.

Table 2. Characteristics of the organizations and identity building (%)

Identity building	**Formal organization**		**Affiliation to network**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*Post2000*	*Pre2000*
Archive of press releases	50	64	44	71	30	74	40	82
Archive of reports / chronology	67	60	67	67	80	53	45	82
Archive of old leaflets	42	20	22	29	30	32	35	18
Documents of past assemblies	50	36	22	50	30	47	35	47
Internal work agenda	25	4	22	0	20	5	20	0
Newsletter	64	58	78	67	70	68	60	82
Total (N)	12	25	9	24	10	19	20	17

Table 2 tabulates characteristics of organizations against various factors that contribute to the building of organizational identities. The most striking contrast worth bringing to attention is that, with the exception of the presence of an internal work agenda, organizations that are part of a network tend to be more inclined to have information on their websites that builds the identity of their organization. It could be, as both Staggenborg (1986) and Klandermans (1990) have suggested, that organizations with weak identities tend to avoid taking part in networks and coalitions because of the associated risks to resource bases, and autonomy, things which weak organizations, or those lacking a strong identity will attempt to avoid. Those that have built a strong identity through their websites will be less vulnerable to the risks of joining coalitions and campaign networks.

Activists identify more with organizations that invite them to play a role in the internal politics of the group than with those that exclude them. In order to become involved with the decision-making process of an organization, it is necessary to know what the internal work agenda is. Table 2 shows that formal organizations and organizations without members are less likely than informal organizations and organizations with members to disclose their internal agenda. This is possibly because they are more centralized, and tend to rely upon staff rather than volunteers. For centralized organizations that do not advertise their details, the members may do little more than provide a monthly direct debit donation. Organizations with formal 'members' tend to exclude them from internal decision-making more so than organizations that rely upon volunteers. Rising Tide and the Wombles are two examples of anti-authoritarian organizations that include information on their internal agenda, but which

do not have members. Their weekly open meetings are the venue for all decision-making, and they are open to all volunteers to participate. In contrast, a FoE 'cheque-book member' will know little about the internal politics of FoE, and will not need to know about the internal decision-making programme.

Identities are also built by participation in forms of bilateral communication on the internet (e.g. open forums, and email discussion lists). Bilateral communication also allows for activists to engage in discursive debates, to learn from one another's experiences, and to be reflexive. However, the organizations in this sample under-use these identity-building / democratic tools, with only 38% having mailing lists or forums, 18% having the possibility to read archived message without subscribing, and only one organization having a chat line. If GJMOs in Britain are to fulfil the democratic potential of the internet, they have much work to do in terms of improving the provision of tools for bilateral communication.

With regard to GJMO identity, it is also interesting to consider the extent to which the organizations in the sample recognise, on their websites, their affiliation to key GJM networks and coalitions, the most prominent of which in Britain are Make Poverty History, Jubilee Debt Campaign, Stop the War Coalition and the Trade Justice Movement. Of the five GJMOs that are both in our sample and listed on the Stop the War coalition website (the Green Party, Pax Christi, Globalise Resistance, SWP and the Wombles), not a one displays the STW coalition logo. The websites of SWP and Globalise Resistance have a link to the STW site, but make no explicit mention of their affiliation to the campaign. Instead of displaying its affiliation to STW, Pax Christi has, as do many Italian websites (see the Italian national report), the multi-coloured PACE (peace) flag displayed prominently on its home page.

Half of the fourteen sample websites of GJMOs that belong to the Make Poverty History display the white band '**MAKE**POVERTY**HISTORY**' logo in a prominent position on their homepages, and several organizations mark their affiliation to the Trade Justice Movement, by prominently displaying the 'Make Trade Fair' logo. In contrast, supporters of Jubilee Debt Campaign tend not to advertise their affiliation. Of these four prominent British coalitions, Make Poverty History is not only the most popular in terms of its high number of member organizations, but also the most widely advertised. This might in part be due to the selection of free importable pre-prepared JavaScript encodings of the logo that are available on the MPH website which make it a matter of simplicity to import the MPH logo to other websites. It might also be a temporal effect; Make Poverty History is, in the year of the G8 and Britain's EU presidency, the lowest common denominator for GJM campaigners.

Besides noting affiliation of organizations to coalitions, it is also worth mentioning the organizational logos that are displayed on websites, as they have some common

characteristics. The websites of FoE, CAFOD, WDM, the Green Party and NAW, for example, all show imagery of the earth. Additionally, the Alternative G8 Summit logo that appears on the websites of SWP, Globalise Resistance and Rising Tide incorporates a picture of the globe squashed in a clamp that reads 'G8'. The earth imagery reflects an organizational identity that is concerned not only with the environment, but also with global issues. Several other websites have logos that appear to represent solidarity – either with people holding hands or standing together smiling. These include the sites of TJM, Christian Aid, Indymedia and NAAR. The Sheffield Social Forum logo, displayed prominently on its website's homepage, consists of a linked chain, representing the solidarity between different parts of the GJM that social forums attempt to effect. The rabbit cartoon character 'Miffy' is used for the logos of Dissent and *SchNEWS* ; she is caricatured swinging a golf club on the Dissent website (representing the PGA – Peoples' Golfing Association), and innocently holding a monkey wrench on the *SchNEWS* site.

7.5. A transparent web-presence?

British websites score highest in terms of having a statute or equivalent document on their website. However, the term 'statute or equivalent' was interpreted very loosely, which may have served to exaggerate the extent to which British organizations have formal documents about their organizational structure on their websites. For example, short mission statements, or 'about us' sections were considered to be 'equivalent'. Other coders may have been more stringent with their coding on this variable. In actual fact, very few organizations display on their website their full constitution, or, for limited companies, their Articles and Memorandums of Association. Only the trade union UNISON (rule book), the SWP (constitution) and Make Poverty History (manifesto) had fully-fledged equivalents to a statute available online.

Most of the British websites analyzed belong to organizations that have a physical existence beyond the web. Having a physical existence means that they can be held to account to a greater extent – people are able to write them letters, visit their offices and telephone them in order to get an impression of the integrity of the organizations beyond their web presence. This therefore makes them more transparent and accountable. Eighty-seven percent of the British GJMOs in this sample are 'reachable' – i.e. the websites contain information about the organization's street address, phone or fax numbers, or office hours. Eighty-four percent had a general email address, and just over half had email details of the webmaster available. Perhaps unsurprisingly, informal organizations, and organizations without members tend to be less reachable than formal ones (Table 3).

Table 3. Characteristics of the organizations and transparency (%)

Information on organizational structure	**Formal organization**		**Affiliation to network**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*Post2000*	*Pre2000*
Presence of statute (or equivalent)	100	96	100	96	100	95	95	100
Reachability of the organization	67	80	56	79	40	84	70	82
Organizational structure	58	40	33	50	50	42	50	41
Last updating on homepage	33	12	22	17	40	16	20	18
Organization's finance	17	40	11	33	10	32	10	53
Total (N)	12	25	9	24	10	19	20	17

The British sample has the lowest proportion of sites containing information about organizational structure (possibly a function of the lack of in-depth constitutions), but a relatively high proportion of sites containing financial information (only 30%, but this is the second highest cross-nationally). The websites of Friends of the Earth and Oxfam are amongst the minority of websites that provide information on both organizational structure and finances. These are long-established, relatively wealthy formal organizations that are wary of the need to maintain their carefully crafted reputations. Informal organizations that are not affiliated to a network, and do not have members are those most unlikely to contain such information, possibly because, like Rising Tide and the Wombles, for example, they do not have a formal structure to report on, and only have limited finances. It is also important to note that formal organizations will almost all be registered charities and/or limited companies and so will have a legal obligation to declare their accounts. Once accounts exist, it enhances credibility to publish them.

Most British GJMO websites are, judging by the nine responses from webmasters, managed by a small team of technically trained staff or volunteers. Indymedia is perhaps unique in having the most open, and therefore transparent management, but War on Want is also managed in a decentralized manner, with members of staff updating their own sections of the site as appropriate. Following in the footsteps of other websites that are managed non-hierarchically, the Rising Tide volunteer who answered the webmaster query claimed that: "Soon we will have a content-management system running that enables a large number of volunteers to contribute to the upkeep of the site."

7.6. Strategies of mobilization

Although just over half of the British websites provide activists with a calendar of protest events of their own organizations, and just under a third of them have a calendar of actions of

the broader GJM, this score is lower than the average of the complete European sample. Perhaps unsurprisingly, British GJMOs that have members display their own action calendar on their websites to a greater extent than those without members, whereas those without members (such as Urban 75 and *SchNEWS*) tend to list events of other GJMOs. GJMOs that do not carry out their own actions will have no need to compete with other organizations for support, and will hold no scruples against promoting the actions of other organizations. Websites created post-2000 are considerably more likely to have an action calendar of their own organizations.

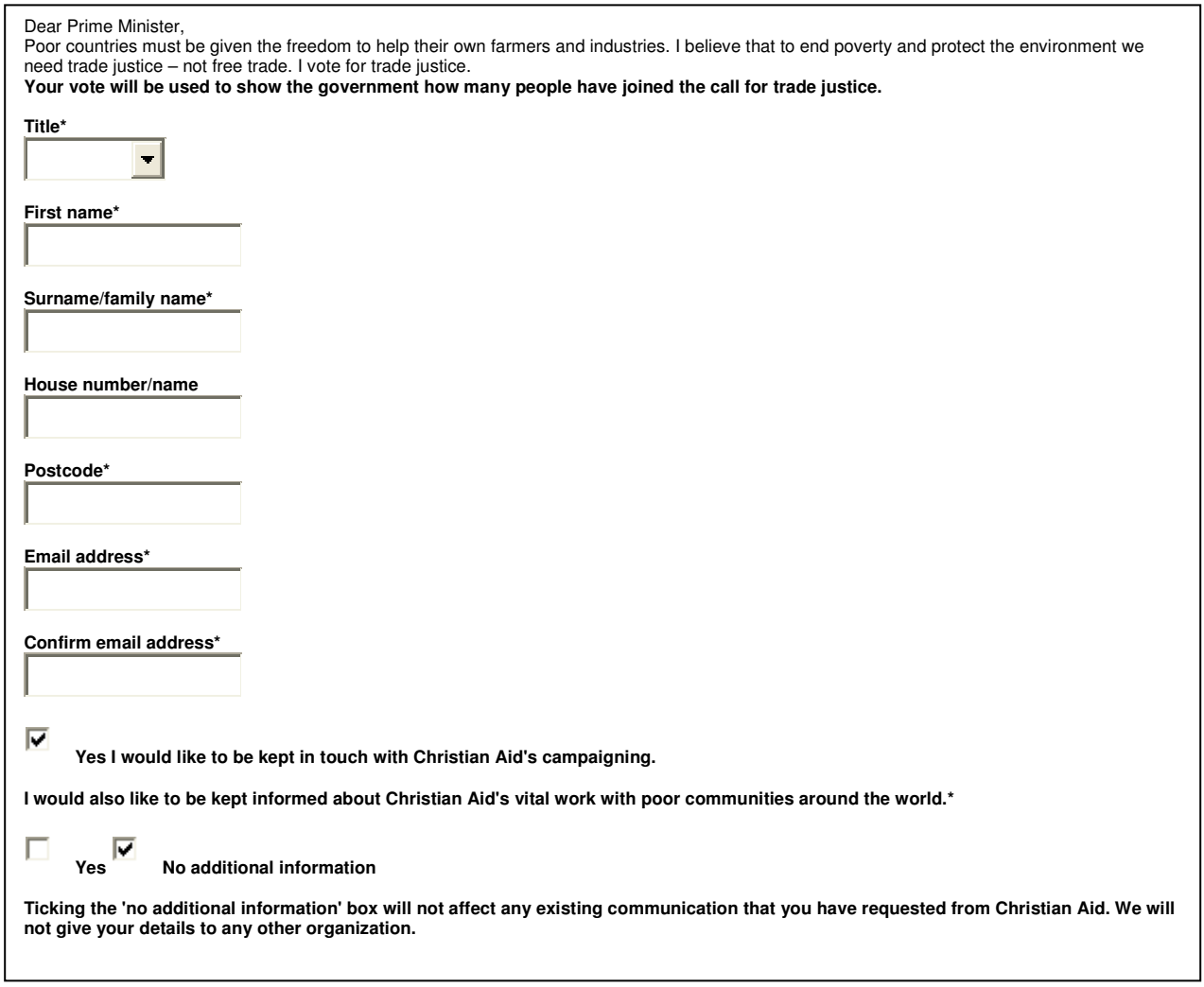
The British sample scores second highest with regard to the production of information on offline forms of action. British GJMO websites are full of information on how to carry out campaigns. *SchNEWS*, for example, has a DiY (Do-it-Yourself) guide that includes information on how to carry out direct actions (tunnelling and blockading), setting up housing coops, building benders, subverting billboards, carrying out research on companies and more. It also has a *Survival Guide* which provides more details on various types of actions, including a guide to 'public order situations', which can be purchased online. FoE is another example of an organization which produces an array of guidelines for campaigning, most of which are available as PDF documents, or through submitting an online order, including its popular short book *How to Win: a Guide to Successful Community Campaigning*. Helpdesks, courses and workshops on actions are advertised on less than one third of the British websites, and are advertised even less on the websites of formal organizations (20%), which may make their workshops exclusive to local group members (Table 4).

