

Connective Action in European Mass Protest

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Abstract

Online social media is becoming a core element in contentious politics with the growing use of Twitter and Facebook and their normalization as mobilization channels. Research on diffusion processes has made a breakthrough with the use of online traces and big data from social media and multiple case studies have addressed the outcomes of events that rely heavily on it. However, we know little about the effects of mobilization processes that rely on social media and how these vary between contexts and demonstration types. In this paper we address this question by looking into mass-demonstrations that occurred in 9 European countries between December 2009 and June 2012. Based on protest surveys and organizational data for 77 demonstrations, we analyze the characteristics and the effects of emerging mobilization patterns based on intensive use of social media and loose organizational affiliation. To what extent is this digitally networked action making a difference in political involvement? Can digitally networked action (DNA) events and traditionally collective action (TCA) events be convincingly distinguished? What are the implications of digitally networked action for political participation and political equality?

The first aim of the paper is to assess to what extent cases of DNA can be distinguished from cases of TCA, not only in conceptual terms (as Benet and Segerberg 2012 do), but also in empirical terms. We show that we can meaningfully distinguish cases of DNA and TCA using two simple indicators: use of online social media as mobilization channels and organizational embeddedness. We further explore differences between DNA and TCA regarding the characteristics of the organizations involved and the personalization of frames.

The second aim of the paper is to assess whether DNA significantly affects the characteristics of the profile of the participant demonstrators. We show that this is indeed the case. These findings provide new evidence on the effects of social media in contentious politics and for the debate on the potential impact of internet use in reducing political inequalities.

Keywords: protest, online social networks, political equality, collective action, internet

Introduction

Social media in the mobilization to protest has become a central matter in recent academic research as it is an expanding phenomenon worldwide. Following the lead on previous debates on the effects of internet use in collective action, we question to what extent mobilization through online social networks is making a difference in political involvement. In this paper we address two related questions.

The first aim of the paper is to assess to what extent cases of digitally networked action (DNA) or connective action can be distinguished from cases of traditional collective action (TCA) not only in conceptual terms (as Benet and Segerberg 2012 do), but also in empirical terms. If DNA events are becoming distinct and increasingly frequent they need to be distinguished from cases of TCA. We propose a way of operationalizing DNA cases and offer empirical evidence supporting the validity of the distinction.

The second aim of the paper is to assess whether DNA and TCA are significantly different in terms of the characteristics of the involved organizations, the profile of the participant demonstrators, and the way they frame collective action. We assess differences between DNA and regarding the characteristics of the organizations involved (size, online presence, influence, repertoire of action), action frames (degree of personalization), and participants (socio-demographic characteristics, political attitudes and political involvement). We are particularly interested in the extent to which events based on digitally networked action convene atypical demonstrators, that is, individuals with lower levels of the traditional predictors of political participation. We believe that the reinforcement thesis has been prevalent in protest research (the idea that internet only reinforces attitudes and behaviors of those already engaged in politics, see for instance van Laer 2010) because the consequences of online social media have not been considered yet.

Our data gather information on 70 demonstrations in 9 countries, including surveys to 14,700 participants in the demonstrations and to over 100 organizations staging the protest events. They provide evidence that a distinction can be traced between DNA and TCA events, and this distinction bears consequences for organizations, and participants. We have not found these distinctions regarding the degree of personalization of frames. In the debate of the political consequences of digital media, our data support the mobilization thesis: the idea that the political uses of the internet and particularly online social media have the potential to mobilize publics who have traditionally been underrepresented in political action. Online social media seem to challenge some of the traditional theories explaining mobilization and protest participation.

The paper is structured in five sections. Section 1 presents our main research questions: To what extent is DNA making a difference in political involvement? What are the implications of DNA for organizational strategies, political participation and political equality? We introduce a short review of the main issues that have been discussed when studying collective action and online social media. We particularly focus on the concept of connective action which challenges traditional resource mobilization theory and the role of leaders and brokers regarding collective action frames.

Sections 2 and 3 present the operationalization and characterization of the distinction between DNA and TCA events. We describe the data used, based fundamentally on individual level data for over 14,700 demonstrators who participated in 70 major protest events that took place in 9 European countries between January 2010 and July 2012. Country teams from the collaborative research project *Caught in the Act of Protest: Contextualizing Contestation* (www.protestsurvey.eu) undertook face to face and mail-back surveys following systematic methods as described in Klandermans et al. (2011). Based on the concept of connective action (Bennett and Segerberg 2012) we propose a way to classify protest events as belonging to either DNA or TCA, briefly describe the cases that can be considered DNA events regarding organizational and framing characteristics.

Section 4 analyzes the implications of DNA regarding the characteristics of the participants. Finally in section 5 we discuss the implications and limitations of our findings.

1 Theoretical framework

Over the last decade, scholars have been interested in the role of internet use for mobilization and have therefore explored the ways in which the functions that have traditionally been carried out by organizations have changed with internet-mediated communication. The debate is still to a large extent around the fundamental question of how digital media are introducing significant and substantial differences in citizens' political involvement and participation.

Resource mobilization is one of the central tenets of protest politics when explaining collective action (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Zald & McCarthy, 1979). Organizations provide selective incentives that tip the cost-benefit balance for individual commitment to collective causes. Selective incentives compensate the need to incur in material and cognitive costs when organizational action provides information for interpreting each particular issue, organizing the details for action, assessing the efficiency of participation and forming normative expectations. Additionally, organizations overtake the leading roles in relationship building, logistics and brokerage in order to bridge differences and establish common frames (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001).

The formation of communities and the nature of online relationships were among the first elements explored for understanding the internet as an enabling infrastructure for collective action (Rheingold 2002). Improved communication leads to higher possibilities of network building by reaching out to like-minded individuals and organizations, and leveraging weak-tie linkages. Organizations could share information and exchange cognitive resources in order to build common understandings through the inter-linking of their perspectives. The interaction agglutinated issue networks by concentrating the attention on single-issue matters and facilitated the formation of collective identities across communities that shared common grievances (Bennett 2003, Diani 2009). The enlargement of organizational boundaries and the possibilities for sharing resources implies higher levels of recruitment for collective causes and an expanded reach to potential newcomers. However, the role of organizations has changed with the development of the web 2.0 as social media lowers communication costs between

individuals and are now changing the role of leaders and brokers.

Regarding the cognitive resources, the generation, elaboration, and diffusion of collective action frames have traditionally been carried out in a centralized manner within the organizational arrangements in the need of developing common identities (Benford and Snow 2000). However, traditional hierarchies seem to be changing into by more flexible, horizontal structures or hybrid institutional forms that can adapt to the circumstances of engagement (Chadwick, 2007). Activists can now join more informal or ephemeral campaigns with low entry barriers, less commitment and lower costs. Individuals find simpler associational possibilities and are now able to maintain multiple contacts and hold various engagements for different causes at the same time (Walgrave 2011).

