	European Collaborative Research Projects in the Social Sciences
EUROPEAN SCIENCE FOUNDATION **EUROCORES Programme** European Collaborative Research	**2008**

THE COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH PROJECT:

"Caught in the act of protest: Contextualizing contestation (CCC)"

1.1 Main aims of the Collaborative Research Project

The aims of the project are (# 148)

(1) to expand our knowledge on protest dynamics by conducting a comparative study of protest demonstrations in 7 European countries, that investigates the impact of contextual variation such as nations, mobilizing contexts, demonstrations, and mobilization techniques on who participates for what reasons;

(2) to employ a common theoretical framework, a standardized research design, and standardized measures in the individual projects;

(3) to construct a country x mobilizing context x demonstration dataset, to be made available to the individual teams for analyses, which will produce new insights that only systematic comparison of the kind we plan can generate;

(4) to organize workshops and (panels at) conferences, to publish monographs and articles in scientific journals in order to disseminate the results of the project; to help societal actors understand and deal with the changing dynamics of protest;

(5) to archive and make the data available to the wider scientific community.

1.2 The potential impacts of the project (# 198)

Systematic, contextualized knowledge on protest demonstrations is hardly available. We are not aware of much comparative research, which systematically varies socio-political context, is based on a common theoretical framework, and employs standardized measures. The composition of demonstrations, the motivation of the participants, the mobilization techniques that persuaded them to participate are presumably contingent on context variation, but lacking systematic comparison we can only guess what the influence of context variation on these variables might be. As a consequence, fundamental questions about who are the participants, why do they participate, and how they are mobilized, lack evidence-based answers. The impact of the project on our knowledge of the dynamics of political protest will, therefore, be substantial. This is the more so, because data will be made available to the wider scientific community.

The societal impact of the project will be significant as well. Political protest is becoming more common throughout the world and is undergoing substantive changes. In this changing context, not only social scientists but citizens, organizers, politicians, governmental officials, and non-governmental organizations are grappling to understand this new reality. The results of the project will help them to understand and deal with the changing dynamics of protest.

1.3 Added value of the collaboration (# 200)

Studies on protest participation typically focus on single cases of protest, which inevitably takes all contextual variation away. One needs to understand the peculiarities of a national political, social, and mobilizing context to make sense of findings in a specific country or a specific demonstration. This requires a comparative study design, which makes it a necessity to collaborate with colleagues in other countries. The envisioned collaboration will create a unique pan-European dataset that will enable us to investigate the influence of context variation on the dynamics of protest. It would be logistically very difficult if not impossible to organize such data collection without international collaboration.

On the top of these logistic arguments, the proposed project pools together the expertise of renowned experts in the field each of them commanding specific expertise, which will prove to be invaluable. In terms of the substance of the study, the input of the collaborators will be of great value for the interpretation of the findings and its dissemination. Moreover and importantly, we built an interdisciplinary team consisting of social psychologists, political scientists and sociologists. As the

project combines the micro, meso, and macro level, having these disciplines in the team is of crucial value.

1.4 Data handling aspects (# 198)

The collaborators meet regularly to discuss data collection, processing, and interpretation.
Per demonstration identical datasets will be compiled on the demonstration (issue, organizers, mobilization techniques), national context, mobilizing context, and participants. A strategy of data collection developed and tested in previous research to collect data during demonstrations guarantees reliability, validity, and comparability of the data. The team is experienced in handling large comparative projects. Experience so far teaches that data can best be collected by the individual collaborators; after checking and cleaning the data will be shipped to a central location, coded and entered into a central database. This ensures standardized procedures and reduces errors in data processing. Data will be stored at the level of nations, mobilization context, demonstrations, and individuals to allow for multi-level analyses.
The project leaders archive and maintain the data on behalf of the collective. Each collaborator has the right to elaborate and publish on the data of his country. Projected comparative analyses between countries are to be reported to the Project Leader, who seeks the consent of the collaborators involved in the comparison. After termination of the project data will be made available to the scientific community (See Annex 2 for details).

1.5 Description of the project (#2483)

Protest participation has been surging throughout Europe and the world as a whole. In most countries political protest has become the modal repertoire citizens employ to demand political changes or to express indignation (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998). Increasingly, governments are confronted with citizens in the act of protest. At the same time, societies have changed dramatically during the last few decades. In our globalizing world, transnational and supranational political institutions impact on people's daily lives and have transformed the supply of politics. Simultaneously, networks rather than formal organizations have become the prime mode of organizing in our society (Castells, 1996; Rheingold, 2002; Wellman, 2001) while new technologies such as the Internet, e-mail, and cell phones have dramatically changed our means of communication (Garrett, 2006). Yet, how people mobilize for protest in these 'new' societal arrangements remains poorly understood.

The aim of the project is to increase our understanding of the dynamics of protest, of who are the people that take part in protest demonstrations, what reasons they have to participate, how they are mobilized, and how all this is influenced by contextual variation.

A first attempt to study the complex relation between protest and context was a comparative study of the worldwide demonstrations against imminent war on Iraq on February 15th, 2003 (Walgrave & Rucht, 2009). Perhaps the most important finding of this study was that the size and composition (who) of the anti-Iraq war demonstrations, the motivation (why), and mobilisation (how) of its participants varied strikingly between countries. Covering protest events that were staged at the same time and concerned identical issues found remarkable differences *between* nations were found. Mobilisation campaigns, coalitions, turnout, and attitudes of the individual protesters all varied. If this holds for the same demonstration, differences will be even larger for different demonstrations, as Walgrave and Verhulst (2008) demonstrated in a comparison of demonstrations in Belgium. Hence, we know that the same demonstration in different countries and different demonstrations in the same country produce diverging dynamics of protest. The proposed study will be the first ever that employs a *country x mobilizing context x demonstration design*. We expect it to generate an invaluably rich source of information that generations of students of protest behaviour will be able to exploit.
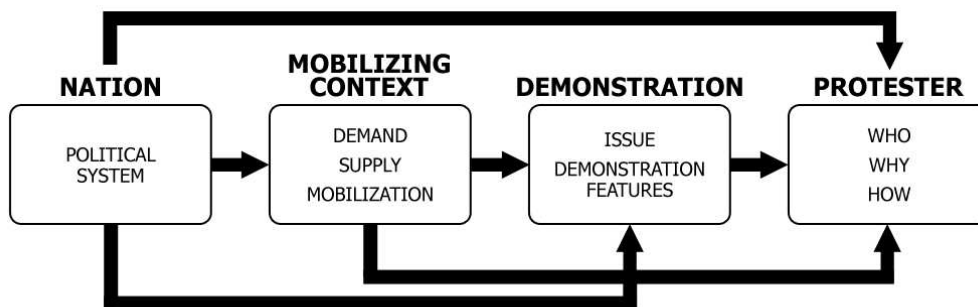
This project attempts to find answers to the questions of who participates in protest, for what reason, and how they are mobilised. As the motivational dynamics of different forms of participation vary, we chose to focus on one particular type of protest, namely, protest demonstrations. The decision to take part in a protest demonstration is not taken in isolation but within a wider social and political context.

We will investigate the impact of contextual variation on the dynamics of protest by comparing demonstrations in different countries and mobilizing contexts. Studies of protest behavior typically focus on a single protest event, which takes contextual variation out. Instead, we will develop comparative designs that enable us to study the influence of the national and mobilizing context. To that end we have developed a common theoretical framework, standardized measures, and techniques of sampling and data collection (van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, & van Dijk, 2008b; Walgrave & Rucht, 2009; Walgrave & Verhulst, 2008).

Researchers tend to study reported participation in the past (e.g., World Value Survey) or intentions to participate in the future. Both methods are flawed. The former because survey questions usually relate to participation in protest in general rather than in specific protest events and the latter because intentions to participate are weak predictors of actual participation (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). We maintain that in order to improve our understanding of protest participation we *must compare protesters in the act of protesting.*

1.5.1 Originality of the Collaborative Project and potential contribution to knowledge

Our design varies (1) *nation,* i.e. the national political system in which demonstrations are staged; (2) *mobilizing context,* i.e. the demand and supply of protest, and the techniques of mobilization; (3) *demonstration,* i.e. the characteristics of the demonstration; and relates this to characteristics of the (4) *protestors.*

The central tenet of this study is that a specific national context generates a specific mobilizing context; that the interaction of nation and mobilizing context produces a specific type of demonstration; that a specific type of demonstration brings a specific group of protestors into the streets. We assume that the composition of the group of protestors, their motives and the way they are mobilized result from the interaction of national context, mobilizing context, and type of demonstration (see Figure).

NATION — POLITICAL SYSTEM → **MOBILIZING CONTEXT** — DEMAND / SUPPLY / MOBILIZATION → **DEMONSTRATION** — ISSUE / DEMONSTRATION FEATURES → **PROTESTER** — WHO / WHY / HOW

Contextual variation

    (1). *Nation.* Nations vary in terms of the circumstances they create for political protest. The supply of politics, the political opportunity structure, the openness of the political system for challengers, the access points available for people to defend their interests and express their opinions, the temporal political configuration, are all identified as determinants of the incidence and type of protest (Koopmans, 1999; Kriesi, 2004; Tarrow, 1998).

    (2). *Mobilizing context.* The mobilizing context in a country can be described in terms of demand, supply, and mobilization (Klandermans, 2004). The *demand-side* of protest refers to the potential of protestors in a society; the *supply-side* refers to the characteristics of the social movement sector in a society; *mobilization* refers to the techniques and mechanisms that link demand and supply (Klandermans 2004). We maintain that the interaction of demand, supply and mobilization influences the dynamics of protest participation.

Demand. A demand for protest begins with levels of grievances in a society (Klandermans, 1997). More and more population groups employ protest to communicate their grievances (Klandermans, 2001; Meyer & Tarrow, 1998). At the same time, migration has made Western societies more diverse (Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005), resulting in more diverse constituencies with more diverse grievances. Moreover, grievances globalize as well, depicted by a growing consciousness of issues such as global justice or a shared concern for the climate.

Supply. The supply-side of protest concerns the characteristics of the social movement sector in a society, its strength, its diversity, its contentiousness. Traditionally, the social movement sector is conceived of as a conglomerate of movement organizations (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996), which provides the more or less formalized infrastructure on which protest is built (Diani & McAdam, 2003; McAdam, 1988; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Increasingly, however, we see protest participation rooted in everyday networks of participants and social movement actors involved in diffuse and decentralized networks (Duyvendak & Hurenkamp, 2004; Melucci, 1996; Taylor, 2000). At the same time, enhanced ethnic diversity has created ethnically diverge social capital (Fennema & Tillie, 2008). Finally, we see the emergence of 'global social movement sectors'.

Mobilization. Processes of mobilization bring a demand for protest together with a supply of protest opportunities. Globalization, the development of network society and information society has changed mobilization techniques radically. New information and communication technologies (ICTs) such as the Internet, e-mail, MySpace, MSN, cell phones have changed the ways in which activists communicate and mobilize. Traditional organizations seem to rely more on information channels such as flyers, and organizational publications targeting their members whereas, in networks the channels employed are face-to-face, Internet, and cell phones.

At a general level, demand, supply, and mobilization are supposedly shaped by national context. At a specific level, mobilizing context is further colored by characteristics of the demonstration, esp. the issue. The project aims to enlarge what little knowledge we have about the way mobilizing contexts vary, how such variation is determined, or how it impacts on the characteristics of a demonstration.

(3) *Demonstrations.* First, demonstrations vary in terms of the issue. Furthermore, they can be ritualized, peaceful, or violent; with or without permit; with or without close consultation with the police. Demonstrations are usually staged by a coalition of organizers, but the composition of the coalition varies. The location and the weather conditions vary and so does the media coverage. As we are lacking systematic comparisons it is difficult to say how these variations impact on protest participation. Obviously, the populations demonstrating differ in size and composition but how this relates to characteristics of the demonstration is far from clear.

(4) *Protesters. Who* are the protestors, what are their socio-demographic characteristics? *Why* do they protest? What are the attitudes, motives and beliefs driving them? *How* were they mobilized, through what channels, by which techniques? These are the focal questions of our study.

(a) *Who* participates in protest? Some scholars argue that new ICTs help to fabricate new connections among people from diverse backgrounds, resulting in mobilizing structures that might be more diverse and inclusive on gender, race and ethnicity, and nationality (Taylor 2000). Indeed, protest participation has gradually normalized; all sorts of people resort to protest to demand change (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998; Norris, Walgrave, & Aelst, 2005; van Aelst & Walgrave, 2001).

(b) The question of *why* people take part in protest focuses on motivation. Two decades of social psychological research has taught us about protest motivation. Instrumentality, identity, ideology and emotions form a ever shifting constellation of motives why people participate in political protest (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2007; van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, & van Dijk, 2008a). Research by van Stekelenburg and colleagues alludes to the context-dependency of motivational constellations, demonstrating that supply-side variation generates diverging motivational constellations (van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, and van Dijk 2008b).

(c) *How* were people mobilized? We will register through what channels and techniques protestors were mobilized. Is the normalization of protest participation associated with changing mobilization patterns and new ICTs?

1.5.2 Research design and methods

Annex 2 gives details on design and methods. The grand scheme is the following: data will be collected on demonstrations in 7 European countries (i.e. Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, U.K.). Unfortunately, we are not aware of any researchers in the eligible East European countries sufficiently equipped and experienced for this project. However, we are confident that the characteristics of the countries included vary sufficiently.

Between 2009 and 2012 each collaborator will collect data on 8-12 demonstrations of as wide a variety as possible. Demonstrations of a size of at least 5.000 participants may be included.

In order to obtain reliable, valid and comparable findings we employ two techniques developed and tested by Walgrave and his colleagues. The first technique is a devise to guarantee that every protester has an equal chance of being selected by an interviewer. The second technique is a device to control for non-response.

Identical data will be collected on the countries, mobilizing contexts, demonstrations and the protestors employing agreed upon fact sheets and questionnaires. All data will be coded and entered into a central database, which will be made available to the collaborators. The database will be hierarchically organized into four levels—country, mobilizing context, demonstration, and participants—so that multi-level analysis can be applied.

1.5.3 Competence and expertise of the Individual Project Partners

The team of collaborators is well-versed for the project. Each PI is an internationally renowned expert on social movements and protest behavior. The team consists of social psychologists, sociologists, and political scientists. Standing in their respective theoretical traditions they approach the study of protest behavior. The social psychologists focus on the motivational dynamics of protest participation. The sociologists concentrate on the collective actors staging the protests as they are embedded in multi-organizational fields. The political scientists treat protest behavior as a (non-conventional) form of political participation. By bringing these competences together into a single team the micro, meso, and macro levels of analysis can be connected. As our basic tenet concerns the interplay of these levels, the interdisciplinary composition of the team guarantees a truly interdisciplinary approach. Several national teams have been involved in similar studies of protest demonstrations before. The Project Leaders (Klandermans and Walgrave) have collaborated in conducting protest surveys and are experienced in handling large datasets. The collaborators have met in a constitutive meeting and discussed the theoretical framework and the logistics of the project.

1.5.4 Contribution of the Individual Projects to the collaboration and arrangements for co-ordinating the collaboration

Each country team will make the comparison between demonstrations within its own country. In terms of the grand design–nation x mobilizing context x demonstration–we will elaborate the data in a division of labor inspired by disciplinary boundaries. In order to make this division of labor easily understandable each IP positions itself in reference to the central figure. In the final instance, each team takes protestor characteristics as its dependent variable, but the emphasis on other aspects of the framework varies. The two social psychological teams focus on motives and emotions, whereby the Spanish team concentrates on characteristics of the demonstration and the Dutch team on the influence of national and mobilizing context. The Swedish sociological team focus on the organizational field involved in organizing and mobilizing. It has a special interest in the role of old versus new social movements, with special attention for the role of the labor unions. The four political science teams emphasize the political aspects of demonstrations. The Swiss team has a special interest in how nations shape the mobilizing context. The Belgian team has an interest in how the mobilizing context and issues shape a demonstration. The French team has a special interest in activist careers (first time participant versus recidivists; impact of participation on future political behavior). Therefore, the French team will conduct follow up studies. The British team will look at protest participation as a form of political participation and has a special interest in the transnational embeddedness of protest participation.

The Belgian and Dutch teams will co-ordinate the project. The Dutch team will manage the project as a whole. The Belgian team will take care of archiving and maintaining the central dataset. The Dutch and Belgian teams will meet on a regular base to manage the project. The team as a whole will meet annually to discuss progress, findings, and interpretations.

1.5.5 Justification for the level of funding requested

Much of the costs are to guarantee the required quantity and quality of the data. This is a major investment but it will produce a unique and invaluable dataset, which eventually will be made available to the wider scientific community. The requested funding is to collect data on 8-12 demonstrations in each country (€ 4.000 per demonstration); to finance a research assistant or PhD in each country (€ 50-75.000 per annum), to reimburse travel costs of the project leaders and the project teams (€ 1.500 per annum), consumables (€ 5.000 per annum).

1.5.6 Planned outputs (publications and dissemination activities)

A website will be developed which informs those who are interested in the project. Working papers will be posted on the website. PhD-students will write PhD-dissertations based on the project, members of the team will publish articles regarding the project in scientific journals (in social psychology, sociology, and political science), we will organize conferences with societal and political actors, we foresee at least one comprehensive volume. The dataset will be made available to the scientific community. The website will advertise the dataset to potential users.

Annex a) References

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Annex b) Measures and data processing

Demonstrations may be included in the project if at least 5000 people take part. Although the action repertoire of protest movements encompass more than demonstrations, we limit ourselves to a single means of action, namely street demonstrations. Different means of protest have sometimes very different dynamics. Therefore, we decided to control for that source of variation by restricting our study to a single but frequently employed protest mean. Identical data will be collected re the countries included in the project, the mobilizing context, the demonstration, and the participants. The project leaders have developed fact sheets on nations, mobilizing contexts and demonstrations and core questionnaires for protestors. For each demonstration studied a fieldwork report will be composed describing the circumstances and details of the fieldwork.

It is agreed that in each country 8-12 demonstrations will be studied. Taking the frequency of demonstrations into account even in countries with relatively few demonstrations like the Netherlands 8-12 demonstrations in 3-4 years should be feasible. As we have a core questionnaire, fact sheets to assess context variation, and pools of experienced interviewers available we are able to organize the fieldwork for a demonstration within two weeks.

Data

Nation. A set of characteristics will be registered for each country: variables such as the supply of politics, general features of the political system (openness and closedness of the polity), the composition of the actual government, political opportunity structure, modal action repertoires.

Mobilizing context: Demand-Supply-Mobilization. Level of dissatisfaction, grievances in a country (Eurobarometer, World Value Scales*)* amount of media attention to the issue, strength and ethnic diversification of civil society, level of, number and type of demonstrations in the period leading up to the covered demonstration, the national 'demonstration culture', strength and contentiousness of the movement sector.

Demonstration. Issue, slogans, position of the national government on the issue, the social movement or political actors staging the protest events, media coverage of the demonstration at stake, target (Government, European Union), employed mobilisation techniques, the weather conditions, the number op participants.