Table 4. Characteristics of the organizations and mobilization (%)

Mobilization	**Formal organization**		**Affiliation to network**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*Post2000*	*Pre2000*
Action calendar of the organization	58	52	56	54	50	63	60	47
Concrete info on offline forms of action	75	56	67	63	90	53	65	59
Action calendar of other GJMOs	42	20	22	33	50	21	25	29
Laboratories on offline action forms	42	20	33	21	50	5	25	29
Helping desk on offline forms of action	17	20	22	17	20	21	15	23
Involvement in an ongoing campaign	42	92	78	96	70	95	80	100
Sign an online petition	33	52	22	54	30	58	45	47
Sign an epostcard	33	48	11	58	10	63	25	24
Concert info on online forms of action	50	12	56	17	70	11	25	24
Call for a mailbombing	17	8	22	8	20	11	10	12
Call for a netstrike	8	4	2	0	2	0	5	6
Total (N)	12	25	9	24	10	19	20	17

After Italy, British GJMOs make the most extensive use of internet mobilization tools such as electronic petitions, electronic postcards, mailbombings and netstrikes, although the latter two are rare in all countries. Mail bombings and netstrikes take place to an even lesser extent amongst organizations that are formal, are part of a network, and have members, suggesting that they are mostly confined to autonomous radical groups / networks. Whereas activists physically interrupted financial executives as they couriered financial information around London in person during the anarchist-inspired Stop the City demonstrations in the mid-1980s, the 'J18 Global Day of Action' assault on the London International Financial Futures Exchange (LIFFE) building in 1999 included a series of mail bombings and net strikes in order to impede the flow of electronically conveyed financial information. Despite this obvious difference between two otherwise very similar actions, the quantitative data shows no evidence that newer organizations are more inclined than older ones to use on-line protest tactics.

Figure 1: The Vote for Trade Justice e-postcard


Dear Prime Minister,
Poor countries must be given the freedom to help their own farmers and industries. I believe that to end poverty and protect the environment we need trade justice – not free trade. I vote for trade justice.
Your vote will be used to show the government how many people have joined the call for trade justice.

Title*

First name*

Surname/family name*

House number/name

Postcode*

Email address*

Confirm email address*

Yes I would like to be kept in touch with Christian Aid's campaigning.

I would also like to be kept informed about Christian Aid's vital work with poor communities around the world.*

Yes **No additional information**

Ticking the 'no additional information' box will not affect any existing communication that you have requested from Christian Aid. We will not give your details to any other organization.

Electronic postcards are more popular campaigning tools amongst organizations in Britain than elsewhere, and there are countless examples. One of the most commonly seen epostcards in the British sample is the Vote for Trade Justice action, a Trade Justice Movement initiative. It is available on the websites of WDM, People & Planet, Oxfam, Christian Aid, CAFOD and TJM (as well as other organizations that are not in the British sample) (Figure 1). All that is required in order to take part in the action is to input a few personal details and click on 'submit'. These types of actions may be growing in popularity because of their sheer simplicity, and their potential ability to mobilize more people than standard off-line actions. As well as mobilizing people into campaigning, it should be noted that this epostcard is also used by Christian Aid as a means of finding out whether those who fill it in want to be kept in touch with their campaigning work. Christian Aid provides an optional tick-box next to the 'Yes I would like to be kept in touch with Christian Aid's campaigning' in the hope some of those that take part in the action will be interested, and that they may be mobilized to take part in future actions. NAAR appears to be more covert in its attempts to mobilize people who are potentially interested in campaigning. Since we sent the information request to its website information team, we have received regular call-outs to attend NAAR's actions.

Unlike in Italy, few of the organizations (seven) whose websites have been analyzed display protest pictures on their homepages. Instead of using pictures of previous mobilizations to mobilize individuals into campaigns it appears that British GJMOs seek to inspire people to participate on the basis of the issues. All but four of the organizations studied claimed on their websites to be involved in at least one ongoing campaign. The most prominent campaigns were on debt, aid, anti-war / -occupation of Iraq, workers' rights, women's rights, no to the Euro, fair trade, trade justice, anti-state repression, prisoner support, anti-G8 and anti-fascism. Only the environmental organizations in the sample - Rising Tide, People and Planet and FoE - claim on their websites to be specifically campaigning to halt climate change. The organizations whose websites did not mention ongoing campaigns included two media outlets - Indymedia and *The New Statesman* - which tend to report campaigns rather than get involved themselves, London Social Forum, which is a network of groups that work on a multiplicity of campaigns, but which is not a campaigning organization itself, and Pax Christi, which appears to be virtually moribund in Britain.

7.7. Resolving the digital divide

On the basis of the indicators shown in Table 5, British GJMOs appear to be addressing the problem of the digital divide to a fair extent, scoring highest on the presence of internet-related laboratories and workshops on specific applications, and second highest on web

hosting and computer help desks. However, it is still only a minority of organizations that appear to be taking action to narrow the divide. Generally speaking, websites of GJMOs that are formal, are affiliated to a network and have members are doing less to resolve the divide than their counterparts, with the exception of web page hosting. FoE is an example of an organization which is formal, has members and is part of a network, but which offers web page hosting to its local groups. Formal organizations are likely to have more resources than informal ones, making web page hosting possible to a greater extent.

An example of specific information on the use of the internet comes from the grassroots activist and website architect guru Mike Slocombe who runs the Urban 75 website. Included on the site is a short how-to guide on website creation. He ensures his readers that:

Anyone with enough determination and dedication can produce a great looking site on budget tighter than a crab's arse, using nothing more than shareware tools, a lot of hard work and a whole shed load of imagination. With loads of companies now offering free internet access and web space, getting your work online no longer need be a trouser-emptying experience either. (http://www.urban75.com/Mag/web_guide.html)

His book, *Max Hits: Building and Promoting Successful Websites*, is also available through a link from the website.

UNISON and FoE are other examples of GJMOs that are making some effort to bridge the digital divide by providing free computer training courses for their members. However, the digital divide is perhaps most effectively bridged by organizations such as the Wombles, the Rampart Social Centre (where Radio Rampart is based), and London Activist Resource Centre (where the Rising Tide office is based). These spaces use recycled computing equipment (much as *SchNEWS* does), make use of open source software, and provide free computing facilities and internet access to their visitors.

Table 5. Characteristics of the organizations and intervention on the digital divide (%)

Offer of Internet related training	**Formal organization**		**Affiliation to network**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*Post2000*	*Pre2000*
Laboratories	25	16	44	8	40	11	15	24
Specific applications	33	8	33	13	40	11	15	18
Webpage/website hosting	17	12	11	17	20	16	10	6
Helping desk	0	8	22	8	20	11	15	6
Other electronic resources	17	4	33	0	30	0	5	12
Free email	0	8	11	4	10	5	0	2
Total (N)	12	25	9	24	10	19	18	14

Only four (*New Statesman*, Radio Rampart, Dissent, Urban 75) of the thirty-seven websites analyzed made reference to free or open source software on their homepages. All of these except for the *New Statesman* are direct action networks, which make a systemic critique of capitalism. According to a volunteer from Rising Tide:

> open source fits in well with our analysis of capitalism and the world's problems, and also fits in well with our budget (or lack of one!). Our server runs Linux / Apache / PHP / Mysql, and the site is soon to be running Drupal, a free open-source PHP / Mysql-based content-management system. We also use Mailman, the free open-source mailing list software, to run our newssheet and discussion lists.

However, just because the rest of the websites do not mention their use of free / open source software on their homepages, we should not assume that this means they do not use it. Of the nine websites on which webmasters provided information (none of which were previously listed above as websites that mention open source software on their homepages), six either use open source / free software already, or are intending to do so. The Green Party uses Debian, GNU and Linux, UNISON is considering using Plone in order to carry out a 'website overhaul', and Oxfam is in the process of transferring to open source software. Globalise Resistance, Rising Tide and Stop the War coalition are other websites whose webmasters / volunteers claim are at least partially constructed using open source software.

7.8. Conclusions

The majority of the websites analyzed are easy to navigate, and most of them are sources of accessible and stable resources for campaigners, activists and the broader public. The web is an infinite source of information, and British GJMOs contribute to this by providing a wealth of information on global justice issues and policy alternatives, and a rich array of manuals and 'DiY' campaigning guides. Although online campaigning tactics are still relatively rare, British GJMOs are increasingly using their websites to promote online campaigning and protest strategies. Given Britain's rapidly rising rates of internet access (a 128% increase in the numbers of internet users 2000-5)[58] there is potential for on-line strategies to be further exploited.

Not all of the websites analyzed, however, are stable resources. A few have had hosting or administrative problems, which have made the information and resources temporarily inaccessible and these tend to belong to newly established or informally organized GJMOs, which lack a centre of command (Anarchist Federation, London Social Forum and Manchester Social Forum). Just as the GJMOs themselves vary in terms of resources,

[58] See Table 1 in the Introduction to WP2.

organizational structure and complexity, the websites also vary considerably in terms of the amount of information available, and the quality of the information - some are highly sophisticated, whereas others are short and simple. Although formally organized GJMOs tend to often have the most complex websites, there are exceptions to this rule. Urban 75, for example, is a relatively sophisticated site that was, according to its designer, built on a 'shoe string budget'. The quality of websites appears to be as much a function of having the 'know-how' as having monetary resources.

Some British GJMOs are making a clear effort to be transparent, and to enhance their accountability, and this is highly evident on a number of GJMO websites. Although informal GJMOs tend to score lower on measures of transparency, this could be an artefact of the operationalization of the transparency indicators rather than indicative of a genuine lack of transparency. Informal GJMOs tend to have open meetings, and are more likely to host bilateral communication tools – two factors that enhance their transparency, but which are not included in the indicators used here.

Unsurprisingly, the results of this research suggests that it is the newest and least formal organizations - those most closely associated with the radical wing of the GJM - that have taken digital democracy, especially with regard to resolving the digital divide, most seriously. Although formally organized GJMOs like UNISON and FoE offer internet training, they do not, like radical social centres, tend to provide free internet access and computing services.

Overall, it can be said that Britain's GJMOs clearly see the internet as an important means of advertising their existence and their campaigns. They use it to promote their public identity, to educate the public on issues that concern them and on protest tactics that they use, and to mobilize people into campaigning. The minority of websites (38%) that contain discussion forums and mailing lists are, additionally, promoting discursive debate, a cornerstone of deliberative democracy. Although many British GJMOs appear to be working to promote digital democracy, they still have much work to do before we can happily conclude that the democratic potential of the internet is being fulfilled.

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8. Transnational report

by Raffaele Marchetti and Duccio Zola (University of Urbino)

8.1. Introduction:

Selection process of web-sites of most relevant GJMOs at the transnational level

This report aims to explain the peculiarities of the global justice movement/s organisations at the transnational level, emerging in the cross-national analysis of the qualitative data collected during the coding of 30 organisations web-sites. These data are interpreted using case knowledge.

The organisations web-sites were selected according to a set of criteria composed by the following elements:

- Geographical scope: transnational/international
- Organisational structure: either network or single organisations
- World-wide coverage (Europe, North and South America, Asia)
- Issue-oriented
- Main activity: either action-oriented or research-oriented
- Forms of action: either radical or reformist
- Trade and food sovereignty-related
- Transnational events & meta-networks

Each organisation satisfies at least one of the above criteria or areas of interest, i.e. offers an exemplary case of it.