As a result, traditional organizational functions loose prominence and are being replaced by new associational dynamics in which network communication plays a crucial role. Bennet and Segerberg (2012) develop the concept of *connective action* to describe this phenomenon as opposed to the classic collective action. It refers to two underlying factors. First, personal communication technologies enable people to share cognitive resources and diffuse them across trusted social networks without formal ties or commitment to organizations or other forms of group membership. While in the resource mobilization paradigm large-scale action depends on brokered organizations assuming the role of facilitating cooperation, connective action (in opposition to traditional collective action) relies on networks that “self-organize without central or ‘lead’ organizational actors, using technologies as important organizational agents (Bennet & Segerberg 2012:17). Second, political content is highly distributed as general frames can be easily personalized and adapted to different reasons and concerns. Organizations are willing to subordinate their demands in order to profit from personalized action frames and the potential to distribute them across social technology enabled networks. The central implication is that organizations do not link individuals and SMO looking for discursive congruency and consistency as in the frame alignment model (Snow, Rochford Jr., Worden & Benford 1986) but individuals take over by reinterpreting grievances and re-creating meaning in social media networks.

Online media has evolved dramatically and is now challenging organizations as they no longer seem to concentrate the production and distribution of symbolic work by managing collective action frames within their boundaries and between inter-organizational linkages. The potential for story building and crowd-sourcing has made contents co-production a decentralized process, especially in the platforms oriented towards contents sharing of social media (Benkler 2006; Shirky 2008). Social networking sites provide new creative possibilities for engagement and collaboration in different formats that incentive individual autonomy and enable un-mediated audiences. Castells has termed these phenomena the “mass communication of the self” (Castells, 2009). Individuals contribute symbolic and interpretative contents which provide shared meanings that constitute collective identities and practices (Fuchs 2008). The use of online social networks for information exchange and co-creation processes is expected to incentive personal interpretations and understandings of the issues and the demonstration frames, in contrast to organizational production of meaning and shared action frames typical of the traditional collective action paradigm. In this sense, we can expect higher

levels of individual input into the discursive contents of the demonstrations for events that rely more on social media use than those that rely more on traditional collective action. Following common actors, sharing, diffusing and endorsing contents (as in likes and retweets) act as legitimization processes in which common identities are forged. This phenomenon implies organizations are giving up control in order to leverage the possibilities of social interaction in networked forms.

We believe that questioning the possibilities of internet use for changing political dynamics in terms of expanding citizen involvement or changing participation inequalities is central. We consider there have been fundamental changes in the organizational dynamics of collective action brought upon by social media use as described earlier, and expect to find systematic empirical evidence supporting the existence of DNA with a) some defining properties that cluster together distinguishing DNA events from TCA events, and b) some consequences of DNA events in particular for the characteristics of the participants.

We expect DNA events to be distinguishable from TCA events in terms of the extent to which social media are used, the degree of organizational embeddedness of the events, the characteristics of the organizations involved, and the degree of personalization of frames.

Additionally we expect that participants in DNA will be significantly different from participants in TCA events. Mobilization processes based on extensive use of social media and addressed at individuals with low organizational involvement, are expected to have a positive effect in reaching out to individuals previously uninvolved in politics when compared to other traditional mobilization processes based on mainstream media and close ties with traditional political organizations. We expect participants in DNA events to be younger, but also less embedded in traditional organizations, less previously involved in politics and associations, and less identified with the organizations staging the demonstration, than those participating in traditional collective action protest events. Political attitudes such as the perception of individual-level or group efficacy in having an impact on political outcomes and believes concerning the success of the protest event are expected to be less important in DNA than in TCA events. These attitudes toward successful outcomes have been found to be relevant factors for explaining participation (Bandura 1995; Klandermans 1984) and evidence that they are less important among individuals in DNA events will validate our expectations for social network use being positively related to less political motivation.

In sum, we aim to answer the following questions: 1. Can DNA and TCA be convincingly distinguished? 2. What are the implications of DNA for political participation and political equality? As a summary, the hypotheses we want to test are the following:

H0: DNA and TCA can be distinguished in empirical terms regarding online social media mobilization and organizational embeddedness (DNA events present high social media mobilization and low organizational embeddedness).

H1: DNA and TCA can be distinguished in empirical terms regarding the characteristics of the organizations involved (smaller, relying more on online visibility and with lower levels of political influence than TCA).

H2: DNA and TCA can be distinguished in empirical terms regarding the demonstrators' framing (significantly more personalized in DNA events than in TNA events).

H3: The distinction between DNA and TCA events has consequences for the characteristics of the participants (demonstrators involved in DNA events are significantly less involved in politics than participants in TNA events).

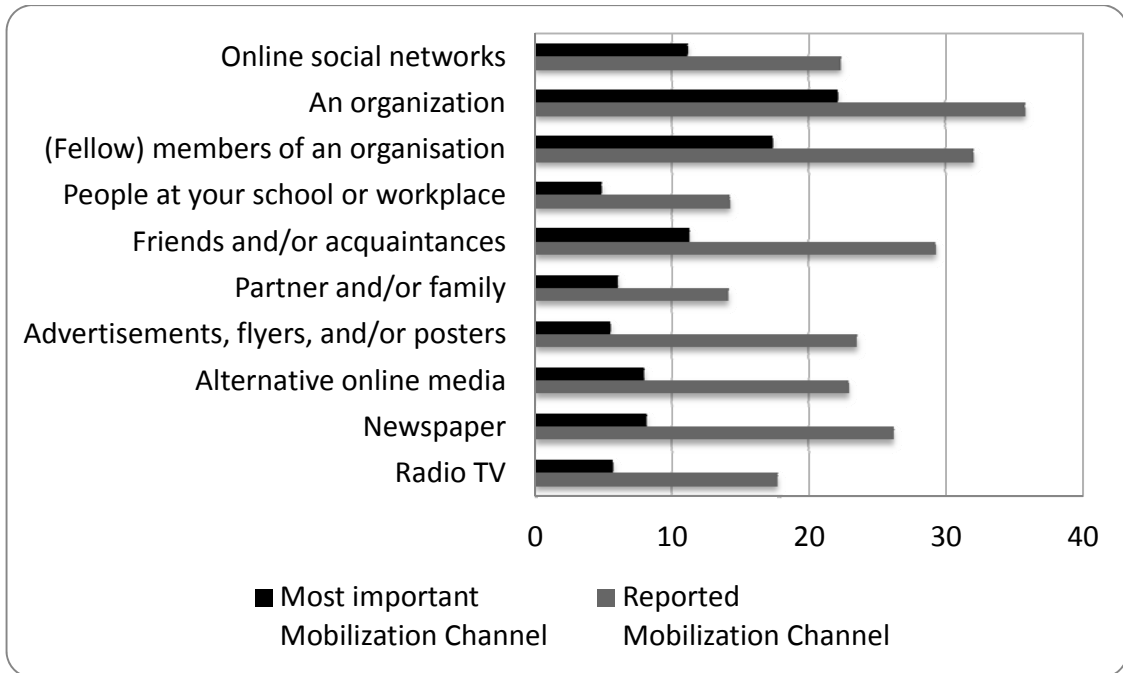
2 DNA vs. TCA events: a first simple operational definition.

