Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

NEW MEDIA, NEW MOVEMENTS? THE ROLE OF THE INTERNET IN SHAPING THE 'ANTI-GLOBALIZATION' MOVEMENT

Peter Van Aelst and Stefaan Walgrave

University of Antwerp, Belgium

Abstract

Collective action and social movement protest has become commonplace in our 'demonstration-democracy' and no longer surprises the media or the public. However, as will be shown, this was not the case with the recent anti-globalization protests that attracted demonstrators from countries all over the world. The battles of Seattle, Washington, Prague and Genoa, with an unforeseen mixture of nationalities and movements, became world news. Interestingly, the new media seemed to play a crucial role in the organization of these global protests. This article maps this movement-in-progress via an analysis of the websites of anti-globalization, or more specifically anti-neo-liberal globalization organizations. It examines the contribution of these sites to three different conditions that establish movement formation; collective identity; actual mobilization and a network of organizations. This ongoing, explorative research indicates signs of an integration of different organizations involved and attributes an important role to the Internet. However, whilst both our methodology and subject are evolving rapidly, conclusions, as our initial results show, must be tempered.

1. INTRODUCTION

The enormous growth of the Internet since the mid-1990s has placed debate about the potential consequences of this new media on the political process, on the top of the research agenda (Barnett 1997; Bimber 1998; Hague and Loader 1999; Johnson and Kaye 2000; Lax 2000; Castells 2001; Norris 2001). Most observers of the 'digital democracy' are quite subtle about the impact of this evolution. They don't believe it will radically transform democracy in either a positive or negative way. While both political insiders and outsiders can use these new information and communication technologies (ICTs), the balance of power and the existing political structure is not likely to change. Research shows that people who are politically active on the Web were already 'political junkies'

(Johnson and Kaye 1999; Norris 2002). However, we argue that participation in politics will have been facilitated through the use of ICTs. Political action is made easier, faster and more universal by the developing technologies. ICTs lower the costs and obstacles of organizing collective action significantly. Bimber (1998) argues that this will be particularly beneficial for those groups outside the boundaries of traditional public institutions or political organizations. These new, more citizen-based groups, that cannot depend on formal support or funding, will benefit relatively more from the Internet than for instance political parties or labour movements.

Social-movement watchers agree that the new media offer new opportunities for international collective action, but are more sceptical on the development of stable, long-lasting movements in the future. According to McAdam *et al.* (1996b), the expanded capacity for transnational communication will not automatically lead to international social movements. They believe that indispensable interpersonal networks cannot simply be replaced by new virtual contacts created by the Internet. Van de Donk and Foederer (2001) also doubt that virtual demonstrators can do without the emotions and thrills of participating in real direct action. Etzioni and Etzioni (1999) address the same problem: Can virtual contacts be as real as face-to-face contacts for building a community? On the basis of their exploratory research they conclude that a combination of both is best to create and maintain some sort of community. In the formation of a (transnational) social movement this would mean that when groups of people meet in person, like at a protest meeting, and have some shared values, they can maintain or even improve bonding by what the Etzionis call 'computer mediated communication'. Interaction solely based on Internet communications usually lacks the necessary basis of trust for building permanent relations (Diani 2001).

In this article we focus on the impacts these new media have and will have on the success of the recent anti-globalization protests and the plausible formation of a new social movement. To speak of a social movement generally four elements should be present: (1) a network of organizations, (2) on the basis of a shared collective identity, (3) mobilizing people to join, mostly unconventional[1] actions (4) to obtain social or political goals (Diani and Eyerman 1992; Duyvendak and Koopmans 1992). In this case we would broaden the concept of social movement to that of a 'transnational social movement organization' (TSMO) (Smith *et al.* 1997; della Porta *et al.* 1999) or even further to a 'global social movement' (GSM) (O'Brien *et al.* 2000). This concept refers to a network of organizations that is not bound by state barriers and that connects people and places 'that were formerly seen as distant or separate' (O'Brien *et al.* 2000: 13). Tarrow, who uses a typology to indicate different forms of transnational collective action, argues that

the conditions for a sustained transnational social movement 'that is, at once, integrated within several societies, unified in its goals and organization, and capable of mounting contention against a variety of targets' are hard to fulfil (Tarrow 1998: 185).

It is not our intention to find out whether the anti-globalization coalition is a true movement or rather a temporary (international) outburst of dissatisfaction with global economic and political governance. Our research is too limited and the actions too recent to go into this discussion. We confined ourselves, by means of an analysis of websites, to the contribution of the Internet to three different elements or conditions that establish movement formation: a shared definition of the problem as a basis for collective identity, actual mobilization of participants, and a network of different organizations. These three dimensions of social movements constitute the theoretical framework of our study. The fourth element of the definition has not been the major focus of this research and thus will only be treated occasionally.

Before elaborating these research questions (see Section 3.1), we will give a brief overview of the transnational protest actions against globalization. Special attention will be devoted to the role of the Internet.

2. GLOBAL PROTEST AGAINST GLOBALIZATION

Globalization means different things to different people. In the business community it refers to a 'free world' for trade, commerce and money, for political scholars and politicians the disappearing or at least challenging of state borders is central, while globalization for the average man or woman means he or she can eat the same food, wear the same shoes or watch the same television programmes as someone living on the other side of the planet (Dodds 2000). It would be wrong to state that, what are called anti-globalization protesters are against 'globalization' per se. In that case they wouldn't try to create a global network of organizations, or use a tool for global communication like the Internet. It is rather the neo-liberal way the globalization is shaped and the negative (side) effects it has on human beings and the environment that are contested (Ayres 2001). The international economic institutions that are created to regulate the global-ization process, like the World Trade Organization (WTO) and International Monetary Fund (IMF), are especially in the protesters' spotlight. Both their form (structure, decision-making procedures) and the content of their policies (free market, deregulation of trade, and environmental degradation) are fiercely challenged (O'Brien et al. 2000). The discussion about a more apt name to label the movement is ongoing, and important because the movement has regularly

been attacked on the basis of its anti-globalization label (Smith 2001a). Other names are being used, such as 'anti neo-liberal', 'anti-corporate' or 'democratic globalization', but since their use is, as yet, not widely spread, we will keep with the traditional 'anti-globalization' label, despite its shortcomings.

The demonstrations at the WTO congress in Seattle at the end of 1999 have become a major symbol of the anti-globalization struggle (Van Aelst 2000; Smith 2001b). However, it would be incorrect to reduce the protests to the 'battle of Seattle'. Seattle was neither the beginning nor the end of this (plausible) movement.

