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Does Increasing Public Awareness of the Anti-Globalization Movement Affect its Growth?

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Does Increasing Public Awareness of the Anti-Globalization Movement Affect its

Growth?

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to recent generations of political activists that have emerged in

the globalizing world. Realizing that in order to effect the change they seek, they must

first know what needs to be changed; many have dived headlong into the milieu in the

hopes of shaping the world in a better image than they received it. You have proven that

idealism is far from dead and by challenging the status quo, effect the change which you

seek. Never give up.

Acknowledgments

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Note to Reader

Note to Reader: The original of this document contains color that is necessary for

understanding the data. The original thesis is on file with the USF library in Tampa,

Florida.

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Does Increasing Public Awareness of the Anti-Globalization Movement Affect its Growth?

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ABSTRACT

This thesis tests the hypothesis that increasing public awareness of the anti-globalization movement fuels its growth. The independent variable in this thesis is public awareness of the anti-globalization movement and is operationalized/measured using a database of anti-globalization protest events covered by the global media created by Dr. Bruce Podobnik. The dependent variable in this thesis is the growth of the anti-globalization movement and is measured through a content analysis of anti-globalization related postings to an anti-corporate transnational advocacy network known as the Independent Media Center in 2002. It purports to measure such growth in two dimensions, action and discourse, using 11 different classifications of growth. The results of a bivariate linear regression conclude that it is not possible to disprove the null hypothesis that no relationship exists between the two variables as operationalized and measured herein and the central hypothesis is left unproven. Consequently, this thesis ends in an examination of its methodological construction with specific focus on the conceptualization and measures of the variables adopted and calls for future research utilizing more effective concepts and measures of the variables to test the hypothesis.

Chapter One: Thesis Overview

Research Context

This thesis examines the anti-globalization movement in the year 2002. In this year, the world was still reeling from the impact of the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States and the subsequent United States launched offensive against Afghanistan. During and immediately following the summer of 2002, the Israeli government entered and destroyed the Palestinian refugee camp of Jenin and international outcry commenced. Back in the United States, a multinational energy trading firm named Enron was the first of a series of large United States based companies to go bankrupt. Combined with the effects of September 11th, this sent the economy of the United States into an economic recession and the value of the United States dollar plummeted in relation to the European Union's Euro. The U.S. "war on terror," begun to hunt down those responsible for the 2001 attacks, turned its attention from Afghanistan. The United States began planning an invasion of Iraq to topple the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein on the grounds that he posed an imminent threat to U.S. security. The U.S. claimed that he possessed weapons of mass destruction and an expressed intent to use them. The planning and build up for the Iraq war was immediately opposed by a broad sector of not only the U.S. population but also by citizens of countries the world over. A massive international anti-war movement was created and manifested itself in the streets of cities across the globe.

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The anti-war movement came on the heels and to some extent is attributed to the success of another social movement which had been in existence since at least the early 1990's, the anti-globalization movement. The anti-globalization movements was a loose knit but highly visible social movement most commonly known for protesting at the site of the meetings of international economic institutions. At many of these protests, international attention was focused on the propensity for violence exhibited by the protestors. In many situations, protestors attacked police, burned cars, or destroyed property.

Despite this propensity for violence, they experienced significant growth. After September 11th, their continued growth was called into question. Would the world accept violent protestors in the post September 11th world? Would protestors be affected by the increased attention to security and state repression that resulted from the post September 11th crackdown? Studies examining whether the anti-globalization movement experienced a decrease in activity indicated not.

The Anti-Globalization Movement

What does it means to be anti-globalization? Taking the definition of globalization adopted by Held et al. in *Global Transformations*, globalization is "*a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity, and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power*" (Held 1999). This definition is clearly broad and generalized, encompassing a variety of processes including the increasing intensity, and extensity of communications and air travel. The effects of such processes,

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being the primary motivation behind globalization's opponents, are of importance. Broadly speaking, one thesis of globalizations impact holds that it is leading to the decreased sovereignty of the state and that a new global civil society is forming as a result of an increasingly interdependent world. The effects of such a trend are opposed by many who seek to maintain national and cultural identities in the face of dramatic change. Other impacts of globalization such as environmental degradation and job outsourcing are equally controversial among globalizations opponents.

While each of these impacts is important, the primary focus of the anti-globalization movement's attention has been the emergence of an economic ideology known as neoliberalism that seeks to maximize economic exchange and extraction of material wealth through the technological benefits of globalization through trade liberalization, reduced / eliminated tariffs, and resource privatization. Based upon the total reduction of all barriers to the free functioning of the global economy and trade, neoliberalism has dominated the economic philosophies and the lending policies of international economic institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization since the middle of the 20th century. It is argued by these organizations that reduction in barriers to trade and increased economic integration are the best prescriptive forms of assistance to economically troubled nations. As a condition of this assistance, they demand that borrowing nations undergo massive *structural adjustment programs* to bring their economies into line with the world economic system and the precepts of neoliberalism. In many cases, this has led to transitional shocks, alleged unfair privatization of public resources, and what many perceive to be the exploitation of many economies by multinational corporations.