Following Bennet and Segerberg (2012), a typical DNA event would be one in which people are mostly mobilized through online social media and in which very few participants are members of (and thus coordinated by) the staging organizations. To what extent do real events fit this ideal type?

To empirically distinguish DNA and TCA events we use individual level data for 14,600 demonstrators who participated in 77 major protest events that took place in 9 European countries between January 2010 and June 2012. Country teams undertook face to face and mail-back surveys following systematic methods as described in Klandermans et al. (2011). Our sample of events includes 28 cities and a wide variety of issues as described in Appendix 1. The question wording of all relevant variables is reported in Appendix 2.

The surveys to participants include questions on mobilization channels. Participants were asked to report multiple options on how they got to know about the demonstration and to choose which one was the most important (figure 1).

Figure 1. Percentage of reported and most important mobilization channels for all 70 demonstrations (N= 14,700)



In DNA events online social media act “as organizing agents” (Bennet and Segerberg 2012:14). Online social media are reported as a mobilization channel by over 20% of the participants, but only in 10% of the cases they are the most important channel. Organizations and co-members are still mentioned by more than 30-35% of participants (around 20% as main channel). So at a first glance organizations seem to be important and are mentioned more frequently than online social networks as mobilization channels.

The fact that many people mention online social media is not enough to define a DNA event. These online social networks could operate as an addition, or as an alternative to organizations. According to the defining properties of the concept of DNA outlined above, we expect that these two mobilization channels operate as alternatives. To explore this possibility we ran a factor analysis that sees how channels are used together (table 1). Online social networks load in factor 3 with alternative online media, in a different than organizational channels.

Table 1. Factor analysis for mobilization channels (iterated principal factors with varimax orthogonal rotation) N=14,700

How did you find out about the demonstration? Was it via: (tick as many as apply)	Mean	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	Factor4	Uniqueness
Radio TV	0.18	0.556				0.673
Newspaper	0.26	0.632				0.587
Alternative online media	0.23			0.435		0.797
Advertisements, flyers, and/or	0.24		0.413			0.804

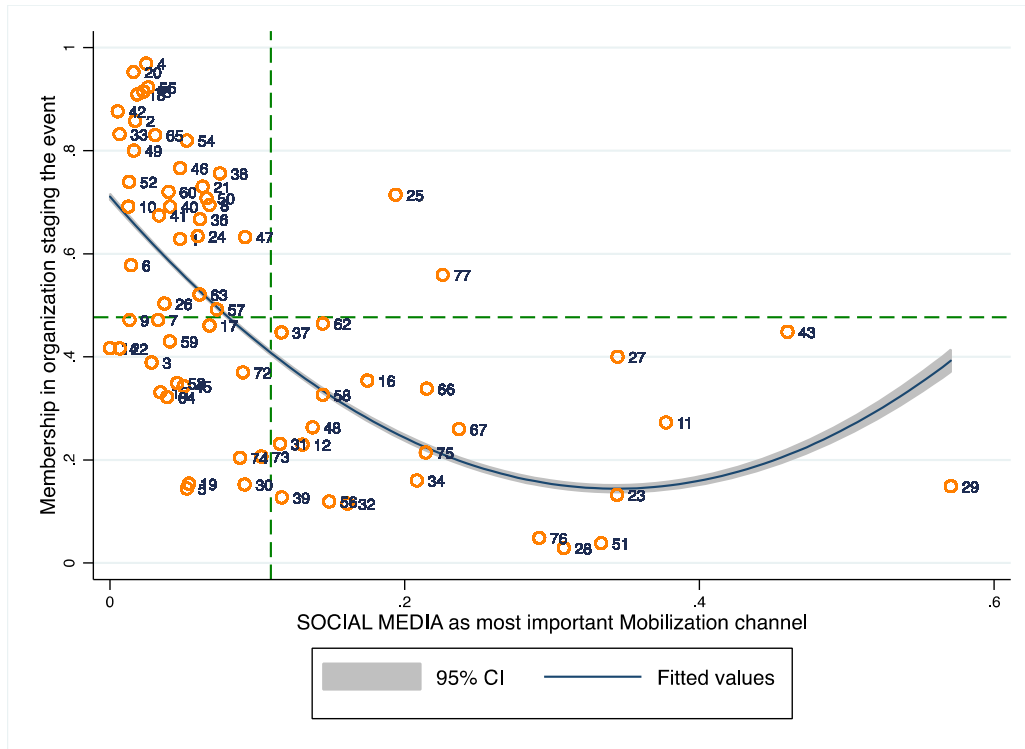
posters						
Partner and/or family	0.14					0.930
Friends and/or acquaintances	0.29				0.354	0.772
People at your school or workplace	0.14		0.375			0.854
(Low) members of an organization	0.32					0.872
An organization	0.36				-0.344	0.866
Online social networks	0.22			0.401		0.828
Eigenvalues		0.888	0.521	0.379	0.229	
Variance explained (%)		75.55	45.44	42.63	38.07	

LR test: independent vs. saturated: $\chi^2(45) = 5287.65$ Prob> $\chi^2 = 0.000$

Still, digital media could be used by traditional organizations as an alternative communication channel, which would not necessarily imply different mobilization patterns. In the ideal type of self-organizing networks, collectivities are expected to reject involvement in formal organizations (Bennet and Segerberg 2012:18). Thus, in order to properly identify cases of DNA we take into account not only to what extent people are mobilized through social media, but also to what extent membership in staging organizations is prevalent among participants. Our data also have information about this variable. In our sample of cases, about 47% of participants in a demonstration were members of a staging organization.

Our data show that importance of online social media and formal membership in staging organizations are inversely related (the correlation between these two variables is high and negative $\rho = -0.57$, $N=77$). This points to the direction that traditional organizational affiliation and online social network connections can be considered as substitute structures for mobilization processes, as the distinction between DNA and TCA would suggest. The relationship can be better assessed by looking at figure 2, which shows the mapping of mean values for each demonstration along these two variables.

Figure 2 – Event means and fitted line for quadratic regression (event names in Annex 2)



ID names for DNA events are presented in table 2 and the complete listing in Appendix 1

DNA cases can then be operationally defined as those events which have higher than average level online social networks mobilization, and lower than average level of membership in staging organizations among participants (lower right quadrant in figure 2). From our 70 events 22 can be considered as cases of DNA (including over 4,000 individuals, as reported in table 2).

The events in the upper left quadrant show below-average values for online social networks, and above-average values for organizational membership, which match with the characteristics of events staged by long established organizations such as trade unions and the more traditional environmental NGO's. The other two quadrants have events that can be classified as hybrid. Only two cases show simultaneously high levels of online social network mobilization and organizational embeddedness, while about 17 show low levels on both indicators. Although we could have excluded these hybrid cases or analyzed them as a third category, we have chosen to compare exclusively DNA demonstrations (lower right quadrant) against all other events, which we name generally traditional collective action (TCA). These TCA cases include 70 events, and include over 14,700 demonstrators. We consider this is a tougher test for the question of to what extent DNA is a distinctive phenomenon.