Protesters. We composed and tested a core questionnaire, which will be identical across demonstrations and countries. The variables included are socio-demographic variables; mobilization channels and techniques used by participant, social embeddedness, instrumental, identity and ideological motives, emotions, political behavior (conventional and unconventional), political attitudes (interest, left-right placement, political cynicism), and awareness of and identification with protestors elsewhere in the world. In addition to the core, questions will be included regarding the specific issue of a demonstration. Moreover, a country team might add some questions specific for the country.

Data collection

Data on national context, mobilizing context, and demonstration will be collected through secondary sources, data archives, newspapers accounts, and information acquired from organizers.

Data on protestors will be collected employing two techniques developed, tested, and refined by Walgrave and his team . The first technique is a devise to guarantee that every protester in the area where the protest event takes place has an equal chance of being selected by one of the interviewers with the request to fill in a postal survey. Interviewers are evenly dispersed around the protest area and instructed to hand a postal survey to a protester every n's row or step. The second technique is a device to control for non-response. In addition to the postal survey, short face-to-face interviews will be conducted. Each interviewer poses a few questions concerning the focal variables and some demographics to approximately ten protesters. Experience so far has shown that response rates of close to 100% are achievable for the face-to-face interviews. Thus, provided proper sampling, the face-to-face interviews can serve to assess biases due to non-response and to control for it. For each demonstration, face-to-face interviews will be conducted with 200 participants who will also receive postal survey questionnaires; in addition, postal survey questionnaires will be handed out to 800 more participants. Experience so far reveals return rates of 30-50% or higher.

Data processing

The national teams collect the data; after being checked and cleaned the data are shipped to Antwerp, where the Belgian team takes care of coding and entering into the central dataset. Central coding and entering ensures standardized procedures and reduces errors in data processing. The

central dataset is password protected and can be approached and downloaded by the members of the team.

A dataset with a nested data structure will be built in which the data on the mobilizing context are nested within nation; the data on the demonstration are nested within mobilizing context and protester data are nested within the context of the demonstration. Such structure enables, in statistical terms, *multilevel analyses* a statistical method appropriate for the analysis of data sets encompassing several levels of analysis. Multilevel analysis offers the opportunity to assess which proportion of the variance is explained by which level of analysis and thus helps to disentangle the effects of variation in specific contexts on protest participation.

SECTION TWO: INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS			
INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 1		**Country:**	*The Netherlands*
		EUROCORES Funding Organisation	*NWO*

2.1 Financial summary for Individual Project 1 (The Netherlands)

The Principal Investigator should provide below a summary of the financial support sought from his/her national EUROCORES Funding Organisation.

Full financial details and any other supplementary information required by your national EUROCORES Funding Organisation should be supplied to them as instructed on the web.

		TOTAL
2.1.1	**Staff**	**€ 169.165**
2.1.2	**Travel and subsistence**	**€ 7.500**
2.1.3	**Consumables**	**€ 20.000**
2.1.4	**Other items**	**€ 0**
2.1.5	**Overheads and other allowable costs**	**€ 40.000**
2.1.6	**GRAND TOTAL FOR INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 1 (The Netherlands)**	**€ 236.665**

2.2 Description of Individual Project 1 (#*1499 words*)

Our understanding of *why* people participate in protest is far from complete. Why is the one grievance translated into mobilization rather than another? or why does the same problem in one country lead to mobilization whereas other countries remain quiet? These questions refer to a thorny but underexposed issue in the literature: the processes by which in a society demand for protest develops and supply factors transform willingness to participate into actual participation (Klandermans 2004). This project aims to explore this issue by investigating the influence of national socio-political and mobilizing context on protest participation. In doing so we cross interdisciplinary boundaries by incorporating social-psychological theories describing demand factors and sociological and political science theories describing supply factors and mobilization.

Previous studies on motivational dynamics of protest left the influence of national and mobilising context on protest participation completely out (van Stekelenburg et al. 2008b). These studies typically focus on a single demonstration within a single nation which inevitably takes contextual variation away. Therefore, much of what we know lacks contextualisation. We maintain that each decision to participate in protest originates in the national socio-political and mobilising context.

Only comparative approaches that take the influence of socio-political and mobilising surroundings into account provide an adequate explanation of protest participation. To ensure the quality of comparative research that combines structural and individual factors in explaining protest participation an interdisciplinary team employing a standardized research design, methods and measures comprised of sociologists, political scientists and social psychologists is a necessity.

The Dutch team aims to study the reasons why people participate in protest. We plan to investigate how motives and emotions to participate in protest originate in and are coloured by the socio-political factors of the national and mobilising context. We employ a comparative design in a study that crosses interdisciplinary boundaries by incorporating social-psychological theories describing demand factors and sociological and political science theories describing supply factors and mobilization (See Figure 1).
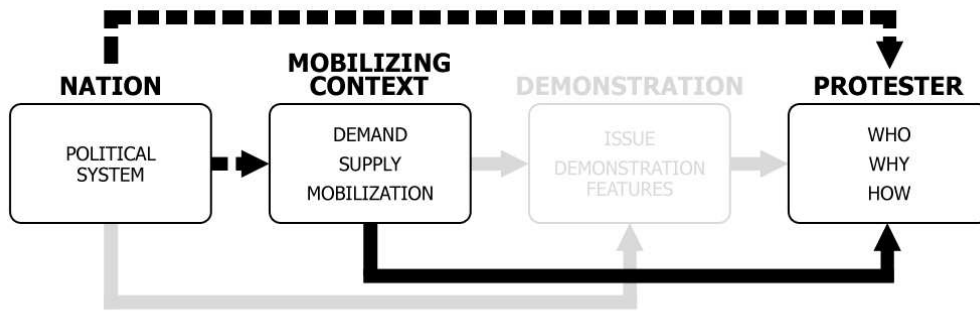
Figure 1:
Research interest The Netherlands

Over the last two decades, social psychologists investigated the motivational dynamics of protest. They began by demonstrating that instrumental reasoning steered by perceived efficacy influences people's motivation to participate in protest (e.g., Klandermans 1984). Followed by identification (e.g., Simon et al. 1998), and emotions (e.g., van Zomeren et al. 2004). In our own research we integrated these three motives into a single model and added an ideological motive (i.e. expressing one's view after violated values, van Stekelenburg et al. 2008a, see Figure 2). A study we conducted suggests that the mobilising context influences this motivational constellation: protesters identifying with the labour movement take the instrumental route while protesters identifying with the anti-neo liberal movement take the ideological route (van Stekelenburg et al. 2008b)
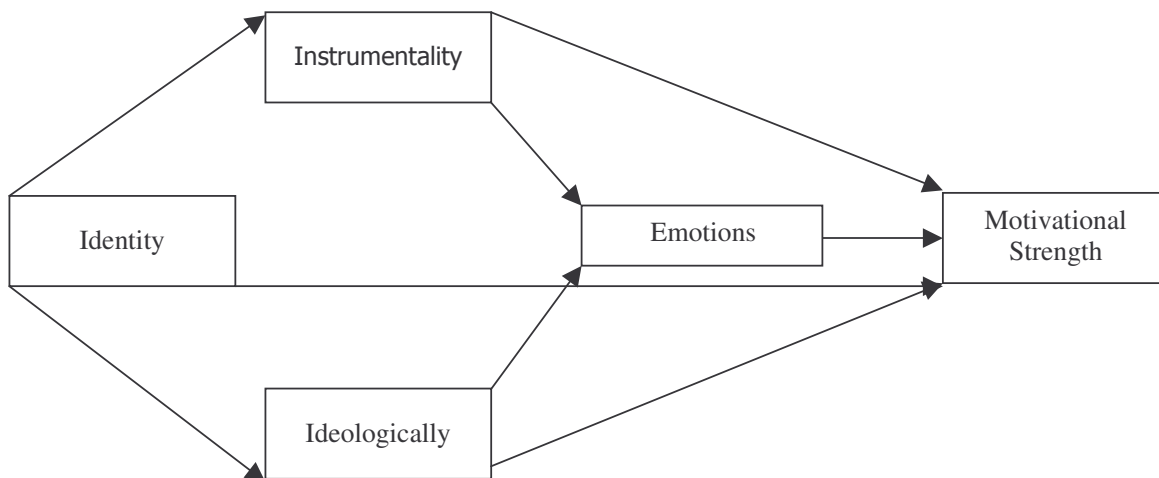

Figure 2:
Protest participation model.

In nearly all the routes to protest participation emotions provide an extra—amplifying or accelerating—motivational push (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2007). Indeed, politics of protest are full of emotions. Little is known about how emotions influence protest behavior. One promising social psychological approach in that regard is that on group-based emotions, implying that people experience emotions on behalf of their group membership (e.g. Smith 1999). As protest participation is group-based, group-based emotions should play an important role in protest participation. Whereas in social psychological literature only group-based *anger* is considered as the relevant action-based emotion, sociologists point to a variety of 'protest emotions' such as *indignation* (Elster 1996), *solidarity*, *pride* and *fear* (Jasper 1998). Combining the sociological and social psychological literature on emotions we will explore the influence of a variety of (group-based) emotions.
In earlier studies of protest participation much attention was given to instrumentality. A narrow focus on instrumentality fails to disclose other motivations, such as strengthening solidarity, engaging third parties (Simon and Klandermans 2001) or the urge to express one's values (van Stekelenburg and

Klandermans 2007; van Stekelenburg et al. 2008a). By adding these predictors in our model we aim to get a more comprehensive, and accordingly, more accurate picture of why people protest.

2.2.1   Originality; potential contribution to knowledge

We maintain that the routes to protest (i.e. instrumental or ideological) originate in and are coloured by the national socio-political system and the mobilising context in which people live. To test this argument our study design varies 1) *nation*, the national socio-political system in which demonstrations are staged, 2) *mobilizing context* i.e. the demand and supply of protest and the available mobilization techniques and relates this to the motivational constellation (i.e. motives and emotions) of 3) *protesters*.

Demonstrations originate in conflicts on principles or conflicts on material interests. This distinction is important because conflicts on material interests are usually solved by compromises whereas conflicts on principles get locked and lead to sometimes fierce confrontations (Harinck and De Dreu 2004). Hence, if opposing groups in a society have a conflict on material interests protest may be seen as a means to find the middle way, whereas in conflicts on principles there is no middle way; which more likely leads to clashes and protests in which people express their views and indignation.

Our working hypothesis is that protesters take the instrumental route when the demonstration roots in a conflict on material interests, whereas the ideological route is taken when the demonstration roots in a conflict of principles.

A few examples serve to illustrate how contextual variation may colour the conflict and as a consequence the motivational constellation.

Nation. Dynamics of protest are shaped by socio-political characteristics of a country (see Koopmans et al. 2005). In open political systems (e.g. The Netherlands) there is space for negotiation whereas in closed political systems (e.g. France) this is much less so. This may imply that the French are more motivated to participate in protest than the Dutch and it may also imply that they are more inclined to take the ideological rather than the instrumental route.
The *public mood* (Rahn 2004) in a country might influence the way problems are framed, the experienced emotions and the participation motives. Problems framed in terms of violated principles, for instance, induce a state of indignation whereas problems framed in violated interests lead to anger (Elster, 1996).

Mobilising context
    Demand. What citizens deem important, influences what issues they are inclined to protest. Increasing levels of prosperity in a country heighten the relative importance of cultural issues rather than economic issues (Inglehart 1987). Importance of cultural issues may lead to conflict about protest rooted in principles and participation for ideological concerns. A lower level of prosperity (or declining economic circumstances) may lead to conflicts about material interests and participation for instrumental concerns.

    Supply and Mobilisation. We observe a shift from formal organizations to loosely coupled networks as mobilizing agencies. Are people mobilised through organisations motivated differently than people who are mobilized via loosely coupled networks? Organisations may have more resources to provide incentives to overcome participation barriers or to communicate messages of efficacy; which may reinforce participation for instrumental concerns. In network mobilisation, however, people may be more often use interpersonal channels (e.g., face-to-face, MySpace etc.) to participate which raises chances that ideological concerns prevail.

2.2.2   Research design and methods

The Dutch team employs a 'national context' X 'mobilising context' research design. Altogether we aim at collecting data on 8-12 demonstrations. The research methods of this individual project fully corresponds with that of the general project, and employs the two-staged protest survey methods and

diverse contextual data, all gathered using the standardized methods agreed upon by all teams (see Annex).

2.2.3   Competence and expertise

Bert Klandermans and Jacquelien van Stekelenburg are both social psychologists with a considerable experience researching social movements and protest from a comparative perspective. They have coordinated several studies in which the protest survey method was employed.

2.2.4   Contribution to the collaboration

The Dutch dataset will be merged with the central dataset, which makes international comparison possible. The Netherlands is an interesting case because it concerns a consociational democracy with an open political system and a centralized state. One of the characteristics of the Dutch democracy is the so-called 'Polder model': an almost continuous process of consensus-oriented consultation between social movements and the government. This "protest culture" has an accommodating and pacifying tradition of dealing with protest. This suggests that Dutch citizens in general are less likely to protest for single issues and that the general level of dissatisfaction has to be high before they protest. This hypothetically affects the reasons why Dutch citizens eventually take onto the streets.

2.2.5   Justification for funding requested

In addition to the wages for one PhD the budget includes posts for the costs to cover 10 demonstration surveys (4000,- euro per survey). Travel costs for 4 meetings with our partners to be held by turns in the participating countries and another 4 to meet the other coordinating team (Belgium).

2.2.6   Planned outputs (publications and other dissemination activities)

We foresee at least one comprehensive volume, the PhD-students involved will write a project-based dissertation. Additionally we anticipate international journal publications in social psychological and sociological journals. We will organize conferences with societal and political actors.

2.2.7   Annexes

a) References
b) Measures and data processing The Netherlands
c) Curriculum Vitae Bert Klandermans & Jacquelien van Stekelenburg

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Annex b) Measures and data processing The Netherlands

Demonstrations may be included in the project if at least 5000 people take part. Although the action repertoire of protest movements encompass more than demonstrations, we limit ourselves to a single means of action, namely street demonstrations. Different means of protest have sometimes very different dynamics. Therefore, we decided to control for that source of variation by restricting our study to a single but frequently employed protest mean. Identical data will be collected re the countries included in the project, the mobilizing context, the demonstration, and the participants. The project leaders have developed fact sheets on nations, mobilizing contexts and demonstrations and core questionnaires for protestors. For each demonstration studied a fieldwork report will be composed describing the circumstances and details of the fieldwork.

It is agreed that in each country 8-12 demonstrations will be studied. Taking the frequency of demonstrations into account even in countries with relatively few demonstrations like the Netherlands 8-12 demonstrations in 3-4 years should be feasible. As we have a core questionnaire, fact sheets to assess context variation, and pools of experienced interviewers available we are able to organize the fieldwork for a demonstration within two weeks.

Data

Nation. A set of characteristics will be registered for each country: variables such as the supply of politics, general features of the political system (openness and closedness of the polity), the composition of the actual government, political opportunity structure, modal action repertoires.

Mobilizing context: Demand-Supply-Mobilization. Level of dissatisfaction, grievances in a country (Eurobarometer, World Value Scales) amount of media attention to the issue, strength and ethnic diversification of civil society, level of, number and type of demonstrations in the period leading up to the covered demonstration, the national 'demonstration culture', strength and contentiousness of the movement sector.

Demonstration. Issue, slogans, position of the national government on the issue, the social movement or political actors staging the protest events, media coverage of the demonstration at stake, target (Government, European Union), employed mobilisation techniques, the weather conditions, the number op participants.

Protesters. We composed and tested a core questionnaire, which will be identical across demonstrations and countries. The variables included are socio-demographic variables; mobilization channels and techniques used by participant, social embeddedness, instrumental, identity and ideological motives, emotions, political behavior (conventional and unconventional), political attitudes (interest, left-right placement, political cynicism), and awareness of and identification with protestors elsewhere in the world. In addition to the core, questions will be included regarding the specific issue of a demonstration. Moreover, a country team might add some questions specific for the country.

Data collection

Data on national context, mobilizing context, and demonstration will be collected through secondary sources, data archives, newspapers accounts, and information acquired from organizers.

Data on protestors will be collected employing two techniques developed, tested, and refined by Walgrave and his team (van Aelst and Walgrave 2001; Walgrave and Verhulst 2008). The first technique is a devise to guarantee that every protester in the area where the protest event takes place has an equal chance of being selected by one of the interviewers with the request to fill in a postal survey. Interviewers are evenly dispersed around the protest area and instructed to hand a postal survey to a protester every n's row or step. The second technique is a device to control for non-response. In addition to the postal survey, short face-to-face interviews will be conducted. Each interviewer poses a few questions concerning the focal variables and some demographics to approximately ten protesters. Experience so far has shown that response rates of close to 100% are achievable for the face-to-face interviews. Thus, provided proper sampling, the face-to-face interviews can serve to assess possible biases due to non-response and to control for it. For each demonstration, face-to-face interviews will be conducted with 200 participants who will also receive postal survey questionnaires; in addition, postal survey questionnaires will be handed out to 800 more participants. Experience so far reveals return rates of 30-50% or higher.

Data processing

The national teams collect the data; after being checked and cleaned the data are shipped to Antwerp, where the Belgian team takes care of coding and entering into the central dataset. Central coding and entering ensures standardized procedures and reduces errors in data processing. The

central dataset is password protected and can be approached and downloaded by the members of the team.

A dataset with a nested data structure will be built in which the data on the mobilizing context are nested within nation; the data on the demonstration are nested within mobilizing context and protester data are nested within the context of the demonstration. Such structure enables, in statistical terms, *multilevel analyses* a statistical method appropriate for the analysis of data sets encompassing several levels of analysis. Multilevel analysis offers the opportunity to assess which proportion of the variance is explained by which level of analysis and thus helps to disentangle the effects of variation in specific contexts on protest participation.

Annex c) Curriculum Vitae Bert Klandermans & Jacquelien van Stekelenburg

Bert Klandermans

Bert Klandermans is Professor of Applied Social Psychology and Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the VUA. He is one of the world's leading scholars of social movements. He conducted studies of a variety of social movements, (e.g. the labour movement, the peace movement, the women's movement, a comparative study of farmers' protest in the Netherlands and Spain, social movements in South Africa, and a comparative study of right wing extremists in Europe). He participated in the study of the 2003 demonstration against the war in Iraq. He published widely in such journal as the American Sociological Review, Social Psychology Quarterly, European Journal of Social Psychology, and Political Psychology. His *Social Psychology of Protest* appeared with Blackwell (1997). He is (with Susanne Staggenborg) the editor of *Methods of Social Movement Research* (University of Minnesota Press 2002). With Hank Johnston he edited *Social Movements and Culture, and* with Craig Jenkins *The Politics of Protest* (both Un. of Minnesota Press 1995). His (edited with Nonna Mayer, Science Po. Paris) *Extreme Right Activists in Europe* appeared with Routledge (2006). Recently, he edited *Social Movements Across Disciplines* (Springer, 2007) with Conny Roggeband. He is actively involved in scholarly organisations such as the American Sociological Association, the International Society of Political Psychology, and the International Sociological Association (between 2002 and 2006 as Vice-President of Finances). He has considerable experience of research supervision, having supervised more than a twenty PhDs in the field of social movements and collective action.