2.1. Before Seattle: The MAI and the First Signs of Virtual Resistance

Protest against certain aspects of globalization isn't new. Third World organizations have been posing questions on the unequal distribution of wealth and the dubious role of international organizations like the IMF and the World Bank for several decades.[2] But their concerns received a new, more international élan with the protest against the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) in 1998. From May 1995, trade ministers and economists from the leading industrialized world had secretly worked on the MAI. These talks should have led to a treaty by the end of 1998. However, they did not. The Internet-based campaign of an international network of organizations (600 in the end) from seventy countries was the villain in this play. The protest they created by informing and mobilizing people against these new plans in favour of free trade, led to the end of the negotiations and the failure of the agreement. Although traditional protest means like demonstrations and petitions were not absent, the Internet 'provided the glue to bind the opposition that had begun simultaneously in a variety of developed countries' (Ayres 1999: 140).

It is difficult to prove that without the Internet opposition, the MAI would be in use today but there are indications hereof. Peter Smith and Elizabeth Smythe (2001) studied the role of the Internet in this case and although they point to political delays and disagreements as important factors, they conclude that it was the social groups, armed with Internet technology that successfully exploited these political opportunities. According to Ayres (1999) the fact that similar campaigns 10 years earlier, using more costly and time-consuming methods, did not have the same result show the Internet's crucial role.

2.2. The Battle of Seattle: 'We Win'

Encouraged by this success the global coalition started preparing for a bigger event: the ministerial meeting of the WTO scheduled for the beginning of December 1999 in Seattle. The hometown of Boeing and Microsoft was eager to show itself off as a successful example of free trade to the representatives of 135 countries. The outcome was not exactly what the representatives of the city and the WTO had expected. A mixture of established NGOs and direct action groups engaged in colourful marches, road blockings and confrontation with the police. The media let a worldwide public enjoy, what has become known as, 'the battle of Seattle'. The almost complete obstruction of the opening day of the conference and the fact that their concerns were global news left the demonstrators with a feeling of victory. A feeling that was best indicated by one of the graffiti slogans that was left behind: WE WIN (*Newsweek* 13 December 1999). There were of course multiple causes for the failure of the meeting, like the North–South divide and the agricultural conflict between the USA and Europe, but as Jackie Smith stated: 'It would be hard to argue that the Seattle Ministerial would have failed as miserably as it did without the tens of thousand of protesters surrounding the meeting site' (2001b: 3). In Seattle activists took part in the conference, even if they were not invited.

Although this was not a virtual action in cyberspace – ask any inhabitant of Seattle – the Internet yet again played a vital role in the anti-globalization protest. Throughout 1999, thanks mainly to the Internet, people got plenty of chances to join the anti-WTO campaign. A main rallying point was the StopWTORound distribution list. This list enabled many to receive detailed information on different aspects of the WTO (George 2000). The communication was facilitated even more by various sites on the Internet, the umbrella website of the anti-WTO coalition being the most famous. The new media contributed to an international division of work between different organizations both prior to (George 2000) and during the protests (Smith 2001b). While groups with local ties concentrated on mobilization and direct action, more transnational-based groups provided information and frames to feed the action.

Not only activist and movement scholars but also Western governments are impressed by the Internet as a mobilization facilitator. As evidenced in an official report on the website of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service devoted to the anti-globalization protests: 'The Internet has breathed new life into the anarchist philosophy, permitting communication and coordination without the need for a central source of command, and facilitating coordinated actions with minimal resources and bureaucracy' (CSIS Report 2000/08).

Besides being a mobilization tool the Internet and other new means of communication in Seattle were used as means of action on their own. This virtual activism is intended to 'attack' the opponent from the inside, rather than on the streets. Those who could not make it to Seattle, could therefore engage in a virtual 'sit-in', blocking access to official sites, or send collectively an email or fax to disrupt the target's information flow (Smith 2001b). However, these forms of electronic activism were not used massively and were far less important to the movement's success.

2.3. After Seattle: From WTO to IMF, EU, G8, . . .

Since the WTO debacle in Seattle almost every summit of a transnational (economic) organization has led to street mobilizations. This was also the case for the meeting of two other symbols of globalization: the IMF and the World Bank in Washington.[3] Again the Internet was used for mobilizing anti-globalisation activists to join the protests, and again a heterogeneous mixture of activists from over 200 groups and fifty five nations (*USA Today* 17 April 2000) tried to prevent the world's finance ministers from gathering. They failed, mainly because of better police organization, and the members of the IMF achieved a major breakthrough: they met (*New York Times* 17 April 2000). But at the same time the impact of this embryonic movement was acknowledged. In a communiqué both institutions admitted that their role had become a subject 'of growing public debate' and that the benefits of free trade and international capital markets are not reaching everyone. Similar sounds could be heard half a year later in Prague when both institutions met again: talks on 'debt relief' and 'the fight against poverty' were more prominent than before. However, the protests in Prague did not leave the activists in a victorious mood. There were fewer participants than expected and media reports focused on the violence and the damaging of property by anarchists, leaving the public with a rather negative image of the movement. In Prague, the media platform that the 'anti-globalization' coalition received in Seattle and that brought worldwide attention to their cause, did not work in their favour and certainly obscured their main message.

Discussion on the peaceful versus more obstructive strategy was still hot half a year later (A20), when the same organizations joined forces once more, this time against the summit of the FTAA.[4] In Quebec, leaders of countries from across the Americas negotiated on setting up the world's largest free trade zone by 2005. Information and calls for action on the Internet were again numerous. For example, 'The Field Guide to the FTAA Protest in Quebec City' provided a mass of detailed suggestions for joining different actions. This 27 page, alternative

'travel guide' with links to all the relevant allies and opponents, leaves very little room for improvization.

Not only the WTO and the IMF meetings, but top gatherings of the European Union (Nice, Göteborg, Brussels) and the G8 (Genoa) have also witnessed outbursts of protest that are linked with the globalization issue. Besides their subject all these actions have in common is that they are mainly 'orchestrated' via the Internet. An action that is also linked to this issue but which followed a different strategy was the 'World Social Forum' held for the second time in Porto Alegre. Parallel with the World Economic Forum, members of different social organizations met in Brazil to discuss the effects and alternatives for neo-liberal free trade and globalization. Porte Alegre was not chosen at random. The city has become a 'social laboratory' for civic engagement in politics. People are informed, can make suggestions or complaints, and can vote on local issues using . . . the Internet (*Le Monde interactif* 7 February 2001).

In addition to extensive use of the Internet, these actions have something else in common: they are 'summit-related'. Probably unwillingly, the advocates for globalization have created with their conferences and meetings a (media) platform for its opponents. According to Ayres (2001) these international summits have stimulated new political opportunities for transnational activism. It is therefore hardly surprising that the last WTO meeting has taken place in the oil-state Qatar, where protest opportunities were reduced to an absolute minimum. And that after the tragedy in Genoa the next G8 summit will take place in a remote venue in the Rocky Mountains.