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The anti-globalization social movement emerged out of this opposition. Tying neoliberal economic reforms with the faltering policies of the global economic institutions of the IMF, WTO and World Bank, many groups claimed that globalization was to blame rather than their previous economic indiscretions or their state controlled economies. To many in the industrialized world, the most visible sign of this emergence was in the streets of Seattle in November of 1999. Although the anti-globalization movement began before this date, the "Battle of Seattle" is generally seen as the point in time when the public became aware of it and it received greater public support.

It was during this time that the World Trade Organization (WTO) was holding its highest-level ministerial meetings at a conference center located in downtown Seattle. In the span of nearly a week, anti-globalization protestors from across the United States, and many from foreign countries, descended upon the city of Seattle to protest the Neoliberal free trade policies of the WTO, its lack of policies to protect the environment and its role in the international economic system. This event was a watershed, drawing hundreds of thousands of protestors from a wide range of political viewpoints to the immediate vicinity of the WTO meetings. It was a unique event in that it drew together many established political interests such as organized labor, professionals, students and partisan political figures from both sides of the political aisles.

The events of those days would see heavy handed repression by police officers, clouds of teargas, damage to persons and property in the vicinity and masses of people blockading access into the Seattle convention center, effectively shutting the meeting of the WTO down. A curfew was enacted and police were brought in from outlying areas to quell the disturbance but the protests continued. Many of the protestors stayed through

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the night, rallying outside the conference center in opposition to the WTO. The events of Seattle were important but not alone in the world. Protests had been occurring on a regular basis in underdeveloped countries across the world (Podobnik 2004). Seattle represented a rare case of a protest in the developed world and the beginning of a period of growing recognition of the plight of those affected by the economic policies of the developed world. Since 1999, there has been hardly a single meeting of any of the international economic institutions that is not marked by protests.

Topic

This thesis examines the anti-globalization movement. Specifically, it seeks to determine the reasons for its growth. Given this focus, it lies both within the field of international relations and the scholarly field of transnational collective action, the latter having evolved in the past 20 years from the study of social movements as a response to the significant growth of transnational actors that are characteristically distinct from transnational social movements (Bandy and Smith 2005; Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002; Meyer and Tarrow 1998; Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 1997; Smith and Johnston 2002; Tarrow 1998). These newly identified *transnational collective actors* exist alongside transnational social movements in the larger field of study known as *transnational collective action* (Bandy and Smith 2005; Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Keck and Sikkink 1998b; Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002; Smith 1998; Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 1997). This expansion in our understanding of these actors has occurred in tandem with a growing recognition of the power that they exert in relation to other actors such as states and intergovernmental bodies and thus impacts both our understanding of collective action and international relations (Bandy

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and Smith 2005; Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002; Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 1997).

Current literature on social movements has been methodologically limited in its analysis of social groups. Acknowledging these limitations, this thesis takes advantage of the opportunity posed by the emergence of the new forms of collective action to gain greater insight into both collective action and international relations. It uses the interrelationship between one of these newly identified actors, a *transnational advocacy network*, as a window into the growth of the transnational anti-globalization social movement. This gives this research the opportunity to examine the anti-globalization movement closer and in more detail than was previously possible.

Hypotheses

As transnational collective actors such as social movements receive increased public attention, they have the opportunity to increase public support, gain adherents, and influence the norms they seek to change. Thus, I hypothesize that as public awareness of a transnational social movement increases, so shall its growth. Therefore, during and/or after periods of increased public awareness of a transnational social movement, we should witness a corresponding increase in the growth of that social movement. I will test this hypothesis by examining a specific case, the anti-globalization movement, to see if it experiences noticeable growth during periods of increased public awareness.

I based this hypothesis on several assumptions. First and foremost is that globalization has expanded the political opportunities available to transnational collective actors. It does this by encouraging the spread of technological advances and increased means of communication, such as advanced forms of media including the internet. This

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spread has enabled transnational collective actors to reach many more people with their ideas, leading to increased diffusion of their ideas. Successful transnational collective actors utilize the ability to reach more people in their efforts to modify and enforce norms of both states and international bodies' behavior. By convincing more people that their points of view are valid or correct through strategic issue framing, transnational collective actors can alter change norms of behavior.

The increased ability to modify norms enables transnational actors to modify state behavior and achieve their goals. States that deviate from norms of state behavior are often ostracized or disciplined by their domestic populations, other states, or international bodies. In the self interest of avoiding the consequences of non-adherence to these norms, states are pressured into conformity (Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002). Consequently, globalization, through the increased diffusion of technological innovation and communications, empowers transnational collective actors to restrict or modify the behavior of states through the manipulation of norms.

The anti-globalization movement, a successful social movement, must necessarily utilize these technological advances toward the achievement of their goals. As technology advances, more details of the minute operations of the anti-globalization movement are available than ever, especially as the movement becomes more, if not totally dependent on electronic communications. Therefore, by analyzing the electronic communications of the anti-globalization movement, it should be possible to discern patterns in the growth of the movement through the words and actions of its members.