Table 2 - Digitally networked action events

ID	Demo	City	Issue	N	%
28	No Government, Great Country	Brussels	Democracy	365	8.38
11	Take Back Parliament	London	Democracy	351	8.05
51	Real Democracy Now! (Indignados)	Madrid	Democracy	350	8.03

16	Self-determination is democracy	Barcelona	Democracy	301	6.91
34	Kenniscrisis	The Hague	Student	284	6.52
43	Anti-nuclear demonstration	Stockholm	Environmental	279	6.4
66	Gay Pride	Bologna	GLBT	216	4.96
37	Not in Our Name	Brussels	Austerity	202	4.64
58	Gay Pride Geneva	Geneva	GLBT	197	4.52
29	Against racist politics	Stockholm	Prejudice	191	4.38
62	Fukushima never again	Brussels	Environmental	189	4.34
31	NL schreeuwt om cultuur	Amsterdam	Austerity	176	4.04
32	NL schreeuwt om cultuur	Utrecht	Austerity	171	3.92
23	No to Hate Crime Vigil	London	Prejudice	169	3.88
12	Laat het onderwijs niet leeg lopen	Amsterdam	Student	163	3.74
56	Occupy London	London	Democracy	144	3.3
76	Prague Pride	Prague	GLBT	135	3.1
39	Euromayday	Milan	Democracy	127	2.91
48	Stop racism and exclusion	Amsterdam	Prejudice	125	2.87
27	Second Student National Demo	London	Student	98	2.25
67	Rainbow Parade	Gothenburg Amsterdam,	GLBT	89	2.04
75	Occupy Netherlands	Utrecht	Democracy	36	0.83
22 DNA events				4358	29.65
48 TCA events				10342	70.35

Within the DNA events there is a wide variety of issues and types of events. The most salient as digitally networked are the 15M demonstration by the *Indignados* in Spain (51) and the *Occupy* protest in London (56). Democracy issues like these as well as *Take Back Parliament* (11) and *No Government Great Country* (28) brought together multiple organizations into online platforms as well as Anti-racist demonstrations such as *Against racist politics* (29) and *No to Hate Crime Vigil* (23) as they seem to have broad publics and small single issue organizations. Other student demonstrations such as the *Second Student National Demo* (27), *Kenniscrisis* (34) and the *Laat het onderwijs niet leeg lopen* (12) probably aimed at younger publics who are heavy users of online networks and who do not rely exclusively on formal organizational networks as they share ties to educational communities. A couple anti-austerity and environmental protests complete the DNA sample.

3 DNA vs. TCA: organizations and frames.

However the concept of connective action is more complex than this. It includes a new organizational and communicative logic. In this section we consider the question of whether DNA events are significantly different than other events in terms of the characteristics of their organizations and their frames.

Organizational features

Differences between organizations provide a first approach into understanding the implications of connective action. Table 3 shows a comparative description between the staging organizations in traditional collective action and digitally networked action

events. DNA events relied more on event platforms which brought together multiple organizations. This may reflect their need to join efforts in order to compensate for lower levels of online visibility (as measured by the number of inlinks to organizations websites). Organizations relying on DNA are also significantly smaller than those in TCA in terms of membership. Organizations involved in DNA events have a lower perception of political influence than TCA organizations. Furthermore, they believe they address issues which the major political institutions devote less attention to and they rely more on direct action repertoires, such as blockades, occupation or civil disobedience.

Table 3 – Organizational features (mean differences between DNA and TCA events)

	TCA	Std. Dev	N	DNA	Std. Dev	N	P value
Organization	0.71	0.46	59	0.86	0.35	37	0.084
Online	4,343,993	7,143,821	38	5,016,896	2,812,274	14	0.735
Online	770	701	38	364	704	14	0.070
Facebook	16919	38486	13	56,731	86,633	8	0.162
Facebook	8680	12902	13	46,457	138,126	12	0.336
Size	1,332,318	1,944,890	71	50,054	150,859	41	0
Event trigger	0.56	0.5	59	0.68	0.47	37	0.261
Attention to	2.21	0.83	67	1.74	0.61	35	0.004
Effective	3.54	9.57	27	2.99	5.77	25	0.808
Governmental	2.76	1.04	55	2.43	1.43	30	0.224
Political	2.31	0.6	58	1.97	0.62	35	0.01
Repertoire	0.62	0.49	68	0.66	0.48	38	0.684
Repertoire	0.06	0.24	68	0.13	0.34	38	0.201
Repertoire	0.22	0.42	68	0.16	0.37	38	0.442
Repertoire	0.51	0.5	68	0.53	0.51	38	0.910
Repertoire	0.31	0.47	68	0.34	0.48	38	0.728
Repertoire	0.12	0.32	68	0.08	0.27	38	0.535
Repertoire	0.54	0.5	68	0.55	0.5	38	0.933
Repertoire Direct action (blockade,	0.16	0.37	68	0.32	0.47	38	0.066

Note: The number of staging organizations which were surveyed per event is reported in table A1 in annex 1

Personalized action frames

Communication content is also expected to be different between DNA and TCA events. The former are expected to be centered on inclusive personalized action frames. We use four different approaches in order to test the personalization of action frames thesis. These approaches provide multiple interpretations of personalization, as the concept can be assessed in different ways. We have used text mining methodologies to implement lexical analysis techniques² for individual responses to three open-ended questions:

² R packages tm, koRpus, ineq

reasons for taking part in the event, blame attribution and what should be done - *prognosis*³ (question wording in Appendix 2). These analyses provide multiple quantitative approaches for comparing frames between DNA and TCA events both at the event and the individual level as presented in table 4.

Table 4. Mean differences between DNA and TCA framing personalization

Indicator	Frame	Mean TCA	(Std. Dev.)	N	Mean DNA	(Std. Dev.)	N	p-Value
Frame alignment (% of common types in individual & org. Frames)	whypar	0.43	0.495	10342	0.58	0.49	4358	0
	whobl	0.19	0.394	10342	0.24	0.42	4358	0
	whatdo	0.16	0.369	10342	0.25	0.43	4358	0
Vocabulary richness (Gini index – term concentration)	whypar	0.472	0.039	47	0.454	0.048	22	0.111
	whobl	0.488	0.050	47	0.469	0.047	22	0.150
	whatdo	0.429	0.042	47	0.432	0.055	22	0.777
Framing similarity (Average path length for cosine similarity network)	whypar	1.008	0.025	47	1.002	0.003	22	0.276
	whobl	1.020	0.028	47	1.010	0.011	22	0.117
	whatdo	1.016	0.034	47	1.006	0.004	22	0.198
Framing similarity (Degree Centrality for cosine similarity network)	whypar	0.002	0.003	47	0.002	0.002	22	0.706
	whobl	0.003	0.004	47	0.004	0.003	22	0.828
	whatdo	0.001	0.002	47	0.002	0.001	22	0.503
Lexical Diversity (Measure of Textual and Lexical Diversity)	whypar	95.186	37.624	47	85.999	37.076	22	0.346
	whobl	72.992	41.936	47	75.449	43.742	22	0.824
	whatdo	225.550	80.850	47	194.202	83.934	22	0.143

Means values for individual level analysis in Alignment (N=14700) and event level analysis in richness, similarity and diversity (N=69).