3. RESEARCH ON THE INTERNET: LIMITATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES

3.1. Data Reduction: From ICTs to Websites

The decision to confine our study to an analysis of websites has led to tempered conclusions on the role of new ICTs for social movements. Perhaps email or mobile phones are more important for activists and insight into their users would perhaps teach us more about transnational networks. But this type of research would cause problems even for Sherlock Holmes. However, websites are an interesting starting point for several reasons. (1) First of all they contain lots of information on the actual organization(s). How are they organized? What do they stand for? What issues do they stress? A content analysis should point out whether the different organizations are on the same track, or in movement terms: whether they share the same frame of reference. (2) Secondly, we also wanted to examine

to what extent these sites are also used as a means for mobilization. Do they actively motivate people to engage in unconventional actions? How detailed is the information on these actions? Is the Internet used as a means for action on its own? (3) But, perhaps most importantly, by analysing their 'links' to other groups and organizations we can learn something about their network function. Is there one big virtual network among organizations involved in the anti-globalization struggle? Or are there still geographical or other kinds of barriers that prevent a global movement from evolving?

As stated in the Introduction, the enormous growth of the Internet has made this subject, also for social scientists, a more essential and preferred research subject. However, research strategy and methodology are almost unexplored (Wakeford 2000) and to the best of our knowledge only a few pioneers have studied websites. Van de Donk and Foederer (2001) made a quick scan of some environmental organization websites without using a research instrument. Hill and Hughes (1998), who sampled 100 political oriented websites in the USA, 'quantified' their study a bit more. They did so by using more objective parameters like the number of web pages, graphical elements and hyperlinks that were found. Chandler (1998) developed a sort of coding scheme for his study on personal homepages. More useful for our analysis, are the examples of research on political websites. Pippa Norris (2001) made a list of criteria to classify websites on their information and communication function. Similar, but more elaborate, is the work performed by scholars of the Amsterdam School of Communication Research (De Landtsheer et al. 2000a, b). They created a coding scheme to study political websites in terms of political participation. In other words, to determine whether political websites are 'participation-beneficial' characteristics like information, interactivity, user-friendliness and aesthetics were quantified. This scheme was used as a source of inspiration for our own study, but needed, in view of the different research subject and question, serious rethinking. This is particularly true in view of the need to add a part on the mobilization function of the sites.

Before explaining our coding scheme and the results that were found, we need to go into the data selection and analysis. This part of the research process faced numerous difficulties and pitfalls.

3.2. Data Selection: Seventeen Websites

Probably the trickiest part of this study were the criteria for the selection of the websites. First of all, there is no such thing as one master list of all the organizations involved in the anti-globalization struggle. It is even unclear how

many organizations or sites can be linked to this subject. Moreover, search engines on the Net did not give a good overview.[5] Hill and Hughes (1998) used the subcategories (politics and interest groups) made by search engines to reduce their population: however, anti-globalization is not focused upon and relevant sites are spread among numerous categories (anti-corporation, environment, labour, Free Trade Area of the Americas, etc.). A normal sampling procedure therefore was not possible. Another option was to use external links from the sites of the most important organizations to other organizations. But this would have manipulated the results strongly because the network function of these sites is a primal research question.

Finally, we chose to select the sites of organizations that were mentioned in the different national and international news reports on the major anti-globalization protests. In this way we ensured that we would analyse the actors that played some kind of role in the effective actions that took place. Among these organizations a minor selection was made because an analysis of both the content and structure of sites is rather time-consuming. The number of sites was therefore further reduced on the basis of practical reasons like language (only English and French speaking) or because the site was no longer operational. This was the case with some sites that were created especially for one protest event. The fact that the actual research took place in the months March–May 2001 therefore influenced our selection. Especially the summit of the Americas in April 2001, has con-tributed to the fact that fifteen of the seventeen selected websites have a North American home town. If for example Prague or Genoa had been the centre of these protests, some more European sites would have been part of our study. Despite these careful considerations we can hardly state that this limited selection of websites is truly representative for all the organizations involved.

The seventeen websites that were finally selected can roughly be ordered in three different subgroups (Table 1): The first group of sites are devoted to single events, in this case it concerns the FTAA meeting in Quebec and the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre. The second group are social organizations or action groups that are fully or partly engaged in the anti-globalization struggle. Some of them like WTOaction.org or 50 years is enough were founded as a direct reaction against globalization, while others like Friends of the Earth were active long before globalization led to contention. A last group are labelled as 'sup-portive organizations', because they deliver a service to others that can facilitate their actions.

Each site was accurately analysed by two graduate students, who made this their 'homepage' for a month (29 March–3 May). They received careful instructions, especially on the interpretation of the coding scheme. Elaborate

Table 1 Websites of organizations linked to the anti-globalization protests

Anti-globalization event sites

A20 http://www.a20.org/	An 'umbrella site' against the last meeting of the FTAA (April 2001)
Anti-Capitalist Convergence (CLAC) http://www.quebec2001.net/	Gives information about organizing activities against Summit of the FTAA in Quebec City (April 2001)
World Social Forum http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/	Site of the 'alternative Davos' in Porto Alegre

Social org. – action groups

WTOaction.org http://wtoaction.org/	Continues to engage people in opposing trade agreements, such as the WTO and FTAA
50 years is enough http://www.50years.org/index.html	Activates for economic justice plus profound transformation of the World Bank and IMF
ATTAC http://www.attac.org/	Association for the Taxation of financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens
The International Forum on Globalisation http://www.ifg.org/index.html	IFG is an alliance of sixty leading activists, scholars, economists, researchers and writers
Global Trade Watch http://www.tradewatch.org/	Part of Public Citizen that focuses on action against free trade
Corporate Watch http://www.corpwatch.org/	Provides news, analysis, and action resources to respond to corporate activity around the globe

Table 1 continued

Global Exchange http://www.globalexchange.org/	A human rights organization dedicated to promoting environmental and social justice around the world
Friends of the Earth http://www.foe.org/	A national environmental organization plus part of an international environmental network
Infoshop.org http://www.infoshop.org/Welcome.html	Has lots of information of interest to anarchists, anti-authoritarians, and other activists
The Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy http://www.iatp.org/	Promotes resilient family farms, rural communities and ecosystems around the world

Supportive organizations	
Protest.net http://www.protest.net/	A collective of activists who are working together to create a public record of protest actions on the Web
Ruckus Society http://www.ruckus.org/	Provides training on the skills of non-violent civil disobedience to help environmental and human rights organizations achieve their goals
Indymedia http://www.indymedia.org/	A collective of independent media organizations and hundreds of journalists offering grassroots, non-corporate coverage
The Association for Progressive Communications http://www.apc.org/english/index.htm	Advocates for and facilitates the use of ICTs by civil society in a variety of ways

justification of the codes made it possible to compare and adjust their fieldwork afterwards.[6]

4. MAPPING ANTI-GLOBALIZATION ON THE WEB

The analysis of the sites focuses on three diverse parts of the discussion on social movement theory and ICTs. First of all we will try to find out whether the seventeen organizations give a similar interpretation of the anti-globalization theme. Secondly, attention will be given to the mobilization function these sites fulfil. And finally, the links between the organizations will be looked at in detail. On the basis of these three elements the 'movementisation' of the anti-globalization protests and the role of the Internet in this process should become somewhat clearer.