It is possible for all of the forms of transnational collective action to cooperate or act in a supportive capacity with each other. It would not be surprising to witness a

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transnational advocacy network cooperating with a transnational social movement. Given the nature of transnational advocacy networks to encourage dense interchanges of information, it is possible for a transnational advocacy network to provide cheaper, easier, and increased means of communication to a transnational social movement. If a transnational advocacy network provides such means of communication to a transnational social movement and that movement uses the opportunity, the archives of the transnational advocacy network can be assumed to be a depository of communications and records of activity between members of the social movement.

Methodology / Case Study

This thesis is a primarily statistical analysis of the anti-globalization social movement using the database archives of the Independent Media Center, a transnational advocacy network, supplemented with qualitative analysis of secondary sources concerning the creation, and growth of both. Statistically, it attempts to determine whether trends in a content analysis of media coverage of anti-globalization events in the year 2002 are statistically correlated with trends in a content analysis of the growth of the anti-globalization movement in the same year through the use of a regression analysis.

In this thesis, I test whether increased public awareness of the anti-globalization movement fuels its growth. The operationalized measures of public awareness of the movement I adopt is drawn from a database created by Dr. Bruce Podobnik of anti-globalization protests that were covered by a sample of the global print media during the year 2002 in his research on the incidence of protests of the anti-globalization movement. Adjusted forward in time to take into account the impact of the media stories on public awareness of the movement, this measure of the independent variable is fairly

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straightforward.

The operationalized measure of the growth of the anti-globalization movement adopted is a content analysis of Indymedia databases. Indymedia's archives are a repository of announcements, opinions, commentary, ideas, and records of members of the anti-globalization movement, among others. It claims to utilize the internet to connect members and organizations of the anti-corporate activist community through their integration into a network of autonomous collectives which generate anti-corporate / anti-establishment news, information and viewpoints in multiple geographic locations and languages. While Indymedia does not claim to directly support it, its website is acknowledged to be maintained and operated by supporters of the anti-globalization movement.

Thesis Summary

This thesis examines the hypothesis that increased public awareness of the anti-globalization movement fuels its growth. It tests this hypothesis utilizing a statistical regression of trends in the global media coverage of anti-globalization protests and the growth of the anti-globalization movement measured through a content analysis of postings to a transnational advocacy network. In doing so, it offers informative and illuminating information on both the anti-globalization social movement, its interactions with another transnational collective actor, Indymedia, and insight into international relations and the impact of globalization

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Chapter Two: Transnational Actors

Overview

This chapter sets out to illustrate the development of scholarly understanding of the social movement sector, and its growth into the field of collective action as a result of the forces of globalization. It is structured chronologically, beginning with the history of the modern social movement and its focus on the state to its modern manifestation in the world system. I then summarize the explanations for its growth in the course of the development of the scholarly study of social movements. Expanding the focus transnationally, I cover the literature related to the growth in the social movement sector, including the creation of new collective actors and the creation of a scholarly field that has come to be known as transnational collective action. Highlighting scholars' attempts to explain the reasons for the emergence of an increasingly large body of collective actors in the world today, I isolate one, the political opportunity afforded to collective actors by advanced forms of media, and propose to test it in the context of a transnational social movement, the anti-globalization movement. This sets the stage for the development of my hypothesis and methodology in Chapter 3.

History of Social Movements

During the eighteenth century social movements blossomed into the world scene in great numbers as the newly created state became the central focus for contentious politics, remaining so to this date (Tarrow 1998). David Meyer and Sidney Tarrow

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examine the modern role of the social movement and point out that the social movement has made significant advances in its ability to effect change since its creation in the 18th century. They argue that not only has it been a successful means of effecting change but that contentious politics, or collective action has become an institutionalized component of most nation states and the world system itself (Meyer and Tarrow 1998; Tarrow 1998).

Social Movements, they argue, over the course of their evolution from their creation in the birth of the nation state to their modern evolution into complex, coordinated contention surrounding centers of power, have come into their own and are increasingly recognized as legitimate, viable, political actors in political arenas. This acceptance, perhaps best exemplified in the introduction of non-state actors into the United Nations in a consultative status, is increasingly finding social movement actors empowered in ways that were not possible a mere 20 years ago. Meyer and Tarrow go so far as to claim that this institutionalization, or acceptance of social movements into the commonly accepted manners and procedures of political change, has created a rapidly expanding community of social movements they coin, the *social movement society*. Thus, in the world system today, there exist not only state actors and the international bodies they create but a "third sector" occupied by a community of social movements seeking influence and power in relation to the first two (Meyer and Tarrow 1998).

Scholarly Study of Social Movements

The study of social movements evolved as a way of understanding the outbreak of protests, riots, and violence within nation states. One of the most important periods in this study of social movements was the 1960's. This was a time of turmoil especially

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within the United States. Opposition to the U.S. led war in Vietnam and the counter-culture of the era led to massive street protests. At the same time, the U.S. Civil Rights Movement was in full swing and protestors sought redress of grievances from the government. It should come as no surprise that at this time scholarly attention within the American school turned toward these disturbances. The answer to come out of this period would come in the form of a theory know as resource mobilization theory (Jenkins 1983).