Frame alignment

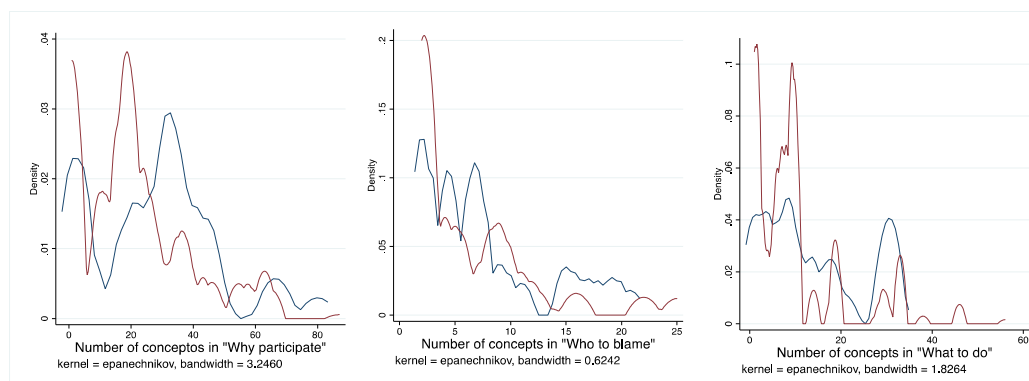
A first approach to personalization is based on comparing individual and organizational frames. Open-ended questions on reasons to organize the event, blame attribution for the demonstration issue and what should be done to solve the issue, were addressed to

³ All the analyses were carried out with the English translations of original responses. Function words are filtered out using a stopword dictionary from the SMART information retrieval system (<http://jmlr.csail.mit.edu/papers/volume5/lewis04a/a11-smart-stop-list/english.stop>). The term counts were weighted by inverse document frequency in order to control for differences between the length of individual responses and number of individuals in each event.

leaders in organizations staging the events in face to face surveys prior to the demonstrations. The three sets of responses in 70 demonstrations were manually coded by aggregating the frames of the organizations involved in each event. Automatic content analysis was then used in order to compare the 14700 individual responses to organizational frames in their respective event. A way of testing for personalization of frames is to look for respondents using different concepts than organizations. We follow the definition of alignment in Snow et al. (1986) as linkage of individual and organizational interpretive orientations and operationalize alignment as the use of the same concepts (taking a value 1 if individuals use any concept that the organization uses and 0 otherwise⁴). In this way, if individuals in DNA events were to personalize their interpretations, they would be less aligned with organizational frames than in TCA events.

We find a wide variety in the number of concepts used in organizational frames between events. Organizations in DNA events tend to use significantly more concepts in their framing than those in TCA events (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Density of concepts used in organizational frames (Blue DNA events- Red TCA events)



Vocabulary richness

The concept of richness refers to the variety of words encountered in a language sample. The number of terms (types) used in framing each event is used in order to measure patterns of individual interpretations. We use the Gini coefficient of inequality to analyze the distribution of terms across events. A higher concentration of terms used in the open responses indicates that individuals repeat a centralized discourse rather than creating or re-interpreting organizational frames. Conversely, higher diversity of terms employed for each event (lower Gini concentration indexes) means more individualized interpretation

⁴ This dichotomous variable has the same results of using the number of common concepts between organizational and individual frames or the number of common concepts weighted by the number of concepts in organizational frames.

and personalization of action frames. The concept of vocabulary richness as proposed by Popescu & Altmann (2006) in this context means that if every term occurred for each event exactly once, the event would have the maximal possible vocabulary richness. Thus, high Gini coefficients imply a greater disparity of word participation in text building, and thus small vocabulary richness. We find that TCA events do have lower vocabulary richness than DNA events (higher Gini concentration), but differences are not significant.

Similarity

A second approach is to assess the similarity of frames between respondents in the same event. If respondents in TCA events have similar frames to one another than in DNA events, the personalization thesis will be substantiated. We used a cosine method for computing how much common information an individual frame has with other frames. The relevance of the term to a particular event will depend on how many words are in each individual response. This is why the indicator is adjusted for the number of words in the individual's frame and for the number of individuals using the word (i.e., terms that appear on many frames are down-weighted). We then represented pairwise similarity measures as a network and chose similarity metrics between network elements (frames) in order to measure the strength of their linkages, and an indicator of structural coherence of the network.

Mean linkage strength is the mean degree centrality normalized by network size; it describes the intensity of similarities. The path length between two responses is defined as the minimum number of links to go from one response to the other over the network. Mean path length describes how 'spread' the network is (Rafols & Meyer 2010). We interpret it as the mean of closeness centrality, as it indicates a compact measure of the similarity between all responses for each event. No significant differences between DNA and TCA events, indicate that all respondents provide similar frames (in structural terms).

Lexical diversity - MTL D

Lexical diversity is about the quality of vocabulary in a language sample. It indicates the proportion of words in a language sample that are not repetitions of words already encountered. Greater lexical diversity is held to be indicative of greater linguistic skills (Avent & Austermann, 2003) and therefore we adopt it as a proxy for personalization. We use the Measure of Textual and Lexical Diversity (McCarthy, 2005) which is the most appropriate to assess differences in lexical diversity even when the texts are considerably different in terms of length (Jarvis 2013).

From the evidence presented in table 4, it is clear that we find no substantiation for sustaining the personalized frames hypothesis. We find significant differences in frame alignment between participants in DNA and TCA events, but they are in the opposite direction than expected. Demonstrators in DNA events tend to align more with organizational frames than those in TCA events. However, organizations in DNA events provide significantly more diverse frames, but we cannot tell if this is related to the use of

online social media. Differences between framing in DNA and TCA events in richness, similarity and diversity do follow the expected direction, but they are very small and not statistically significant.

4 The consequences of DNA: participants.

DNA is expected to have implications for the characteristics of the participants involved in the events, reaching those that are less likely to participate in TCA events. Table 5 shows the different mean values of individual socio-economic status variables, political attitudes, and previous political participation of demonstrators that took place in a DNA event and participants of a TCA event. In this case we find significant differences for all variables considered, with the exception of gender, lower middle class, interest in politics and the perceptions about the efficacy of the demonstration.

The table shows that participants in DNA events are significantly younger and more educated, and belong to higher social classes. Unemployed citizens are more likely to get involved in DNA than in TCA events. DNA participants are less likely to belong to any kind of organization and to identify with the ones staging the demonstration. They show higher levels of interpersonal mobilization but lower levels of previous political participation in all indicators but consumerism and violent action. Demonstrators in DNA events were more oriented towards the right, felt lower levels of collective and individual internal efficacy. They decided later to go to the demonstration.