4.1. Content Analysis: What is Anti-globalization for Different Organizations?

We stated in the Introduction that an important pre-condition for a movement is some form of collective identity. As the concept of identity, including feelings of identification and solidarity (Diani 2001), is broad and difficult to quantify, we restrict ourselves to a study of the shared 'frames of reference' of the different organizations. Without collective frames or 'shared meanings and definitions that people bring to their situation', it is unlikely that people will form a collective identity and permanently join forces (McAdam et al. 1996a). This does not mean that all activists have identical opinions or ideas regarding specific facts or persons but rather that they use the same references or interpretations. The concept of frames in the context of social movements was introduced by Snow et al. (1986) and further applied and developed by many others (Gerhards and Rucht 1992; Gamson and Meyer 1996; Walgrave and Manssens 2000). A 'master frame' consists of different elements or dimensions. In this contribution, we focus on the first dimension of diagnostic framing, which is the identification of problems and causes (Snow and Benford 1988; Gerhards and Rucht 1992). To this end, we looked at how the websites conceive and define globalization. Do they hold a common view on the problem? Or, as critics assume, do all organizations focus on different aspects of a complex phenomenon?

Websites could possibly sustain the formation of such a shared (diagnostic) frame by giving information (a), stressing the same elements of the issue (b) and organizing discussion and interaction on the subject (c).

(a) As mentioned earlier, we developed a coding scheme to map different functions of the websites. Codes varying from 0 to 2 were attributed to various aspects of information. In the Appendix the scheme and the motivations for the codes are presented in detail. In general, code 1 refers to a minimal presence of the characteristic while code 2 represents a more extensive one. Table 2 gives an overview of the codes and a standardized 100-point sum score of the seventeen sites.

As one could expect, most sites are coded highly on their information function. It is quite normal for a website to say who its '(web)master' is and what it stands for. It is notable that while all organizations gave some information on their own organizations, in half of the cases this was done in a minimal or insufficient manner. Often they remain vague on their precise composition or structure.[7] Although this could be a deliberate strategy, it raises questions on the representativeness of some of them. Their views and opinions were generally clearer. Perhaps more remarkable than the high scores on internal information are these for external information. Especially the number of websites with links to other organizations is significant. This is not always the case among movements, as for instance van de Donk and Foederer (2001) found an absence of external links among environmental organizations. In our selection there is only one organization that doesn't refer to others . . . the environmental organization *Friends of the Earth*.[8]

(b) To further explore the content of each site a 'checklist' of twelve subjects related to the 'anti-globalization' protests was used. If it concerned a main subject on the site it received code 2, a minor subject was coded 1 and if the subject wasn't mentioned at all code 0 was attributed.[9] With an average of eight of the eleven subjects coded as minor or main subject, most of the sites were very broad in their view on (anti) globalization. An exception is the *Ruckus Society*, which

Table 2 Codes and standardized scores of seventeen websites on their information function

	Code 0	Code 1	Code 2	Stand. score
Self-presentation	0	8	9	76
Views of the organization	1	4	12	82
External information (links)	1	0	16	91
Background information	2	11	4	56
Subtotal				76

supports other organizations in using non-violent action techniques and hardly gave any information on globalization or themes linked to it. The fact that most organizations have a frame that defines a multitude of problems is not necessarily problematic. Gerhards and Rucht (1992) also found that the coalition behind an anti-IMF demonstration in Berlin addressed a very wide range of issues and still managed to connect them to each other.

As Table 3 shows, most important are the contested economic aspects of globalization. Free trade and to a lesser degree economic dominance are given full attention on most websites. Although, as noted earlier, this outcome is probably influenced by the research period, it shows a consensus on globalization as a primary economic matter. This confirms Cecilia Lynch's earlier findings that among progressive contemporary social movements economic globalization is seen as 'the primary obstacle to the fulfilment of their goals' (1998: 149). Further, most organizations state that this economic matter has important side effects on other aspects like the environment (sustainable development), the unequal distribution of wealth between the North and the South, human rights, and the labour conditions of many.

Besides being regarded as an economic problem, globalization is also seen as a political one. Especially the problem of an international government led by 'undemocratic' international institutions is discussed on several websites. Many of them refer to a stronger civil society and a more participative democracy as plausible solutions. Decentralization as such is less explicitly mentioned.

The cultural aspect of globalization is clearly the least important. Only the more intellectual *International Forum on Globalisation* sees it as a main part of the issue.[10] However, it is not unthinkable that for organizations in the South this is a more crucial part of their struggle.

(c) Finally, the views and ideas on the globalization issue might be further elaborated by an extensive discussion. When a medium like the Internet is used by a 'citizen-based' organization one would assume that is in a highly interactive manner. However, this is not shown to be the case. Most sites offer the 'basics' like a feedback possibility or a newsletter, mostly via email. More sophisticated ways of interaction and debate, like forums or chat groups, are limited. Only four sites host some kind of online debate.[11] The opportunity for members or visitors to have a personal contribution on the site, for instance by reactions on articles, is more widespread (Table 4).

We can conclude that most of the organizations inform about different causes and consequences of globalization, which is defined in general as being primarily an economic problem that has created a problem of democratic governance. While the information is elaborate, the possibilities for debating that information

Table 3 Codes and standardized sum scores of seventeen sites on themes linked to the anti-globalization issue

	Code 0	Code 1	Code 2	Sum score (/100)
1. Free trade (against the liberalization of trade, against the WTO, pro fair trade, ...)	1	2	14	88
2. Economic domination (the market dominates political and social lives)	4	1	12	73
3. International democracy (undemocratic international institutions)	3	5	9	68
4. Unequal North–South distribution (Third World debt relief, IMF programmes, Tobin tax, . . .)	5	2	10	65
5. Sustainable development (environmental problems, animal rights, respect for the planet, . . .)	1	10	6	65
6. Human rights (protection of minorities, poverty reduction, . . .)	2	8	7	65
7. Labour (employee rights, wages, . . .)	3	7	7	62
8. Civil society (cooperation between NGOs, movements, action groups, . . .)	3	7	7	62
9. Participative democracy (improving the participation of citizens on policy in general)	5	7	5	50
10. Decentralization (taking decisions at a lower level, smaller communities, . . .)	9	6	2	29
11. Cultural homogenization (against Americanization, pro cultural autonomy, . . .)	8	8	1	29