Resource Mobilization Theory stressed the availability of external resources such as funding and human capital as explanations for the emergence of social movements. It argued that movements were not spontaneous outbreaks of chaos among the population but were instead facilitated by professional organizers who drew upon the resources of domestic populations to create social movement organizations by which protests or sustained conflict could be coordinated and implemented. Drawing from the works of Marx, Gramsci, and Lenin, who worked toward understanding the means by which people could be mobilized toward revolution, Social Movement theorists took their works one step further (Mostyn 2004; Tarrow 1998).

Writing in the *Annual Review of Sociology*, (1983) J.C. Jenkins summarizes the major trends which emerged in the field of Resource mobilization theory. He ties the works of the major theorists in the resource mobilization theory field together on five different trends; that "movement actors are rational and are responsive to changes in the costs and rewards of different lines of action", that "the basic goals of movements are defined by conflicts of interest built into institutionalized power relations"; "the grievances generated by these conflicts are sufficiently ubiquitous that the formation and

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mobilization of movements depend on changes in resources, group organization and opportunities for collective action"; "centralized, formally structured movement organizations are more typical of modern social movements and (are) more effective at mobilizing resources and mounting sustained challenges than decentralized, informal movement structures" and "the success of movements is largely determined by strategic factors and the political processes in which they become enmeshed"(Jenkins 1983).

As is clear from Jenkins's summary, Resource Mobilization theory stressed two aspects of the creation and success of social movements, the existence of strains or grievances which encourage movement creation (what he calls "conflicts of interest built into institutionalized power relations") and access to resources and their consequent successful mobilization, typically and most successfully evident in centralized, formal, social movement organizations. This focus on strains, and resources became the dominant way of explaining the emergence of social movements well into the early 1990's. The latter component of Jenkins summary, the "strategic factors and political processes in which they became enmeshed" would become the center of attempting to explain the emergence of social movements anew in the late 80's to early 90's (Jenkins 1983).

These attempts to explain their emergence and success would be come to be encapsulated in the concept of *political opportunity*. Sidney Tarrow (1998) defines political opportunities as "consistent but not necessarily formal, permanent, or national dimensions of the political struggle that encourage people to engage in contentious politics" and political constraints as "factors, like repression, but also like authorities capacity to present a solid front to insurgents that discourages contention." (Tarrow

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1998) He argues that changes in the political opportunities available to actors provide incentives or constraints for initiating contentious action and argues that "people engage in contentious politics when patterns of political opportunities and constraints change and then, by employing a repertoire of collective action, create new opportunities, which are used by others in widening cycles of contention" (Tarrow 1998).

Tarrow ties the success of social movements to relative increases in political opportunities. Specifically, he points to the growth in social movement activity which followed the emergence of new forms of political association and communication. Examining the growth in the modern social movement during the eighteenth century, he attributes their emergence and growth to the advent of widely available print media and means of association. Going back further, Tarrow notes that the emergence of new forms of media such as printed books - bibles for example, all served as opportunities for increased means of communication and association which did not exist prior to their invention or emergence. Each of these examples were far more restricted in scope than subsequent innovations and it can be argued that modern forms of communication such as magazines, newsletters, newspapers and other forms of communication offer greater political opportunity than their predecessors. As each of these new forms of communication developed, they allowed for the unification of thought of larger and larger groups of people, effectively linking them in larger cohesive informed groups.

The political opportunities available to actors engaging in contentious politics are never uniform in nature and vary according to the domestic, and international setting in which they are located. Current research has pointed to broad generalizations of the types of political opportunities which potentially lead to contentious action. These types

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include the types and characteristics of political power, institutions and other factors external to movements. These variations, which combine to determine the configurations of opportunities or constraints available to social movement actors, have come to be known as *political opportunity structures (POS)* (Hipsher 1998) Put another way, Guidry, Kennedy and Zald summarize the concept of POS best when they define it as "the way that present allocations of resources and power privilege some alternatives for collective action while raising the costs of others"(Guidry, Kennedy, and Zald 2000).

Tarrow argues that changes in political opportunity are merely incentives to the creation of social movements and points out that many social movements have been created only to fail while others had opportune timing yet did not succeed at accomplishing their goals. In order for social movements to be successful, they not only had to emerge at a time of either increased political opportunity or decreased constraints, but also mobilize their resources and adherents effectively through *repertoires of contention*. *Repertoires of contention* are "themselves a collective incentive to mobilization and a challenge to opponents" (Tarrow 1998). Tarrow points out that strikes, assemblies, marches, and sit ins are all repertoires of contention which have been created and incorporated into many modern social movements. Each of these forms of contention requires the participation of people toward the goals of the movement and each of these repertoires, however commonplace or accepted today, represent attempts at exerting power or influence over perceived opponents such as elites, or the state. Social movements historically have either entered into a state of continued, prolonged contention with these opponents or, have entered a period of demobilization where some of the demands are met leaving the cadre of organizers within the social movement to

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either be co-opted into the leagues of the opponents or suppressed by overwhelming force, a cyclical process Tarrow calls the *cycle of contention* (Tarrow 1998)

Transnational Collective Action

As Tarrow notes, social movements have historically been primarily national in scope. Most have originated within the domestic political opportunity structures of the state and have sought redress for their grievances and goals in the structure of the state. Even those social movements which have focused on the decisions of international bodies have operated primarily through the state rather than independent of it. It has not been until the past century that collective actors have found unity across the boundaries of their states.