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Jacquelien van Stekelenburg

Personal details

Title(s), initial(s), first name, surname:	dr Jacquelien van Stekelenburg
Male/female:	female
Date and place of birth:	21 November 1966, Purmerend
Nationality:	Dutch
Birth country of parents:	The Netherlands

Master's ('doctoraal')

University/College of Higher Education:	VU-University Amsterdam
Date (dd/mm/yy):	31-01-2002
Main subject:	Social psychology

Doctorate

University/College of Higher Education:	VU-University Amsterdam
Starting date (dd/mm/yy):	15-09-2001
Completion date (dd/mm/yy):	23-05-2006 (*Cum Laude*)
Supervisor ('Promotor'):	Prof. Dr. B. Klandermans, dr. W.W. van Dijk

Title of thesis: Promoting or preventing social change. Instrumentality, identity, ideology and groups-based anger as motives of protest participation.

Present Position

Mai 2006 – present: Post doctoral researcher (with Prof. Dr. B. Klandermans and prof. Dr. R. Koopmans, 1,0 fte).

Awards, Grants and Fellowships

2008   Invited scholar in the social psychology department of the University of Santiago de Compostela, Santiago de Compostela, Spain.

2007   Post-doctoral fellowship (3 years) from the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam

2005   Travel Grant from the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam to visit the conference of the International Society of Political Psychology in Toronto, Canada. (1100,- euro).

2005   Travel Grant from the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam to visit the conference of the American Sociological Association in Philidelphia, US. (1000,- euro).

Publications

Klandermans, Bert, Jojanneke van der Toorn, and Jacquelien van Stekelenburg, (Forthcoming). Embeddedness and grievances: Collective Action Participation Among Immigrants. *American Sociological Review*.

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INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 2	Country:	Belgium
	EUROCORES Funding Organisation	Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO Vlaanderen)

2.1 Financial summary for Individual Project 2 (Belgium)

The Principal Investigator should provide below a summary of the financial support sought from his/her national EUROCORES Funding Organisation.

Full financial details and any other supplementary information required by your national EUROCORES Funding Organisation should be supplied to them as instructed on the web.

		TOTAL
2.1.1	**Staff**	**€ 304.500**
2.1.2	**Travel and subsistence**	**€ 6.000**
2.1.3	**Consumables**	**€ 20.000**
2.1.4	**Other items**	**€ 0**
2.1.5	**Overheads and other allowable costs**	**€ 40.000**
2.1.6	**GRAND TOTAL FOR INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 2 (Belgium)**	**€ 370.500**

2.2 Description of Individual Project 1 (# 1500 words)

    2.2.1   Originality; potential contribution to knowledge

The central research question of this Belgian research proposal is the role and importance of protest issues or themes in determining *who* will participate in protest, *why* they do so, and *how* they get to do so. In the context of non-conventional political participation, mobilizing issues, or *issue contexts* have a peculiar status. On macro- and meso-level, many studies have differentiated between different types of movements, most notably between old and new social movements, mobilizing different issue publics (see e.g. Kriesi et al 1995; Dalton et al 1999). Still, whereas we do know that these different issues, quite obviously, mobilize different issue publics, how this is the case, and to which degree they differently instigate individuals to become and stay involved is basically still a theoretical black box. In recent mainstream political science literature however, issues or policy themes gain increasing attention as an essential thematic links between parties and their electorates, or, in other words, between the supply and demand side of politics. If voters care a lot about an issue when they cast their ballot, chances are high that they will vote for the party they consider to be the "owner" of that issue, that is: the party that is best placed to tackle the issue that is on top of their mind (Petrocik 1996). By and large, in modern campaigning, issue ownership appears to be gradually replacing party identification and deep ideological affinity as drivers of votes (Dalton 1996). As people identify less with parties and since their ideological links with parties are withering, they increasingly rely on issues as electoral beacons (Walgrave and De Swert 2007). Yet, as said, in the study of non-conventional politics, this role of 'issue-specific opportunities is far less explored, although, as Meyer and Minkoff (2004: 1461) acknowledge, it is obvious that '[w]hat provokes mobilization for one movement or constituency may depress mobilization of another, and be completely irrelevant to a third'. Verba et al (1995) specify the peculiar importance of issues by referring to them as 'theoretical wildcards' in their renowned Civic Voluntarism model, arguing that: "as issues come and go, they mobilize to politics different issue publics" (Verba et al. 1995: 522). Mobilizing issues not only link micro-level participation to movement types (e.g. 'old' versus 'new' social movements), and to politics and society (e.g. are they political issues, partisan issues,…); they also shape the micro-level, or demand side of protest (e.g. are they reacted upon in an instrumental or ideological way, or do they appeal to moral sentiments or a sense of collective identity…). The reason for this meager attention to the importance of mobilizing issues is in essence methodological. Non-conventional participation is studied either using case studies, or using large-scale survey data; the first do take into account issue-contexts, but

mostly lack comparability; the second are the paragon of comparative research, but the importance of the concrete issues people are effectively participating for is not taken into account, leading to the leveling-out of the data to the largest mean. Using the protest survey dataset gathered by all national teams, which will contain about 70 demonstrations on a variety of issues, and including national context variables as controlling variables, we can not only clarify the way in which different issues attract different issue publics, in different ways, with different motivations, but also the way in which they are embedded within different organizational backgrounds of different strengths and political weight. In other words, we expect that different issues produce different logical constellations in the 'who', 'why' and 'how' of protest participation. Accordingly, we can assess the relative importance of issues in attracting more or less experienced protesters, assuming that some issues (like e.g. peace, third world,…) are more universal and inherently more longer-term than more immediate and particularistic issues like for instance corporate closedowns. Also questions on protest issues' capacity to mobilize more or less diverse publics, and the way in which they are able to produce bonding (in-group) or bridging (between-group) social capital can be tested (Putnam 2000). Finally, next to determining the discerning importance of issues on a range of variables, we can also test if, beyond or across issues, there do exist universal logics in and pathways to participation; if there, in other words exist some stable relations between the 'who', 'how' and 'why' of participation that are universally sound predictors of protest participation. In the figure below we situate the Belgian proposal within the general proposal.
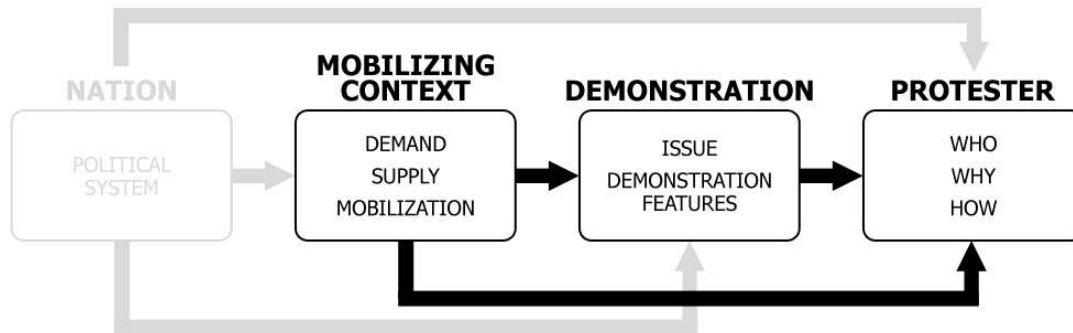

Figure: Belgian research question

The Belgian project team, being a pioneer in protest surveying and associated techniques, has considerable experience with the use of protest surveys (Van Aelst and Walgrave 2001; Walgrave and Verhulst 2008), and initiated an 8-country demonstration data collection effort on the 2003 anti-war protest wave (Verhulst and Walgrave 2007; Walgrave and Verhulst 2009). Participating in this ESF project would mean a crucial step forward in maximizing not only country variation, but also in maximizing the variety of protest issues and the organizational contexts in which they occur, the crucial explaining variable in the individual project proposed by the Belgium team. This way, several theoretical issues which are (empirically) underdeveloped can be put to the empirical test.

2.2.2   Research design and methods

The research design of this individual project fully corresponds with that of the general project, and will make use of two-staged protest surveys and diverse contextual data, all gathered using standardized methods which are cooperatively constructed and unanimously agreed on by all teams. This study will pioneer in the set-up of a truly comparative database of activists' personal features, ideologies, interests, motivations and mobilization tracks, on a variety of issues, and within diverse national, political and issue-contexts.

2.2.3   Competence and expertise

The Belgian team, embedded in the research group Media, Movements and Politics (M²P) is probably the most experienced team in the field of protest surveys, being the first to consistently gather protest survey evidence through time, on a diversity of issues, and using a standardized data-gathering method (Walgrave and Verhulst 2008). M²P has extensively studied, tested and refined the protest survey method, within the framework of a project funded by the Research Foundation Flanders, which has resulted in the fact that this method has become the standard that has proven useful and reliable within the field. The research group has also initiated and supervised the International Peace Protest Survey, in which demonstrators were surveyed in eight countries, on the same international action day against war in Iraq, which has resulted in several (collective) publications (Verhulst and Walgrave 2007; Walgrave and Rucht 2009; Walgrave and Klandermans 2009).

2.2.4   Contribution to the collaboration

The Belgian team will take up an equal share of protest survey data gathering, and will be the central data-coordinator. For data-related contributions, see Annex b. As a case, Belgium is exceptional in several ways: it is a consociational state, with a federal and multi-party political structure, which facilitates social movement development and the frequent use of various protest repertoires. In fact, Belgian civilians are the most experienced protesters worldwide (Norris et al 2005). Finally, the Belgian capital of Brussels is also the capital of the European Union, hosting several international political institutions like the EU parliament and commission and NATO, and also hosting the European headquarters of several multinationals enterprises; all this making it the arena of numerous protest events aimed at these institutions or companies. Integrating these protest events into the database will surely enhance our knowledge on transnational protest and mobilization.

2.2.5   Justification for funding requested

The bulk amount of funding will be used for hiring a full-time post-doctoral researcher. As the work involves several data-collecting efforts on different analytical levels, and given the inherent longer-term aspect of the project, a full time employment is indispensable to carry out the full work plan. As the data-handling aspects are centralized in Belgium, this requires both management skills and data-handling experience, for which an experienced, post-doc researcher is needed. Next, funding is needed to cover all costs of 10 protest surveys (€ 4,000 each for interviewers, Xerox- and postal costs). Once a year a general meeting is planned to evaluate the course of the ESF project, to decide on further project development, to agree on collaborative research outputs, and to tighten the network's personal bonds. These meetings will be attended by both the national project leader and his collaborator (€ 750 each per year).

2.2.6   Planned outputs (publications and other dissemination activities)

The Belgian team will collaborate in all collective outputs made by the collective. We expect to publicize at least 2 national and 2 international peer-reviewed articles, and aim to produce a Flemish monograph, aimed at a larger public, and a international monograph. Furthermore we would apply to chair an ECPR joint session workshop on the role of issues in (non)conventional political participation, and organize a national workshop, inviting academics as well as delegates from interested movement organizations and networks. Finally, after the project's ending, we will host a website making all gathered data publicly available.

2.2.7   Annexes

a) References
b) Measures and data processing Belgium
c) Curriculum Vitae Stefaan Walgrave

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Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. *Voice and Equality. Civic Voluntarism in American Politics.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Verhulst, Joris, and Stefaan Walgrave. 2007. Protest and protesters in advanced industrial democracies. The case of the 15th February global anti-war demonstrations. In: Purdue, Derrick (ed.). 2007. *Civil Societies and Social Movements: potentials and problems*. London: Routledge.

Walgrave, Stefaan, and Knut De Swert. 2007. "Where does issue ownership come from? From the party or from the media? Issue-party identifications in Belgium (1991-2005)." *Harvard International Journal of Press and Politics*. 12 (1): pp.37-67.

Walgrave, Stefaan, and Bert Klandermans. 2009. "Patterns of Mobilization." In Stefaan Walgrave, and Dieter Rucht (eds). 2009. Protest Politics. Antiwar mobilization in advanced industrial democracies. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

Walgrave, Stefaan, and Dieter Rucht (eds). 2009. Protest Politics. Antiwar mobilization in advanced industrial democracies. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

Walgrave, Stefaan, and Joris Verhulst. 2008. Protest Surveying. Testing the Feasibility and Reliability of an Innovative Methodological Approach to Political Protest. Unpublished paper.

Walgrave, Stefaan, and Joris Verhulst. 2009. "Government Stance and Internal Diversity of Protest". Accepted for publication in *Social Forces*.

Annex b) Measures and data processing Belgium

Demonstrations may be included in the project if at least 5000 people take part. Although the action repertoire of protest movements encompass more than demonstrations, we limit ourselves to a single means of action, namely street demonstrations. Different means of protest have sometimes very different dynamics. Therefore, we decided to control for that source of variation by restricting our study to a single but frequently employed protest mean. Identical data will be collected in the countries included in the project, the mobilizing context, the demonstration, and the participants. The project leaders have developed fact sheets on nations, mobilizing contexts and demonstrations and core questionnaires for protestors. For each demonstration studied a fieldwork report will be composed describing the circumstances and details of the fieldwork.

It is agreed that in each country 8-12 demonstrations will be studied. Taking the frequency of demonstrations into account even in countries with relatively few demonstrations like the Netherlands 8-12 demonstrations in 3-4 years should be feasible. As we have a core questionnaire, fact sheets to assess context variation, and pools of experienced interviewers available we are able to organize the fieldwork for a demonstration within two weeks.

Data

Nation. A set of characteristics will be registered for each country: variables such as the supply of politics, general features of the political system (openness and closedness of the polity), the composition of the actual government, political opportunity structure, modal action repertoires.

Mobilizing context: Demand-Supply-Mobilization. Level of dissatisfaction, grievances in a country (Eurobarometer, World Value Scales) amount of media attention to the issue, strength and ethnic diversification of civil society, level of, number and type of demonstrations in the period leading up to the covered demonstration, the national 'demonstration culture', strength and contentiousness of the movement sector.

Demonstration. Issue, slogans, position of the national government on the issue, the social movement or political actors staging the protest events, media coverage of the demonstration at stake, target (Government, European Union), employed mobilisation techniques, the weather conditions, the number op participants.

Protesters. We composed and tested a core questionnaire, which will be identical across demonstrations and countries. The variables included are socio-demographic variables; mobilization channels and techniques used by participant, social embeddedness, instrumental, identity and ideological motives, emotions, political behavior (conventional and unconventional), political attitudes (interest, left-right placement, political cynicism), and awareness of and identification with protestors elsewhere in the world. In addition to the core, questions will be included regarding the specific issue of a demonstration. Moreover, a country team might add some questions specific for the country.

Data collection

Data on national context, mobilizing context, and demonstration will be collected through secondary sources, data archives, newspapers accounts, and information acquired from organizers.

Data on protestors will be collected employing two techniques developed, tested, and refined by Walgrave and his team (van Aelst and Walgrave 2001; Walgrave and Verhulst 2008). The first technique is a devise to guarantee that every protester in the area where the protest event takes place has an equal chance of being selected by one of the interviewers with the request to fill in a postal survey. Interviewers are evenly dispersed around the protest area and instructed to hand a postal survey to a protester every n's row or step. The second technique is a device to control for non-response. In addition to the postal survey, short face-to-face interviews will be conducted. Each interviewer poses a few questions concerning the focal variables and some demographics to approximately ten protesters. Experience so far has shown that response rates of close to 100% are achievable for the face-to-face interviews. Thus, provided proper sampling, the face-to-face interviews can serve to assess possible biases due to non-response and to control for it. For each demonstration, face-to-face interviews will be conducted with 200 participants who will also receive postal survey questionnaires; in addition, postal survey questionnaires will be handed out to 800 more participants. Experience so far reveals return rates of 30-50% or higher.

Data processing

The national teams collect the data; after being checked and cleaned the data are shipped to Antwerp, where the Belgian team takes care of coding and entering into the central dataset. Central coding and entering ensures standardized procedures and reduces errors in data processing. The

central dataset is password protected and can be approached and downloaded by the members of the team.

A dataset with a nested data structure will be built in which the data on the mobilizing context are nested within nation; the data on the demonstration are nested within mobilizing context and protester data are nested within the context of the demonstration. Such structure enables, in statistical terms, *multilevel analyses* a statistical method appropriate for the analysis of data sets encompassing several levels of analysis. Multilevel analysis offers the opportunity to assess which proportion of the variance is explained by which level of analysis and thus helps to disentangle the effects of variation in specific contexts on protest participation.

c) Curriculum Vitae Stefaan Walgrave (and Research Group M²P)

The team of the University of Antwerp (UA) headed by Professor Stefaan Walgrave is the Media Movements, and Politics (M²P) research group. When it comes to protest surveying this team is one of the most experienced around. In total, between 1996 and 2007, the team directly carried out and supervised 22 different protest surveys (for an overview, see Walgrave and Verhulst, 2008). These surveys were conducted in eight countries and covered many different issues, from anti-racist over labor-union to anti-violence demonstrations. M²P also experimented extensively with the protest survey method and devised the sampling method on which the general project will draw. Recently, it started testing the follow-up survey methodology. Stefaan Walgrave also headed the first international comparative protest survey, the International Peace Protest Survey (IPPS) conducted on the large demonstrations against the war in Iraq on February 15th, 2003, in which many of the present project members were engaged too. Walgrave, hence, has ample experience with coordinating international data collection and analyses. IPPS resulted in a collective volume that will be published in the prestigious Social Movements, Protest, and Contention series of the University of Minnesota Press (Walgrave and Rucht 2009). Apart from that, the UA-team has published widely on protest and social movements in journals as Mobilization, Social Forces, Social Movement Studies, European Journal of Political Research etc. Next to its interest in protest and social movements, M²P is engaged in research on political parties, elections, and media and politics which lead to publications in journals as Journal of Communication, Journal of European Public Policy, European Journal for Political Research, Political Communication, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies etc.

M²P counts at present nine members, of which five, including its head Stefaan Walgrave, are engaged in protest surveying and research into social movements and political protest. Two externally funded projects on social movements and protest are at present conducted in M²P. Should this ESF-project be funded, it will be Joris Verhulst who will be hired as a postdoc researcher and who will carry out the brunt of the work for the UA-team. Verhulst is an experienced researcher who has been using protest surveys for more than 6 years, amongst others for his PhD to be finalized early 2009, and it was he who coordinated the IPPS data collection. He (co-)published several of the chapters of the collective volume following the IPPS project, as well as other peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters on social movements and protest participation.

Selection of relevant publications by Stefaan Walgrave and M²P

Walgrave, Stefaan, and Dieter Rucht (eds). 2009. Protest Politics. Antiwar mobilization in advanced industrial democracies. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

Walgrave, Stefaan, and Joris Verhulst. 2009. "Government Stance and Internal Diversity of Protest". Accepted for publication in *Social Forces*.

Verhulst, Joris, and Stefaan Walgrave. 2007. Protest and protesters in advanced industrial democracies. The case of the 15th February global anti-war demonstrations. In: Purdue, Derrick (ed.). 2007. *Civil Societies and Social Movements: potentials and problems*. London: Routledge.

Walgrave, Stefaan, and Knut De Swert. 2007. "Where does issue ownership come from? From the party or from the media? Issue-party identifications in Belgium (1991-2005)." *Harvard International Journal of Press and Politics*. 12 (1): pp.37-67.