8.1.1. Geographical scope: transnational/international

The organisations surveyed are all transnational in scope. Since the problems they tackle are global in kind, the push toward going transnational is high. The scope of action of these organisations is always international, though it is so for differing reasons. Some organisational forms develop according to the specific political opportunity structure at the transnational level. Sometime they respond functionally to transnational/international issues, some other times they go transnational for addressing specific institutional problems. Other are conversely motivated by the scope of the principles they support rather than as a reaction to specific institutions. Examples of the first kind are Stop EPA and ENAAT, while typical cases of the second include Caritas Internationalis, and Pax Christi International. The transnational scope of the surveyed organisations is of great importance for the democratic potential of the web. The extension of the organisation (single organisation, network or ad hoc

umbrella campaign) over different national domains has at least two differing implication in terms of functional coordination and publicity.

8.1.2 Organisational structure: either networks or single organisations

The second criterion used to select the organisations of the study is centred on their organisational structure. A vast presence of transnational networks characterise the transnational level, where stable or ad hoc coalitions and co-ordination is frequently used to strengthen the impact of specific campaigns. Examples of this type can be found in the S2B Network and the European Farmers Coordination. Together with these transnational organisational forms, we have also analysed a number of single international organisations for they represent useful cases for comparative purpose with the other national researches of the Demos project. Here we took into consideration the web-sites of organisations such as Oxfam International and Friends of the Earth International. The democratic potential varies according to the different organisational structure.

8.1.3. World-wide coverage (Europe, North and South America, Asia)

Another criterion used to select a comprehensive set of web-sites is world-wide coverage. We covered the European component of the global justice movement/s studying organisations such as the European Farmers Coordination, European Left, and Euromarches. The North American side was examined in the cases of Center of Concern (USA), Friends of the Earth International (USA), and World March of Women (Canada). The South American side was analysed in the cases of IFI Watchnet (Uruguay), and WSF (Brazil). Finally, the Asian part of the movement/s was considered in the cases of Via Campesina (Indonesia), Global March Against Child Labour (India), People's Caravan 2004 for Food Sovereignty (Malaysia), Cuts International (India), and World Trade Fair Day (Japan). As for Africa, important organisations exist, but they often lack structured websites.

8.1.4. Issue-oriented

A significant feature of many important transnational organisations consists in their orientation toward specific issues. The concentration on single issues allows for the establishment of tight, cross-border links between different groups. Examples of this can be found in the cases of Bite Back, ENAAT, Reclaim our UN, Global March Against Child Labour. By contrast, a number of multi-issue or generalist organisations have also been selected for drawing interesting comparisons. They include: Oxfam International, Caritas Internationalis, European Left, International of Anarchist Federations, and the WSF.

8.1.5. Main activity: either action-oriented or research-oriented

The opposition between action-oriented and research-oriented organisations constitutes another relevant dichotomy we used in order to select a representative set of transnational organisations within the global justice movement/s. Among the research and information-oriented organisations we selected the IFI Watchnet, Cuts International, and Indymedia. In opposition to them, most part of the organisations studied are action-oriented. Typical among them are PGA, People's Caravan 2004 for Food Sovereignty, and Euromarches.

8.1.6. Forms of action: either radical or reformist

Another dichotomy used to select the case-studies concerns the form of action of the differing organisations: either radical (e.g. road blocking) or reformist (e.g. lobbying). Other typologies can, of course, be traced, but this one represents a good criterion for the sake of this survey. Among radical organisations we selected International of Anarchist Federations, Euromarches and PGA. Among more moderate organisations that accept a certain degree of institutional co-operation we included the following: Global March Against Child Labour, European Farmers Coordination, Global Unions, and Reclaim our UN.

8.1.7. Trade and food sovereignty-related

We devoted a special attention to the organisations dedicated to trade and food sovereignty-related issues. This is for the special place that the overall theme of trade plays in the global justice movement/s' activities. Selected trade-related organisations include: S2B Network, Stop EPA, Make Trade Fair, World Trade Fair Day, Attac, and OWINFS. Conversely, selected food-sovereignty-related organisations include: Bite Back, People's Caravan 2004 for Food Sovereignty, European Farmers Coordination, and Via Campesina.

8.1.8. Transnational events & meta-networks

Finally, a special category we devoted attention to consists in the web-sites of transnational events and meta-networks. Obviously, the first reference here is to the WSF, for its centrality in the growth and consolidation of global justice movement/s. Through its open space the WSF facilitated the strengthening and sometimes the establishment itself of many transnational networks or organisations. Other regional social fora such as the ESF, have been excluded as subsections of the main WSF. Other significant transnational events in this category include also the People's Caravan 2004 for Food Sovereignty. Being meta-network, these organisations present specific features for what concerns their democratic potential.

Different dimensions of democracy (Quality of communication, Identity building, Transparency, Mobilisation, Digital divide) have been analyzed in details in the next five sections. These democratic dimensions were crossed with a set of three independent variables (Formal organisation, Member presence, and Age of web-sites), used to analyse the democratic values of transnational organisations for what concerns their internet-based activity. General resulting characteristics of the analysed web-sites are the following:

- 60% of organisations are formal
- 63% of web-sites have been created after 2000
- 73% of web-sites are of organisations with membership

8.2. Quality of communication

The web-sites that have been surveyed in this study show a high quality in communication. In particular, presence of on-line forms of education – articles and documents – and of information in more than one language are outstanding. The age of the web-site also influences the quality of communication. More recent web-sites are usually weaker on the quality of communication than older sites. This is most likely due to the fact that older sites include more structured single organisations such as Oxfam International and Caritas International, while newer – e.g. People's Caravan 2004 for food Sovereignty or Bite Back – websites include network organisations, which usually have a lighter site intended to be more operational than informational.

Moreover, another interesting feature to note consists in the correlation between formalization and communication's quality. On the overall, the quality of communication is higher in formalised organisations (exception being the variable of translation) and in those organisations' web-sites that were created before 2000.

In comparison with the other national cases (see appendix, table 1b), transnational web-sites score worst for what concerns the presence of bibliography and search engines. This can be explained with the difficulty of presenting a comprehensive and systematic set of references for topics which are just recently approached and continuously revised.

By contrast, transnational sites draw a stark distinction from national ones on the translation of the materials on the web. This data is easily explicable with the need to provide information to different member organisations from different countries, as for instance in the cases of the websites of Peoples Global Action, World Social Forum and Via Campesina. Despite the fact that English is obviously the reference language for most of the web-sites, still particular attention is devoted to the translation of the main political documents of the transnational/network organisation.

However, on the other set of variables (Online forms of political education and Indicators of userfriendliness/usability), transnational cases show data which are similar to national cases.

Table 1. Quality of the communication – transnational case (%)

Quality of communication	**Formal organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Articles/papers/dossiers	83	100	83	94	89	100
Conference/seminar materials	50	61	67	50	63	45
Bibliography	17	39	33	19	21	45
News section	67	83	67	75	68	91
Search engine	33	56	50	50	37	64
Web-site map	8	39	50	25	5	64
Translation of basic information	58	67	83	56	63	64
Translation of identifying section	75	67	83	69	79	54
Total (N)	12	18	6	16	19	11

8.3. Identity building

Transnational organisations belonging to the global justice movement/s show a mixed image in terms of identity building via internet. While some tools such as archives of press releases, archives of reports, and documents of past assemblies are used by more than half of the sample of the analysed web-sites, other tools including archives of old leaflets, internal work agendas, and newsletters do not form usual techniques of identity building.

Those organisations that have no membership offer an interesting data. 100% of them uses the archive of press release – Indymedia being the most striking example in this case. This is a clear example of how these groups try to build their identity through disseminating info to a wide audience. In fact, notwithstanding reduced resources, informal groups invest a lot in identity building. By contrast, it should be noted that when membership is present, the use of these tools of identity building is lower, since a common identity is already presupposed. Another interesting phenomena consists in the higher values of formalised and pre-2000 organisations – such as Center of Concern – in the usage of identity building techniques in comparison with non-formalised and 'younger' web-sites, such as Stop Epa. As for the quality of communication, also for identity building the lack of membership is usually correlated to higher values.

In comparison with other national cases (see appendix, table 2b), transnational organisations evidence slightly higher values, except for the presence of newsletters and old leaflets. The latter can be explained with the increased usage of internet and electronic mobilisation. When this is the case, only formal documents and statements are kept and mailing lists are used for the remaining daily communication. The presence of documents of past assemblies, in particular, marks a distinction between national and transnational cases. This is mostly due to the process of legitimisation of the movement at the transnational level: here recording and keeping in archives documents of past assemblies is crucial for identity building.

Table 2. Identity building – transnational case (%)

Identity building	**Formal organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Archive of press releases	58	67	100	44	58	73
Archive of reports/chronology	58	72	67	56	53	91
Archive of old leaflets	25	17	33	19	21	18
Documents of past assemblies	58	56	50	50	58	54
Internal work agenda	17	22	33	25	16	27
Newsletter	42	39	50	31	26	64
Total (N)	12	18	6	16	19	11

8.4. Transparency

Transnational organisations and networks score very high for what concerns the issue of transparency. Presence of statutes, info on organisational structures, and web-site updating all show values which are distinctively higher than national cases. This is probably due to a double consideration. On the one hand, these organisations need to give account of their doing to an international, multiple, and varied set of stakeholders. This inevitably pushes toward a more advanced and comprehensive level of transparency. On the other hand, they also need to seek funding from international donor bodies, which are notoriously demanding and shaped according to an Anglo-Saxon, accountability-style of transparency. Moreover, it needs to be noted that formalization of the organisations and age of the web-sites are crucial variables for explaining transparency.

The variable on the age of the organisation shows how the older sites (such as Friends of the Earth International or International Metalworkers Federation) are on the overall better organised and more informative. This can likely be explained with the learning process

(learning by doing) through which many organisations need to pass in order to 'survive', to attest their credibility at the international level and to collect vital funds for activities.

Important indicators of the attempt at presenting themselves as transparent organisations is the provision of information on the internal structure of the organisation, as, for instance, in the cases of Cuts International and Pax Christi International. This is even more evident when compared with national cases (see appendix, table 3b).

Exception to this rather positive scenario regards the issue of organisation's finance. Here the values are definitely low, even lower than in the other national cases. This however should be interpreted in the light of very limited budget of transnational (loose) networks, as in opposition to the case of single transnational organisations. In addition, info on organisation's reachability is also slightly under the average, but this can be explained, at least in part, with the fact that some organisations are predominantly (sometime exclusively) active on-line, especially informal organisations – e.g. European Network Against Arms Trade or World Trade Fair Day.

Table 3. Transparency – transnational case (%)

Information on Organisational structure	**Formal organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Presence of statute (or equivalent)	83	94	83	94	84	100
Reachability of the organization	58	89	67	69	74	82
Organizational structure	50	89	83	75	63	91
Last updating on the homepage	42	50	33	56	37	64
Organization's finance	0	22	17	12	0	36
Total (N)	12	18	6	16	19	11

8.5. Mobilisation

Concerning mobilisation, the analysis of the web-sites of the thirty transnational organisations generates discontinuous results. Transnational organisations score high on a number of indicators including action calendars of the organisation and involvement in an on-going campaigns. On others such as the presence of laboratories on offline action forms or helping desk on offline forms of action, they score low. These results can be partly explained with a reference to the specific characteristics of transnational organisations and especially transnational networks, such as Committee for the Abolition of the Third World Debt or Seattle to Brussels Network. Concerning the high presence of the calendar of the organisation, this datum can be explained with the centrality of internet-based interaction for many

international networks (this is the case of Attac International and International of Anarchist Federations, for instance), which also explain by contrast the absence of info on other networks' calendar (network-centred perspective).

Participation in on-going campaigns is high, due to the fact that among transnational organisations, networks play an important part and that networks are issue-oriented and frequently campaign-based (see for example Reclaim our UN and Make Trade Fair). Simultaneously, negative results such as the absence of laboratories and helping desk can also be explained by the centrality of internet interaction, together with limited resources and great distances which prevent the creation of either local centres or centralised 'members-care' centre. On the overall, with member presence and formalization the values of mobilisation are higher.

In comparison with national cases (see appendix, table 4b), data on laboratories and help-desks is, for the reasons just presented, low. Above the average are instead internet-based forms of actions. Mail-bombing, concrete info on online forms of action, and action alert list are more used transnationally than domestically.