Table 4 Codes and standardized scores of seventeen websites on their interactivity function

	Code 0	Code 1	Code 2	Stand. score
Feedback opportunities	0	9	8	73
Electronic correspondence	2	3	12	79
Online debate	13	3	1	15
Personal contribution	5	7	5	50
Subtotal				56

are rather limited. We must also point out that the consensus on such issues says little about the way this global economy should be altered. This study did not allow for more than a surface study of the second, 'prognostic' dimension of framing. Prognostic framing implies the formulations of solutions for the earlier defined problems (Snow and Benford 1988). At first sight, most sites leave big questions on the ideal strategy unanswered. For instance, the site of the World Social Forum asks: 'Is it necessary to abolish the World Bank, the IMF, and the WTO or can they be reformed?' At this moment, it seems to be a NO-consensus: most organizations know what they are against but little is said about what they are actually in favour of. At the same time we can see how the final statement of the second World Social Forum in Porto Alegre (2002) remains awfully vague when it comes to formulating alternatives. Yet, a strong prognostic frame is something most movements lack. But since, unlike political parties, they are not immediately expected to offer clear solutions, this shortcoming is not too problematic (Gerhards and Rucht 1992). The anti-globalization movement first needs to de-legitimize the dominant views on globalization before it can legitimize others (Lynch 1998). Further research on the variation in goals and strategy should improve our view on the master frames of these organizations.

4.2. Websites: A New Means for Real or Virtual Mobilization?

We stated earlier that the selected websites assist the process of informing their members or participants. They can learn about the organization and what it (does not) stand(s) for. More crucial for a social movement is the fact that these websites could also facilitate the actual mobilization of activists. The mobilization process, getting people on to the street, has always been a difficult and unpredictable

element in the movements' success (Klandermans 1984). In the literature different methods of mobilizing people are distinguished, varying from direct mail, mass media, and formal organizations, to more informal networks of friends and relatives, or what McAdam calls 'micromobilisation contexts' (Klandermans and Oegema 1987; McAdam 1988; Walgrave and Manssens 2000). It is clear that after the recent 'anti-globalization' protest, ICTs should be added to this list.

Without guessing how many people actually showed up in Seattle or Prague thanks to the Internet, we can take a look at the way these websites are 'action mobilizators'. In the World Wide Web area the concept of mobilization should perhaps be extended from (former) 'unconventional' street actions like demonstrations and sit-ins, to new virtual actions varying from an online petition to pinning down the enemy's server.

As mentioned earlier we use a coding scheme that is explained in detail in the Appendix (Table 5).

A first, more passive, way of mobilizing people for the good cause, is to give them the opportunity to join or to support the organization. Two thirds of the sites offer such online registration forms to become a member, donate money or buy promotional goods. With a bit of creativity organizations like *Corporate Watch* are even willing to support 'a small fundraising party that will be fun for all and help CorpWatch gain new supporters'.

The more active elements in Table 5 confirm the role of the Internet as medium for promoting and organizing protest activities. Only two organizations do not host a calendar with the upcoming activities to contest globalization. Visitors are

Table 5 Codes and standardized scores of seventeen websites on their mobilization function

	Code 0	Code 1	Code 2	Stand. score
Support/membership	6	11	—[a]	64
Action calendar	2	3	5–7[b]	66
Online actions	9	6	2	29
Training	4	9	4	50
Subtotal				52

[a] This characteristic could be coded from 0 to 1, see Appendix for an explanation of the codes.
[b] This characteristic could be coded from 0 to 3, see Appendix for an explanation of the codes.

mostly encouraged to participate and are given detailed information on how to do so. Some sites give practical information (on transport, sleeping accommodation, hours, places, . . .), while others refer to external links or email addresses. Earlier we gave the example of 'The Field Guide to the FTAA Protest in Quebec City' as a document that takes activists by the hand and guides them through all the obstacles to effective participation. To make a friendly impression on the inhabitants of Quebec even some words of French are taught to the English-speaking participants. So, after reading it they knew that 'prison' and 'police', mean the same in French as in English.

On seven websites activists have the possibility to add protest activities and on a more specialized site like *Protest.net* you can ask to be sent an email reminder. And finally for the ones who weren't able to join the actions, fifteen sites also report on previous events.

Most sites give some information on how to use or improve certain actions techniques, or refer to manuals or other organizations for more activist 'training'. The advice given is quite diverse and varies from techniques to climb a building (*Ruckus Society*) to dealing with media attention (*Global Trade Watch*). The *Association for Progressive Communication* even devotes a great deal of their website to improving ICT skills for other organizations and activists (using email effectively, website development).

The websites are clearly a means of support in the mobilization process for all sorts of 'real' protest actions, but are far less used as an action tool on their own. Barely half of the organizations use some form of online action, for the most part online petitions. Only *Protest.net*, promoting a 'netstrike', and *Friends of the Earth*, offering all kinds of protest emails to politicians, take a step further in the virtual direction.

4.3. Linking Websites: One Network?

Social movements are often conceived as social networks of informal and formal organizations (Diani and Eyerman 1992; Diani 1997). Certainly in a transnational context the network perspective seems most applicable. A network of different social organizations or action groups is, as Tarrow (1998) states, not necessarily a social movement but it can become the basis of it.

Earlier it was shown that globalization is a very complex and diverse issue that attracts different organizations for different reasons. Besides the ideological 'nuances' (greens, labour unions, anarchists, Third World movements . . .), there are strong geographical differences that have to be bridged. Can the World Wide Web overcome all those cleavages? The mobilization successes of Seattle,

etc. prove of course some kind of collaboration but it is hard to say how far this network reaches and how stable it is. We have examined the connections between the seventeen selected organizations by analysing their links to other sites. Hypertext links set the Web apart from other media channels like television, newspapers or magazines. Virtual links are used in other research too, like a study on the relations between US congress members (Cha 2001), as a way of exploring networks. For activists and social organizations it is a unique facility for referring to like-minded groups or to sites of the opponent.[12] Smith and Smythe (2001) too, found that most of the anti-MAI websites linked to the website of the OECD, the organization responsible for the secret trade negotiations they opposed. The reason behind this was that the draft text of the MAI that was released on the OECD site was considered a major source of information. Therefore, a link does not necessarily prove a relationship but can be seen here as a basic form of alliance, certainly when it is a link to a like-minded group or organization. The more 'missing links' there are, the weaker the social movement network becomes.