Walgrave, Stefaan, and Joris Verhulst. 2006. "Towards 'new emotional movements'? A comparative exploration into a specific movement type". Social Movement Studies 5(3): 275-304.

Norris, Pippa, Stefaan Walgrave, and Peter Van Aelst. 2005. "Who Demonstrates? Antistate Rebels, Conventional Participants, or Everyone?". Comparative Politics 37(2): 189-205.

Bédoyan, Isabelle, Peter Van Aelst, and Stefaan Walgrave. 2004. "Limitations and Possibilities of Transnational Mobilization: The Case of EU Summit Protesters in Brussels 2001". Mobilization 9 (1):39-54.

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

Walgrave, Stefaan, and Jan Manssens. 2000. "The Making of the White March: the Mass Media as a Mobilizing Alternative to Movement Organisations." Mobilization 5(2):217-239.

INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 3	**Country:**	*France*
	EUROCORES Funding Organisation	*Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS)*

2.1 Financial summary for Individual Project 3 (France)

The Principal Investigator should provide below a summary of the financial support sought from his/her national EUROCORES Funding Organisation.

Full financial details and any other supplementary information required by your national EUROCORES Funding Organisation should be supplied to them as instructed on the web.

		TOTAL
2.1.1	**Staff**	**€ 150.000**
2.1.2	**Travel and subsistence**	**€ 6.000**
2.1.3	**Consumables**	**€ 26.000**
2.1.4	**Other items**	**€ 0**
2.1.5	**Overheads and other allowable costs**	**€ 40.000**
2.1.6	**GRAND TOTAL FOR INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 3 (France)**	**€ 222.000**

2.2 Description of Individual Project 3 *(#1500 words)*

2.2.1   Originality; potential contribution to knowledge

Political protest is a function of supply and demand of (opportunities for) collective action (Klandermans 2004). Movements episodically stage protest events, thereby most often trying to mobilize the largest possible fraction of the available mobilization potential (Klandermans and Oegema 1987). On a longer term, these episodes shape "cycles of protest" (Bürklin 1987; Tarrow 1994, Fillieule and Tartakowsky, 2008), representing the ebb and flow of movements' protest activity. This basic episodic and cyclical nature of protest is mainly studied from the supply side of protest. Still, it also has repercussions for, and is just as well shaped by the demand side of protest. Research has shown for example that the amount of first time protesters strongly correlates with early-stage national protest cycles (Walgrave and Verhulst 2006, Fillieule, Blanchard and ali., 2004). For movements it is essential to try to keep at least some of these (re-)activated activists going to secure a stable equilibrium the in- and outflow of a movements' action mobilization potential. After all, if people who terminate their active movement engagement are not replaced by new activists, the movement's basis will shrink, and it's further existence will be jeopardized. Therefore, understanding the mechanisms which shape an activist career, i.e. make citizens to become activists, which make activists to persist in their activism, and which make protest veterans to terminate their active involvement (Fillieule 2001; 2005), is of crucial importance, not only theoretically, but also for understanding the growth and decline of social movement involvement. Clearly, meso-level circumstances like protest supply and protest cycles have an impact on individual protest demand, as well as on the continuing engagement of individuals. In their seminal study, Downton and Wehr (1998) learned from their persisting activists that "the intensity and duration of their commitment varied with the opportunities for and conditions motivating activism. Thus, the continuity of activism will be explained to a degree by the contexts where it develops and continues". Yet at least equally important and to a large degree entwined with these factors are individual-level factors, like personal features, individual mobilization variables and motivational aspects that foster or hinder sustained participation. It is exactly the interplay between supply and demand of protest, which are the diachronically entwined constitutive elements of protest cycles that will be the object of study in this national project. In the figure below we situate the French proposal within the general project proposal.
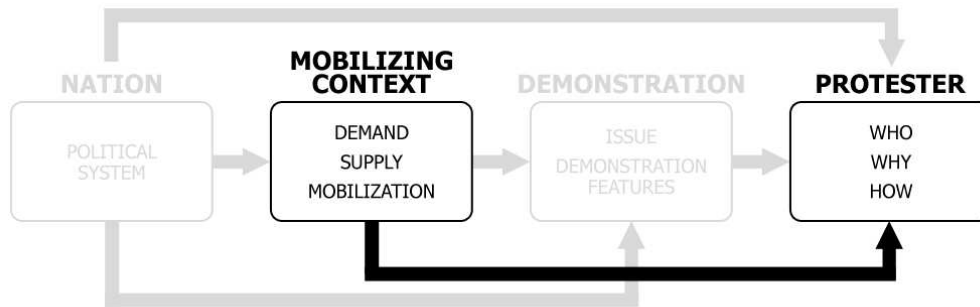
Figure: French research question

By adding two extra data-gatherings to the initial protest survey data (see 2.2.2), we are able to get a comprehensive and multi-dimensional understanding of longer-term activist involvement and disengagement, as well as how these are both influenced by as well as giving shape to national protest cycles. More concrete, following research questions will be tackled:

First, we will broaden the current state of the art on sustained participation beyond that of individual biographical evidence (Downton and Wehr 1998) or organizational affiliation (Klandermans 1997) to a comprehensive study combining the 'who' (personal features, attitudes and biographies), 'why' personal motives, emotions, gratifications and rewards) and 'how' (mobilization and (in)formal network embeddedness) of activists' (dis)engagement. This way, we are able to assess which aspects of, and which potential shifts in these personal constellations are crucial in keeping activists involved, in making them resign from their involvement, and in attracting or deter newcomers to become activists. More specific questions will also be investigated, e.g. to which degree activist careers are triggered and/or determined by longer-term network/movement socialization, by personal life-cycles, or in contrast by very specific triggering events, like moral shocks (Jasper 1997) or other focusing events (Kingdon 1984). Also the effects of current participation and related evaluations and constructed attitudes and gratifications on consequent (non-)participation can be measured by integrating the respondents' retrospective evaluations in the design.

Second, these individual trajectories will be linked to national protest cycles on the same issue, and/or with a same organizational involvement, to assess how protest cycles influence activists' careers (or non-careers) and also how protest cycles are, to at least some degree, also shaped by the demand side of protest; if our individual demonstrators in a later survey e.g. show less motivation or less emotional attachments; show less confidence in their organization, or have less faith in the instrumental character of their participation (possibly since nothing has changed since their initial participation), protest demand will drop, and inevitably the protest cycle will follow. Additionally, we can measure the distinctive impact of protest cycle phases on who is effectively mobilized: as said, newcomers could be more easily attracted early in a protest cycle. Consequently, this also entails a specific use of broad, 'open' mobilization channels to exactly reach beyond the own organizational in crowds. In short, we can measure which specific factions of the demand side of protest are effectively mobilized in specific protest cycle stages.

Third, the French team will take advantage of the proposed research to expand its ongoing work on research designs in social movement research. Protest surveys will certainly be used extensively in the near future. Considering the state of the art, it is of utmost importance that an epistemological and methodological thinking be conducted to avoid 'routinization without reflexivity' (Fillieule and Blanchard, 2008). Participation in the collective project is an opportunity to elaborate on methodological questions about how to collect data on crowds, as well as on the capacity of the method to explore the socio-political logics of demonstrations in a cross-national comparison. More precisely, we aim to progress in answering one of the central questions about collective behavior: What exactly is a demonstration?, following here the seminal work of Clark McPhail on the logics of the crowd (McPhail, 2006).

2.2.2 Research design and methods

The French team will organize 10 protest surveys, using the agreed sampling method and core questionnaire, together with an invitation to engage in further research, and a enquiry for re-contacting information (name and e-mail address (or postal address if not available)). In France, these protest surveys will be conducted during the first half of the project. Integrating these data into a mixed-methods design, they will be supplemented by both quantitative as well as qualitative data. Exactly one year after the initial demonstration, we will re-contact those who provided us their (e-)mail address to engage in a (predominantly online) follow-up survey. In this survey we will evaluate the evolutions in their involvements, activist behaviour, attitudes and motivations based on shifts in their answers on identical questions, and add several new questions to get a comprehensive view on the mechanisms behind both protest as well as more general activist maintenance and disengagement. To get an even more in-depth view on the link with not only protest cycles, but also individual life-cycles (e.g., political biographies, early experiences with injustice, socialization factors such as peers, teachers, parents), we will conduct 30 in-depth interviews with a non-random sample of respondents, selected on their activist's features (moderate versus radical; first-timers versus diehards,…). Finally, we will link both individual activists' trajectories as well as the overall composition of specific demonstrations to national protest cycles, ensured by the contextual data-gathering as described in the general proposal.

2.2.3 Competence and expertise

Isabelle Somier and Olivier Fillieule are both scientists with a considerable experience researching social movements and protest from a comparative perspective. They have coordinated several studies in which the protest survey method was employed.

2.2.4 Contribution to the collaboration

As all other countries, the French team will engage in 10 issue-varying protest surveys to be integrated within the overall dataset. Additionally, being both methodologically (Favre, Fillieule and Mayer, 1997; Fillieule and Blanchard, 2008) as well as practically experienced with the use of protest surveys, both researchers are of important value in the construction of the core questionnaire. As a case, France is an exemplar *protesting democracy,* with a relatively very high protest frequency and protest willingness among its civilians. The country's semi-presidential status makes it a politically unique case.

2.2.5 Justification for funding requested (explain why items requested are necessary for the research)

The three-staged design of this study as well as all practical matters that go with it fully justify the assignment of one full-time research assistant. (see 2.1 for all costs). Other costs are kept to a minimum and concern travel and lodging costs for four meetings for two (in sum € 3000 each); € 4,000 per protest survey, including all postal and Xeroxing costs, and the payment of the surveyors. Additional costs for the follow-up survey and interviews will be kept to a minimum and will be payed with the consumables (annually € 6,500).

2.2.6 Planned outputs (publications and other dissemination activities)

Apart from collaborating in the collective outputs, the French team aims at the publication of 2-3 French and 1-2 international journal articles. We aim at collecting our national project's findings into one French, and one international monograph. Furthermore we would apply to chair an ECPR joint session workshop on activists' careers and organize a national workshop, inviting academics as well as delegates from interested movement organizations and networks.

2.2.7   Annexes

a) References
b) Measures and data processing France
c) Curriculum Vitae Isabelle Sommier & Olivier Fillieule

Annex a) References

Bürklin, Wilhelm. 1987. "Governing left parties frustrating the radical non-established left". *European Sociological Review* 3 (2): 109 - 126.

Downton, James Jr., and Paul Wehr. 1998. "Persistent Pacifism: How Activist Commitment Is Developed And Sustained." *Journal of Peace Research* 35 (5): 531-550.

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

Fillieule, Olivier, and Philippe Blanchard. 2008. "INdividual SUrveys in RAllies (INSURA). A new tool for exploring transnational activism?", in Simon Teune (ed), *Transnational Challengers How Activism beyond Borders Changes the Face of Protest*, Oxford and New York, Berghahn Books.

Fillieule, Olivier. 2001. "Introduction et Propositions pour une analyse processuelle de l'engagement individuel", in Olivier Fillieule and Nonna Mayer (Eds.), "Devenirs Militants", *Revue française de science politique* 51 (1): 19-25 and 199-215.

Fillieule, Olivier, and Danielle Tartakowsky. 2008. *La manifestation*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Fillieule, Olivier, Philippe Blanchard, et al. 2004. "l'Altermondialisme en réseaux: Trajectoires militantes, multipositionnalité et formes de l'engagement: les participants du contre-sommet du g8 d'Evian (2003)", *Politix* 5, décembre.

Jasper, James M. 1997. *The Art of Moral Protest - Culture, Biography and Creativity in Social Movements*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.

Kingdon, James W. 1984. *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. New York: Harper Collins.

Klandermans, Bert, and Dirk Oegema. 1987. "Potentials, networks, motivations and barriers: steps towards participation in social movements." *American Sociological Review* 52: 519-531.

Klandermans, Bert. 1997. *The Social Psychology of Protest*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

McPhail, Clark, David D. Schweingruber, and Alin Mihai Ceobanu. 2006. Bridging the Collective Behavior/ Social Movement Gap, paper presented at the ASA, Montréal.

Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Walgrave, Stefaan, and Joris Verhulst. 2006. *The First Time is the Hardest? A cross-issue and cross-nation comparison of first-time protest participants*. Paper presented at the APSA annual meeting, Philadelphia, 28 August-3 September 2006.

Annex b) Measures and data processing France

Demonstrations may be included in the project if at least 5000 people take part. Although the action repertoire of protest movements encompass more than demonstrations, we limit ourselves to a single means of action, namely street demonstrations. Different means of protest have sometimes very different dynamics. Therefore, we decided to control for that source of variation by restricting our study to a single but frequently employed protest mean. Identical data will be collected re the countries included in the project, the mobilizing context, the demonstration, and the participants. The project leaders have developed fact sheets on nations, mobilizing contexts and demonstrations and core questionnaires for protestors. For each demonstration studied a fieldwork report will be composed describing the circumstances and details of the fieldwork.

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coding and entering ensures standardized procedures and reduces errors in data processing. The central dataset is password protected and can be approached and downloaded by the members of the team.

A dataset with a nested data structure will be built in which the data on the mobilizing context are nested within nation; the data on the demonstration are nested within mobilizing context and protester data are nested within the context of the demonstration. Such structure enables, in statistical terms, *multilevel analyses* a statistical method appropriate for the analysis of data sets encompassing several levels of analysis. Multilevel analysis offers the opportunity to assess which proportion of the variance is explained by which level of analysis and thus helps to disentangle the effects of variation in specific contexts on protest participation.

Annex c) Curriculum Vitae Isabelle Sommier & Olivier Fillieule

Isabelle Sommier, Director of the CRPS, is professor in political science at Paris I. She's specialized in political violence and collective action in France and Italy. Her main publications on these topics are:

Sommier, Isabelle. 2008. *La violence révolutionnaire*. Paris : Presses de Sciences po.

Sommier, Isabelle. 2008. *La violence politique et son deuil. L'après 68 en France et en Italie*. Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes (first edition, 1998)

Sommier, Isabelle, and Hélène Combes. 2007. "The Global Justice Movement in France, in Donatella della Porta (ed.), *The Global Justice Movement*, Boulder/London, Paradigm, 2007, p. 103-127.

Sommier, Isabelle, and Xavier Crettiez (eds.). 2002. *La France rebelle.* Paris : Michalon. (2nd revised edition, October 2006).

Sommier, Isabelle. 2003. *Le renouveau des mouvements contestataires à l'heure de la mondialisation*, Paris, Flammarion: Champs.

Sommier, Isabelle, and Eric Agrikoliansky (eds.). 2005. *Radiographie du mouvement altermondialiste*. Paris: La Dispute.

Sommier, Isabelle, Olivier Fillieule and Eric Agrikoliansky (eds), 2008, *La généalogie des mouvements altermondialistes en Europe. Une perspective comparée*, Paris, Karthala.

Olivier Fillieule is senior researcher at the CRPS, professor of political sociology at The University of Lausanne (IEPI/CRAPUL). He works on demonstrations, social movements and militant careers. He has recently published :

Fillieule, Olivier and Tartakowsky Danielle, 2008, *La manifestation*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po.

Fillieule, Olivier and Patricia Roux (eds), 2008, *Le sexe du militantisme*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po.

Fillieule Olivier, Pierre Favre and Fabien Jobard (eds), 2006, *L'atelier du politiste. Théories, actions représentations*, Paris, La Découverte.

Fillieule Olivier and Donatella Della Porta (eds), 2006 *Police et manifestants. Maintien de l'ordre et gestion des conflits*, Paris, Presses de sciences po, 2006.

Fillieule Olivier (ed), 2005, *Le désengagement militant*, Paris, Belin.

Agrikoliansky, Eric, Olivier Fillieule and Nonna Mayer (eds), *L'altermondialisme en France. Genèse et dynamique d'un mouvement social*, Paris, Flammarion.

Fillieule, Olivier, and Mounia Bennani (eds.). 2003. *Résistances et protestations dans les sociétés musulmanes*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Fillieule, Olivier and Christophe Broqua. 2001. *Les logiques de l'engagement dans la lutte contre le sida*. Paris: Textuel.

Olivier Fillieule. 1997. *Stratégies de la rue. Les manifestations en France*. Paris : Presses de Sciences Po.

INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 4	Country:	_The UK_
	EUROCORES Funding Organisation	Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)

2.1 Financial summary for Individual Project 4 (The UK)

The Principal Investigator should provide below a summary of the financial support sought from his/her national EUROCORES Funding Organisation.

Full financial details and any other supplementary information required by your national EUROCORES Funding Organisation should be supplied to them as instructed on the web.

		TOTAL
2.1.1	**Staff**	**€ 278.722,93**
2.1.2	**Travel and subsistence**	**€19.986,95**
2.1.3	**Consumables**	**€ 10.816,76**
2.1.4	**Other items**	**€ 0**
2.1.5	**Overheads and other allowable costs**	**€ 311.366,75**
2.1.6	**GRAND TOTAL FOR INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 4 (The UK)**	**€ 620.893,39**

2.2 Description of Individual Project 4 (#_1498 words_)

2.2.1 Originality, potential contribution to knowledge

The early 21st century is a novel time for social movements across much of Europe. The revolutionary left appears to have passed its sell-by-date, mobilization against the Iraq war is on the decline and summit-hopping and street parties that characterised the emergent 'global justice movement' at the end of the 1990s have lost popularity due to the violence that often accompanied them. Yet the time of large-scale marches and protest movements has not passed. Recent mobilizations, including the Make Poverty History March in Edinburgh, 2005, and the annual global climate campaign marches that pass through major cities, indicate that activists have not given up on protest (Rootes, 2003).

These observations raise important questions to which answers are often not known. Little is known about who attends such marches and why they do so. What are the characteristics of the protest participants? What concerns do they have about the issue on which they are campaigning? What is it about conventional politics that leads members of the public to attend protest marches? And do activists perceive their efforts to be a part of a global movement? Or is the global movement a mythical fragment of imagination?
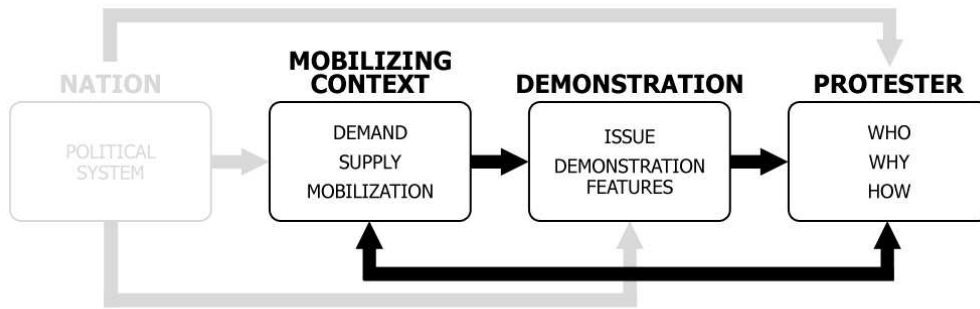
Figure 1:
Interactions between mobilizing contexts, issues of demonstrations and protesters

The British team will concentrate on the issues people are demonstrating for and the way such issues impact on who participates in the demonstration for what reason. The team is also interested in how beliefs of the protestors feed back into the national mobilizing context (Figure 1). More specific the British team has two objectives. First, assessing protest behaviour as one of the means of political participation. How does protest participation relate to conventional political participation (Jenkins & Klandermans, 1995)? A number of questions in the core questionnaire concern political attitudes (political interest, left-right self placement, political cynicism), and conventional political participation such as voting behaviour. On the one hand, conventional and unconventional participation seem to be positively correlated (Barnes & Kaase, 1979). On the other hand, protest participation is conceived of as anti-politics, that is, inspired by people's frustration about the political system.