Table 4. Mobilisation – transnational case (%)

Mobilisation	**Formal organisation**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Action calendar of the organisation	75	72	83	75	79	64
Concrete info on offline forms of action	25	56	33	50	37	54
Action calendar of other GJMOs	8	11	0	19	10	9
Laboratories on offline action forms	0	11	0	6	5	9
Helping desk on offline forms of action	8	6	0	12	10	0
Involvement in an ongoing campaign	75	72	67	69	68	82
Sign an online petition	25	44	17	50	42	27
Send an epostcard	8	22	17	19	16	18
Concrete info on online forms of action	17	33	17	31	26	27
Call for a mailbombing	8	11	0	12	10	9
Call for a netstrike	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total (N)	12	18	6	16	19	11

8.6. Digital divide

On the issue of digital divide, the transnational organisations of the global justice movement/s analysed in this survey provide us with definitely negative results. Nil is the most frequent results in almost all indicators. This can, in part, be explained with reference to the

international mandate and profile of the organisations here analysed (examples in these case include European Left, World March of Women, Our World Is Not For Sale…). They are very much action-oriented and it is reasonable to expect that they are more focused on organising concrete forms of action – Euromarches and Global March Against Child Labour, for instance – rather than electronically educating their membership. Web-sites of post-2000 together with those of formalised organisations with member presence are the only internet sites that offer free e-mail and web-page hosting (European Farmers Coordination and IFI Watchnet websites), though in a very limited number of cases.

In comparison with other national cases (see appendix, table 5a), transnational organisations remain obviously scarce in filling the digital divide, though the overall average is not much higher, this compensating a bit the dramatic image of transnational organisations.

In addition, a consideration has to be done on the scarce responsiveness of the web-sites when contacted directly by e-mail. Only 6 out of 30 (Seattle to Brussels network; Make Trade Fair; IFI Watchnet; Friends of the Earth International; International Metalworkers Federation; and Euromarches) replied to a mail requesting info that was sent both to the general organisation e-mail address and to the web-master e-mail address. In two cases responses were of poor quality. In the other cases, answers were offered for most of the questions, though sometimes a further e-mail address was provided to be contacted for receiving extra information.

While small networks, such as for instance S2B network, have their website maintained by one member of the network and updated monthly, they work predominantly through a mailing-list that is managed by a single person and has a monthly traffic of around 40 messages with 194 subscribers. In this case, as declared by the member in the answer, a reply was effectively provided within a few days. Similarly, Euromarches also have a one-person managed website, using free software.

Other bigger networks are more structured. This is the case for FOEI. They have a couple of paid people working for the website and extranet, plus ¾ volunteers helping them. Their website has an average hit per month of 55,000, is updated daily and will be soon realized with free software (when they can, they prefer to go with free, non commercial software), while their mailing-list has 1,500 members.

Finally, other organisations such as the IMF have as their core activity that of providing information. They consequently put special attention in replying to info request within days, activity in which almost all IMF employees are involved, both in regional centres and central secretariat.

Table 5. Intervention on the digital divide – transnational case (%)

Offer of Internet related training	**Formal organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Laboratories	0	0	0	0	0	0
Specific applications	0	0	0	0	0	0
Webpage/website hosting	0	6	0	6	5	0
Helping desk	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other electronic resources	0	0	0	0	0	0
Free email	0	6	0	0	5	0
Total (N)	12	18	6	16	12	18

8.7. Conclusions

Crossing the five sets of data (Quality of communication, Identity building, Transparency, Mobilisation, Digital divide) with the set of three independent variables (Formal organisation, Member presence, and Age of web-sites) a complex image of the internet-based democratic values of transnational organisations and networks can be drawn.

On the overall, transnational organisations and networks achieved positive results in two indicators, mixed results in other two, and negative in the remaining fifth one. Concerning the issues of communication and transparency, transnational organisations score high in terms of providing good and comprehensive info to internet users. Concerning identity building and mobilisation, the image is mixed, for presently studied organisations deploy some interesting internet-based tools while almost ignoring other ITs instruments. Finally, on the issue of the digital divide, the transnational organisations of the global justice movement/s analysed in this survey provide us with definitely scarce results.

As shown in the previous analysis, variance can be explained with reference to the specifically transnational structure and profile of the organisations surveyed. On the overall, the correlation between formalisation and age of the web-site seems to help explaining a number of positive patterns in the data collected.

8.8. Appendix on cross comparison with the other national cases

Table 1b. Quality of the communication – all other national cases *(%)*

Quality of communication	**Formal organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Articles/papers/dossiers	84	93	86	94	89	92
Conference/seminar materials	43	56	48	57	52	53
Bibliography	23	48	38	45	36	47
News section	71	82	77	82	74	84
Search engine	50	66	63	63	51	73
Website map	15	37	25	36	27	34
Translation of basic information	23	30	23	29	23	33
Translation of identifying section	21	20	17	21	16	25
Total (N)	68	163	52	143	122	109

Table 2b. Identity building – all other national cases *(%)*

Identity building	**Formal organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Archive of press releases	51	72	58	69	60	72
Archive of reports/chronology	53	67	63	68	54	73
Archive of old leaflets	56	42	46	45	52	40
Documents of past assemblies	38	37	36	43	40	35
Internal work agenda	26	24	23	25	28	22
Newsletter	29	61	52	54	48	56
Total (N)	68	163	52	143	122	109

Table 3b. Transparency – all other national cases *(%)*

Information on Organizational structure	**Formal organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Presence of statute (or equivalent)	85	83	81	85	78	90
Reachability of the organization	53	90	61	85	71	87
Organizational structure	58	68	53	74	25	23
Last updating on the homepage	25	23	21	25	23	24
Organization's finance	13	32	21	31	17	38
Total (N)	68	163	52	143	122	109

Table 4b. Mobilization – all other national cases *(%)*

Mobilization	**Formal organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Action calendar of the organization	60	58	48	61	65	52
Concrete info on offline forms of action	40	34	36	35	35	36
Action calendar of other GJMOs	44	31	38	33	35	34
Laboratories on offline action forms	21	25	19	28	24	24
Helping desk on offline forms of action	16	17	13	19	12	22
Involvement in an ongoing campaign	57	70	56	70	65	68
Sign an online petition	15	38	21	36	29	33
Send an epostcard	15	20	11	21	16	22
Concrete info on online forms of action	19	12	23	14	13	16
Call for a mailbombing	9	5	6	7	8	5
Call for a netstrike	10	5	10	6	7	6
Total (N)	68	163	52	143	122	109

Table 5b. Intervention on the digital divide – all other national cases *(%)*

Offer of Internet related training	**Formal organization**		**Members presence**		**Age of the website**	
	No	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*post2000*	*pre2000*
Laboratories	15	9	13	9	9	12
Specific applications	13	9	15	9	7	14
Webpage/website hosting	7	9	8	10	4	13
Helping desk	12	6	8	7	8	7
Other electronic resources	10	6	13	6	7	3
Free email	3	6	4	7	2	8
Total (N)	68	163	52	143	122	109

Appendix A: lists of SMOs selected by national teams

1. Guidelines for the sampling

Important notice on the sampling phase: we prefer you select and code websites instead of single web pages. If you only find a web page for the organization you include in your sample, you should substitute it with one having its own website.

Note: you can add to the list sites that find no match in the following categories if you consider they are relevant for our analysis; "equivalent organization/coalition" means organizations/coalitions active on the same issue but more important than the international organization/coalition indicated in the list.

General rules to observe: If you can choose among different actors, prefer always networks/umbrella organizations to single organizations. Please provide the full name of organization/network, its translation in English and the exact website address.

1) Campaign for debt relief (i.e. "Jubilee" in UK);
2) Euromarches against unemployment, insecure work and exclusions (national branch or equivalent organization active on the same issue);
3) Attac national branch;
4) Pax Christi national branch;
5) The most relevant national organization/network of religious inspiration participating to the movement or close to it;
6) "Stop the war coalition" (or equivalent coalition);
7) World March of Women (national branch or equivalent organization);
8) The most relevant party youth organization (among parties participating to the movement);
9) The most relevant environmentalist organization participating to the movement (i.e. "Ecologistas en Acción" in Spain);
10) The most relevant metalworkers union;
11) The most relevant union in the public sector;
12) The national anarchist federation;
13) The most relevant organization/network of the antagonist/anti-capitalist area (i.e. for Italy "Disobedients/Ya Basta"; for UK "Globalise Resistance" or "People's Global Action");
14) The most relevant critical union or rank and file union [i.e. "Cobas" in Italy; "Coordonner, Rassembler, Construire" (CRC) or "Solidaire, Unitaire, Démocratique" (SUD) in France];

15) The most relevant national Non-governmental Organization or solidarity organization (i.e. "Oxfam" in UK);
16) The most relevant national gay group;
17) The most relevant national group of immigrants or the most important national group against racisme (i.e. "SOS-Racisme" in France);
18) Political parties participating to the movement;
19) The most relevant fair trade national group;
20) The most relevantnational human rights organization (i.e. "World Development Movement" in UK);
21) The most relevant periodical magazine close to the movement;
22) The most relevant radio close to the movement (with an online presence);
23) The most relevant newspaper of the critical left ("Le Monde" in France; "TAZ" in Germany; "Il Manifesto" in Italy);
24) National branch of Indymedia;
25) The most relevant national network of independent communication ("ECN" in Italy; "Samizdat" in France; "Nodo50" in Spain);
26) 3 websites of local social forums or equivalent organization/networks;
27) the most relevant ethnic minority group participating to the movement (if present).

2. France

1. CIMADE (http://www.cimade.org)
2. Mouvement de l'immigration et de banlieues (http://www.mib.ouvaton.org)
3. Agir ici (http://www.agirici.org)
4. AC! Agir contre le chômage (http://www.ac.eu.org)
5. Espace Marx (http://www.espace-marx.eu.org)
6. Alternative libertaire (http://www.alternativelibertaire.org)
7. Amnesty international- section française (http://www.amnesty.asso.fr)
8. Centre d'études et d'initiatives de solidarité internationale (http://www.reseau-ipam.org/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique=155)
9. Centre de recherches pour le développement (http://www.crid.asso.fr)
10. Ligue des droits de l'homme (http://www.ldh-france.org)
11. Confédération paysanne (http://www.confederationpaysanne.fr)
12. Fédération syndicale unitaire (http://www.fsu-fr.org)
13. Act-Up Paris (http://www.actupparis.org)
14. Confédération générale du travail (http://www.cgt.fr)
15. Greenpeace France (http://www.greenpeace.org/france-fr)
16. Ligue communiste révolutionnaire (http://www.lcr-rouge.org)
17. De l'éthique sur l'étiquette (http://www.ethique-sur-l'etiquette.org)
18. Les intergalactiques (http://www.intergalactique.lautre.net)
19. Samizdat (http://www.samizdat.net)
20. Co-errances (http://www.co-errances.org)
21. Coordination des associations pour le droit à l'avortement et à la contraception (http://www.cadac.org)
22. Politis (http://www.politis.fr)
23. Le monde diplomatique (http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr)
24. Système d'échanges locaux Sel'idaire (http://www.selidaire.org)
25. Pajol (http://www.pajol.eu.org)
26. Association pour la taxation des transactions pour l'aide aux citoyens (http://www.france.attac.org)
27. Les Verts (http://www.lesverts.fr)
28. Droit au logement (http://www.globnet.org)
29. Fondation Copernic (http://www.fondation-coperinc.org)
30. Artisans du monde (http://www.artisansdumonde.org)

31. Union syndicale solidaire (http://www.solidaires.org)
32. Les pénélopes (http://www.penelopes.org)
33. Coordination des intermittents et des précaires d'Ile de France (http://www.cip-idf.org)
34. Comité catholique contre la faim et pour le développement (http://www.ccfd.asso.fr)
35. Mouvement des jeunes communistes (http://www.jeunes-communistes.org)
36. Agir contre la guerre (http://agircontrelaguerre.free.fr)
37. Forum social local du 13 ème arrondissement de Paris (http://www.paris13.org)