Most of the seventeen websites are strong advocates of hyperlinks (Table 6). When we compare the study of Hill and Hughes (1998) on political oriented websites, who found an average of 28, our average of 126 is relatively high.[13] Still, in the hasty life of the Internet it remains hard to evaluate data from 2001 compared with a study dated from August 1997.

This high number of links does not automatically imply a connection between the selected websites engaged in the anti-globalization struggle. An average of five links out of sixteen prevents us from speaking of a close-knit network. The practice of linking is clearly not always a reciprocal one, which means that not all relations are as strong. Whilst the Canadians of *WTOaction.org* are for example the most 'bonding' organization with no less than fourteen links, they are referred to by only two others. Conversely *Friends of the Earth*, which has only one link to its umbrella organization, is referred to by half of the other sites.

If we do not focus on the missing links between some organizations, but look instead at the visualization of the network (Figure 1), we could interpret the results in a different way. All websites are in fact indirectly linked to one another. So if an activist starts intensively surfing the Web, he or she can visit all seventeen websites (and probably a few hundred like-minded more). Central in the network are *WTOaction.org* (4), *Corporate Watch* (8), *Global Exchange* (10), *50 years is enough* (5) and *Indymedia* (16). With ten incoming and eight outgoing links, the latter especially appears to be the most crucial for the coherence of the network. This independent medium is, since its foundation for the Seattle protests, a fast growing network of its own with almost sixty centres in twenty countries. If these

Table 6 Number of external links on and to seventeen websites

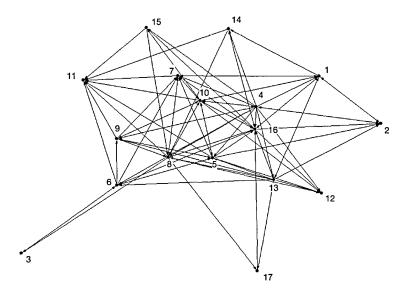|	Number of external links	Number of links to anti-globalization sites (max. 16)	Referred to by anti-globalization site (max. 16)
1. A20	66	6	5
2. CLAC (Quebec 2001)	26	2	5
3. World Social Forum	41	1	2
4. WTOaction.org	260	13	2
5. 50 years is enough	83	7	5
6. ATTAC	88	6	3
7. Global Trade Watch	63	4	7
8. Corporate Watch	249	7	7
9. IFG	40	5	5
10. Global Exchange	393	9	7
11. FOE	1	0	8
12. IATP	48	0	6
13. Infoshop	400	9	3
14. Protest.net	126	3	3
15. Ruckus Society	46	2	3
16. Indymedia	194	8	10
17. APC	29	1	2
Average	126	5	5

Figure 1 A network of seventeen websites on the basis of external hyperlinks (the numbers correspond with the organizations in Table 6). The network was drawn using Pajek, a program for social network analysis
(http://vlado.fmf.uni-lj.si/pub/networks/pajek/)

'local' divisions of *Indymedia* were to be added to the analysis of links the central role would be even more pronounced.[14]

Only the *World Social Forum* (3) and the *Association for Progressive Communication* (17) fall a bit out of the centre. For the *WSF* this could be due to the fact that the conference took place more than a month before our research started and that some temporary links might have disappeared. The link from *Corporate Watch* to the *WSF* was found in their article archive. Sites that do not keep information stored on their site, like *Protest.net*, are therefore less connected to others. Another explanation involves also the only other non-North American organization in our study, the French organization *ATTAC*. Both have, besides their mutual connection, only one or two other incoming links. This means that they are a little isolated from the organizations located in the USA and Canada. Does this suggest a geographical, linguistic gap? We must refer to the finding that 'local' divisions of, for instance, *Indymedia* do have links to *ATTAC* and the *WSF*, so a gap is probably too strong. Further research seems necessary to answer this question properly. On the other hand, there seems to be no cleavage on issues or strategy. No separate subgroups or clusters could be identified. An anarchistic site like *Infoshop* (13) is only 'two-steps' away from more moderate organizations like *FOE* (11) or

Global Trade Watch (7). Perhaps recent violent clashes between militant protestors and the police at summits in Göteborg and Genoa will lead to a clearer division in the movement.

We can conclude that although the network is not complete on the basis of external links, it is highly integrated. On the basis of Figure 1, the social movement condition 'a network of organizations' seems to be no problem in this case. However, the arrows in the figure suggest a real connection, but do not guarantee it. You can easily link to other organizations without having real contact. What does a hyperlink signify? Is it a way of providing more information, irrespective of approval, or just a way to show that others are fighting for the same cause? At the moment we know little on the network value that can be attributed to the use of hyperlinks. Is a temporary link, for instance in an article, as impor-tant as a permanent one in a separate 'links' page? On the other hand, some organizations have worked together or have intensive contacts, but for unknown reasons have no mutual hyperlink on their websites. Are these contacts, as some assume, mainly sustained by email and mailing lists (Smith and Smythe 2001)? Do they wish to keep the visitors on their own site and fear losing members to other similar organizations? Is there a kind of thematic or territorial competition for website visitors and potential donators? It could be an explanation why established environmental organizations were not linking to each other (van de Donk and Foederer 2001). Other aspects like the individual role of the webmaster(s) can also explain the presence or absence of certain links. It is clear that further research is needed but for the time being the value of hyperlinks to construct a network of organizations is questionable, particularly in this case when sites refer to hundreds of others.

5. CONCLUSION: GLOBALIZATION, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, AND THE INTERNET

Since the already legendary 'Battle of Seattle' at the end of the twentieth century protest against the creation of one global economic market is hot news. The international and ideological mix of protesters was soon labelled as the 'anti-globalization' coalition. Their lack of means and central authority was compensated by their extensive use of new forms of communication. They also eagerly exploited the new political opportunities offered by transnational meetings and the free media attention that was generated.

In this article we have evaluated three social movement conditions of the coalition against neo-liberal globalization by analysing a limited selection of seventeen relevant websites in March–May 2001. On all three relatively positive

conclusions can be drawn. First of all, there is a sort of consensus on the globalization issue they contest, by framing it primarily as an economic problem that has negative consequences on human beings and the environment. Also the political aspect of globalization, the lack of democratic legitimacy of the international organizations, is usually contested. Besides general information on the issue, the sites actively mobilize people to demonstrate against the symbols of economic globalization. By giving detailed guidelines all supporters can easily become real participants. Finally, all seventeen websites are directly or indirectly 'hyperlinked' to each other, creating a kind of network of related organizations.

This positive judgement of the anti-globalization coalition becoming a social movement and the contribution of the Internet, has to be tempered as both movement and medium are in full evolution and hard to quantify. In the fight to alter the process of economic globalization, new events take place, new organizations join the protest, new coalitions arise while others disappear, and few can predict what will happen next. Therefore, at this point in time, it is difficult to categorically state that this mix of 'anti-globalization' protesters is evolving towards a transnational social movement. However, it is clear that they, like other protest movements (Castells 2001), prove that globalization is contestable and that the protest is becoming 'as transnational as capital' (Smith and Smythe 2001).