Second, the British team will attempt to clarify the question of identification with transnational movements (della Porta, Kriesi, & Rucht, 1999; Della Porta & Tarrow, 2005; Smith & Fetner, 2007). For example, do protestors who take part in protest on issues of 'Global Justice' define themselves as part of this transnational social movement? Or do workers who protest against imminent changes in their pension system define that as protest against a national social policy issue or as protest against the transnational tendencies of neo-liberal economic reform? The core questionnaire contains the question of whether protestors perceive that their protest event is related to other protest events in the world, and if so to what extent they identify with these other protestors. In other words, do protestors feel part of or identify with a larger transnational social movement? An interesting question concerns the influence issues have on such definitions. To what extent do issues influence whether participants feel embedded in conventional politics and in transnational movements? Are some issues easier to embed in the conventional supply of politics than other? Similarly, are some issues easier to embed in transnational politics than other? Finally, if a protest is defined as being part of a transnational movement, what does that mean in terms of opponents?
These remain novel questions, to be explored by the UK team. As it is interested in these two matters it will analyse the data across countries looking into embeddedness in conventional political behaviour and in transnational movements. In doing so it explores how characteristics of participants feeds back into the characteristics of the mobilizing context. If participants feel that their participation is embedded in conventional politics and transnational movements, does that mean that they redefine the national mobilizing context?

2.2.2 Research design and methods

The research design of this individual project corresponds with that of the general project. In addition, it will include in-depth interviews with a subsample of the interviewees (n=30). Those sections of the questionnaire that relate to the specific themes added by the British team will be analyzed separately.

2.2.3 Competence and expertise

The UK team is based at the Centre for the Study of Social and Political Movements at the *University of Kent*. The Centre was established in 1992 in order to encourage the study of social and political movements, and to facilitate the development at Kent of collaborative research in this areas. The Centre is actively involved in international networks of social movement researchers, having participated in the ERASMUS network on "Social movements, conflict and political action" and through its members' activity in the relevant Research Committees of the ISA, the ESA and the ECPR. There are currently 15 permanent staff associated with the Centre. The Centre is among the seven research centers associated with the School of Social Policy, Sociology and Social Research, which has 63 established academic staff and some 50 research staff. In the 2001 Research Assessment Exercise, the School entered its entire full-time staff and was awarded the highest possible rating (5*), signifying that the majority of its research activity is considered to be "excellent" by international standards. This score was subsequently raised to 6* in recognition of its consistently high rating and increasing volume of research activity. Members of the School have co-ordinated two EU FP4/FP5 projects and participated in several other FP4/ FP5/FP6 projects.

Clare Saunders, currently a research associate of the Centre for the Study of Social and Political Movements, but soon to be Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at the University of Southampton, will be Principal Investigator. She has considerable experience in researching social movements, especially the environmental movement and the global justice movement, through her work on the TEA project ('Transformation of environmental activism') project (EC contract # ENV4-CT97-0514)) (1998–2001), the Demos (Democracy in Europe) project and Brian Doherty's ESRC-funded project on Friends of the Earth International. She has coordinated surveys of the Make Poverty History march in Edinburgh (July 2005), of two climate change marches (November 2006 and December 2007) and of organizations in the Friends of the Earth International network, and has helped to coordinate a survey of participants in the Athens European Social Forum (May 2006). She is co-author of a chapter in a forth-coming book, which analyses the results of the Athens European Social Forum survey. She has published around 10 articles/chapters that have relevance to this project.

Chris Rootes, Professor of Environmental Politics and Political Sociology and director of the Centre for the Study of Social and Political Movements will be co-Investigator. He has experience of a wide range of methodologies including survey research, qualitative in-depth interviews and focus groups, and he has considerable experience of research supervision, having supervised more than a dozen PhDs and up to five research assistants at a time. He also has considerable experience of research management and collaborative research. In addition to co-ordinating the FP5 TEA, he has directed five workshops (1983, 1983, 1989, 1997 and 2006) at the Joint Sessions of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), jointly organised highly successful annual conferences of both the British Sociological Association (1992) and the Political Studies Association (1983), and organised the Environmental Politics section of the ECPR conference (2001 and 2003). He has considerable editing experience, both of collective works with highly reputable academic publishers and as joint editor of the journal *Environmental Politics.* Publications include about 100 articles/chapters, 8 edited collections and over 70 papers presented at international conferences.

2.2.4 Contribution to the collaboration

Like all the teams, the UK team will contribute to protest surveys and assist with data analysis and cleaning. In addition, the team will conduct in depth interviews with core activists. More specifically, the UK-team will investigate to what extent conventional and unconventional political participation are related and to what extent participants identify with a wider, international community of protestors.

2.2.5 Justification for funding request

Much of the costs are to guarantee the required quantity and quality of the data. This is a major investment but it will produce a unique and invaluable dataset, which eventually will be made available to the scientific community. The requested funding is to collect data on 8-12 demonstrations (the estimated cost of 12 surveys in the UK is approximately €18.000); to finance a research assistant or PhD (on a starting salary of € 34,797 per annum), to reimburse travel costs of the project leaders and the project teams (€ 2.000 per annum), consumables (€ 5.000 per annum).

2.2.6 Planned outputs (publications and other dissemination activities)

The UK-team plans to contribute to the collective volume anticipated as an outcome of the project. It will also write several articles to be submitted to respected academic journals. It will also present its research at academic conferences. Additional publications will focus on the two specific topics taken care of by the UK team.

2.2.7   Annexes
a) References
b) Measures and data processing The UK
c) Curriculum Vitae Clare Saunders & Christopher Rootes

Annex a) References

Barnes, S. H., & Kaase, M. (1979). *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

della Porta, D., Kriesi, H., & Rucht, D. (Eds.). (1999). *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*. New York: Macmillan.

Della Porta, D., & Tarrow, S. (Eds.). (2005). *Transnational Protest & Global Activism.* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Jenkins, J. C., & Klandermans, B. (Eds.). (1995). *The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives On States and Social Movements..* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Rootes, C. (2003). Britain. In C. Rootes (Ed.), *Environmental Protest in Western Europe* (pp. 20–58.). Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Smith, J., & Fetner, T. (2007). Structural Approaches in the Sociology of Social Movements. In B. Klandermans & C. Roggeband (Eds.), *Handbook of Movements: Social Movements Across Disciplines* (pp. 13-58). New York: Springer.

van Aelst, P., & Walgrave, S. (2001). Who is that (wo)man in the street? From the normalisation of protest to the normalisation of the protester. *European Journal of Political Research, 39*, 461-486.

Annex b) Measures and data processing The UK

Demonstrations may be included in the project if at least 5000 people take part. Although the action repertoire of protest movements encompass more than demonstrations, we limit ourselves to a single means of action, namely street demonstrations. Different means of protest have sometimes very different dynamics. Therefore, we decided to control for that source of variation by restricting our study to a single but frequently employed protest mean. Identical data will be collected re the countries included in the project, the mobilizing context, the demonstration, and the participants. The project leaders have developed fact sheets on nations, mobilizing contexts and demonstrations and core questionnaires for protestors. For each demonstration studied a fieldwork report will be composed describing the circumstances and details of the fieldwork.

It is agreed that in each country 8-12 demonstrations will be studied. Taking the frequency of demonstrations into account even in countries with relatively few demonstrations like the Netherlands 8-12 demonstrations in 3-4 years should be feasible. As we have a core questionnaire, fact sheets to assess context variation, and pools of experienced interviewers available we are able to organize the fieldwork for a demonstration within two weeks.

Data

Nation. A set of characteristics will be registered for each country: variables such as the supply of politics, general features of the political system (openness and closedness of the polity), the composition of the actual government, political opportunity structure, modal action repertoires.

Mobilizing context: Demand-Supply-Mobilization. Level of dissatisfaction, grievances in a country (Eurobarometer, World Value Scales) amount of media attention to the issue, strength and ethnic diversification of civil society, level of, number and type of demonstrations in the period leading up to the covered demonstration, the national 'demonstration culture', strength and contentiousness of the movement sector.

Demonstration. Issue, slogans, position of the national government on the issue, the social movement or political actors staging the protest events, media coverage of the demonstration at stake, target (Government, European Union), employed mobilisation techniques, the weather conditions, the number op participants.

Protesters. We composed and tested a core questionnaire, which will be identical across demonstrations and countries. The variables included are socio-demographic variables; mobilization channels and techniques used by participant, social embeddedness, instrumental, identity and ideological motives, emotions, political behavior (conventional and unconventional), political attitudes (interest, left-right placement, political cynicism), and awareness of and identification with protestors elsewhere in the world. In addition to the core, questions will be included regarding the specific issue of a demonstration. Moreover, a country team might add some questions specific for the country.

Data collection

Data on national context, mobilizing context, and demonstration will be collected through secondary sources, data archives, newspapers accounts, and information acquired from organizers.

Data on protestors will be collected employing two techniques developed, tested, and refined by Walgrave and his team . The first technique is a devise to guarantee that every protester in the area where the protest event takes place has an equal chance of being selected by one of the interviewers with the request to fill in a postal survey. Interviewers are evenly dispersed around the protest area and instructed to hand a postal survey to a protester every n's row or step. The second technique is a device to control for non-response. In addition to the postal survey, short face-to-face interviews will be conducted. Each interviewer poses a few questions concerning the focal variables and some demographics to approximately ten protesters. Experience so far has shown that response rates of close to 100% are achievable for the face-to-face interviews. Thus, provided proper sampling, the face-to-face interviews can serve to assess possible biases due to non-response and to control for it. For each demonstration, face-to-face interviews will be conducted with 200 participants who will also receive postal survey questionnaires; in addition, postal survey questionnaires will be handed out to 800 more participants. Experience so far reveals return rates of 30-50% or higher.

In addition to the data collection at the actual demonstration the British team will conduct in-depth interviews with approx. 30 protestors.

Data processing

The national teams collect the data; after being checked and cleaned the data are shipped to Antwerp, where the Belgian team takes care of coding and entering into the central dataset. Central

coding and entering ensures standardized procedures and reduces errors in data processing. The central dataset is password protected and can be approached and downloaded by the members of the team.

A dataset with a nested data structure will be built in which the data on the mobilizing context are nested within nation; the data on the demonstration are nested within mobilizing context and protester data are nested within the context of the demonstration. Such structure enables, in statistical terms, *multilevel analyses* a statistical method appropriate for the analysis of data sets encompassing several levels of analysis. Multilevel analysis offers the opportunity to assess which proportion of the variance is explained by which level of analysis and thus helps to disentangle the effects of variation in specific contexts on protest participation.

Annex c) Curriculum Vitae Clare Saunders & Christopher Rootes

Clare Saunders

Clare Saunders is a Research Associate at the Centre for the Study of Social and Political Movements at the University of Kent. From July 2008, she will be a RCUK Fellow (Lecturer) in Politics and International Relations in the School of Social Sciences (Politics) at the University of Southampton. She is also on the Standing Committee of the European Consortium for Political Research Green Politics Standing Group. Since 2000 she has been employed on a number of research projects studying a variety of social movements, and has developed expertise in a wide range of appropriate methodology for the study of collective action. In particular, she has expertise in designing and analysing surveys and in social network analysis. Projects she has worked on include the TEA (Transformation of Environmental Activism) project, in which she surveyed environmental organizations (see Rootes' CV for more details); the EC-FP7 funded DEMOS (Democracy in Europe and the Mobilization of Society) project, which raised questions about democracy and participation in the global justice movement; an UNRISD (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development) project on anti-debt mobilizations in the UK; the ESRC-funded Friends of the Earth International (FoEI) project which surveyed organizations that are part of the FoEI network; and the EC-FP7 funded Juristras project, which is concerned with NGOs and their interactions with jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights. She has produced over 20 research reports and conference papers, and a number of publications that are relevant to this proposal:

- *Forthcoming,* British humanitarian, aid and development NGOs (1949-present)' in Matthew Hilton, Nicholas Crowson and James McKay (eds) *NGOs in Contemporary Britain: Non-state Actors in Society and Politics since 1945*, Palgrave.
- *Forthcoming*, 'Organizational resources and democratic conceptions: Is big or small beautiful', in Donatella della Porta (ed), *Democracy in Movements, Conceptions and Practices of Democracy in Contemporary Social Movements*, Palgrave.
- *Forthcoming*, 'The organizational dimension: The effect of organizational formality, voice and influence on mobilization and participation in the global justice movement' (with Massimiliano Andretta) in Donatella della Porta (ed) *Another Europe is Possible: Conceptions and Practices of Democracy in the European Social Forum*, Routledge.
- *2008*, 'Double Edged Swords? Collective Identity and Solidarity in the Environmental Movement', *British Journal of Sociology*, 59(2), pp.227- 253.
- 2007, 'Using Social Network Analysis to Explore Social Movements: A Relational Approach', *Social Movement Studies*, 6(3), pp. 227-243.
- 2007, 'The Global Justice Movement in Britain' (with Christopher Rootes), in D. della Porta (ed), *The Global Justice Movement: Cross-national and Transnational Perspectives*, Boulder: Paradigm Press, pp.128-156.
- 2007, 'Le développement du mouvement pour une justice globale en Grande-Bretange'(with Christopher Rootes), in Isabelle Sommier, Olivier Fillieule, Eric Agrikoliansky (ed), *La généalogie des mouvements anti-globalisation en Europe. Une perspective comparée*. Paris: Karthala, pp.67-86.
- 2007, 'The Local and the National: Relationships Between National and Local Environmental Movement Organisations in London', *Environmental Politics*, 16 (5), pp.742-764.
- 2007, 'Comparing Environmental Movement Networks in Periods of Latency and Visibility', *Graduate Journal of Social Science*, 4(1):109-139.

Christopher Rootes

Christopher Rootes is Professor of Environmental Politics and Political Sociology, and Director of the Centre for the Study of Social and Political Movements. He was Chair of the European Consortium for Political Research Standing Group on Green Politics 1997-2006; has been joint editor of *Environmental Politics* since 1997 and from 2007 is Chair of its editorial board; is a member of the editorial boards of *Mobilization: international journal of research on social movements and collective behavior*, *Social Movement Studies* and *Eco-Politics*; and International Associate Editor of the *Canadian Journal of Sociology*. He has extensive experience of research on protest and social and political movements, having studied student, peace, environmental and global justice movements. He has experience of a

wide range of methodologies including survey research, qualitative in-depth interviews and focus groups, and he has considerable experience of research supervision, having supervised more than a dozen PhDs and up to five research assistants at a time. He also has considerable experience of research management and collaborative research. In addition to co-ordinating the FP5 TEA ('Transformation of environmental activism') project (EC contract # ENV4- CT97-0514)) (1998–2001), he has directed five workshops (1983, 1983, 1989, 1997 and 2006) at the Joint Sessions of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), jointly organised highly successful annual conferences of both the British Sociological Association (1992) and the Political Studies Association (1983), and organised the Environmental Politics section of the ECPR conference (2001 and 2003). He has considerable editing experience, both of collective works with highly reputable academic publishers and as joint editor of the journal *Environmental Politics.* Publications include about 100 articles/chapters, 8 edited collections and over 70 papers presented at international conferences, of which those most relevant to the current proposal are:

- *Environmental Protest in Western Europe*, (ed.) (Oxford University Press 2003 & 2007).
- 'The resurgence of protest and the revitalisation of British democracy' in P. Ibarra, ed., *Social Movements and Democracy*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 137–168.
- 'Shaping collective action: structure, contingency and knowledge' pp. 81–104 in R Edmondson, ed. *The Political Context of Collective Action* (London & NY: Routledge, 1997)
- 'On the future of protest politics in western democracies', *European Journal of Political Research*, 9(4) (1981): 421-432.
- *Acting Locally: Local environmental mobilizations and campaigns*, (ed.) (Routledge, April, 2008). First published as *Environmental Politics* Vol.16, No. 5 (2007).
- Environmental Movements: local, national and global (ed.) (Frank Cass, 1999 / Routledge). Chinese edition, Shandong University Press (2005).
- 'Facing South? British environmental movement organisations and the challenge of globalisation', *Environmental Politics* 15 (5) (2006), pp. 768-786.
- 'Global Civil Society and the Lessons of European Environmentalism' in Rupert Taylor, ed. *Creating a Better World: interpreting global civil society.* Bloomfield , CT : Kumarian Press (2004), pp. 147-169.
- 'Global visions: global civil society and the lessons of European environmentalism', Voluntas 13 (4) (2002), pp. 411–429.

INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 5	Country: EUROCORES Funding Organisation	*Spain*
		MEC - Ministry of Education and Science

2.1 Financial summary for Individual Project (Spain)

The Principal Investigator should provide below a summary of the financial support sought from his/her national EUROCORES Funding Organisation.

Full financial details and any other supplementary information required by your national EUROCORES Funding Organisation should be supplied to them as instructed on the web.

		TOTAL
2.1.1	**Staff**	**€ 104.000**
2.1.2	**Travel and subsistence**	**€ 6.000**
2.1.3	**Consumables**	**€ 20.000**
2.1.4	**Other items**	**€ 0**
2.1.5	**Overheads and other allowable costs**	**€ 40.000**
2.1.6	**GRAND TOTAL FOR INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 5 (Spain)**	<u>**€ 170.000**</u>

2.2 Description of Individual Project 5 (#*1500 words*)

    2.2.1   Originality; potential contribution to knowledge

Nowadays the dynamics of protest participation are more and more diverse. "Protest behavior is employed with greater frequency, by more diverse constituencies, and is used to represent a wider range of claims than ever before" (Meyer & Sidney, 1998: 4). This raises the question as to how all these different people where brought onto the streets. This question refers to mobilization. Mobilization is key to understand who protests for what reasons. However, our knowledge of the dynamics between the individual protester and mobilization techniques of movement organizations has remained limited. Indeed, "it would be interesting to know whether a specific strategy of consensus [or action] mobilization would activate a specific group of people" (Klandermans, 2003: 699).

The more so because there is an ongoing evolution from formal organizations to loosely coupled networks as mobilizing agencies (Duyvendak & Hurenkamp, 2004; Taylor, 2000). An important difference between these mobilizing agencies could be the employed communication channels. Classic mobilising organizations (e.g., unions) seem to rely on traditional information channels such as flyers, and organizational publications in targeting their members. In networks, however, the channels employed may be more diffuse, ranging from face-to-face contacts, internet, cell phones, to even general mass media. This broad variety in mobilization channels raises questions regarding effectiveness of employed channels. Are organizational publications, for example, more effective among workers and the Internet among students? Or are different information channels more effective in different stages of mobilization (i.e. consensus or action mobilization)? These are all important, yet largely unanswered questions. Understanding whether specific mobilization channels activate specific groups of people is key to understand who protests for what reasons.