Table 5. Individual attributes (mean differences between DNA and TCA event)

	Mean TCA	(Std. Dev.)	N	Mean DNA	(Std. Dev.)	N	p-Value
Age (13 – 89)	47.576	14.696	10147	40.987	16.301	4283	0
Gender (Female)	0.484	0.5	10020	0.49	0.5	4151	0.498
Education (1-8)	5.649	1.587	10002	6.086	1.437	4156	0
Class - Lower	0.014	0.117	9343	0.021	0.142	3860	0.004
Class - Working	0.305	0.46	9343	0.178	0.383	3860	0
Class - Lower middle	0.4	0.49	9343	0.407	0.491	3860	0.459
Class - Upper Middle	0.271	0.445	9343	0.361	0.48	3860	0
Class - Upper	0.01	0.099	9343	0.032	0.177	3860	0
Unemployed (%)	0.051	0.221	10245	0.068	0.252	4178	0
Formal embeddedness (membership in organizations 0-24)	2.616	2.181	9854	2.22	2.174	4006	0
Identify with any organization staging the demonstration (1-5)	3.921	1.027	9663	3.483	1.149	3954	0
Identify with the other people present at the demonstration (1-5)	4.089	0.846	9964	3.898	0.902	4234	0
Interpersonal Mob. (Asked - count 0-7)	1.121	0.746	10245	1.164	0.784	4173	0.002
Interpersonal Mob. (Asked by - count 0-7)	1.453	1.277	10245	1.568	1.308	4173	0
Contact, petition, donate (%)	0.548	0.32	9731	0.521	0.309	4160	0
Political consumerism (%)	0.644	0.408	9810	0.641	0.396	4188	0.633
Expressive participation (%)	0.53	0.499	9885	0.496	0.5	4209	0
Direct action (%)	0.139	0.232	9736	0.101	0.21	4156	0
Violent action (%)	0.014	0.117	9783	0.017	0.129	4170	0.148
Vote (%)	0.891	0.311	9976	0.85	0.357	4226	0

Protest experience - Life (1-5)	3.46	1.38	9878	3.115	1.384	4202	0
Protest experience - last 12 months (1-5)	1.922	0.696	9561	1.853	0.729	4073	0
Interest in politics (1-4)	3.258	0.718	10145	3.26	0.745	4299	0.913
Individual internal efficacy (1-5)	3.83	0.87	10092	3.76	0.89	4297	0
Collective internal efficacy (1-5)	4.06	0.77	10117	4.00	0.80	4304	0
Ideology (Right 0-10)	2.51	2.12	9774	2.85	2.08	4129	0
Demonstration efficacy (1-5)	3.37	1.10	9918	3.38	1.11	4206	0.635
Decision time (1-4)	3.02	0.96	10124	2.54	0.98	4283	0

These descriptive analyses provide solid evidence for sustaining our expectations. Some may argue, however, that the differences between participants in DNA and TCA events may be all due to the fact that young citizens are more likely to participate in DNA and they are less politically involved at the same time. The results may also be the effect of country contexts (in some of them there are more DNA events). In order to address these concerns, we ran a regression model that accounts for multivariate effects.

The model includes as dependent variable a dichotomous variable which takes the value 1 if individuals took part in DNA events and 0 in TCA events. As explanatory variables we include individual characteristics, past participation, political attitudes, demonstration specific behaviors and beliefs and country dummies. Results are reported in table 6.

The multivariate analysis shows that even when taking into account the effect of age (negative as expected) there is still a significant effect of education. Formal organizational embeddedness and identification with staging organizations have a negative effect. Among DNA participants we also find lower electoral participation and direct action. However protest experience in the past 12 months, violent action and contact, petition, donation show a positive effect on the probability of participating in a DNA event runs against our mobilization hypothesis. Interpersonal mobilization seems to be more important in DNA events, as we would expect. Collective internal efficacy and decision time have a negative effect. Ideological self-location to the right increases the probability of participation in a DNA event versus a TCA event. All other variables, except most country dummies are not statistically significant.

This multivariate analysis qualifies the simple descriptive analysis –some differences between DNA and TCA are indeed due to age differences– but do not remove the substantive importance of these differences: DNA events reach a significantly different public.

Table 6. Marginal effects after logistic regression for DNA as dependent variable.

	dy/dx	Std. Err.
Age	-0.284***	(0.0258)
Gender (Female)	0.000133	(0.00925)
Education	0.149***	(0.0241)
Lower middle class	0.0347**	(0.0125)
Upper and upper middle class	0.0539***	(0.0136)
Unemployed	0.0434*	(0.0194)
Formal embeddedness (Count)	-0.112***	(0.0279)

Identify with any organization staging the demonstration	-0.210***	(0.0189)
Identify with other people present at the demonstration	0.0201	(0.0234)
Interpersonal Mobilization (Asked - count)	0.0368	(0.0404)
Interpersonal Mobilization (Asked by - count)	0.121***	(0.0263)
Contact, petition, donate	0.0741***	(0.0176)
Political consumerism	0.00345	(0.0126)
Expressive participation	0.0185	(0.00999)
Direct action	-0.277***	(0.0261)
Violent action	0.139***	(0.0415)
Vote	-0.0311*	(0.0147)
Protest experience (Life)	-0.00258	(0.0189)
Protest experience (last 12 months)	0.179***	(0.0332)
Interest in politics	0.0640**	(0.0222)
Individual internal efficacy	0.00338	(0.0246)
Collective internal efficacy	-0.0674*	(0.0266)
Ideology (Right)	0.0895***	(0.0247)
Demonstration efficacy	0.0665***	(0.0173)
Decision time	-0.226***	(0.0139)
CH	-0.373***	(0.0186)
CZ		
DK		
ES	-0.252***	(0.0175)
IT	-0.0763***	(0.0206)
NL	-0.121***	(0.0147)
SE	-0.119***	(0.0169)
UK	-0.170***	(0.0160)

Observations 8237

Pseudo R2 0.176

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

BE as reference country and Lower as reference class. CZ/DK predict success/failure perfectly.

5 Conclusion

A concept is useful in the social sciences when it can be properly observed (operationalized) and has relevant implications (is associated with relevant outcomes). In this paper we have empirically explored the concept of *connective action* using data for 70 demonstrations carried out in Europe between 2009 and 2012.

We have first shown that DNA events can be empirically identified using two simple indicators: a large proportion of participants being mobilized mainly by online social media, and a low proportion of participants being members of staging organizations. These two indicators are strongly and negatively related in our sample of cases, and this proves that self-organizing networks that rely on online social media mobilization seem to reject at the same time involvement in formal organizations. These criteria allow to asses to what extent a specific event can be considered an empirical referent of the concept of connective action.

We have additionally considered more detail in the defining characteristics of DNA events by including data on the characteristics of the staging organizations and framing. We found significant differences in their membership size (DNA organizations are smaller), organizational structure (DNA organizations are more likely to engage in platforms), online presence (DNA organizations are less prominent – less inlinks) and repertoire of action (DNA organizations are involved in more direct action). DNA organizations seem to believe that the government pays little attention to the issue of their concern and that they feel less influential on government than organizations in TCA events.