Coming together across national boundaries in coordinated, sustained actions, social movements have evolved beyond the boundaries of the state. With their evolution, additional types of transnational collective action which exist in tandem with transnational social movements have emerged as well (Tarrow 1998). These new forms of transnational collective action, defined below, encompass contentious politics but also take into account action on the part of its actors which is not necessarily contentious (Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Keck and Sikkink 1998b; Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002; Meyer and Tarrow 1998).

Transnational Advocacy Networks (TAN's) are "the most informal configuration of non-state actors." They are "sets of actors linked across country boundaries, bound together by shared values, dense exchanges of information and services, and common discourses. These actors seek to "influence discourse, procedures, and policy" by "engaging and becoming part of larger policy communities" (Keck and Sikkink 1998b).

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Transnational Coalitions "involve a greater level of transnational coordination than that present in a transnational network." They are "sets of actors linked across country boundaries who coordinate shared strategies or sets of tactics to publicly influence social change…Such coordination of tactics requires a more formal level of contact than a network because groups usually need to meet to identify and agree upon these tactics" and to "report on their progress"(Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002)

Transnational Social Movements (TSM's) are "sets of actors with common purposes and solidarities linked across country boundaries that have the capacity to generate coordinated and sustained social mobilization in more than one country to publicly influence social change. In contrast to transnational networks, transnational social movements mobilize their transnational constituencies for collective action, often through the use of protest or disruptive action"(Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002).

In addition to identifying the new actors, scholars have also asserted that each of these forms of transnational collective action is not mutually exclusive. In fact, it has been recognized that it would be impossible to conceive of either a TSM or a transnational coalition which did not have one or more advocacy networks or other forms of collective action. (Keck and Sikkink 1998b)

Beginning in the work, *Activists without Borders* and culminating in the work *Restructuring World Politics,* scholars of transnational collective action have charted the growth in each decade from 1954 to 1993 of transnational organizations. Within the growing body of scholarly work on transnational collective action over the past 15 years, nothing less than an exponential increase in the numbers of transnational collective actors has been noted since the 1950's (Bandy and Smith 2005; Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Keck

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and Sikkink 1998b; Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002; Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 1997).

As Sidney Tarrow notes, individuals do not join in collective action unless they see the possibility to effect the changes they seek. Clearly then, a political opportunity must exist in the world political system which offers at the very least, hope to those engaging in transnational collective action in whatever form is chosen. Thus far, scholars have attempted to explain the emergence of these actors through the concept of "soft power" (Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002).

Understanding how transnational collective actors exert their influence in the world is central to understanding the concept of "soft power." Collective actors are clearly no match militarily in forcing states to make changes they wish to see. They operate on a different level of influence through the modification of norms and the manipulation of ideas. Transnational collective actors exert their influence in the world not by playing the game of states but by changing its rules and by redefining the standards to which actors in the world political system hold themselves. Rather than by putting a gun to a states head and forcing the state to change its policies, transnational collective actors take their goals and ideas and frame them in such a manner as to be seen positively by a large segment of the population and then selectively diffuse these ideas to target audiences, usually within the international community or within the target state. By doing this, the transnational collective actors appeal to the morals, ethics or opinions of the populations of the world and attempt to modify their perceptions of the preferred course of action. Consequently, they potentially change not only the states perceptions of what is considered normal state behavior but also change what other states, and

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international bodies think is normal behavior on the part of that state. Thus, transnational collective actors have the ability to influence the system of rewards and penalties associated with state behavior and to make certain behaviors of states and international bodies either more or less rewarding to each actor in the system (Keck and Sikkink 1998a)

As Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink point out, these attempts at modifying norms and exerting *soft power* take four different forms, information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics and accountability politics. *Information politics* is "the ability to quickly and credibly generate politically usable information and move it to where it will have the most impact." *Symbolic politics* is "the ability to call upon symbols, actions, or stories that make sense of a situation for an audience that is frequently far away." *Leverage politics* is "the ability to call upon powerful actors to affect a situation where weaker members of a network are unlikely to have influence." *Accountability politics* is "the effort to hold powerful actors to their previously stated policies or principles" (Keck and Sikkink 1998a).

Through norm modification, transnational collective actors exert influence in relation to states, international governmental organizations and each other. This portends a dramatic alteration in the sovereignty of the state and its role in the world political system. This topic is taken up across the range of scholarly work on transnational collective action, specifically in the in the works *Restructuring World Politics* and *The Social Movement Society* (Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002; Meyer and Tarrow 1998).

In the concluding chapter of the prior, Kathryn Sikkink explains that the influence

of these transnational actors is affecting states of all types and is restricting their behavior in numerous ways, particularly in relation to their human rights records and in regards to calling states to account for breaches in their promises or treaties. She points to the increase in democratic accountability that these transnational actors have brought to both democratic and non-democratic states in the world system. She also points to the increasing presence of non-state actors at the meetings of international governmental organizations such as the UN, World Bank and IMF, among others. While clearly not recognized in any authoritative capacity, that role still reserved to the state alone, transnational collective actors are finding increasing opportunities to effect norm modification through their consultive statuses and informational politics at these levels.