By contrasting organizational with informal network mobilization and their employed mobilization channels the Spanish Individual Project will make headway to understanding how people get mobilised and how that affects the socio-demographic characteristics of the protesters and their motivations (see Figure 1).
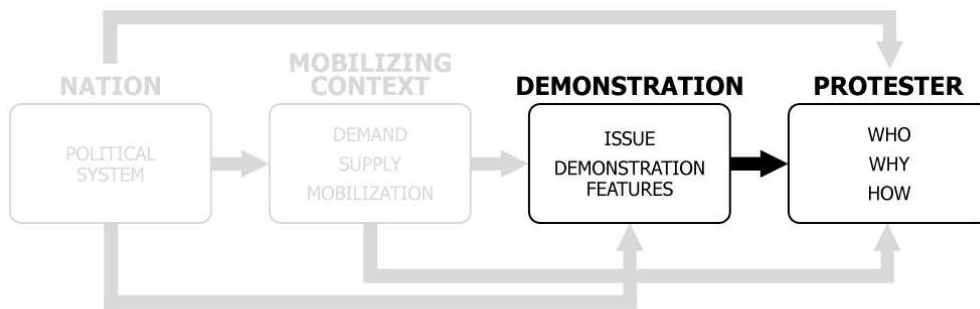
Figure 1:
Research interest Spain

The Spanish team will focus on two questions:
1. How people are mobilised and how that relates to the socio-demographic characteristics of the protest participants and their participation motives?
2. How (in)effective are different mobilization channels among individuals who differ in terms of socio-demographic characteristics (who) and motivational dynamics (why)?

To answer the first question the Spanish individual project will fully correspond with the general project. That is, 8-12 demonstrations will be surveyed making use of two-staged protest surveys and diverse national socio-political and mobilizing context data, all gathered using the standardized measures and methods described in the general proposal (see Annex 2 for further details on the methods and measures of the general project).

To answer the second question regarding effectiveness of mobilization channels this project seeks to examine in more detail which mobilization channels are effective and which are not. Hence, in the general project, protesters are "caught in the act of protesting" which by definition implies that the employed mobilization channels were *effective*. Obviously, this method does not provide data on which mobilization channels are *ineffective* for whom. The protest surveys of the general project will be useful to get insight in how different mobilization channels spur motivation to participate in demonstrations with different issues. But, despite the comparative design, it remains difficult to arrive at robust conclusions about the causal link between mobilization channels and issues on the one hand and motivation on the other hand. Therefore the Spanish team plans to conduct a laboratory study in which the mobilization channels within different single-issue mobilization efforts will be manipulated to assess whether they appeal to different individuals, with different motives during different moments in the mobilization (see Research Design and methods section for further details).

Mobilization
Effective mobilization brings demand and supply of protest together (Klandermans, 2004). Social movements shape public views of reality by defining a problem and thus helping to make sense of often complex social and political reality. Besides this so-called *consensus mobilization*, social movements gear up for *action mobilization,* a process in which they aim to activate people to participate in the actions movements are staging (Klandermans, 1984). Klandermans and his collaborators broke action mobilization further down into four separate steps (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). Each step brings the supply and demand of protest closer together until an individual eventually takes the final step to participate in protest (see Figure 2).
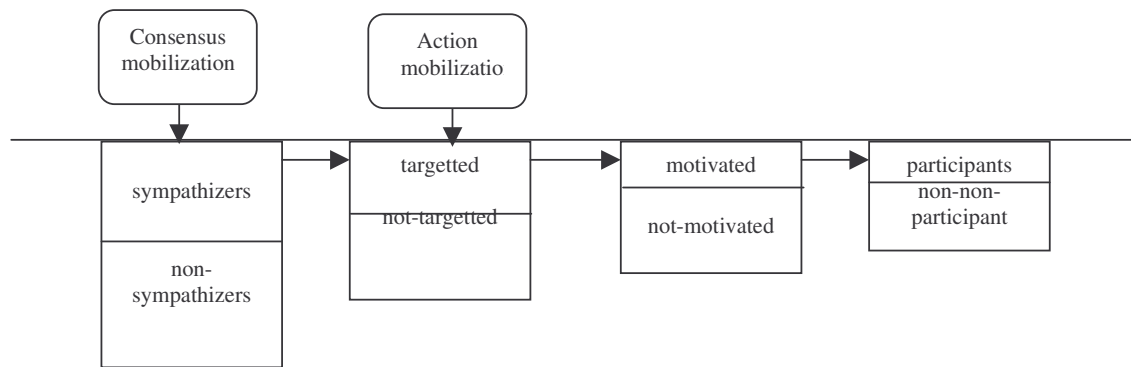
Figure 2: Mobilization process.
Above the line the organizational mobilization attempts and
below the process of erosion of potential participants.

The first step accounts for the results of consensus mobilization. It distinguishes the general public into those who sympathize with the issue and those who do not. The second step divides the sympathizers into those who have been target of action mobilization attempts and those who have not. The third step divides the sympathizers who have been targeted into those who are motivated to participate in the specific demonstration and those who are not. Finally, the fourth step differentiates the people who are motivated into those who end up participating and those who do not. With each step individuals drop out. The better the fit between demand and supply, the smaller the number of drop-outs. However, it is not known whether this fit is influenced by the employed mobilization channel (f.i. Internet, face-to-face, posters, newspapers etc.) and the issue at stake (f.i. conflicts on principles or conflicts on material interests). This project aims to fill that void.

2.2.2 Research design and methods

The proposed project relies on two studies:
1) Protest surveying of 8-12 demonstrations;
2) A laboratory experiment.

Study 1. Protest surveying of 10 demonstrations
The first study is designed to examine how people are mobilised. To do so the protest survey dataset will be combined by the dataset on characteristics of the demonstration (the issue, the mobilization channels etc.). In the core questionnaire of the protest survey a number of questions are included regarding *who* participates (socio-demographics of the protester (Norris, Walgrave, & Aelst, 2005), *why* they participate (instrumental, identification, and ideological participation motives (Klandermans, Sabucedo, & Rodriguez, 2004; Klandermans, Sabucedo, Rodriguez, & Weerd, 2002; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2007) and *how* they where brought to the streets (i.e. organizational affiliation, mobilization channel, etc.). By combining these data we will investigate the interplay between characteristics of the demonstration and who participates in protest, for what reason, and how they are mobilised.

Study 2: Laboratory experiments
To get more insight in the effectiveness of the employed mobilization channels as a function of the issue at stake (i.e. principles or material) and mobilization stage (i.e. consensus or action mobilization) we will conduct laboratory experiments. To enhance ecological validity, we aim to replicate the current reality of mobilization, that is we will contrast mobilization channels mostly employed by traditional organizations (i.e. flyers and organizational publications targeting their members) with mobilization channels mostly employed by loosely coupled networks (i.e. face-to-face, internet, cell phones, and general mass media). To investigate the effectiveness of mobilisation channels as a function of mobilisation stage and issue at stake we will employ an 'issue at stake' X 'mobilisation stage' X 'mobilisation channel' research design. The standardized measures from the core-questionnaire regarding the who, the why and the how of protest participation will be employed.
    2.2.3 Competence and expertise

José Manuel Sabucedo has published different national and international book chapters and articles in peer reviewed journals about political participation and social movements. He has directed several investigations on that topic, and he has been member of Steering Committee of the network on Identity and Socio-Political participation approved by the ESF Network Group in November 2003.

2.2.4 Contribution to the collaboration

Having in mind the main objective of the project and the Spanish group's interests, our contribution will focus on the following aspects:

a) To systematize the data related to the contextual variables in Spain mentioned previously
b) To select different protest mobilizations and apply questionnaires
c) Analysis and interpretation of the data of the Spanish samples
d) To analyze how citizens are mobilized. Traditional organizations will be contrasted with loosely coupled networks as mobilizing actors with a special emphasize on the employed mobilization channels.
e) To participate in the analysis of the global results and in the conclusions of the investigation

2.2.5 Justification for funding requested

We estimate that one research assistant full-time during the whole duration of the project (4 years) is needed to carry out the work plan (104.000 €). Additional funding is required for covering the costs of 10 protest survey (40.000 € at 4.000 € per survey), and 4 coordination meetings for two persons with the international team (6.000 € at 2 X 750 € per meeting).

2.2.6 Planned outputs (publications and other dissemination activities)

The results obtained in this research will be published in international social psychological, political science and political psychological journals. The Spanish team intends to collaborate in the analysis and dissemination of those the comparative analyses which will also be published in international journals. In addition we seek to collaborate in the publication of a monograph containing some of the core findings of the comparative study.

2.2.7 Annexes
a) References
b) Measures and data processing Spain
c) Curriculum Vitae Jose Manuel Sabucedo Cameselle

Annex a) References

Duyvendak, Jan Willem, & Menno Hurenkamp (Eds.). (2004). *Kiezen voor de kudde. Lichte gemeenschappen en de nieuwe meerderheid*. Amsterdam: Van Gennep.

Klandermans, Bert. (1984). Mobilization and Participation: Social-Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory. *American Sociological Review, 49*(5), 583-600.

Klandermans, Bert. (2003). Collective Political Action. In D. O. Sears, L. Huddy & R. Jervis (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of Political psychology* (pp. 670-709). Oxford: University Press.

Klandermans, Bert. (2004). The Demand and Supply of Participation: Social-Psychological Correlates of Participation in Social Movements. In D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule & H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell companion to social movements* (pp. 360-379). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Klandermans, Bert, & Dirk Oegema. (1987). Potentials, Networks, Motivations, And Barriers: Steps Toward Participation In Social Movements. *American Sociological Review, 52*, 519-531.

Klandermans, Bert, Jose Manuel Sabucedo, & Mauro Rodriguez. (2004). Inclusiveness of identification among farmers in The Netherlands and Galicia (Spain). *European Journal of Social Psychology, 34*(3), 279 - 295.

Klandermans, Bert, Jose Manuel Sabucedo, Mauro Rodriguez, & Marga de Weerd. (2002). Identity Processes in Collective Action Participation: Farmers' Identity and Farmers' Protest in the Netherlands and Spain. *Political Psychology, 23*(2), 235-251.

Meyer, David S., & Sidney Tarrow. (1998). *The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Norris, Pippa, Stefaan Walgrave, & Peter van Aelst. (2005). Who Demonstrates? Antistate Rebels, Conventional Participants, or Everyone? *Comparative Politics, 37*(2), 189-205.

Taylor, Verta. (2000). Mobilizing for Change in a Social Movement Society. *Contemporary Sociology, 29*(1), 219-230.

van Stekelenburg, Jacquelien, & Bert Klandermans. (2007). Individuals in movements: A social psychology of contention. In C. M. Roggeband & B. Klandermans (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines* (pp. 157-204). New York: Springer.

Annex b) Measures and data processing Spain

Demonstrations may be included in the project if at least 5000 people take part. Although the action repertoire of protest movements encompass more than demonstrations, we limit ourselves to a single means of action, namely street demonstrations. Different means of protest have sometimes very different dynamics. Therefore, we decided to control for that source of variation by restricting our study to a single but frequently employed protest mean. Identical data will be collected re the countries included in the project, the mobilizing context, the demonstration, and the participants. The project leaders have developed fact sheets on nations, mobilizing contexts and demonstrations and core questionnaires for protestors. For each demonstration studied a fieldwork report will be composed describing the circumstances and details of the fieldwork.

It is agreed that in each country 8-12 demonstrations will be studied. Taking the frequency of demonstrations into account even in countries with relatively few demonstrations like the Netherlands 8-12 demonstrations in 3-4 years should be feasible. As we have a core questionnaire, fact sheets to assess context variation, and pools of experienced interviewers available we are able to organize the fieldwork for a demonstration within two weeks.

Data

Nation. A set of characteristics will be registered for each country: variables such as the supply of politics, general features of the political system (openness and closedness of the polity), the composition of the actual government, political opportunity structure, modal action repertoires.

Mobilizing context: Demand-Supply-Mobilization. Level of dissatisfaction, grievances in a country (Eurobarometer, World Value Scales) amount of media attention to the issue, strength and ethnic diversification of civil society, level of, number and type of demonstrations in the period leading up to the covered demonstration, the national 'demonstration culture', strength and contentiousness of the movement sector.

Demonstration. Issue, slogans, position of the national government on the issue, the social movement or political actors staging the protest events, media coverage of the demonstration at stake, target (Government, European Union), employed mobilisation techniques, the weather conditions, the number op participants.

Protesters. We composed and tested a core questionnaire, which will be identical across demonstrations and countries. The variables included are socio-demographic variables; mobilization channels and techniques used by participant, social embeddedness, instrumental, identity and ideological motives, emotions, political behavior (conventional and unconventional), political attitudes (interest, left-right placement, political cynicism), and awareness of and identification with protestors elsewhere in the world. In addition to the core, questions will be included regarding the specific issue of a demonstration. Moreover, a country team might add some questions specific for the country.

Data collection

Data on national context, mobilizing context, and demonstration will be collected through secondary sources, data archives, newspapers accounts, and information acquired from organizers.

Data on protestors will be collected employing two techniques developed, tested, and refined by Walgrave and his team (van Aelst and Walgrave 2001; Walgrave and Verhulst 2008). The first technique is a devise to guarantee that every protester in the area where the protest event takes place has an equal chance of being selected by one of the interviewers with the request to fill in a postal survey. Interviewers are evenly dispersed around the protest area and instructed to hand a postal survey to a protester every n's row or step. The second technique is a device to control for non-response. In addition to the postal survey, short face-to-face interviews will be conducted. Each interviewer poses a few questions concerning the focal variables and some demographics to approximately ten protesters. Experience so far has shown that response rates of close to 100% are achievable for the face-to-face interviews. Thus, provided proper sampling, the face-to-face interviews can serve to assess possible biases due to non-response and to control for it. For each demonstration, face-to-face interviews will be conducted with 200 participants who will also receive postal survey questionnaires; in addition, postal survey questionnaires will be handed out to 800 more participants. Experience so far reveals return rates of 30-50% or higher.

Data processing

The national teams collect the data; after being checked and cleaned the data are shipped to Antwerp, where the Belgian team takes care of coding and entering into the central dataset. Central coding and entering ensures standardized procedures and reduces errors in data processing. The

central dataset is password protected and can be approached and downloaded by the members of the team.

A dataset with a nested data structure will be built in which the data on the mobilizing context are nested within nation; the data on the demonstration are nested within mobilizing context and protester data are nested within the context of the demonstration. Such structure enables, in statistical terms, *multilevel analyses* a statistical method appropriate for the analysis of data sets encompassing several levels of analysis. Multilevel analysis offers the opportunity to assess which proportion of the variance is explained by which level of analysis and thus helps to disentangle the effects of variation in specific contexts on protest participation.

Annex c) Curriculum Vitae Jose Manuel Sabucedo Cameselle

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Date of birth: February, 15, 1955, Vigo

Education: Ph.D., Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1982

Present position: Professor of Social Psycholgy. Faculty of Psychology, University of Santiago de
                          Compostela

Publications

Sabucedo, Jose Manuel, and Concha Fernández; Durán, M. y Romay, J. 2006. "Mouvements sociaux: dicours et action". *In A. Dorna., & J.M. Sabucedo (eds.) Crises et violences politiques.* Paris. Editions In Presss.

Fernández, C. and Jose Manuel Sabucedo 2004. "*Do descontento á acción. A Construcción social da protesta campesiña en Galiza".* Vigo: Xerais

Klandermans, Bert; Jose Manuel Sabucedo, and Mauro Rodríguez 2004. "Inclusiveness of identification among farmers in the Netherlands and Spain". *European Journal of Social Psychology, 34,* 279-295

Klandermans, Bert;Jose Manuel Sabucedo, and Mauro Rodríguez 2004. "Inclusiveness of identification among farmers in the Netherlands and Spain". *European Journal of Social Psychology, 34,* 279-295

*S*abucedo, Jose Manuel; Bert Klandermans, and Concha Fernández 2004. "Movimientos sociales y democracia". In L. de la Corte, A. Blanco y J.M.l Sabucedo(eds.), *Psicología y Derechos humanos.* Madrid. Icaria&Antrazyt.

Klandermans, Bert; Jose Manuel Sabucedo; Mauro Rodríguez, Marga de Weerd 2002. "Identity processes in collective action participation: Farmer`s protest in the Netherlands and Spain". *Political Psychology*, *23*, 235-251

Klandermans, Bert; Jose Manuel Sabucedo; Marga de Weerd, and Mauro Rodríguez, 2001. "Framing Contention: Dutch and Spanish farmers confront the EU". In D. Imig y S. Tarrow (eds.), *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Integrating European.* European Boulder: Rowman & Littefield.

Sabucedo, Jose Manuel Mauro Rodríguez, and Concha Fernández 2001. "Identificación grupal, eficacia y protesta política". *Psicología Política*, *23*, 85-95.

Sabucedo, Jose Manuel; Bert Klandermans; Mauro Rodríguez, and Concha Fernández 2000. "Identidad social, valoración política y movilización colectiva en un contexto supranacional". *Revista de Psicología Social, 15,* 269- 279

Klandermans, Bert.; Marga de Weerd, Jose Manuel Sabucedo, M. Costa, 1999. "Injustice and adversarial frames in a supranational political context: farmers´protest in the Netherlands and Spain*.* In della Porta, D.; Kriesi, H. y Rucht, D. (eds.)*, Social Movements in a globalizing world*. London: MacMillan

INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 6	**Country:** **EUROCORES Funding Organisation**	*Switzerland* *Swiss national science foundation*

2.1 Financial summary for Individual Project 6 (Switzerland)

The Principal Investigator should provide below a summary of the financial support sought from his/her national EUROCORES Funding Organisation.

Full financial details and any other supplementary information required by your national EUROCORES Funding Organisation should be supplied to them as instructed on the web.

		TOTAL
2.1.1	**Staff**	**€ 140.000**
2.1.2	**Travel and subsistence**	**€ 6.000**
2.1.3	**Consumables**	**€ 0**
2.1.4	**Other items**	**€ 0**
2.1.5	**Overheads and other allowable costs**	**€ 40.000**
2.1.6	**GRAND TOTAL FOR INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 6 (Switzerland)**	**€ 181.800**

**2.2 Description of Individual Project 6** (# 1487 words)

2.2.1 Originality; potential contribution to knowledge

The originality and potential contribution of the Swiss project lay both within the very specific Swiss political system that is included in the general comparative design, as well as within the specific research question focusing on how structural features of the political system (contextual factor 1) affect the mobilizing context (contextual factor 2) and how both of these contextual factors impact the individual protester level.