Is this all due thanks to the technological evolution? Have, in this case, the new forms of communication changed the 'logic of collective action' or just the speed of protest diffusion? We are not sure. The Internet brings new opportunities for everyone, but at the moment international activists are benefiting relatively more than their opponents. It seems that the fluid, non-hierarchical structure of the Internet and that of the international protest coalition prove to be a good match and that it is no coincidence that both can be labelled as a 'network of networks' (Scott and Street 2001). On the other hand, the role of the Internet is often exaggerated. For instance during the 'Carnival against Capitalism' that took place in cities around the world in 1999, The Guardian reported that the demonstration in London was entirely dependent on the Web. According to Stephen Lax (2000), who found a range of posters, leaflets and graffiti advertisements, the Internet was used alongside other mobilizing means. There is, as this and other studies confirm, little evidence that the Internet is becoming a substitute for traditional forms of protest (Pickerill 2001; Smith and Smythe 2001).

Also within the movement the role and importance of the Internet is regarded in a different way. This was revealed when we interviewed two Belgian representatives of organizations involved. Han Soete, of Indymedia Belgium, is convinced

that the movement could not exist in its present state without the Internet, which has made the exchange of information and creation of contacts in a global context both easy and cheap. Nico Verhaegen of *Via Campesina*, an international organization of small farmers, has a more modest view on the new media:

> If the same globalisation would have occurred without the existence of the Web or email, the same transnational protest movement would have founded. Perhaps with a bit more tension, and not that fast, but the movement would have come there for sure.

Again it is difficult to say who has the most accurate vision on the contribution of the new technology in this case. Our explorative research can perhaps inspire others to improve our knowledge on this increasingly ever more important aspect of social movements. At this moment we can't say it better than the Canadian Security Intelligence Service:

> The Internet will continue to play a large role in the success or failure of globalisation protests and demonstrations. Groups will use the Internet to identify and publicise targets, solicit and encourage support, organize and communicate information and instructions, recruit, raise funds, and as a means of promoting their various individual and collective aims.
>
> (CSIS Report 2000/08)

NOTES

1 Although peaceful forms of protest have become a rather normal or conventional form of politics, the term 'unconventional' is still used to define all sorts of protest action varying from petitions to violent demonstrations (Van Aelst and Walgrave 2001).

2 As an example we can refer to a heterogeneous coalition of 133 groups that organized a demonstration against the IMF and World Bank meeting in Berlin in 1988, which attracted up to 80,000 people (Gerhards and Rucht 1992).

3 See for example the website devoted to this event: www.a16.org.

4 The Canadian police reduced the opportunities for activists to disturb the meeting by building a 6 km chain link and concrete wall around the conference centre. The 1,000 protesters who tried to 'breakdown the wall' received much more media attention than the 25,000 others that took to the streets peacefully.

5 Just typing the word 'anti-globalisation' in the search engine Google resulted in 8,300 web pages in no useful order.

6 After careful comparison of the codes, only a handful of justifications seemed necessary. This was the case when the students gave similar explanations but different codes.

7 For instance the Canadian site *WTOaction.org* claims to present The Common Front on the World Trade Organization (CFWTO), which brings together over fifty national organizations and regional networks, but fails to name members.

8 We should be careful to generalize the absence of links on environmental sites, while we found hundreds on the site of the UK department of *Friends of the Earth*.

9 A main subject is mentioned several times or as a priority of the organization, while a minor subject is only mentioned occasionally.

10 In their words: 'Worldwide homogenisation of diverse, local and indigenous cultures, social and economic forms, as well as values and living patterns that reflect the efficiency needs of the new global monoculture' (www.ifg.org).

11 Also Pippa Norris (2001) found in her analysis of political websites limited debate opportunities for visitors. Only 35 per cent of the websites hosted some kind of online debate.

12 Many of the organizations referred also to the websites of the WTO, IMF or World Bank.

13 This average is probably an underestimation, because the links are spread all over the site and easily overlooked. We only counted the links on this website and not on separate sites of divisions in other cities or countries.

14 Divisions of Indymedia referred to ATTAC, The World Social Forum and the 50 years is enough network. And the website of the Anti-Capitalist Convergence only linked to a Canadian department of Indymedia.

REFERENCES

Ayres, J.M. (1999) 'From the streets to the Internet: the cyber-diffusion of contention', The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 566: 132–43.

Ayres, J.M. (2001) 'Transnational political processes and contention against the global economy', Mobilization, 6: 55–68.

Barnett, S. (1997) 'New media, old problems. New technology and the political process', European Journal of Communication, 12: 193–218.

Bimber, B. (1998) 'The Internet and political mobilization. Research note on the 1996 Election Season', Social Science Computer Review, 16: 391–401.

Canadian Security Intelligence Service (2000) Anti-globalisation: A Spreading Phenomenon, Report No. 2000/08. Online. Available:
http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/eng/miscdocs/200008_e.html

Castells, M. (2001) The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. Volume II: The Power of Identity, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Cha, D. (2001) 'Internet Communication Structure in US Congress: A Network Analysis', paper prepared for the Annual APSA Meeting, San Francisco.

Chandler, D. (1998) 'Personal home pages and the construction of identities on the Web'. Online. Available:
http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/short/webident.html

De Landtsheer, C., Krasnoboka, N. and Gomezllata, E. (2000a) 'Userfriendliness of US Presidential Election Websites', paper prepared for the Conference 'Etmaal van de Communicatiewetenschap', Amsterdam, February 2001.

De Landtsheer, C., Krasnoboka, N. and Neuner, C. (2000b) 'Userfriendliness of Political Websites in Eastern and Western European Countries', paper prepared for the Conference of the International Communication Association, Washington, May 2001.

della Porta, D., Kriesi, H. and Rucht, D. (1999) 'Social movements in a globalising world: an introduction', in D. della Porta, H. Kriesi and D. Rucht (eds) *Social Movements in a Globalising World*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp. 3–22.

Diani, M. (1997) 'Social movements and social capital: a network perspective on movement outcomes', *Mobilization*, 2: 129–47.

Diani, M. (2001) 'Social movement networks. Virtual and real', in F. Webster (ed.), *Culture and Politics in the Information Age*, London: Routledge, pp. 117–27.

Diani, M. and Eyerman, R. (eds) (1992) *Studying Collective Action*, London: Sage.

Dodds, K.J. (2000) *Geopolitics in a Changing World*, Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.