Given these increases in political opportunities at both the international and transnational level, it should come as no surprise that David Meyer and Sidney Tarrow note an increasingly large community of transnational collective actors congealing into a larger community of transnational collective actors. In their work *The Social Movement Society*, they argue that collective action has not only become legitimated and institutionalized in states the world over but also in the international system itself. Given the obvious opportunity that such institutionalization provides, it should come as no surprise that there has been an enormous growth in what Joe Bandy and Jackie Smith dub the *Transnational Social Movement Sector (Bandy and Smith 2005)*. Central to this growth has been a deepening integration and interaction between these various forms of transnational collective action. Various social movement organizations have come together in a dizzying array of forms to create the networks, coalitions and social movements which make up the transnational social movement sector. Within this sector,

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coalitions between coalitions, linkages between movements and networks between networks are a fluid part of its makeup.

Conclusion

While research into the success of social movements at achieving their goals alludes to the role of framing and dissemination in the process, no work has been conducted which examines the impact that public awareness of social movements have on the social movements themselves, specifically their growth. Research has primarily been limited to the dissemination of repertoires of contention and the exchange of tactics but not on the impact that awareness of such activities has on the movement as a whole. This is important given that many social movements may not be in a position to directly accomplish their goals but may yet be in a position to build their base of support for future attempts at doing so.

Given that the modern media is the primary means of public awareness for much of the information that meets the eyes and ears of the world, one would expect that the media would be the focus of much attention in regards to the success of social movements via public awareness of their actions. Unfortunately, this is not so, with literature on the media limited to its study as a medium of communication in the late 1980's - 1990's. This focus disregards the role of the institutional media as well as the modern media mediums such as the internet.

The literature also alludes to the interrelationships between the three forms of transnational collective action but it does not go into any specificity regarding the specific relationships witnessed in the real world.

Scholarly literature on social movements and collective actors to date has

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proposed that the emergence of large groups of collective actors has been based upon the concept of political opportunity. One such opportunity, soft power potentially explains the emergence of collective actors, but it does not adequately explain the reasons for growth in individual movements or the dramatic increase in the numbers of movements in the past 20 years. Soft power has always existed. Therefore, ability of actors to exert soft power must have become easier, or the political opportunity structure must have changed to make it easier to exert soft power.

Are the technological advances of the modern era and the expansion of the global media influencing the success of social movements? Do movements that receive increased coverage by the media experience greater success and growth? Is there a connection between increased public awareness of a social movement and its growth? Does the coverage of the ideals, goals, and activities of social movements by the global media affect a movement's growth? If the goal of social movements is to achieve their goals and gain support for their causes, then an examination of the role the institutional media play in expressing the opinions, existence, and activities of these movements is needed.

Chapter Three: The Anti-Globalization Movement and Indymedia

Case Study Overview

In his work on the "anti-globalization protest movement," Bruce Podobnik performs a content analysis of a sample of global newspapers to search for the occurrence of anti-globalization protests. In this work, Bruce developed a database of protest events from 1990 to 2004 which charts nearly 1,800 individual protests of the anti-globalization movement around the world. He concludes that the protests of the anti-globalization movement have been predominantly based in underdeveloped nations and that the protests that do occur within the developed world are far less violent and deadly. In this study, Bruce also analyzes the impact of the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 to see if the anti-globalization movement experienced a decline in activity following the attacks. He concludes that while the movement experienced a short period of several months of decreased activity, the anti-globalization movement has actually begun a new period of increased activity (Podobnik 2004).

The anti-globalization movement clearly has had an impact on the world. They have worked hard to focus media attention to their cause as evidenced by their variety of demonstrations and protests as well as through their efforts at forging linkages with other political entities such as organized labor and environmental groups. They clearly are working actively to generate increased public support for their causes. These efforts have led to increasing recognition of their demands by states and inter-state organizations such

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as the WTO, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. The structural adjustment programs of the IMF, trade policies of the WTO and the lending practices of the World Bank, are increasingly being questioned as to whether they are viable, humane, and environmentally sound or sustainable policies in light of their efforts. Domestically, states are slowly becoming more responsive to alternative policies of economic restructuring and international economic interactions as a result as well.

The anti-globalization movement has been able to effect this change through its exertion of soft power via sustained contentious, collective actions, coordinated across national boundaries in multiple countries since at least the early 1990's. By all accounts, it merits the title of a transnational social movement. This thesis sets out to examine one of the processes by which the movement gains increased public support of its causes and subsequent success in effecting change. It examines whether increased public awareness of the movements existence, actions and beliefs leads to the movements growth. While many people throughout the world are familiar with the anti-globalization movement, many do not know it exists, or do not actively pay attention to its behavior. It is only when the lens of the media is focused on them that these behaviors come to the attention of many throughout the world. The question I examine is whether the movement experiences an increase in support and growth as a result of this attention.

The Independent Media Center

In order to understand the anti-globalization movement, one must examine the means by which it interacts with the world. Protests are an obvious manifestation of the anti-globalization movement but these protests do not simply materialize out of thin air. While protests are quite fun for many within the movement, especially within the

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developed world, the goals and causes which incite people into the streets are usually not solely determined by ones social agenda. Much thought, planning and work also goes into the creation and clarification of grievances, the generation of alternative policies and prescriptions, the forging of alliances between groups, and the recruitment of new members. These are just a small number of the activities that a movement undertakes in sustaining its existence. Therefore, when an opportunity comes along that makes this organization that much easier, it is more often than not utilized.