Including Switzerland in the comparative design strongly increases the variety in political systems in the sample. The Swiss case will provide a significant added value to the research, as Switzerland is a paradigmatic case in which open political opportunity structures (both in regard to the formal institutional setting as well as the prevailing strategies of the political authorities) often lead protesters to use moderate action repertoires. This has been shown in previous studies at the aggregate level (movement mobilization) (Giugni 1995; Giugni and Passy 1997; Kitschelt 1986; Kriesi et al. 1992, 1995). Here we would like to examine this effect at the individual level (movement participants). By comparing the Swiss case with the other countries, it will be in particular interesting to assess the impact of the presence of direct democracy as a main institutional channel for making claims addressed to the state or other targets (Giugni and Wisler 1999). Thus, the very open character of the Swiss political system makes the country an excellent case for comparison maximizing diversity. In addition, the fact that Switzerland is, in contrast to all other countries in the sample, not an EU member state increases its relevance in the comparison. While a significant amount of protests in the other countries is expected to be directly or indirectly targeting the EU, this should be different in the Swiss case. In view of the openness of Swiss society, our first research question reads: to what extent are Swiss protesters more likely addressing international power holders (rather than national ones) than those in other countries?

In addition to contributing to the general comparative project, strengthening its general analytical power and broadening its scope, the Swiss team will also address a specific research question within the general research question of the who, why and how of protest: *To what extent and how do national political system features affect the more specific mobilizing contexts and how do both these context factors together impact on the features of the individual protesters?* The main focus of the

Swiss team, thus, deals with the macro level, more precisely with how different macro and meso contexts (the stable political system level and the more variable mobilizing context level) are interacting with each other. Of course, as in all individual country projects, the ultimate dependent variable is formed by the characteristics of the individual protesters. This is visualized in the figure below: the full line between 'nation' and 'mobilizing context' and the dotted lines between both 'nation' and 'mobilizing context' and 'protesters'.
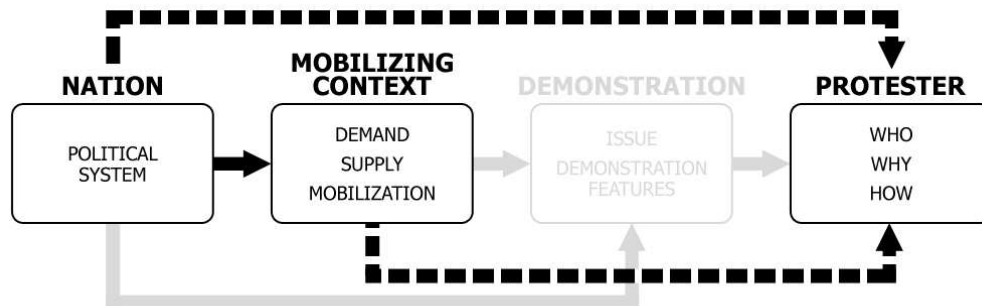
This research question places the Swiss individual project firmly within one of the most fruitful research paradigms in the study of social movements: the political opportunity structure (POS) approach (Kriesi 2004; Kriesi et al. 1995; Meyer 2004; Tarrow 1998). This approach attempts to explain the course and the success/failure of social movements by drawing upon certain features of the institutionalized political system. Its main limitation, however, is that it does not allow for making predictions about the individual level. In other words, it does not advance hypotheses about what kind of protesters will show up under what kind of circumstances. Yet, one could, for example, hypothesize that in open political systems citizens are more inclined to used moderate forms of protest. The aim of the Swiss individual project is precisely to fill this gap by extending the POS approach to make it suitable for individual-level predictions and analyses. In order to do so, the project focuses on the 'mobilizing context' (della Porta and Rucht 1995), a concept that captures intermediary factors relating to the demand and supply of protest situated between the typical POS variables (political system) and the individual level variables (protesters' characteristic, here especially the who, why and how of protest participation).

2.2.2 Research design and methods

The primary unit of analysis of the Swiss individual project is the country. Features of the national political system lead to a specific national mobilizing context with national demand, supply and mobilization on the national protest 'market'. Yet, as outlined in the general proposal, mobilizing contexts not only include general, nation-wide supply, demand and mobilization. They also consist of issue-specific demand, supply, and mobilization. Social movement scholarship has indeed shown that issues matter a lot and that mobilizing contexts differ across issues (depending, for example, on the strength of movement organizations dealing with certain issues). Therefore, the unit of analysis of this individual project is not confined to the macro-level. It also implies the meso-level of specific mobilizing contexts concerned with specific issues. Finally, the project ultimately aims to assess the impact of the political system and mobilizing context on individual protesters, which means that it also deals with the micro-level.

The Swiss individual project draws on the individual-level data gathered through the protest surveys carried out in the participating countries. All country teams will yield a first batch of context data for each of the demonstrations they surveyed as is explained in the general proposal. These context data partially fill in the mobilizing context box and the 'demonstration' box (not considered in the Swiss individual project) (see figure above). Yet, the Swiss team gathers additional mobilizing context data by drawing upon general population surveys in the participating countries (e.g. the membership of movement organizations in the population at large or the general satisfaction with the functioning of the respective political systems) and other existing sources of information about the social movement sector in each country. Finally, the Swiss team undertakes an effort to map and detail the political systems and more specifically the POS in the countries under scrutiny. Taken together, data on these

three levels permit to carry out multi-level analyses to see how and to what extent context (nation and mobilizing context) affects the profiles of individual protesters.

2.2.3 Competence and expertise

The Swiss team will be led by Marco Giugni, who is a leading scholar in the field of social movements and protest politics internationally and has participated in previous researches addressing participants in demonstrations. Moreover, he is one of the leading students of POS in Europe. He was one of the first to comparatively tackle social movements and to test whether and how features of the political system affect social movements' mobilization (Giugni 1995; Giugni and Passy 1997; Kriesi et al. 1992, 1995). Furthermore, he contributed to elaborate this concept towards a more specific definition of which features of both the institutional system and the discursive context matter for specific movements (Berclaz and Giugni 2005; Giugni and Passy 2004, 2006; Koopmans et al. 2005). Therefore, he is well-placed to focus on the macro-level and to try to extend the current POS approach to make it relevant for individual-level studies.

2.2.4 Contribution to the collaboration

The project will firstly contribute to the general comparative study by carrying out a variety of protest surveys of demonstrations held in Switzerland. As Switzerland is a paradigmatic case, these data will broaden the scope of research and add analytical strength to the overall design. Secondly, as explained above, the Swiss individual project specifically focuses on the two broadest context variables: nation and mobilizing context. The Swiss team will contribute by systematically analyzing the national POS and by producing systematic data on the general mobilizing contexts in all the participating countries.

2.2.5 Justification for funding requested

We estimate that one research assistant full-time during the whole duration of the project (3 years) is needed to carry out the work plan (140'000 €). Additional funding is required for covering the costs of 10 protest survey (38'000 € at 3'800 € per survey), and 4 coordination meetings with the international team (3'800 € at 950 € per meeting).

2.2.6 Planned outputs (publications and other dissemination activities)

Publications are foreseen both on the domestic and international level. In particular, we plan to write a research report (in French) on the Swiss case at the end of the project which can subsequently be proposed to a French-speaking publisher (either in Switzerland or in France). We also plan to publish 2-3 articles on the Swiss case in Swiss scholarly journals. In addition, we will contribute to common publications by the international team in which the Swiss case is compared to the other countries' results using the integrated dataset.

Other dissemination activities will include presentations at academic conferences and workshops (for example, the ECPR joint sessions or general conference), the organization of an invited conference to be held at the University of Geneva, and information to a wider audience through press releases.

2.2.7 Annexes
a) References
b) Measures and data processing Switzerland
c) Curriculum Vitae Marco Giugni

Annex a) References

Berclaz, Julie and Marco Giugni. 2005. "Specifying the Concept of Political Opportunity Structures." Pp. 15-32 in *Economic and Political Contention in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Maria Kousis and Charles Tilly. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Della Porta, Donatella and Dieter Rucht. 1995. "Left-Libertarian Movements in Context: A Comparison of Italy and West Germany, 1965-1990." Pp. 229-273 in *The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements*, edited by J. Craig Jenkins and Bert Klandermans. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Giugni, Marco. 1995. *Entre stratégie et opportunité*. Zurich: Seismo.

Giugni, Marco and Florence Passy. 1997. *Histoires de mobilisation politique en Suisse*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Giugni, Marco and Florence Passy. 2006. *La citoyenneté en débat: Mobilisations politiques en France et en Suisse*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Giugni, Marco and Florence Passy. 2004. "Migrant Mobilization between Political Institutions and Citizenship Regimes: A Comparison of France and Switzerland." *European Journal of Political Research* 43: 51-82.

Giugni, Marco and Dominique Wisler (1999). "Gli effetti della democrazia diretta sul processo politico svizzero." *Amministrare* XXIX: 231-245.

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1986. "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 16: 57-85.

Koopmans, Ruud, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni, and Florence Passy (2005). *Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2004. "Political Context and Opportunity." Pp. 67-90 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Duyvendak and Marco G. Giugni, 1992. "New Social Movements and Political Opportunities in Western Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 22: 219-44.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Duyvendak and Marco G. Giugni. 1995. *New Social Movements in Western Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Meyer, David. "Protest and Political Opportunities." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30: 125-145.

Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Annex b) Measures and data processing Switzerland

Demonstrations may be included in the project if at least 5000 people take part. Although the action repertoire of protest movements encompass more than demonstrations, we limit ourselves to a single means of action, namely street demonstrations. Different means of protest have sometimes very different dynamics. Therefore, we decided to control for that source of variation by restricting our study to a single but frequently employed protest mean. Identical data will be collected re the countries included in the project, the mobilizing context, the demonstration, and the participants. The project leaders have developed fact sheets on nations, mobilizing contexts and demonstrations and core questionnaires for protestors. For each demonstration studied a fieldwork report will be composed describing the circumstances and details of the fieldwork.

It is agreed that in each country 8-12 demonstrations will be studied. Taking the frequency of demonstrations into account even in countries with relatively few demonstrations like the Netherlands 8-12 demonstrations in 3-4 years should be feasible. As we have a core questionnaire, fact sheets to assess context variation, and pools of experienced interviewers available we are able to organize the fieldwork for a demonstration within two weeks.

Data

Nation. A set of characteristics will be registered for each country: variables such as the supply of politics, general features of the political system (openness and closedness of the polity), the composition of the actual government, political opportunity structure, modal action repertoires.

Mobilizing context: Demand-Supply-Mobilization. Level of dissatisfaction, grievances in a country (Eurobarometer, World Value Scales) amount of media attention to the issue, strength and ethnic diversification of civil society, level of, number and type of demonstrations in the period leading up to the covered demonstration, the national 'demonstration culture', strength and contentiousness of the movement sector.

Demonstration. Issue, slogans, position of the national government on the issue, the social movement or political actors staging the protest events, media coverage of the demonstration at stake, target (Government, European Union), employed mobilisation techniques, the weather conditions, the number op participants.

Protesters. We composed and tested a core questionnaire, which will be identical across demonstrations and countries. The variables included are socio-demographic variables; mobilization channels and techniques used by participant, social embeddedness, instrumental, identity and ideological motives, emotions, political behavior (conventional and unconventional), political attitudes (interest, left-right placement, political cynicism), and awareness of and identification with protestors elsewhere in the world. In addition to the core, questions will be included regarding the specific issue of a demonstration. Moreover, a country team might add some questions specific for the country.

Data collection

Data on national context, mobilizing context, and demonstration will be collected through secondary sources, data archives, newspapers accounts, and information acquired from organizers.

Data on protestors will be collected employing two techniques developed, tested, and refined by Walgrave and his team (van Aelst and Walgrave 2001; Walgrave and Verhulst 2008). The first technique is a devise to guarantee that every protester in the area where the protest event takes place has an equal chance of being selected by one of the interviewers with the request to fill in a postal survey. Interviewers are evenly dispersed around the protest area and instructed to hand a postal survey to a protester every n's row or step. The second technique is a device to control for non-response. In addition to the postal survey, short face-to-face interviews will be conducted. Each interviewer poses a few questions concerning the focal variables and some demographics to approximately ten protesters. Experience so far has shown that response rates of close to 100% are achievable for the face-to-face interviews. Thus, provided proper sampling, the face-to-face interviews can serve to assess possible biases due to non-response and to control for it. For each demonstration, face-to-face interviews will be conducted with 200 participants who will also receive postal survey questionnaires; in addition, postal survey questionnaires will be handed out to 800 more participants. Experience so far reveals return rates of 30-50% or higher.

Data processing

The national teams collect the data; after being checked and cleaned the data are shipped to Antwerp, where the Belgian team takes care of coding and entering into the central dataset. Central coding and entering ensures standardized procedures and reduces errors in data processing. The

central dataset is password protected and can be approached and downloaded by the members of the team.

A dataset with a nested data structure will be built in which the data on the mobilizing context are nested within nation; the data on the demonstration are nested within mobilizing context and protester data are nested within the context of the demonstration. Such structure enables, in statistical terms, *multilevel analyses* a statistical method appropriate for the analysis of data sets encompassing several levels of analysis. Multilevel analysis offers the opportunity to assess which proportion of the variance is explained by which level of analysis and thus helps to disentangle the effects of variation in specific contexts on protest participation.

Annex c) Curriculum Vitae Marco Giugni

Marco Giugni (born in Locarno, Switzerland, on April 30, 1963) is a researcher at the Laboratoire de recherches sociales et politiques appliquées (resop) and a lecturer at the Department of political science at the University of Geneva. He received his PhD in political science from the University of Geneva (Switzerland) in 1993. His research interests include: social movements and collective action, immigration and ethnic relations, unemployment and social exclusion. He has been visiting scholar at the New School of Social Research (New York, USA), at the University of Arizona (Tucson, USA), and at the University of Florence (Italy) and visiting professor at the University of Trento. He has directed and collaborated on a number of comparative projects on topics relating to social movements and contentious politics, social exclusion, and social and political integration. He was scientific co-ordinator of the UNEMPOL project (The contentious politics of unemployment in Europe: Political claim-making, policy deliberation and exclusion from the labor market), finaced by the European commission, and he is currently scientific responsible for Switzerland in two other EU-funded research projects: DEMOS (Democracy in Europe eand the mobilization of society) and LOCALMULTIDEM (Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants' Social Capital in Europe: Participation, Organisational Networks, and Public Policies at the Local Level). In addition, he will coordinate another EU-funded project starting from May 2008: YOUNEX (Youth, unemployment, and exclusion in Europe: A multidimensional approach to understanding the conditions and prospects for social and political integration of young unemployed). He is currently the Director of the resop and European editor of Mobilization. Publications include about 80 titles, including 8 books and 7 edited collections.

Relevant publications

- Berclaz, Julie and Marco Giugni (2005). "Specifying the Concept of Political Opportunity Structures", pp. 15-32 in *Economic and Political Contention in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Maria Kousis and Charles Tilly. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.
- Giugni Marco (1998). "Was if Worth the Effort? The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements", *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 371-393.
- Giugni, Marco (2001). "Modern Protest Politics", pp. 311-331 in *Encyclopedia of European Social History*, sous la direction de Peter N. Stearns. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Giugni, Marco (2002). "Ancien et nouvel institutionnalisme dans l'étude de la politique contestataire", *Politique et Sociétés* 21: 69-90.
- Giugni, Marco (2004). *Social Protest and Policy Change: Ecology, Antinuclear, and Peace Movements in Comparative Perspective*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Giugni, Marco (2007). "Useless Protest? A Time-series Analysis of the Policy Outcomes of Ecology, Antinuclear, and Peace Movements in the United States, 1975-1995", *Mobilization* 12: 101-116.
- Giugni, Marco and Florence Passy (1997). *Histoires de mobilisation politique en Suisse: De la contestation à l`intégration*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Giugni, Marco and Florence Passy (2006). *La citoyenneté en débat: Mobilisations politiques en France et en Suisse*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Koopmans, Ruud, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni, and Florence Passy (2005). *Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Kriesi Hanspeter, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Marco Giugni (1995). *New Social Movements in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 7	Country:	*Sweden*
	EUROCORES Funding Organisation	*FAS*

2.1 Financial summary for Individual Project 7 (Sweden)

The Principal Investigator should provide below a summary of the financial support sought from his/her national EUROCORES Funding Organisation.

Full financial details and any other supplementary information required by your national EUROCORES Funding Organisation should be supplied to them as instructed on the web.

		TOTAL
2.1.1	**Staff**	**1,798,000 SEK** **€ 192.546**
2.1.2	**Travel and subsistence**	**56,000 SEK** **€ 5.997**
2.1.3	**Consumables**	**187,000 SEK** **€ 20.002**
2.1.4	**Other items**	**373,000 SEK** **€ 39.944**
2.1.5	**Overheads and other allowable costs**	**785,995 SEK** **€ 84.171**
2.1.6	**GRAND TOTAL FOR INDIVIDUAL PROJECT 7 (Sweden)**	**3,031,695 SEK** **€ 324.662**

2.2 Description of Individual Project 7 *(Max 1500 words)*

2.2.1   Originality; potential contribution to knowledge

Across Europe politics is changing, perhaps even dramatically. Even in Sweden, our ways of 'doing politics' have changed. Little is known regarding the relationships between 'old social movements', namely traditional civil society organizations, and 'new social movements', which emerged during the 1960s. The Swedish project will focus on how new social movements have impacted the styles of protest, the protest agendas, as well as the membership base of the old social movements, with emphasis upon Sweden's trade unions. Vice versa, it will be investigated how traditional organizations have influenced the styles of protest and the political agendas of Sweden's new social movements, both by means of straightforward inclusion in decision-making processes, and by hostility towards more 'contentious' forms of political action, like street demonstrations.

Traditionally, the democratic legitimacy of the Swedish welfare state was based on close relations between labour market actors and the state, in which trade unions played a central role, for both political mass participation and social inclusion. During the last 10-20 years, this model has been both called into question by different political actors and challenged by new systems of governance imposed on a European level, as well as on a global level. Thus, to see how the different actors of the labour market adopt to these new conditions is crucial—to gain knowledge on the role of trade unions as political and social actors in today's world, finding new forms for political participation and social inclusion and thereby establishing legitimacy for the welfare state. One working hypothesis is that this situation may open up for a greater interest on the part of trade unions (or some trade unions) to seek cooperation with other political actors, for example, new social movement networks and groups (Wennerhag 2008: 200-2001). In other words, the new political climate emerging might make traditional organisations more receptive to coalition building with these (new) political actors, which

can be disentangled both on an organizational level (e.g. inter-movement collaboration) as well as on an individual level (e.g. overlapping memberships). In short: How does 'old organization Sweden' interact with 'new movement Sweden'?