3. Germany

1. Entwicklung braucht Entschuldung (http://www.erlassjahr.de)
2. Förderverein gewerkschaftliche Arbeitslosenarbeit e.V. (http://www.erwerbslos.de)
3. Attac Germany (http://www.attac.de)
4. Pax Christi (http://www.paxchristi.de)
5. Weltfriedensdienst (http://wfd.de/wfd)
6. EED (http://www.eed.de)
7. Netzwerk Friedenskooperative (http://www.friedenskooperative.de)
8. Marsch 2000 (http://www.marsch2000.de)
9. Aerzte-ohne-grenzen (http://www.aerzte-ohne-grenzen.de)
10. Solid (http://www.solid-web.de)
11. Bund für Natur- und Umweltschutz Deutschland (http://www.bund.net)
12. IG Metall (http://www.igmetall.de)
13. Verdi (http://www.verdi.de)
14. Bundeskoordination Internationalismus (http://www.buko.info)
15. Freie Arbeiter - und Arbeiterinnen Union (http://www.fau.org)
16. Misereor (http://www.misereor.de)
17. Brot für die Welt (http://www.brot-fuer-die-welt.de)
18. Pro Asyl (http://www.proasyl.de)
19. Kein Mensch ist illegal (http://www.contrast.org/borders/kein/index.html)
20. Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (http://www.boell.de)
21. Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (http://www.rosalux.de)
22. Weltladen-Dachverband (http://www.weltlaeden.de)
23. Kampagne für saubere Kleidung (http://www.saubere-kleidung.de)
24. Amnesty international - Sektion der Bundesrepublik Deutschland e.V. (http://www.amnesty.de)
25. FoodFirst Informations- und Aktions-Netzwerk (FIAN) e.V. (http://www.fian.de)
26. Blätter des Informationszentrums 3. Welt (iz3w) (http://www.iz3w.org)
27. Freies Sender Kombinat (http://www.fsk-hh.org)
28. Die tageszeitung (http://www.taz.de)
29. Indymedia (http://de.indymedia.org)
30. Nadir Infosystem (http://www.nadir.org)
31. Sozialforum Berlin (http://www.sozialforum-berlin.de)
32. Hamburger Sozialforum (http://www.sozialforum-hh.de)

33. Sozialforum in Deutschland (http://www.dsf-gsf.org)
34. Kanack Attack (http://www.kanak-attak.de)
35. Demokratik Isci Dernekleri Federasyonu (http://www.didf.de)
36. WEED - Weltwirtschaft, Ökologie & Entwicklung e.V. (http://www.weed-online.org)
37. Terre des hommes e.V. (http://www.tdh.de)
38. Germanwatch (http://germanwatch.org)
39. Medico International e.V. (http://www.medico-international.de)
40. Sozialisitische Alternative (http://www.sozialismus.info)
41. Linksruck (http://www.linksruck.de)
42. Labournet Germany (http://www.labournet.de)
43. Antifaschistische Linke Berlin, ALB (http://www.antifa.de)

4. Italy

1. Campagna Sdebitarsi (http://www.sdebitarsi.org)
2. ChainWorkers (http://www.chainworkers.org)
3. Attac Italy (http://italia.attac.org)
4. Pax Christi - Movimento cattolico per la pace (http://www.paxchristi.it)
5. Rete Lilliput (http://www.retelilliput.org)
6. Fermiamo la Guerra all'Iraq (http://www.fermiamolaguerra.it)
7. Marcia mondiale delle donne (http://www.ecn.org/reds/donne/campagnamarcia.html)
8. Emergency (http://www.emergency.it)
9. Confederazione dei Cobas (http://www.cobas.it)
10. Legambiente - Direzione nazionale (http://www.legambiente.com)
11. Federazione Impiegati Operai Metallurgici (http://www.fiom.cgil.it)
12. Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (http://www.cgil.it)
13. Federazione Anarchica Italiana (http://www.federazioneanarchica.org)
14. Rete noglobal (http://www.noglobal.org)
15. Arcigay - the Italian Gay Association (http://www.arcigay.it)
16. Italian Consortium of Solidarity (http://www.icsitalia.org)
17. Associazione antirazzista interetnica 3 Febbraio (http://www.a3f.org)
18. Il comitato immigrati in Italia (http://www.comitatoimmigrati.it)
19. Partito della Rifondazione Comunista (http://www.rifondazione.it)
20. Portale della Federazione dei Verdi (http://www.verdi.it)
21. Associazione Botteghe del Mondo per il commercio equo e solidale (http://www.assobdm.it)
22. Unimondo.org - Internet per i diritti umani e lo sviluppo sostenibile (http://www.unimondo.org)
23. Radio Popolare (http://www.radiopopolare.it)
24. Carta dei cantieri sociali (http://www.carta.org)
25. Il Manifesto (http://www.ilmanifesto.it)
26. Indymedia Italia (http://italy.indymedia.org)
27. ECN - Associazione Isole nella rete (http://www.ecn.org)
28. Torino Social Forum (http://www.lacaverna.it)
29. Venezia Social Forum (http://www.veneziasocialforum.org)
30. Abruzzo Social Forum (http://www.abruzzosocialforum.org)
31. Associazione Ricreativa Culturale Italiana (http://www.arci.it)

32. Tavola della Pace (http://www.tavoladellapace.it)
33. Un Ponte Per (http://www.unponteper.it)
34. Peacelink - Telematica per la pace (http://www.peacelink.it)
35. Campagna Banche Armate (http://www.banchearmate.it)
36. EuroMayDay (http://www.euromayday.org)
37. Sinistra Giovanile (http://www.sgworld.it)
38. Giovani Verdi (http://www.giovaniverdi.it)
39. Confederazione Unitaria di Base (http://www.cub.it)
40. Global Project (http://www.globalproject.info)
41. Forum Permanente del terzo settore (http://www.forumterzosettore.it)
42. Giovani Comunisti (http://www.giovanicomunisti.it)

5. Spain

1. Red Ciudadana por la Abolición de la Deuda Externa (http://www.rcade.org)
2. Baladre, Coordinación estatal de luchas contra el paro, la pobreza y la exclusión social (http://www.redasociativa.org/baladre)
3. Otra Democracia es Posible (http://otrademocraciaesposible.net)
4. Asociación por la Tasación de Transacciones Financieras para Ayuda de los Ciudadanos – Madrid (http://www.attacmadrid.org)
5. Justicia y Paz (http://www.juspax-es.org)
6. Coordinadora Estatal contra la Constitución Europea (http://www.nodo50.org/noconstitucion)
7. Plataforma Aturem la Guerra (http://www.fundacioperlapau.org/iraq/plataforma.htm)
8. Grupo Antimilitarista de Carabanchel (http://www.nodo50.org/moc-carabanchel)
9. Mujeres en Red (http://www.nodo50.org/mujeresred)
10. Jóvenes de IU-Madrid (http://www.jovenesdeiu-madrid.org)
11. Ecologistas en Acción (http://www.ecologistasenaccion.org)
12. Confederación de Sindicatos de Trabajadores de la Enseñanza, STE (http://www.stes.es)
13. Xarxa de Mobilització Global (http://www.xarxaglobal.net)
14. Hemen eta Munduan (www.nodo50.org/hemenetamunduan)
15. Confederación General del Trabajo (http://www.cgt.es)
16. Intermón-Oxfam (http://www.intermonoxfam.org)
17. Red de Apoyo Zapatista de Madrid (www.nodo50.org/raz)
18. Derechos Para Todos (http://www.nodo50.org/derechosparatodos)
19. Red Acoge - Federación de Asociaciones pro Inmigrantes (http://www.redacoge.org)
20. Izquierda Unida (http://www.izquierda-unida.es/federal)
21. Espacio Alternativo (http://www.espacioalternativo.org)
22. Corriente Roja (http://www.nodo50.org/corrienteroja)
23. Coordinadora Estatal de Comercio Justo (http://www.e-comerciojusto.org/campana.html)
24. Amnistía Internacional - España (http://www.es.amnesty.org)
25. Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos de Andalucía (http://www.apdha.org)
26. Diagonal (http://www.diagonalperiodico.net)
27. Red con Voz (http://www.redconvoz.org)
28. Indymedia Barcelona (http://barcelona.indymedia.org)

29. Nodo50 (http://www.nodo50.org)
30. Foro Social de Palencia (http://www.comunica-accion.org/fspalencia)
31. Foro Social de Sevilla (http://www.forosocialsevilla.org)
32. Fòrum Social de Barcelona (http://www.forumsocialbarcelona.org)
33. Sindicatos de Estudiantes (http://www.sindicatodeestudiantes.org)
34. Plataforma Rural (http://www.cdrtcampos.es/plataforma_rural)
35. La Haine (http://www.lahaine.org)
36. Sindominio (http://sindominio.net)
37. Consulta Social Madrid (http://www.nodo50.org/cse-madrid/web)

6. Switzerland

1. Aktion Finanzplatz Schweiz AFP (http://www.aktionfinanzplatz.ch)
2. Association Réalise (http://www.realise.ch)
3. Attac Suisse (http://www.suisse.attac.org)
4. Pax Christi Switzerland (http://www.paxchristi.ch)
5. Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Communauté de travail, Swiss Coalition (http://www.swisscoalition.ch/deutsch/pagesnav/H.htm)
6. Gruppe Schweiz ohne Armee (http://www.gsoa.ch)
7. Marche Mondiale des Femmes (http://www.marche-mondiale.ch)
8. JungsozialistInnen Schweiz (http://www.juso.ch)
9. Pro Natura (http://www.pronatura.ch)
10. Unia (http://www.unia.ch)
11. Syndicat du service public (http://www.ssp-vpod.ch)
12. Organisation socialiste libertaire (http://www.rebellion.ch)
13. Anti-WTO Coordination (http://www.reitschule.ch/reitschule/anti-wto/index.shtml)
14. Syndicat interprofessionnel des travailleuses et travailleurs (http://www.sit-syndicat.ch)
15. Déclaration de Berne (http://www.evb.ch)
16. Solidarité sans frontières (http://www.sosf.ch)
17. Parti Socialiste Suisse (http://www.sp-ps.ch)
18. Les Verts (http://www.gruene.ch)
19. Solidarités (http://www.solidarites.ch/ge.html)
20. Parti Suisse du Travail (http://www.gouvernement.ch)
21. Les Communistes (http://www.lescommunistes.org)
22. Les Magasins du Monde (http://www.mdm.ch)
23. Centre Europe-Tiers Monde (http://www.cetim.ch)
24. Die Wochenzeitung (http://www.woz.ch)
25. Radio LORA (http://www.lora.ch)
26. Le Courrier (http://www.lecourrier.ch)
27. Indymedia Suisse romande (http://www.indymedia.ch/fr/index.shtml)
28. Forum social lémanique (http://www.forumsociallemanique.org)
29. Swiss Social Forum (http://www.socialforum.ch)
30. The Other Davos (http://www.otherdavos.net)
31. Gipfelblockade (http://www.gipfelblockade.net/Gipfelblockade/Index.php?Site=Home)
32. Antifa (http://www.antifa.ch)

33. Solidarity with Chiapas (http://www.chiapas.ch)
34. Bewegung für den Sozialismus (http://www.bfs-zh.ch)
35. Augen auf (http://www.augenauf.ch)

7. United Kingdom

1. Jubilee Debt Campaign (http://www.jubileedebtcampaign.org.uk)
2. Tobin Tax Network (http://www.tobintax.org.uk)
3. Pax Christi UK (http://www.paxchristi.org.uk)
4. Christian Aid (http://www.christian-aid.org.uk)
5. Stop the War Coalition (http://www.stopwar.org.uk/press.asp)
6. National Assemby of Women (http://www.sisters.org.uk)
7. People and Planet (http://www.peopleandplanet.org)
8. Friends of the Earth (http://www.foe.co.uk)
9. Unison (http://www.unison.org.uk)
10. Transport and General Workers Union (http://www.tgwu.org.uk)
11. Anarchist Federation (http://flag.blackened.net/af)
12. Wombles (http://www.wombles.org.uk)
13. Oxfam (http://www.oxfam.org.uk)
14. Sexual Freedom Coalition (http://www.sfc.org.uk)
15. National Assembly Against Racism (http://www.naar.org.uk)
16. Green Party (http://www.greenparty.org.uk)
17. Fair Trade Foundation (http://www.fairtrade.org.uk)
18. World Development Movement (http://www.wdm.org.uk)
19. Red Pepper (http://www.redpepper.org.uk)
20. Radio Rampart (http://www.rampartradio.co.nr)
21. New Statesman (http://www.newstatesman.co.uk)
22. Indymedia UK (http://www.indymedia.org.uk)
23. Schnews (http://www.schnews.org.uk)
24. London Social Forum (http://www.londonsocialforum.org.uk)
25. Sheffield Social Forum (http://www.sheffieldsocialforum.org)
26. The Muslim Association of Britain (http://www.mabonline.info/english)
27. Dissent! Network (http://www.dissent.org.uk)
28. Globalise Resistance (http://www.resist.org.uk)
29. Rising Tide (http://www.risingtide.org.uk)
30. War on Want (http://www.waronwant.org)
31. Socialist Workers Party (http://www.swp.org.uk)
32. Committee to Defend Asylum Seekers (http://www.defend-asylum.org)
33. Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (http://www.cafod.org.uk)