Donk, W. van de and Foederer, B. (2001) 'E-movements or emotions? ICT's and social movements: some preliminary observations', in J. Prins (ed.) *Ambitions and Limits on the Crossroads of Technological Innovation and Institutional Change*, Boston.

Duyvendak, J.W. and Koopmans, R. (eds) (1992) *Tussen verbeelding en macht: 25 jaar nieuwe sociale bewegingen in Nederland*, Amsterdam.

Etzioni, A. and Etzioni, O. (1999) 'Face-to-face and computer-mediated communities, a comparative analysis', *The Information Society*, 15: 241–8.

Gamson, W. and Meyer, D. (1996) 'Framing political opportunity', in D. McAdam, J. McCarthy and M. Zald (eds) *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

George, S. (2000) 'Fixing or Nixing the WTO', *Le Monde diplomatique*, January 2000.

Gerhards, J. and Rucht, D. (1992) 'Mesomobilization: organizing and framing in two protest campaigns in West Germany', *American Journal of Sociology*, 98: 555–95.

Hague, B. and Loader, B. (eds) (1999) *Digital Democracy*, London: Routledge.

Hill, K. and Hughes, J. (1998) *Cyberpolitics: Citizen Activism in the Age of the Internet*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Johnson, T. and Kaye, B. (2000) 'Democracy's rebirth or demise? The influence of the Internet on political attitudes', in D. Schultz (ed.) *It's Show Time! Media, Politics and Popular Culture*, New York: Peter Lang, pp. 209–28.

Klandermans, B. (1984) 'Mobilisation and participation: social-psychological expansions of resource mobilisation theory', *American Sociological Review*, 49: 583–600.

Klandermans, B. and Oegema, D. (1987) 'Potentials, networks, motivation and barriers: steps towards participation in social movements', *American Sociological Review*, 52: 519–31.

Lax, S. (2000) 'The Internet and democracy', in D. Gauntlett (ed.) *Web.Studies: Rewiring Media Studies for the Digital Age*, London: Arnold, pp. 159–69.

Lynch, C. (1998) 'Social movements and the problem of globalization', *Alternatives*, 23: 149–74.

McAdam, D. (1988) 'Micromobilisation contexts and the recruitment to activism', in B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi and S. Tarrow (eds) *From Structure to Action*, Greenwich: JAI Press, pp. 125–54.

McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. and Zald, M. (eds) (1996a) *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, D., Tilly, C. and Tarrow, S. (1996b) 'To map contentious politics', *Mobilization*, 1: 17–34.

Norris, P. (2001) 'Digital Parties. Civic Engagement and Online Democracy', paper prepared for the ECPR Joint Sessions, Grenoble, 6–11 April 2001.

Norris, P. (2002) *Democratic Phoenix: Political Activism Worldwide*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

O'Brien, R., Goetz, A., Scholte, J. and Williams, M. (2000) *Contesting Global Governance. Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pickerill, J. (2001) 'Weaving a green web. Environmental protest and computer-mediated communication in Britain', in F. Webster (ed.), *Culture and Politics in the Information Age*, London: Routledge, pp. 143–66.

Scott, A. and Street, J. (2001) 'From media politics to e-protest? The use of popular culture and new media in parties and social movements' Internet', in F. Webster (ed.), *Culture and Politics in the Information Age*, London: Routledge, pp. 32–51.

Smith, J. (2001a) 'Behind the anti-globalization label', *Dissent*, 14–18.

Smith, J. (2001b) 'Globalizing resistance: the battle of Seattle and the future of social movements', *Mobilization*, 6: 1–19.

Smith, J., Chatfield, C. and Pagnucco, R. (eds) (1997) *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*, New York: Syracuse University Press.

Smith, P.J. and Smythe, E. (2001) 'Globalisation, citizenship and technology. The Multilateral Agreement on Investment meets the Internet', in F. Webster, *Culture and Politics in the Information Age*, London: Routledge, pp. 183–206.

Snow, D. and Benford, R.B. (1988) 'Ideology, frame resonance, and participant mobilization', in B. Klandermans, H. Kriesi and S. Tarrow (eds) *From Structure to Action*, Greenwich: JAI Press, pp. 197–218.

Snow, D., Rochford, E.B., Worden, S.K. and Benford, R.B. (1986) 'Frame alignment processes, micromobilisation and movement participation', *American Sociological Review*, 51: 464–82.

Tarrow, S. (1998) *Power in Movement*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van Aelst, P. (2000) 'The battle of Seattle. Over Internationale Democratie op straat', *Internationale Spectator*, 54: 76–9.

Van Aelst, P. and 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: 461–86.

Wakeford, N. (2000) 'New media, new methodologies: studying the Web', in

D. Gauntlett (ed.) *Web.Studies: Rewiring Media Studies for the Digital Age*, London: Arnold, pp. 31–41.

Walgrave, S. and Manssens, J. (2000) 'The making of the White March: the mass media as a mobilisation alternative to movement organizations', *Mobilization*, 5: 217–46.

APPENDIX

Table A1 Coding scheme for the information, interactivity and mobilization function of websites

Information	Score

1. Self-presentation
(1 = minimal info on the organization; 2 = extensive info on the history, goals, structure, members, . . .)
　2. Views of the organization (concerning social and political issues)
(1 = minimal or unclear info on the views of the organization;
2 = extensive explanations of views and opinions, certain info can be downloaded, . . .)
　3. External information (links)
(1 = minimal info on other organizations and no links; 2 = extensive info or several links to other organizations)
　4. Background information
(1 = the issue is briefly placed in its context, other ideas and arguments are referred to concisely; 2 = an extensive overview is given of the debate with attention to different views (newspaper articles, scientific studies, reports of organizations, . . .)

Interactivity	

1. Feedback opportunities
(1 = there is an email address for further info, suggestions or complaints; 2 = visitors are encouraged to react by email, the email button is not only placed on the homepage)
　2. Electronic correspondence
(1 = occasional info via email; 2 = regular info via an electronic newsletter)
　3. Online debate
(1 = one general forum or chat group where visitors can join the discussion; 2 = numerous debate opportunities on different issues)
　4. Personal contribution
(1 = visitor can react to specific info on the site (for example on a columnist); 2 = visitor can make his own contribution on the site)

Mobilization

1. Support/membership
(1 = possibility to become a member, to donate money, or to buy supportive products)

2. Action calendar
(1 = calendar with an overview of activities; 2 = accompanied by a call for participation, or more detailed info (further link/contact address); 3 = 2 + opportunity to put your action online)

3. Online actions
(1 = (sort of) online petition; 2 = extensive computer actions (a call to pin down servers, . . .)

4. Training
(1 = limited info on how to organize actions or references made to other organizations/sites; 2 = detailed, concrete info — manuals — on different action techniques (e.g. how to block roads, how to influence the media, . . .)