The personalization of frames is an important component of the concept of connective action according to Bennet and Segerberg (2012). Finding no evidence for the personalization of action frames in our data may be interpreted in three ways: (1) Framing consistency may be a strategic response. Alignment and simplicity as in traditional framing processes would be a response to deal with the communicational complexity of online social media. In this scenario, organizational frames act as cues, and sticking to consistent interpretations is a mechanism to face the limited capacity to consume the abundance of information to which we are exposed through online social networks. Interpretations of blame attribution or prognosis, play a linkage function in order to hold together collective narratives which may otherwise dilute in the diversity of issue networks in social media and our limited attention. Individuals may have the need to hold on to the traditional processes of common organizational frames which would somehow glue together expanding contents in social media. (2) As such, when asked about their interpretations they prime the mainstream organizational frames over the wide diversity of frames they could have faced or developed themselves in online social media. In this case, survey research will not be adequate instrument to grasp the diversity or richness of personalized action frames and we have the need to look into the social media contents. (3) The role of organizations in social media for the demonstrations in our sample, both in terms of their direct contribution, as well as in references to their discourse and contents, may outweigh individual contributions. We have little information about the role of organizations' contents in social media. As such, social media may accelerate framing and identity formation processes by providing references to organizations' sites and contents that explicitly refer organizational identities. Organizational prominence in social media may affect network structure and even if individuals are not members of staging organizations or do not identify strongly with them, they may find a strong organizational presence in social media, and thus small room for their personalized frames to resonate. Within this logic, even though social media provides opportunities for high input of individual interpretations, enhanced diffusion processes may be priming traditional roles with a wider coverage for organizational frames. A scale effect of diffusion of organizational frames may be overwhelming the model-change of personalization.

Further research focusing directly on the presence of organizational actors and contents as compared to individual frames in online social media is needed. This type of contents-based approach will provide a better account of the personalization dynamics and the role

of organizations in digitally networked action.

Finally we have explored the implications of DNA for a particularly important issue. We find evidence that DNA events bring to the streets unusual demonstrators. Results show that in DNA events we find more youngsters, unemployed, less people with formal involvement in associational life (other than this associations involved in the demonstration), lower levels of identification with organizations staging the demonstration and lower levels of previous political participation in all modes. Some of these differences, but not all, are due to the fact that participants in DNA are younger. These results provide evidence for online social networks acting as a mobilizing factor of individuals lower chances to attend protest events.

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Appendix 1. Events surveyed

Table A1. Events in the sample *Caught in the Act: Contextualizing Contestation*

ID	Demonstration	City	N	%	DNA	# Orgs	Date	Issue
1	Climate Change Brussels	Brussels	334	2.27	0	5	05 Dec 2009	Environment
2	Pensioenbetoging – Retirement demonstration	Rotterdam	294	2	0	2	21 Nov 2009	Workers
3	Climate March	Copenhagen	242	1.65	0	1	12 Dec 2009	Environment
4	March for Work	Brussels	129	0.88	0	3	29 Jan 2010	Workers
5	Demonstration Against Abortion	Madrid	302	2.05	0	1	07 March 2010	Anti-abortion
6	World March of Women	Bern	150	1.02	0	0	13 March 2010	Women
7	Against the Europe of Capital, Crisis and War	Barcelona	77	0.52	0	1	28 Jan 2010	Austerity
8	National Climate March	London	243	1.65	0	1	05 Dec 2009	Environment
9	May Day Labour March	London	178	1.21	0	1	01 May 2010	Workers
10	Beat The Heat Utrecht	Utrecht	272	1.85	0	5	12 Dec 2009	Environment
11	Take Back Parliament	London	351	2.39	1	1	15 May 2010	Democracy
12	Laat het onderwijs niet leeg lopen – Student demo	Amsterdam	163	1.11	1	5	21 May 2010	Students
13	1 Mei Mars	Antwerp	216	1.47	0	1	01 May 2010	Workers
14	May 1st demonstration 2011	Zurich	135	0.92	0	1	01 May 2010	Workers
15	May 1 March, Left Party	Stockholm	167	1.14	0	1	01 May 2010	Workers
16	Self-determination is democracy – Catalan indepen	Barcelona	301	2.05	1	1	12 June 2010	Regional
17	Demonstration against language decree	Santiago	324	2.2	0	1	21 Jan 2010	Regional
18	Demonstration against the new labour law	Santiago	168	1.14	0	1	30 June 2010	Austerity
19	Som Una Nació – Catalan Independence	Barcelona	309	2.1	0	1	10 July 2010	Regional
20	No to Austerity	Brussels	144	0.98	0	1	29 Sep 2010	Austerity
21	May 1st Demonstration	Barcelona	180	1.22	0	2	01 May 2010	Workers
22	General Strike Against Labor Law	Madrid	308	2.1	0	1	29 Sep 2010	Austerity
23	No to Hate Crime Vigil	London	169	1.15	1	1	23 Oct 2010	Anti-racism
24	Unite Against Fascism	London	194	1.32	0	2	06 Nov	Anti-racism

	National Demo						2010	
25	Fund Our Future: Stop Education Cuts	London	147	1	0	1	10 Nov 2010	Students
26	National Climate March 2010	London	360	2.45	0	1	04 Dec 2010	Environment
27	Second Student National Demo	London	98	0.67	1	1	09 Dec 2010	Students
28	No Government, Great Country	Brussels	365	2.48	1	0	23 Jan 2011	Democracy
29	Against racist politics	Stockholm	191	1.3	1	0	04 Oct 2010	Anti-racism
30	Million Women Rise	London	178	1.21	0	1	05 March 2011	Women
31	NL schreeuwt om cultuur Amsterdam - Culture demo	Amsterdam	176	1.2	1	3	20 Nov 2010	Austerity
32	NL schreeuwt om cultuur Utrecht - Culture demo	Utrecht	171	1.16	1	3	20 Nov 2010	Austerity
33	Samen sterk voor publiek werk (Public work)	The Hague	348	2.37	0	1	17 Feb 2011	Austerity
34	Kenniscrisis - Student demo	The Hague	284	1.93	1	3	21 Jan 2011	Students
36	TUC's March for the Alternative: Jobs,Growth,Justice	London	211	1.44	0	1	26 March 2011	Workers
37	Not in Our Name	Brussels	202	1.37	1	1	07 May 2011	Democracy
38	May 1 March, Social Democratic Party	Stockholm	176	1.2	0	1	01 May 2010	Workers
39	Euromayday	Milan	127	0.86	1	2	01 May 2011	Workers
40	Mayday	Florence	110	0.75	0	3	01 May 2011	Workers
41	General Strike	Florence	235	1.6	0	1	06 May 2011	Workers
42	Non-Profit Demonstration	Brussels	197	1.34	0	1	29 March 2011	Austerity
43	Anti-nuclear demonstration	Stockholm	279	1.9	1	1	26 April 2011	Environment
45	May Day Left Party	Malmö	141	0.96	0	1	01 May 2011	Workers
46	May Day SAP/LO	Malmö	97	0.66	0	1	01 May 2011	Workers
47	Schoon genoeg van Kernenergie - AntiNuclear demo	Amsterdam	448	3.05	0	1	16 April 2011	Environment
48	Stop racism and exclusion	Amsterdam	125	0.85	1	3	19 March 2011	Anti-racism
49	Mars Waardering - Military demo	The Hague	204	1.39	0	1	26 May 2011	Austerity
50	Celebration May Day	Vigo	66	0.45	0	1	01 May 2011	Workers
51	Real Democracy Now!	Madrid	350	2.38	1	1	15 May 2011	Democracy
52	Mayday Vigo – Defend our rights	Vigo	168	1.14	0	1	01 May 2011	Workers