34. Urban 75 (http://www.urban75.com)
35. Make Poverty History Coalition (http://www.makepovertyhistory.org)
36. Trade justice movement (http://www.tradejusticemovement.org.uk)
37. Global Justice Movement (http://www.globaljusticemovement.net)

8. Trasnational level

1. Seattle to Brussels Network (http://www.s2bnetwork.org)
2. Stop EPA-economic partnership agreements (http://www.stopepa.org)
3. Bite back (http://www.bite-back.org)
4. Global march against child labour (http://globalmarch.org)
5. People's caravan for food sovereignty 2004 (http://www.panap.net/caravan)
6. Make trade fair (http://www.maketradefair.com)
7. World fair trade day (http://www.wftday.org)
8. Attac (http://www.attac.org)
9. European farmers coordination (http://www.cpefarmers.org)
10. Center of concern (http://www.coc.org)
11. CUTS-Campaign on Linkages (http://www.cuts-international.org)
12. IFI watchnet (http://www.ifiwatchnet.org)
13. ENAAT-European network against arms trade (http://www.antenna.nl/enaat)
14. Committee for the abolition of the third world debt (http://www.cadtm.org)
15. Global Unions (http://www.global-unions.org)
16. Oxfam international (http://www.oxfam.org)
17. Caritas Internationalis (http://www.caritas.org)
18. Friends of the earth international (http://www.foei.org)
19. Indymedia-independent media center (http://www.indymedia.org)
20. European Left (http://www.european-left.org)
21. International of Anarchist Federations (http://www.iaf-ifa.org)
22. International metalworkers' federation (http://www.imfmetal.org)
23. Pax Christi International (http://www.paxchristi.net)
24. Via campesina (http://www.viacampesina.org)
25. Euromarches (http://www.euromarches.org)
26. World march of women (http://www.marchemondiale.org)
27. World Social Forum (http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br)
28. Our World Is Not For Sale (http://www.ourworldisnotforsale.org)
29. Reclaim our UN (http://www.reclaimourun.org/reclaimourun.html)
30. People's Global Action (http://www.reclaimourun.org/reclaimourun.html)

Appendix B: Codebook for the analysis of websites of SMOs[59]

a) PRESENTATION

The objective of this codebook is to check whether online organizations fulfil the democratic potential of the Internet.

In order to reach this objective, we have identified 7 relevant dimensions linked with the issue of democracy.

We will pay attention to the technological choices of the webmaster / web designers of an organization because, as Kapor (1990) states, architecture is politics. In fact, lots of GJS organizations use open source or free software and boycott proprietary software. Single applications present in a website are very important too. A website containing applications for considering users' contribution is obviously more democratic than a static website not allowing users to actively participate in the life of the organization.

- *GENERAL INFORMATION PROVISION*

Information dissemination is of fundamental importance since it is considered as a pre-condition of a deliberative process. This dimension aims to estimate the amount of information provided by the organization's website.

We estimate information dissemination with quantitative observations (frequency of updating information) and analyse how information on the website is organized.

- *TRANSPARENCY/ACCOUNTABILITY*

The Internet can be used by an organization to publish information that makes it more transparent and accountable to the general public. Hence, the Internet can be used by an organization to make it more open towards website users.

This dimension aims to estimate if the website gives detailed information to users on the organization: on its statute;

on its organizational structure; on its work agenda; on its physical existence and reachability; on its activities; on its economic situation, on the number of website users.

[59] The codebook has been drafted by the Italian team (Lorenzo Mosca). Some of the variables have been adapted from: a) A. H. Trechsel, R. Kies, F. Mendez, and P. C. Schmitter, (2004), *Evaluation of the use of new technologies in order to facilitate democracy in Europe* (methodological annex); b) B. Vedres, L. Bruszt, and D. Stark, (2004), *Organizing technologies: Genre Forms of Online Civic Association in Eastern Europe* (coding protocols); S. Walgrave and P. Van Aelst, (2004), *New media? New movements?* (codesheet); Elena Del Giorgio, Anna Carola Freschi and Lorenzo Mosca, (2003), *Grace codebook for website analysis*. Useful comments were offered by Davide Calenda, Ángel Calle, Hélène Combes, Nina Eggert, Raffaele Marchetti, Clare Saunders, Simon Teune. Anna Carola Freschi (EUI) helped with the final revision.

- *BILATERAL INTERACTIVITY*

Interactive applications indicate whether an organization is willing to be involved in direct communication with citizens, creating more participative organizational structures.
We distinguish here between bilateral interactivity and multilateral interactivity.[60]
This dimension estimates the possibilities given to citizens: to directly contact members of the organization with different competencies (webmaster, issue-experts, etc.); to express their opinion on political issues; to ask for info and to give comments/suggestion/complaints on the website.

- *MULTILATERAL INTERACTIVITY*

This dimension aims at measuring the possibilities of debate offered by a website. We consider here different tools (synchronous and asynchronous) for promoting political debates: forum, mailing-list and chat-lines.

- *MEMBERSHIP/USER-FRIENDLINESS*

This dimension analyses whether an organization provides tools that help its users to use it in a proper manner. Besides, an organization can use its website for internal communication allowing access to a part of it only to its members, or making it fully readable by general users.

- *NETWORKING FUNCTION*

We will record here only very basic data since the networking function will be better studied in the in-depth analysis.

- *MOBILIZATION FUNCTION*

This dimension aims at measuring whether an organization fulfils the new chances offered by the Internet to activate their users and to stimulate them to intervene in the democratic process with various online forms of actions (netstrike, mailbombing, petition, etc.).

Note: main definitions of difficult words were inserted in this new version of the codebook.
If you need more definitions you can use online Internet Glossary
(i.e. http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/TeachingLib/Guides/Internet/Glossary.html).

[60] Rommele, A., 2003, *Political Parties, Party Communication and New Information and Communication Technologies*, in "Party Politics", Vol 9, No 1, pp. 7-20.

You can easily find other glossaries if you go to Google and type the words "glossary internet" in the search field.

b) BASIC CODING INSTRUCTIONS

Since the coding could be influenced by the browser[61] you use to surf the web, the web analysis should be done using INTERNET EXPLORER that is automatically installed on your PC with Windows.

When you carry out research on a website Please consider that it can be very useful to use the internal search engine (if present), the website map (if present) or GOOGLE by entering in the search field your query (i.e. accessibility or “text only” or “other languages”, etc.) followed by the string *"site:"* followed by the host name. If for example you want to find out whether Oxfam UK makes any reference to the web-accessibility issue you type the following in the Google search field:

accessibility site:http://www.oxfam.org.uk → important note: no space between “site:” and the web address.

Therefore you should use a search engine to find out about newsletters, forums, mailing lists, campaigns, other languages version of the website, references to certain specific issues, etc.
The codebook was changed in order to make the coding easier . Some variables were eliminated and some others were clarified.
You should pay attention to all the instructions given in the codebook: sometimes a search is limited to the homepage while other times it concerns the whole website. Definitions and notes should help make the coding reliable .

c) SOME GENERAL SUGGESTIONS TO CODERS

It would be better to play a little bit with each website and get familiarised with it before starting the analysis: this makes coding easier.

[61] A browser is a program that opens web pages and reads the code that they contain to produce a readable page. This is the reason why the page layout that you see on your screen depends on the browser you use.

Pay attention to the final notes, and spend some time thinking on them. The codebook was reduced but we expect you will spend more time on this part of the analysis.

d) ABOUT DOCUMENTS TO BE RECORDED

Remember to record the requested documents during the coding, otherwise you could forget to record them at all.
Note that you should create a new document every time that you are coding a new website.

Here is the list of documents that go along with the questionnaire:
DOC1) after variable 11. NMPDTD – name of the document "updates.01"
DOC2) after variable 42. NMBWBS - name of the document "statistics.01"
DOC3) after variable 44. WBSTMP - name of the document "map.01"
DOC4) after variable 65. STTDCM - name of the document/s "statute1.01"; "statute2.01"; "statute3.01", etc.
DOC5) after variable 98. RPMSG1 - name of the document "msginfo.01"
DOC6) after variable 100. RPMSG2 - name of the document "msgweb.01"
DOC7) after variable 115. LNKPGS - name of the document "links.01"
DOC8) after variable 127. NNMTSS - name of the document "notes.01"

e) GLOSSARY

Accessibility refers to ensuring that content is accessible, i.e. ensuring that content can be navigated and read by everyone, regardless of location, experience, or the type of computer technology used. Accessibility is most commonly discussed in relation to people with disabilities, because this group are most likely to be disadvantaged if the principles of accessible web design are not implemented. Failure to follow these principles can make it difficult or impossible for people with disabilities to access content. Creating accessible content should be an integral part of the web design philosophy, and accessibility features should be incorporated into all aspects of the design process. Testing for accessibility should also be incorporated into any and all user testing regimes, and should never be seen as an isolated event that can occur after other user testing has taken place. Designing for accessibility is thus as much a strategic issue as a purely technical one (source: http://www.murdoch.edu.au/cwisad/glossary.html).

Action alert is like a newsletter with the specific purpose to inform members and activists of an organization when a very important political issue occurs (i.e. political repression, human rights violation, etc.). The object of the action alert is to mobilize people for a specific (and immediate) reaction against extraordinary political events.

Chat-line is like a discussion forum but the difference is that in a chat you have a synchronous discussion while in forums the discussion is asynchronous. Unlike mailing-lists (operating through email), both chat and forum operate through the Internet.

Forum (a.k.a. "newsgroups"), like a mailing-list, is an asynchronous discussion space but a forum is located in the cyberspace while a mailing-list works through email. If you want to participate in a forum you have to go to a webpage and read contributions posted there by other participants and reply there.

Mailing-list (a.k.a. "list-servers"), like forum, is an asynchronous discussion space. When you subscribe to a mailing-list if you want to contribute to a discussion, you send an email to an email address and all the people that are subscribed to the list receive your email automatically in their mail boxes, just as you receive theirs in yours. Sometimes you can find mailing-lists that archive messages in the cyberspace like forums do.

Free software is software which, once obtained, can be used, copied, studied, modified and redistributed. It is often made available online without charge or offline for the cost of distribution; however, this is not required, and software can be "free as in free speech" and sold for profit.

GJMs – acronym for Global justice Movement/s.

Mail-bombing consists of sending thousands of emails to a website or a server until it overloads and gets jammed. In some cases email can contain very heavy attachments or even viruses.

Netstriking consists of a large number of people connecting simultaneously to the same domain at a prearranged time, in order to “jam” a site considered a symbolic target, and make it impossible for other users to reach it. The mobilization and its motivation is normally communicated in advance to the owner of the site against which the netstrike will be made. A

netstrike is comparable to a physical procession that occupies a road to make it inaccessible (http://www.netstrike.it).

Newsletter is an email with specific editorial content with a defined frequency of delivery, e.g. daily, weekly, etc. A newsletter is the service which allows you to send a message created by you to an entire list of email addresses. The newsletter is one of the most useful instruments for gaining the loyalty of your users by keeping them updated on the changes of your web site. Different from a forum or a mailing-list, this tool is not interactive but works as a unidirectional flow of communication. Sometimes organizations (as in the case of Oxfam UK, see http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/resources/oxfam_publishing_mockup.htm) call it mailing-list, but if the tool is not interactive it would be coded as a newsletter.

Open source generically refers to a program in which the source code is available to the general public for use and/or modification from its original design free of charge. Open source code is typically created as a collaborative effort in which programmers improve upon the code and share the changes within the community. Open source sprouted in the technological community as a response to proprietary software owned by corporations.

Privacy is one of the most important and comprehensive of all human rights. It is also one of the hardest to protect. Without privacy, other rights like freedom of speech or assembly wouldn't mean as much. Privacy has many important aspects. In part, it is what you choose to let other people know about you. Privacy is also about who controls the information you choose to share with other people. Privacy is getting harder to protect because of technology since computers can store huge amounts of data and pool it in one place or share it between many computers. Computers also track our transactions more easily. This pooling and tracking is very convenient in many ways. Our governments and businesses can deliver faster and better services. However, technology also poses a risk to our privacy. With electronic tracking and centralizing of information, other people can locate and use it more easily. Many people don't want the things they say online to be connected with their offline identities. Instead of using their true names to communicate, these people choose to speak using pseudonyms (assumed names, nicknames) or anonymously (no name at all). For these individuals and the organizations that support them, secure anonymity is of critical importance.

English was checked by Clare Saunders (UK team).

VARIABLES for the CODING

1. DTCDNG
Please specify the **date** of the website coding _____

2. PRGSCD
Specify an alphanumeric **progressive code** (e.g. CH01, FR01, GE01, IT01, SP01, UK01, TN01) _____
Note that the Urbino team will use the code "TN".