As shown in Figure 1, within the general ESF project the Swedish project is principally focused on the mobilizing and demonstration context of contentious protest: in what way is a specific type of demonstration (e.g. trade union mobilizations) determined by different kinds of mobilizing contexts. The comparative aspect of the ESF project will provide our national study with invaluable contrasting case data in regard to diverging mobilizing contexts, which vary as to unions' differential strength, party-political connectedness and position, action repertoires, and the extent of their constituents' radicalism and organizational embeddedness. Sweden, as a case, offers a particular contribution because of its dense organisational political structure and strong and politically well-integrated trade unions. The way in which these mobilizing contexts influences composition, rationale and repertoire of Swedish popular protest, can be best understood against the relief of comparative studies in other dissimilar contexts.
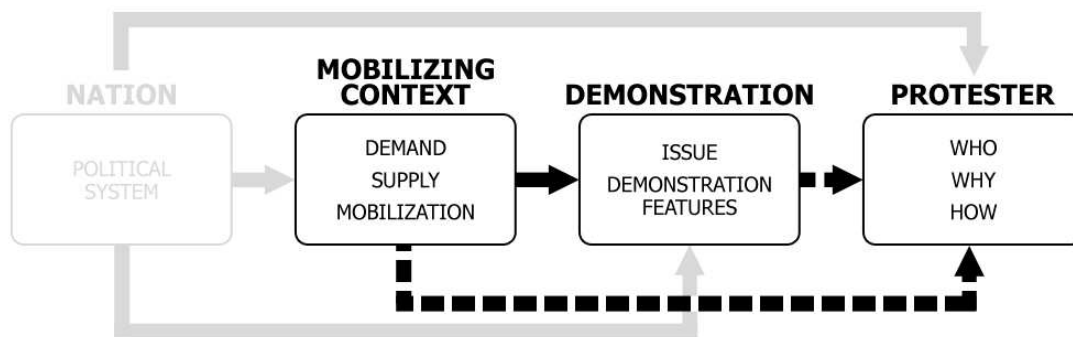

Figure 1. The Swedish project within the general project model

2.2.2   Research design and methods

In order to answer the above research question, data will be gathered in at least three different ways. First of all, we will map lawful demonstrations held in Sweden during 2009. This will be done by means of the lists of demonstration permits given by police authorities in the following cities: Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö, that is Sweden's three major metropolitan areas, together with Kiruna and Umeå in the north. From these lists we can distinguish between rallies and marches. The list will be further sorted out using press analysis (coded demonstrations) with which we can eliminate very small rallies from more significant lawful protest events. This material will be classified according to organisers, issue, and target for the protest, type (protest demonstration or stationary rally), and approximate size of the protest event (cf. Olzak 1989). This map will provide us with national comparative material in order to better assess how the particular protest demonstrations we survey 'fit into' a larger picture of protest culture in Sweden and to further interrogate our specific questions, that is the relationship between demonstrations sponsored by traditional organisations around 'traditional' issues of socio-economic allocations and demonstrations sponsored by new social movement networks around issues that transcend domestic socio-economic issues.

Secondly, we will carry out complementary case studies of three trade unions: two from the Swedish Trade Union Confederation, IF Metal Workers' Union (a 2006 merger between Swedish Industrial Workers and Metal Workers' Unions) and the Transport Workers' Union; and one from the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees, the Swedish Health Workers' Union. For the case studies we will first compile and analyze union documents dealing with their action events during the period 2007 – 2011. In addition, we will interview officials from different levels of the organization in the three unions, questioning them about their attitudes towards political protest in general; what they consider as possible action tactics and strategies; and finally, how they see new social movements as potential

coalitional partners for specific issues. The case studies will allow us to better describe and understand the mobilizing context within which traditional organisations are interacting with the host of new social movement organisations and networks in Sweden and in what ways this is potentially impacting protest both among the traditional organizations and the 'new'.

Finally, like all other national teams, the Swedish team will carry out between 8 and 12 (depending on actual occurrence) protest surveys following the method as explained in the general proposal. In addition to the "core questionnaire" which is identical for all ESF project participants, it is possible to add an "individual module" to more directly tap into our specific research interests. This individual module will spotlight protesters' specific organizational involvement (ranging between traditional civil society organisations to so-called social movement networks and groups), together with their attitudes towards these groups. The ESF collaboration further allows us to pursue more closely our specific interests with two or more participant countries with the inclusion of a two-page "collective module", concerning the relationship between the 'old' movement organizations, particularly trade unions, and new social movement networks and groups.

2.2.3   Competence and expertise

The Swedish research team is composed of researchers with extensive experience from the study of new social movements, protest repertoires and political militancy, international comparative quantitative studies of participants in European Social Fora, as well as theorizing political opportunities.

2.2.4   Contribution to the collaboration

By international standards, Sweden can be regarded as a relatively open political system, one in which it is generally easy for its citizens to gain access to political institutions (Rothstein 1995). Its highly developed corporativist structure makes access particularly easy for movement organizations and associations, as well as their demands (or some of these demands) within parliamentary channels and state institutions (Wahlström and Peterson 2006; Micheletti 1994, 2003 and Trägårdh 2007). This is the distinguishing feature of 'organization Sweden', where compared to other countries the level of organizational and associational membership is extremely high, and in particular, where the level of union membership is amongst the highest in the world (Kjellberg 2007). This feature of the Swedish political culture, together with its uniquely stable left-right dimension structuring the political party system, affords the collaboration with a valuable contrasting case for the study of different mobilizing and demonstration contexts. Sweden is also distinguished by one of the highest proportions of active Internet users in the world (Chinn and Fairlie 2007), which hypothetically affects modes of protest mobilization significantly. Furthermore, while the number of Swedes who have participated in a lawful demonstration has consistently increased since 1982 and through the 1990s, from 15,1 percent to 34,7 percent, it is perhaps even more remarkable that the general support of demonstration rights has increased from 64,9 percent to a staggering 86,6 percent (measured by those who responded that they have attended together with those responding that they might attend a lawful demonstration) (World Values Surveys). Bringing political dissatisfactions to the streets enjoys a strong popular support in Sweden.

2.2.5   Justification for funding requested (explain why items requested are necessary for the research)

In addition to wages the budget includes funding for, on average, ten protest surveys during the course of the project (38,000:- sek/survey), travel and/or organizing expenses for four meetings with our project partners, as well as travel costs for domestic travel, project meetings and data collection (in Stockholm). University overhead is obligatory and is calculated to 35 percent of the total cost.

2.2.6   Planned outputs (publications and other dissemination activities)

In addition to joint publications in connection with the collaboration's data set, we will author a book (in English) dealing more specifically with the relationship between "organisation society's" encounter

with "movement society", based on the Swedish case, but complemented with our data set comparisons with other European countries. Additionally we anticipate international journal publications using parts of, or themes, touched upon in the collaborative data set, e.g. coalition building patterns, issue mobilisations vis-á-vis event mobilisations.

2.2.7   Annexes
d) References
e) Measures and data processing Sweden
f) Curriculum vitae Abby Peterson & Magnus Wennerhag

Annex a) References

Chinn, Menzie D. och Robert W. Fairlie. 2007. "The determinants of the global digital divide: a cross-country analysis of computer and internet penetration." *Oxf. Econ. Pap.* 59(1): 16-44.

Kjellberg, Anders (2007). "The Swedish Trade Union System in Transition: High but Falling Union Density", in Craig Phelan (ed.), *Trade union revitalisation: trends and prospects in 34 countries* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Micheletti, Michele. 1994. *Det civila samhället och staten: medborgarsammanslutningarnas roll i svensk politik*. 1. uppl. uppl. Stockholm: Fritze

Micheletti, Michele. 2003. *Political virtue and shopping: individuals, consumerism, and collective action*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Olzak, S. 1989. "Analysis of Events in the Study of Collective Action." *Annual Review of Sociology* 15: 119-141.

Rothstein, Bo. 1992. *Den korporativa staten: intresseorganisationer och statsförvaltning i svensk politik*. Stockholm: Norstedts juridik.

Trägårdh, Lars (ed.) (2007). *State and civil society in Northern Europe: the Swedish model reconsidered* New York: Berghahn Books.

Wahlström, Mattias och Abby Peterson. 2006. "Between the State and the Market: Expanding the Concept of 'Political Opportunity Structure'." *Acta Sociologica* 49(4): 363-377.

Annex b) Measures and data processing Sweden

Demonstrations may be included in the project if at least 5000 people take part. Although the action repertoire of protest movements encompass more than demonstrations, we limit ourselves to a single means of action, namely street demonstrations. Different means of protest have sometimes very different dynamics. Therefore, we decided to control for that source of variation by restricting our study to a single but frequently employed protest mean. Identical data will be collected re the countries included in the project, the mobilizing context, the demonstration, and the participants. The project leaders have developed fact sheets on nations, mobilizing contexts and demonstrations and core questionnaires for protestors. For each demonstration studied a fieldwork report will be composed describing the circumstances and details of the fieldwork.

It is agreed that in each country 8-12 demonstrations will be studied. Taking the frequency of demonstrations into account even in countries with relatively few demonstrations like the Netherlands 8-12 demonstrations in 3-4 years should be feasible. As we have a core questionnaire, fact sheets to assess context variation, and pools of experienced interviewers available we are able to organize the fieldwork for a demonstration within two weeks.

Data

Nation. A set of characteristics will be registered for each country: variables such as the supply of politics, general features of the political system (openness and closedness of the polity), the composition of the actual government, political opportunity structure, modal action repertoires.

Mobilizing context: Demand-Supply-Mobilization. Level of dissatisfaction, grievances in a country (Eurobarometer, World Value Scales*)* amount of media attention to the issue, strength and ethnic diversification of civil society, level of, number and type of demonstrations in the period leading up to the covered demonstration, the national 'demonstration culture', strength and contentiousness of the movement sector.

Demonstration. Issue, slogans, position of the national government on the issue, the social movement or political actors staging the protest events, media coverage of the demonstration at stake, target (Government, European Union), employed mobilisation techniques, the weather conditions, the number op participants.

Protesters. We composed and tested a core questionnaire, which will be identical across demonstrations and countries. The variables included are socio-demographic variables; mobilization channels and techniques used by participant, social embeddedness, instrumental, identity and ideological motives, emotions, political behavior (conventional and unconventional), political attitudes (interest, left-right placement, political cynicism), and awareness of and identification with protestors elsewhere in the world. In addition to the core, questions will be included regarding the specific issue of a demonstration. Moreover, a country team might add some questions specific for the country.

Data collection

Data on national context, mobilizing context, and demonstration will be collected through secondary sources, data archives, newspapers accounts, and information acquired from organizers.

Data on protestors will be collected employing two techniques developed, tested, and refined by Walgrave and his team (van Aelst and Walgrave 2001; Walgrave and Verhulst 2008). The first technique is a devise to guarantee that every protester in the area where the protest event takes place has an equal chance of being selected by one of the interviewers with the request to fill in a postal survey. Interviewers are evenly dispersed around the protest area and instructed to hand a postal survey to a protester every n's row or step. The second technique is a device to control for non-response. In addition to the postal survey, short face-to-face interviews will be conducted. Each interviewer poses a few questions concerning the focal variables and some demographics to approximately ten protesters. Experience so far has shown that response rates of close to 100% are achievable for the face-to-face interviews. Thus, provided proper sampling, the face-to-face interviews can serve to assess biases due to non-response and to control for it. For each demonstration, face-to-face interviews will be conducted with 200 participants who will also receive postal survey questionnaires; in addition, postal survey questionnaires will be handed out to 800 more participants. Experience so far reveals return rates of 30-50% or higher.

In addition, the Swedish team will map lawful demonstrations held in Sweden during 2009 and conduct interviews with organizers.

Data processing

The national teams collect the data; after being checked and cleaned the data are shipped to Antwerp, where the Belgian team takes care of coding and entering into the central dataset. Central

coding and entering ensures standardized procedures and reduces errors in data processing. The central dataset is password protected and can be approached and downloaded by the members of the team.

A dataset with a nested data structure will be built in which the data on the mobilizing context are nested within nation; the data on the demonstration are nested within mobilizing context and protester data are nested within the context of the demonstration. Such structure enables, in statistical terms, *multilevel analyses* a statistical method appropriate for the analysis of data sets encompassing several levels of analysis. Multilevel analysis offers the opportunity to assess which proportion of the variance is explained by which level of analysis and thus helps to disentangle the effects of variation in specific contexts on protest participation.

Annex c) Curriculum Vitae Abby Peterson & Magnus Wennerhag

Abby Peterson, professor
Dept. of Sociology
Göteborgs University
Abby.peterson@sociology.gu.se

ACADEMIC DEGREES
- B.A. Philosophy and Mathematics: University of California, Berkeley, 1969
- jur. lic.: Stanford University Law School, 1975
- B.A. Sociology and Political Science: Umeå University, Sweden, 1981
- fil. dr. Sociology: Göteborgs University, Sweden, 1992
- docent Sociology, Göteborgs University as of 1997.04.22
- professor Sociology, Göteborgs University as of 2004.03.01.

PRESENT ACADEMIC POSITION
- Professor, Department of Sociology, Göteborg University, 2003-present
- Visiting Professor at the Centre for Criminology, Oxford University, Trinity term 2008

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS WITH RELEVENCE FOR THE PROJECT
Books/chapters

Peterson, A, 1997. *Rainbow Coalitions and Neo-Sectarianism: Youth and the Drama of Immigration in Contemporary Sweden*. Aldershot, England and Brookfield, USA: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Peterson, A. 2001. *Contemporary Political Protest: Essays on Political Militancy*. Aldershot, England and Brookfield, USA: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Björk, M. & Peterson, A. (eds.) 2002 *Vid politikens yttersta gräns*. Stockholm: Symposium.

Peterson, A. 2002. "Toppmötets regnbågskoalitioner – experiment i demokratiska samtal", chapter 4 in Björk, M. & Peterson, A. (eds.) *Vid politikens yttersta gräns*. Stockholm: Symposium.

Peterson, A. (2005) 'Protestation politique et sommets transnationaux. Batailles pour lareconnaissance uax frontiéres' in O. Fillieule and D. della Porta (eds.) *la police des foules encontexte démocratique et autoritaire* . Paris: Guillaime.

Peterson, A., della Porta, D. and Reiter H. (eds.) (2006) *Policing Transnational Protest*. Aldershot England and Brookfield, USA: Ashgate.

Peterson, A. (2006) 'Policing Protest in Sweden and Denmark : A Comparison of Policing Styles, Their Outcomes and Their Consequences for Contentious Politics', chapter 9 in M. Björk and A. Peterson (eds.) *Policing Contentious Politics in Denmark and Sweden*. Masstricht: Shaker verlag.

Peterson, A. (2005) 'Protestation politique et sommets transnationaux. Batailles pour lareconnaissance uax frontiéres' in O. Fillieule and D. della Porta (eds.) *la police des foules encontexte démocratique et autoritaire* . Paris: Guillaime.

Articles

Peterson, A. 1998. "Virtual Communities and Virtual Sects in the Post-Gutenburg Galaxy of Internet", *Tidskrift för Kultur Studier*. No. 3.

Peterson, A. 2000. "Movimientos sociales y modernidad de los medios de comunicatioíon Industrias se los medios de comunication, amigos o enemigos?", *Comunicacion y Sociedad.* No. 35.

Peterson, A. 2006. "The Conceptual Threads Of Contentious Coalitional Politics " .*Il Dubio: Transnational Review of Political and Social Analysis*. Nr. 1.

Curriculum Vitae

Magnus Wennerhag
Department of Sociology, Lund University
Box 114, 221 00 Lund Sweden
magnus.wennerhag@soc.lu.se

Academic degrees

Ph.D. in Sociology, Lund University, 2008.

Master of Social Science (Major in Sociology), Lund University, Sweden, 2003.

Positions

Lecturer at Södertörn University College, Sweden, since April 2008.

Selected publications

Books

Wennerhag, Magnus. 2008. *Global rörelse: Den globala rättviserörelsen och modernitetens omvandlingar*. Stockholm: Bokförlaget Atlas.

Wennerhag Magnus, Hilma Holm, Johan Lindgren, Henrik Nordvall and Adrienne Sörbom. 2006. *Aktivister*. Stockholm: Bokförlaget Atlas.

Book chapters

Wennerhag, Magnus. 2007. "En annan värld är möjlig", in Erik Amnå (ed.), *En ny demokrati. Research report no 4 from Global utmaning*. Stockholm: Global utmaning.

Wennerhag Magnus. 2006. "Mångfald och enhet i den globala rättviserörelsen", in Andrew Jamison and Åsa Wettergren (ed.), *Sociala rörelser*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Wennerhag Magnus. 2004. "Gränslös politik och demokrati i rörelse", in Adrienne Sörbom (ed.), *Den tömda demokratin - och vägarna tillbaka till makten*. Stockholm: Agora.

Articles

Wennerhag Magnus and Johan Lindgren. 2004. "Sociala rörelser, heterogenitet och enhet – en kommentar med nedslag i två sociala forum", *Fronesis* issue 16-17.

Wennerhag Magnus. 2003. "Globaliseringsrörelsen – en ny social rörelse eller en klassisk konfliktdimension i nytt sammanhang?". *Sociologisk forskning*, nr 3 2003.

Wennerhag Magnus. 2002. "Globalization Movement Comes to Town", *Studies in Political Economy*, issue 67.

Check list: Materials supplied

This check list is provided to help Project Leaders double-check their application. This information will be used for administrative purposes to check that the application is complete and meets the eligibility requirements.

SECTION ONE: THE COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH PROJECT

Items 1.1–1.3: Have you completed these items using the required number of words?

Item 1.4: Have you addressed data handling aspects (if relevant): quality assurance, storage, access?

Item 1.5: Have you provided a description of the Collaborative Research Project in no more than 2500 words and have you supplied the following:

- An annex with References (no more than 1 side of A4)
- An annex with Technical details, if appropriate (no more than 2 sides of A4)

SECTION TWO: INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS

Please indicate the Funding Organisation from which you are requesting funding.

Individual Project 1

Item 2.1: Have you included a summary of the financial support requested from your national Funding Organisation and have you followed their instructions on the web for supplying full financial details and any other information required?

Item 2.2 Have you provided a description of your Individual Project 1 (Max 1500 words) and have you supplied the following:

- An annex with References (no more than 1 side of A4)
- An annex with Technical details, if appropriate (no more than 2 sides of A4)
- Short CVs (no more than 1 side of A4 and no more than 10 relevant publications for each researcher) for Principal Investigators and all the Project Members listed.

Have you included the details required in Section Two for **at least two other Individual Projects**?

Individual Project 2

Item 2.1 Have you included a summary of the financial support requested from IP2's EUROCORES Funding Organisation and has IP2's Project Leader followed his/her Funding Organisation's instructions on the web for supplying full financial details and any other information required?

Item 2.2 Have you provided a description of Individual Project 2 (Max 1500 words) and have you supplied the following:

- An annex with References (no more than 1 side of A4)
- An annex with Technical details, if appropriate (no more than 2 sides of A4)
- Short CVs (no more than 1 side of A4 and no more than 10 relevant publications for each researcher) for Principal Investigators and all the Project Members listed.

Individual Project 3

Item 2.1   Have you included a summary of the financial support requested from IP3's EUROCORES Funding Organisation and has IP3's Project Leader followed his/her Funding Organisation's instructions on the web for supplying full financial details and any other information required?

Item 2.2   Have you provided a description of Individual Project 2 (Max 1500 words) and have you supplied the following

- An annex with References (no more than 1 side of A4)
- An annex with Technical details, if appropriate (no more than 2 sides of A4)
- Short CVs (no more than 1 side of A4 and no more than 10 relevant publications for each researcher) for Principal Investigators and all the Project Members listed.

Add further Individual Projects as necessary

SECTION THREE: ASSOCIATE PROJECTS

Item 3.1   Have you included details about the Associate Partner?
Item 3.2   Have you provided a description of the Associate Project?
Item 3.3   Have you included information on the source and status of the funds you have requested to participate in the CRP?