53	Marcia Perugia-Assisi	Assisi	264	1.8	0	4	25 Sep 2011	Peace
54	Stop de stapeling - Budget cuts - Welfare	The Hague	293	1.99	0	1	19 Sep 2011	Workers
55	We have alternatives	Brussels	169	1.15	0	1	02 Dec 2011	Austerity
56	Occupy London	London	144	0.98	1	1	12 Nov 2011	Democracy
57	Anti Nuclear Manifestation	Beznau	472	3.21	0	1	22 May 2011	Environment
58	Gay Pride	Geneva	197	1.34	1	0	02 July 2011	LGBT
59	May 1ste demonstration 2011	Geneva	206	1.4	0	1	01 May 2011	Workers
60	Women demonstration Geneva	Geneva	206	1.4	0	1	14 June 2011	Women
62	Fukushima never again	Brussels	189	1.29	1	0	11 March 2012	Environment
63	Anti-nuclear	Mühleberg	434	2.95	0	1	11 March 2012	Environment
64	May Day (Left Party)	Gothenburg	210	1.43	0	0	01 May 2012	Workers
65	May Day (Social Democratic Party/LO)	Gothenburg	160	1.09	0	0	01 May 2012	Workers
66	Gay Pride	Bologna	216	1.47	1	5	09 June 2012	LGBT
67	Rainbow Parade (LGBTQ festival)	Gothenburg	89	0.61	1	0	03 June 2012	LGBT
72	Pride demonstration	Zurich	148	1.01	0	1	16 June 2012	LGBT
73	London Pride Parade	London	192	1.31	0	1	07 July 2012	LGBT
74	Pink Saturday Parade Survey	Haarlem	101	0.69	0	1	07 July 2012	LGBT
75	Occupy Netherlands	Amsterdam, Utrecht,	36	0.24	1	4	05 Nov 2011	Democracy
76	Prague Pride	Prague	135	0.92	1	4	18 Aug 2012	LGBT
77	No Monti Day	Rome	35	0.24	0	2	27 Oct 2012	Democracy

Appendix 2- Question wording

1. Survey to demonstrators

Classification of Digitally Networked Action events

8. How did you find out about the demonstration? Was it via: (tick as many as apply)

- Radio or television
- Newspaper(s) (print or online)
- Alternative online media
- Advertisements, flyers, and/or posters
- Partner and/or family
- Friends and/or acquaintances
- People at your school or workplace
- (Fellow) members of an organisation or association
- An organization (magazine, meeting, website, mailing list, etc.)
- Online social networks (e.g. Facebook, Twitter)

8b. Which of the above information channels was the most important?

10. Please list the names of the main organizations staging this demonstration.

11. Are you a member of any of these organizations [staging the demonstration]? (Yes, No, DK)

Personal action frames

1. Please tell us why you participated in this protest (open-ended question).
2. In your opinion, who or what is to blame for ISSUE? (open-ended question)
3. What should be done to address this issue? (open-ended question)

Other variables

Past political participation

19. Have you, in the past 12 months...? (Yes, No)

- contacted a politician, government, or local government official?
- signed a petition/public letter?
- donated money to a political organisation or group?
- boycotted certain products?
- deliberately bought products for political, ethical or environmental reasons?
- worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker?
- joined a strike?
- taken part in direct action (such as: blockade, occupation, civil disobedience)?
- used violent forms of action (against property or people)?

Past protest experience

20. How many times have you in the past taken part in a demonstration? Ever / In the past 12 months

- 1 Never

- 2 1-5 times
- 3 6-10 times
- 4 11-20 times
- 5 21+ times)

Membership in associations

17. If you have been involved in any of the following types of organisations in the past 12 months: please indicate whether you are a passive member or an active member. If you are a member of several organisations of the same type, tick the box for the organisation of that type in which you are most 'active'.

- Church or religious organisation
- Trade union or professional association
- Political party
- Women's organisation
- Sport or cultural organisation
- Environmental organisation
- Lesbian or gay rights organisation
- Community or neighborhood association
- Charity or humanitarian organisation
- Third world, Global Justice or Peace organisation
- Anti-racist or Migrant organisation
- Human or civil rights organisation
- Other

A count variable has been created that indicates how many types of organizations the respondent belongs to.

Political Interest

23. How interested are you in politics?

- 4 A lot
- 3 Quite
- 2 A little
- 1 Not at all

Internal & Collective efficacy

27. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

- External efficacy - Most politicians make a lot of promises but do not actually do anything
- Internal efficacy - My participation can have an impact on public policy in this country
- Collective efficacy - Organized groups of citizens can have a lot of impact on public policies in this country

- 1 Strongly Disagree
- 2 Disagree
- 3 Neither
- 4 Agree
- 5 Strongly agree

Left-right self-placement

28. In politics people sometimes talk of “left” and “right”. Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means Left and 10 means Right? (Left 0 – 10 Right, 11 DK)

Demo effectiveness

16. Below are two goals that are ascribed to this demonstration. First, indicate how important these two goals are to you. Second, on a similar scale, how effective do you think this demonstration will be in achieving these goals?

- 1 Not at all
- 2 Not very
- 3 Somewhat
- 4 Quite
- 5 Very much

Decision time

7. When did you make a firm decision to participate in the demonstration?

- 1 The day of the demonstration
- 2 A few days before the demonstration
- 3 A few weeks before the demonstration
- 4 Over a month ago

Education

What is your highest educational qualification? (1 None, did not complete primary education, 2 Primary or first stage of basic, 3 Lower secondary or second stage of basic, 4 Upper secondary, 5 Post-secondary, non-tertiary, 6 First stage of tertiary, 7 Second stage of tertiary, 8 Post tertiary PhD)

Class

People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper or lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the...? (Upper class, Upper middle class, Lower middle class, Working class, Lower class, None)

2. Survey to Organizations

Organization platform

Is there a demonstration platform? Yes/no

Online presence

Can you please provide the URLs of the organizational websites?

Size of staging organizations (membership)

How many members do you have?

Trigger

Was there a direct event causing the demonstration? Yes/No

Attention to the issue

Before the demonstration, did the major political institutions (government, parliament etc.) devote a lot of attention to the demonstration issue or not?

Effective Turnout

Actual turnout/turnout estimated by organization.

Governmental influence

Please tell us which one of the following statements best describes how the government relates to your organisation when it comes to the issue of the demonstration:

- 5 The government/council frequently seeks the advice of our organisation
- 4 The government/council is friendly to our organisation, but our organisation initiates most of the contact
- 3 The government/council sometimes receives our organisation with hostility and other times is welcome depending on the issue/s or departments involved
- 2 The government/council never listens to our organisation although our organisation does try to influence them
- 1 Our organisation prefers to campaign in other ways

Political influence

How strong is your general political influence, according to your own estimation?

- 3 Strong influence
- 2 Somewhat influence
- 1 No influence