The Independent Media Center is just such an opportunity for the anti-globalization movement. Indymedia, as it is commonly known, is a non-profit, grassroots, anti-corporate global media collective. It was originally conceived of prior to the Seattle World Trade Organization protests of 1999 as a method of providing "alternative" news coverage of the protest. While coverage of the events was its primary motivation, it was also proposed as a way of documenting what was expected to be a potentially caustic series of interactions with local police forces in the hope of illuminating police tactics, and presumably providing video documentation / evidence for future trials of arrested activists. Indymedia volunteers traveling from across the United States overseas came armed with personal video cameras, tape recorders, cameras, and professional grade production equipment to march alongside the protestors and document the events as they unfolded in the streets of Seattle. Photos, video and stories of individual activists, protestors and reporters were carried back to home base, a short duration office rental in the vicinity of the protests where "citizen reporters" created photo montages and highly detailed accounts of the events of each day to be posted as soon as possible on the internet for all the world to see and comment on. This ability to

create the news which would appear on the main site was also extended to people who did not have access to the central office, and was made available to anyone with an internet connection and a web browser. The events of Seattle were now being broadcast from the activist's perspective for the entire world to see. This created a unique opportunity for the anti-globalization movement as internet visitors could not only comment on the stories and find out where the events were happening, but also join them.

The pre-Seattle origins of the Indymedia network idea itself are said to have come out of a wide range of activist groups during the early 1990's dedicated to media access and reform. In a personal interview with the director of the Seattle Independent Media Center roughly 10 months after the Seattle protests, Miguel Bocanegra, an interviewer with the WTO History Project out of the University of Washington, attempts to provide a historical backdrop for the events of Seattle and the emergence of the Independent Media Center. Jeff Perlstein, the director of the Seattle Indymedia Center, was present at the formation of the Indymedia movement and helped to establish its presence before the Seattle protests. The network was originally brought about as a result of the mutual interest of roughly 15 people in the Seattle area in January of 1999.

Over the course of several months, the meetings of the Indymedia network grew larger until the meetings became a cacophony of reports from different volunteers working in a wide range of projects to include print, audio, video, satellite and cable new reporting. With each volunteer came a wide range of resources at Indymedia's disposal. Several volunteers donated their time and money but many also donated their professional grade technology for digital audio and video editing or software talents for the creation of the www.indymedia.org website

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In choosing to document the events of Seattle from the anti-globalization movement's viewpoints of the events, it was evident that Indymedia was clearly supportive of the anti-globalization movement. Many of Indymedia's activist / reporters were and are members of the anti-globalization movement. As such, they developed a calling among the activist community as a source of not just the news of the past but the news of the future. Events to be covered were listed on their event calendars and news reports posted announcements of upcoming protests in the free news story posting sections of the website. Activists seeking out the "next" protest would merely have to log on to the internet and read through a few postings to get into contact with people organizing the protests. In many cases, people could volunteer their time, efforts, computer space and money, over the internet to the efforts of Indymedia, or conveniently, get in touch with organizations and groups within the anti-globalization movement to contribute directly to them. This has carried into the present day manifestation of the Indymedia collective (Bocanegra 2000).

Since the events of Seattle, Indymedia has expanded its goals from simply covering individual protest events such protests to providing an internet news medium for "non-corporate, radical, passionate, tellings of truth" (Center 2005). This goal expresses itself in its organizational model and internet policies. All authority and decision making processes are decentralized, according to the Indymedia constitution, available in the documentation section of its website. Responsibility for control over the programming languages and maintaining the materials posted to the Indymedia website is open to anyone who is interested, a conspicuous rejection of hierarchical models of decision making and structure. The "source code" or basic programming languages which dictate

the structure of the Indymedia website is open to anyone who wants it and is deemed by the collective to be "freeware" or "copy-left" – unable to be copyrighted or sold for a profit. This approach has brought a wide range of people under its umbrella to include not only the original cadre of activists and protestors but also a generation of open source computer programmers and computer capable individuals who maintain the day to day operations of the Indymedia website in their spare time.

The early years of Indymedia were marked by coverage of protests. Originally, Seattle was the only Indymedia collective in operation. Shortly thereafter, in response to an event called "Biodevestation", the domain www.indymedia.org changed from pointing to the Seattle server to a server in Boston, in an effort to focus the bulk of Indymedia's efforts and audience on the events. This trend, relocating the domain name servers of the Indymedia.org network, continued for several months in response to different events in various parts of the world. As they relocated these servers, they left behind the websites and archives they had created. Many were left intact and functional, effectively broadening the extent of their network in the process. The following timeline describes the movements of the server locations of Indymedia with the most complete information available since its creation.