3. SPCFTM
Specify your **team**:
1□ British
2□ French
3□ German
4□ Italian (Eui)
5□ Spanish
6□ Swiss
7□ Transnational (Urbino)

4. SNMCDR
Specify the name of the **coder**:
1□ Clare Saunders (for UK)
2□ Hélène Combes (for France)
3□ Simon Teune (for Germany)
4□ Lorenzo Mosca (for Eui)
5□ Ángel Calle (for Spain)
6□ Nina Eggert (for Switzerland)
7□ Raffaele Marchetti (for Urbino)
8□ Anna Carola Freschi (for Eui)

5. WBSTTP
Specify the **type** of website:
1□ Campaign for debt relief;
2□ Euromarches against unemployment, insecure work and exclusions (national branch or equivalent organization);
3□ Attac national branch;
4□ Pax Christi national branch;
5□ The most important national organization/network of religious inspiration involved in the movement or close to it;
6□ "Stop the war coalition" (or equivalent coalition);
7□ World March of Women (national branch or equivalent organization);
8□ Médecins Sans Frontières (national branch or equivalent organization);
9□ The most important party youth organization (among parties participating to the movement);
10□ The most important environmentalist organization participating to the movement;
11□ The most important metalworkers union;
12□ The most important union in the public sector;
13□ The national anarchist federation;
14□ The most important organization/network of the antagonist area;
15□ The most important critical union or rank and file union;
16□ The most important national Non-governmental Organization or solidarity organization;

17□ The most important national gay group;
18□ The most important national group of immigrants or the most important national group against racism;
19□ Political party participating to the movement;
20□ The most important fair trade national group;
21□ The most important national human rights organization;
22□ The most important periodical magazine close to the movement;
23□ The most important radio close to the movement (with an online presence);
24□ The most important newspaper of the critical left;
25□ National/regional/local knot of Indymedia;
26□ The most important national network of independent communication;
27□ Local social forum or equivalent organization/networks website;
28□ The most important ethnic minority group participating to the movement (if present).
29□ Other

6. THRWBS
If other, please **specify** _____

7. SPFLNM
Specify the **full name** of the organization (please avoid acronyms)
_____

8. WBDDRS
Specify the web **address** (please use the function copy and paste from the homepage)
_____

9. PRRCHV
Go to the website http://www.archive.org and copy in the empty field the web address of the organization.
Is the site present in the **archive**?
0□ No 1□ Yes

10. YRPDTD
If Yes, record the **year** when the site started to be archived:
1□ 2005
2□ 2004
3□ 2003
4□ 2002
5□ 2001
6□ 2000
7□ 1999
8□ 1998
9□ 1997
10□ 1996
99□ missing

11. NMPDTD
If Yes, record the total **number** of main updates (only dates indicated with an asterisk)
_____
99□ missing

DOC1) Please **record** the main updates of the site (only dates indicated with an asterisk) in a separate RTF file with an alphanumeric progressive code (like "updates.UK01", etc.).

12. SPCPDT
Does the website being analysed **specify** the date of the last updating in the homepage?
0□ No 1□ Yes

13. HPPDTD
If Yes, record the date of the **home page last updating** (dd.mm.yy)_____
99□ missing

14. SPHPSC
Please specify which **sections** are indicated on the homepage_____
99□ missing

15. TXTVRS
Is there a **text only version** of the website? 0□ No 1□ Yes

16. SPDFLN
Please specify the **default language** of the website:
1□ English
2□ French
3□ German
4□ Italian
5□ Spanish
6□ Catalan
7□ Basque
8□ Galician
9□ Ladin

17. THLNNF
*Is the section containing basic information on the group ("about us", "who we are", etc.) present in more than one **language**?* No□0 Yes□1

Please **specify** other languages
18. THRNGL1 - English No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
19. THRFRN1 - French No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
20. THRGRM1 - German No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
21. THRTLN1 - Italian No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
22. THRSPN1 - Spanish No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
23. THRNTL1 - other national language/s No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
24. THRRPL1 - other European languages No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
25. SPTHRP1 - other European languages, please specify _____
Missing□99
26. THRNRP1 - other non-European languages No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
27. SPTHNR1 - other non-European languages, please specify _____
Missing□99

28. THLNID
*Is the section identifying the group (mission statement, statute, constitution, manifesto, etc.) present in more than one **language**?*
0□ No 1□ Yes

Specify other languages
29. THRNGL2 - English No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
30. THRFRN2 - French No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
31. THRGRM2 - German No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
32. THRTLN2 - Italian No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
33. THRSPN2 - Spanish No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
34. THRNTL2 - other national language/s No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
35. THRRPL2 - other European languages No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
36. SPTHRP2 - other European languages, please specify _____
Missing□99
37. THRNRP2 - other non-European languages No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
38. SPTHNR2 - other non-European languages, please specify _____
Missing□99

39. TLCNTN
On the homepage, is there a **tool counting** the number of contacts/users/hits to the website?
0□ No 1□ Yes

40. WHTLCN
If present, please specify exactly *what* the counting tool **measures** (contacts/users/hits/visitors) _____
99□ missing

41. TLCNNM
Specify the name of the **software** tool used for counting the number of contacts/users/hits to the website _____
99□ missing

42. NMBWBS
Register the **number** of contacts/users/hits to the website and as much information as possible (i.e. the timeframe for the count) _____
99□ missing

DOC2) If other statistics are available, please **record** them in a RTF file with an alphanumeric code (i.e. "statistics.UK01").

43. SRCHNG
Is there an **internal search engine**?
0□ No 1□ Yes

44. WBSTMP
Is there a **website map** (or something like an index or a table of contents)?
0□ No 1□ Yes

DOC3) Please **record** it if present. Save the map in an RTF file with an alphanumeric progressive code (like "map.UK01", etc.).

Does the site provide materials for the **political education** of citizens such as:
45. PLDBBL - bibliography No□0 Yes□1
46. PLDRTC - articles and/or papers and/or dossiers No□0 Yes□1
47. PLDCNF - conferences and seminar materials No□0 Yes□1

48. PLDFFC - concrete info (manuals/links to useful resources) on offline forms of action?[62]
No□0 Yes□1

49. PLDNLC - concrete info (manuals/links to useful resources) on online forms of action?[63]
No□0 Yes□1

In order to **practice** offline actions does the organization provide:

50. PRCLBR – laboratories/courses/workshop No□0 Yes□1

51. PRCHLP - helping desk/info point No□0 Yes□1

Does the organization offer **internet-related training** such as:

52. NRTLBR - laboratories/courses/workshop No□0 Yes□1

53. NRTHLP - helping desk/info point No□0 Yes□1

54. NRTPPS - specific applications/software No□0 Yes□1

55. NRTTHR - other instrumental electronic resources No□0 Yes□1

Does the organization provide **web services** such as:

56. FRMLPR - free email? No□0 Yes□1

57. FRMWBH – web page and/or website hosting?
0□ No
1□Yes, only for individual users
2□Yes, only for groups/collective
3□Yes, both for individual and groups/collectives

58. NWSSCT
Is there a **news section** on the website?
0□ No 1□ Yes

59. NWSLTT
Is it possible to subscribe to a **newsletter** of the organization?
0□ No
1□ Yes, but only if you are a paying member
2□ Yes, but only if you are a registered member (giving your personal data)
3□ Yes, for all users (giving only your email address)

60. CTNCLN
Does the website contain the **action/event calendar** of the organization?
0□ No 1□ Yes

61. SPCTCL
If Yes, please **register** the date (dd.mm.yy) of the last event planned in the action/event calendar _____
99□ missing

Does the website contain:

62. THCTCL - the action/*event calendar* of other organizations of the GJMs?
0□ No 1□ Yes

63. WRKGND - the internal *work agenda* of the organization (e.g. info on next meetings, …)?
0□ No 1□ Yes

[62] E.g. how to block roads, how to squat a building, how to influence the media, how to respond to police repression, how to apply to get financial support from institutions and/or other private agencies, etc.
[63] E.g. how to realize a netstrike, how to organize a mail-bombing, etc.

64. SPWRKG
If Yes, please **register** the date (dd.mm.yy) of the last event planned in the internal work agenda _____
99□ missing

65. STTDCM
Is the organization's **statute** or a comparable document (manifesto, mission statement, etc.) published on the website?
0□ No 1□ Yes

DOC4) Please **record** organization's statute and/or similar section/document ("about us", "who we are", "mission", "manifesto"…) presenting organization main features. Save the document/s in RTF file/s with an alphanumeric progressive code (like "statute1.UK01"; "statute2.UK01"; "statute3.UK01").

66. RCHBLT
Does the site contain information about the **reachability** of the organization (street address, phone or fax numbers, office hours, etc.)?
0□ No 1□ Yes

67. SNFRMT
How **easy** is it to obtain this information?
1□ It is published deeper in the site
2□ It is one click away from the home page
3□ It is on the home page
99□ missing

68. RGNSTR
Does the site contain information about the **structure of the organization**?
0□ No 1□ Yes

69. STRCTP
Is the group/organization an **informal** group?
0□ No
1□ Yes without leading roles but with other identified roles inside the organization
2□ Yes without leading roles and other identified roles inside the organization

70. LDRPRS
Does the organization identify a **leader**, a spokes person or someone with an equivalent leading role?
0□ No
1□ Yes, only one person (male)
2□ Yes, only one person (female)
3□ Yes, more than one person
99□ missing

71. LDRNFR
Does the site contain **information about the spokes persons /** leaders or someone with an equivalent leading role?
0□ No
1□ Yes and it provides an individual profile
2□ Yes and it provides phone and/or email address

3□ Yes and it provides both
99□ missing

72. THRNFR
Does the site contain **information about other identified roles** inside the organization?
0□ No
1□ Yes and it provides an individual profile
2□ Yes and it provides phone and/or email address
3□ Yes and it provides both
99□ missing

Is there an opportunity to **contact** (by email or phone call):
73. NTRRLT - the person responsible for international relations?
No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99

74. THRPPL - other people/departments within the organization?
No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99

75. LCLRGN
Are you analyzing a website of a **local** organization?
0□ No 1□ Yes

76. NRLPRN
Does the organization have **national**, **regional** and/or **local groups**?
(Note that you should answer "Yes" to this question only if there is an explicit reference to such groups as groups belonging to the organization/network).
0□ No
1□ Yes
9□ Can't say
99□ missing

77. LCRLST
If Yes, does the website of the organization publish a **list** of national, regional and/or local groups?
0□ No
1□ Yes
99□ missing

78. SPCLCR
If Yes, please **specify** the total number of groups_____
99□ missing

Please specify how many of the groups in the list can be **reached** by the users through:
79. LCGMLD - an email address/phone number_____
99□ missing
80. LCGMLN - a link to a mailing-list/forum_____
99□ missing
81. LCGNFW - other links (webpage or website)_____
99□ missing

82. MMBPRS
Is it possible to **become members** of the organization?

0□ No
1□ Yes
9□ Can't say

83. NLDHSN
Is it possible to **join** the organization **online**? No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99

To become member:
84. SBSCRF - is a *subscription fee* required? No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99

85. PRSNDT - does the member have to give *personal data* (more than simple email address)?
0□ No
1□ Yes
99□ Missing

86. DTSTRG
Is the **adopted policy** of personal data storage and use mentioned?
0□ No
1□ Yes
99□ Missing

87. SCTMMB
Is there a specific **section reserved** for members of the organization (i.e. "members only", "join our community", etc.)?
0□ No
1□ Yes
99□ Missing

88. FNNNFR
Is information about the **organization's finances** published on the website?
0□ No
1□ Only information about the sources of income are given
2□ Only information about the budget are given
3□ Both sources of income and budget information are given

Is it possible for users of the website to get an overview of **previous activities** of the organization such as:

89. RCHPRS - archive of press releases	No□0	Yes□1
90. RCHNNR - archive of annual reports/chronology	No□0	Yes□1
91. RCHDPS - documents of past assemblies	No□0	Yes□1
92. RCHLFL - old leaflets	No□0	Yes□1

93. SPTHPS
If other, please **specify** _____

94. FNDGRP
Does the website offer information about how to **financially support** the group/organization?
0□ No 1□ Yes

95. FNDGNL
Is it possible to donate **online**? No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99

96. GNRLML

Is there a **general email** for the organization for further info, suggestions or complaints (e.g. contact section)?

0□ No
1□ Yes, and the email button is located deeper in the site
2□ Yes, and the email button is one click away from the home page
3□ Yes, and the email button is on the home page
4□ Yes, and the email button is placed in all the pages of the website

97. SNMSG1

The e-mail below should be sent to the general email address.
Please specify the **date** when message was **sent** (dd.mm.yy) _____

Dear info service staff,
I am part of a transnational research team conducting an investigation of civil society websites in the European Union. The research project, Demos (http://demos.iue.it), has been funded by the European Commission and is being coordinated by the European University Institute. We would be very grateful if you could answer the following questions focusing on how the information request service works:

1) How many people manage the information request service?
2) Could you give us an indication of the average number of information requests you receive in a month?
3) On average, what proportion of messages are you able to respond to (please specify an approximate percentage)?
4) Please specify how long it takes to obtain an answer from your service (please express the time in number of days).

We thank you in advance for your support,
YOUR NAME

If you have any specific queries or require further information please contact us: demos@iue.it

Note that the message has to be translated into the official language of your country with the exception of the European and the international organizations for which English will be maintained.

98. RPMSG1

Please specify the **date** when reply was **received** (dd.mm.yy) _____

DOC5) Please **record** the content of the reply (to be translated in English) in a RTF file with an alphanumeric code like "msginfo.UK01"

99. WBMSML

Is there an opportunity to **contact** the webmaster by email?
0□ No 1□ Yes

100. SNMSG2

The e-mail below should be sent to the webmaster (if webmaster email is missing on the website you should address it to the press office or to the information request service).
Please specify the **date** when message was **sent** (dd.mm.yy) _____

Dear Webmaster,
I am part of a transnational research team conducting an investigation of civil society websites in the European Union. The research project, Demos (http://demos.iue.it), has been funded by the European Commission and is being coordinated by the European University Institute. We would be very grateful if you could answer the following questions:

1) Are staff employed specifically for maintaining the web site? If Yes, how many staff are employed for this purpose?
2) Do volunteers maintain, or help to maintain the web site? If Yes, how many volunteers help with website maintenance?
3) Could you give us an indication of the average traffic demand (e.g. average hits per month)?
4How many people have subscribed to the newsletter and/or mailing-list/forum?
5) How frequently does the website content change (e.g. hourly, daily, weekly, monthly)?
6) Is the website realized with open source or free software?

We thank you in advance for your support,
YOUR NAME

If you have any specific queries or require further information please contact us: demos@iue.it

Note that the message has to be translated into the official language of your country with the exception of the European and the international organizations for which English will be maintained.

101. RPMSG2
Please specify the **date** when reply was **received** (dd.mm.yy) _____

DOC6) Please **record** the content of the reply (to be translated in English) in a RTF file with an alphanumeric code like "msgweb.UK01"

On the organization website can users:
102. RCTCMM - react to a specific request of *comments* (i.e. filling in an inquiry form)?
0□ No 1□ Yes

103. RCTSRV - answer a *questionnaire/survey* proposed by the organization?
0□ No 1□ Yes

104. PBLNTP – *directly* (without any filter) *publish* news, calls, proposals, etc.?
0□ No 1□ Yes

105. CMMFML - communicate with other users through *forum*/s and/or *mailing-list*/s?
0□ No 1□ Yes

106. RDRCMG - read *archived messages* of forum/s and/or mailing-list/s without subscribing to them?
0□ No 1□ Yes

107. CMMCHT - communicate with other users through a *chat-line*?
0□ No 1□ Yes

108. SNDPST - send or download an *e-postcard* addressed to institutions and/or representatives?
0□ No 1□ Yes

109. NLNPTT - sign an *online petition*?
0□ No 1□ Yes

Note that you should also include petitions that are on a separate website but reachable through a link from the analyzed site.

110. PLCPRS
(Please answer this question only if the site contain at least one forum/mailing-list otherwise answer missing).
Note that normally a website specifies its forum/mailing-list policy in its interactive area.
Is there a published **policy** or some other rules to participate to forums/mailing-lists?
No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99

111. CTNLRT
Is it possible to subscribe to an **action alert** list?
0□ No
1□ Yes, but only for members
2□ Yes, for all website users

112. CMPNVL
Is the organization involved in an ongoing **campaign** (defined as such by the organization/group itself)?
0□ No 1□ Yes

113. LSTCMP
If Yes, please **list** the campaigns_____
99□ missing

On the organization website is there a **call for**:
114. NTSTRK - a netstrike? No□0 Yes□1
115. MLBMBN - a mail-bombing? No□0 Yes□1

116. LNKPGS
You should analyze the link page only if it easily reachable from the homepage and if it is an autonomous section/web page of the site dedicated specifically for links to other websites.
Is there a **link-page/section** on the website?
0□ No 1□ Yes

DOC7) If Yes, select all links and **record** them with "copy and paste" function in a "RTF" file with a progressive alphanumeric code (like "links.UK.01")

Specify if links are ordered by some of the following **criteria**:

117. RNDRDR – random No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99

118. TPRRDR - type of organization (movements, institutions, media, think thank, etc.)
No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99

119. SSRDR - issue No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99
120. TLVRDR - territorial level No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99

121. MPRRDR - importance (select only if you find expressions like "links we consider important") No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99

122. LPHRDR - alphabetic No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99

123. THRRDR - other No□0 Yes□1 Missing□99

124. SRDLNK
If other, **specify** _____

When you are on the homepage please press Ctrl + F and write in the search field the following words: "open source", "free software", "accessibility", "privacy".
On the homepage are the following words mentioned?

125. PNFRSW – "open source" or "free software"? 0□ No 1□ Yes
126. WBCCSS – "accessibility"? 0□ No 1□ Yes
127. PRVCSS – "privacy"? 0□ No 1□ Yes

DOC8) Please record your notes in a "RTF" file with a progressive alphanumeric code (like "notes.UK.01").

*Please add any **notes** you consider relevant. Please explain difficult choices, striking anomalies or most interesting features (i.e. the absence of a detailed organizational structure could indicate that an organization is small or very horizontal). You might want to add notes to organization entries later too (e.g. if you sense that one website would be suitable for a deeper analysis). Spend some time thinking (and comparing with other websites) about symbols, discourses, actions and (internal/external) coordinations suggested through the web. Strong indications could come out at this step for our reports and for the in-depth analysis planned for the second part of WP2.*

Appendix C: results of the reliability test

Coding of the website of the Wombles (http://www.wombles.org.uk).

VARIABLES	TEAM							Σ right answers	%
	IT	*CH*	*FR*	*TN*	*UK*	*GE*	*SP*		
prrchv	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
yrpdtd	1	0,5	1	1	0,5	1	1	6	85.7
nmpdtd	1	0,5	1	1	0,5	1	1	6	85.7
spcpdt	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
hppdtd	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
txtvrs	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	85.7
thlnnf	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrngl1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrfrn1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrgrm1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrtln1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrspn1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrrpl1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
spthrp1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrnrp1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
spthnr1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thlnid	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrngl2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrfrn2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrgrm2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrtln2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrspn2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrrpl2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
spthrp2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrnrp2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
spthnr2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
tlcntn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
whtlcn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
tlcnnm	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
nmbwbs	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
srchng	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
wbstmp	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
pldbbl	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
pldrtc	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	5	71.4
pldcnf	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	6	85.7
pldffc	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
pldnlc	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	4	57.1
prclbr	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	5	71.4
prchlp	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
nrtlbr	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	5	71.4
nrthlp	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	5	71.4
nrtpps	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	4	57.1
nrtthr	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	4	57.1
frmlpr	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
frmwbh	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
nwssct	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
nwsltt	1	1	0	1	0,5	1	0,5	5	71.4
ctncln	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thctcl	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	85.7
wrkgnd	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
sttdcm	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	4	57.1
rchblt	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	5	71.4
snfrmt	1	1	0	1	0,5	0	1	4,5	64.3
rgnstr	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	4	57.1
ldrprs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0

ldrnfr	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
lcrlst	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	85.7
spclcr	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	85.7
lcgmld	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
lcgmln	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
lcgnfw	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	85.7
sbscrf	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
prsndt	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
dtstrg	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
nldhsn	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	85.7
sctmmb	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
fnnnfr	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
rchprs	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	4	57.1
rchnnr	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	85.7
rchdps	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	85.7
fndgrp	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
fndgnl	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
gnrlml	1	1	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5	1	5	71.4
ntrrlt	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrppl	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
wbmsml	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
rctcmm	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	4	57.1
rctsrv	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
pblntp	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
cmmfml	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
rdrcmg	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	5	71.4
cmmcht	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
sndpst	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
nlnptt	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	85.7
plcprs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
ctnlrt	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	4	57.1
cmpnvl	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	5	71.4
ntstrk	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
mlbmbn	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
lnkpgs	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
rndrdr	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
tprrdr	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	28.6
ssrdr	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	5	71.4
tlvrdr	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
mprrdr	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
lphrdr	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrrdr	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	4	57.1
pnfrsw	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	4	57.1
wbccss	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	6	85.7
prvcss	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	6	85.7
nnmtss	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	6	85.7
Σ	96	95	85.5	87.5	88.5	91.5	80.5	**MEAN**	**ST. DEV.**
%	96.0	95.0	85.5	87.5	88.5	91.5	80.5	89.0	0,054456

Legenda:

0 - wrong answer

0.5 – not completely wrong answer

1 – right answer

Coding of the website of ETUC (http://www.etuc.org).

VARIABLES	TEAM								
	IT	*CH*	*FR*	*TN*	*UK*	*GE*	*SP*	**Σ**	**%**
prrchv	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	71.4
yrpdtd	1	0,5	1	0	0,5	0,5	0	3,5	50.0
nmpdtd	1	0,5	1	0	0,5	0,5	1	4,5	64.3
spcpdt	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
hppdtd	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
txtvrs	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	6	85.7
thlnnf	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	85.7
thrngl1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	4	57.1
thrfrn1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	85.7
thrgrm1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrtln1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrspn1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrrpl1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
spthrp1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrnrp1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
spthnr1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thlnid	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	85.7
thrngl2	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	4	57.1
thrfrn2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	85.7
thrgrm2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrtln2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrspn2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrrpl2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
spthrp2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
thrnrp2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
spthnr2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
tlcntn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
whtlcn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
tlcnnm	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
nmbwbs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
srchng	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	5	71.4
wbstmp	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	6	85.7
pldbbl	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	4	57.1
pldrtc	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	5	71.4
pldcnf	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	85.7
pldffc	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
pldnlc	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
prclbr	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	6	85.7
prchlp	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
nrtlbr	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14.3
nrthlp	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14.3
nrtpps	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14.3
nrtthr	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14.3
frmlpr	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
frmwbh	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
nwssct	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	42.9
nwsltt	1	1	0	0	0	0,5	0	2,5	35.7
ctncln	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	6	85.7
thctcl	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
wrkgnd	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	5	71.4
sttdcm	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	85.7
rchblt	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	85.7
snfrmt	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	6	71.4
rgnstr	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	5	71.4
ldrprs	1	1	0,5	0	1	1	0	4,5	64.3
ldrnfr	1	0,5	0,5	0	0,5	1	1	4,5	64.3
lcrlst	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	42.9
spclcr	1	0	1	0	0	0	0,5	2,5	35.7
lcgmld	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0

lcgmln	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
lcgnfw	1	0	0,5	0	0	0	0,5	2	35.7
sbscrf	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	6	85.7
prsndt	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
dtstrg	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
nldhsn	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
sctmmb	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
fnnnfr	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	5	71.4
rchprs	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	5	71.4
rchnnr	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	4	57.1
rchdps	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	4	57.1
fndgrp	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
fndgnl	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
gnrlml	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	5	71.4
ntrrlt	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	6	85.7
thrppl	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	5	71.4
wbmsml	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
rctcmm	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
rctsrv	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
pblntp	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
cmmfml	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
rdrcmg	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
cmmcht	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
sndpst	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
nlnptt	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
plcprs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
ctnlrt	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
cmpnvl	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	28.6
ntstrk	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
mlbmbn	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	6	85.7
lnkpgs	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	5	71.4
rndrdr	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
tprrdr	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	4	57.1
ssrdr	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
tlvrdr	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	4	57.1
mprrdr	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	5	71.4
lphrdr	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	5	71.4
thrrdr	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	5	71.4
pnfrsw	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
wbccss	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
prvcss	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
nnmtss	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	100.0
Σ	99	78,5	84,5	70	84,5	88,5	75	**MEAN**	**ST. DEV.**
%	99.0	79.0	84.5	70.0	84.5	88.5	75.0	83.0	0,095206