Figure 1.) Timeline of the Server Locations of the Indymedia Home Page

Time Frame	Server Location / Name
November 1999 - March 23, 2000	seattle.indymedia.org
March 23, 2000 - May 2000	boston.indymedia.org
May 2000 - November 2003	mayday.indymedia.org
November 2003 – August, 2005	www.indymedia.org
Source: (Banerian 2005; Carey 2005)	

Note that the last two moves that the Indymedia main server has made have been to non-descript server names. As of late, within the past two years of this publication, Indymedia has had several of its servers around the world seized by government agencies. The most recent, occurring in Italy, under an international cooperation agreement with the U.S. FBI, took several of its server's offline and shut down several of its websites. It should come as no surprise that the personnel I have spoken with are very apprehensive about speaking to or interacting with anyone from outside the Indymedia collective in regards to sensitive data such as server locations. While it is technically possible to ascertain the location of the server through a range of technical inquiries, I decided it best to leave the issue alone.

The two IMC technicians that I have been corresponding with on a semi-regular basis as part of this research believe that the software which Indymedia.org is based upon originated in its infant form in Australia and since then has undergone numerous changes and replacements under the banner of continuous improvement. As it exists today, the Indymedia website is the creation of various programmers who donate their end product and time toward the free distribution of the software framework to the goals of Indymedia and is no doubt markedly different from its infant form (Banerian 2005; Carey 2005).

Growth from simply moving server locations from one location to another cannot possibly explain the Indymedia movements' growth trends. Since its creation in 1999, the Independent Media Center has grown from its original site in Seattle to 152 independent sites located the world. In a study of the Indymedia network, conducted in 2003, Virginie Mamadouh tabulated the number of Indymedia collectives in existence at that time to be 122 (Mamadouh 2004). In this small timeframe of just 2 years, Indymedia has grown 24%. I updated and included the results of this study in the following table:

Figure 2.) The Local Collectives of the Indymedia Network in August 2005 and October 2003

August, 2005			October, 2003*		
Region	**Area**	**Name of Site**	**Region**	**Area**	**Name of Site**
Africa (5)			**Africa (3)***		
	Southern Cameroon	Ambazonia		Nigeria	Nigeria
	Canary Islands	Canarias		South Africa	South Africa
	Straits of Gibraltar, South of the Iberian Peninsula, the Magreb, and the Canary Islands	Estrecho / Madiaq		Southern Cameroon	Ambazonia
	Nigeria	Nigeria			
	South Africa	South Africa			
Canada (11)			**Canada (11)***		
	British Colombia (2)	Vancouver, Victoria		Alberta	Alberta (also Calgary)
	Manitoba	Winnipeg		British Colombia (2)	Vancouver, Victoria
	New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edwards Island, Newfoundland	Maritimes		New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edwards Island, Newfoundland	Maritimes
	Ontario (5)	Hamilton, Ontario, Ottawa, Thunder Bay, Windsor		Ontario (5)	Hamilton, Ontario, Ottawa, Thunder Bay, Windsor
	Quebec (2)	Montreal, Quebec		Quebec (2)	Montreal, Quebec
East Asia (4)			**East Asia (1)***		
	Burma	Burma		Japan	Japan
	Japan	Japan			
	Manila	Manila			
	Philippines	QC			
Europe (43)			**Europe (32)***		
	Andorra	Andorra		Andorra	Andorra
	Austria	Austria		Austria	Austria
	Belgium (5)	Antwerpen, Belgium, Liege, Oost-Vlaanderen, West Vlaanderen		Belgium (2)	Belgium, West Flanders
	Bulgaria	Bulgaria		Cyprus	Cyprus
	Croatia	Croatia		Czech Republic	Prague
	Cyprus	Cyprus		France (4)	Lille, Nice, Paris (also Paris-Ile de France), Nantes

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Figure 2 (Continued)

	France (8)	Euskal Herria, Grenoble, Lille, Marseille, Nantes, Nice, Paris, Toulouse	Germany	Germany
	Greece (2)	Athens, Thessaloniki	Greece (2)	Athens, Thessaloniki
	Germany	Germany	Hungary	Hungary
	Hungary	Hungary	Ireland	Ireland
	Ireland	Ireland	Italy	Italy
	Italy	Italy	Netherlands	Netherlands
	Netherlands	Netherlands	Norway	Norway
	Norway	Norway	Poland	Poland
	Poland	Poland	Portugal	Portugal
	Portugal	Portugal	Russia	Russia
	Romania	Romania	Serbia	Belgrade
	Russia	Russia	Spain (5)	Barcelona, Euska Herria, Madrid, Galicia, Estrecho / Madiaq
	Scotland	Scotland	Sweden	Sweden
	Serbia and Montenegro	Belgrade	Switzerland	Switzerland
	Spain (6)	Alacant, Barcelona, Euskal Herria, La Plana, Madrid, Estrecho / Madiaq	Turkey	Istanbul
	Sweden	Sverige		
	Switzerland	Switzerland		
	Turkey	Istanbul		
	UK (2)	Bristol, United Kingdom	UK (2)	UK, Bristol
Latin America (17)			**Latin America (15)***	
	Argentina (2)	Argentina, Rosario	Argentina (2)	Argentina, Rosario
	Bolivia	Bolivia	Bolivia	Bolivia
	Brazil	Brasil	Brazil	Brasil
	Chile (3)	Chile, Santiago, Valparaiso	Chile	Chile
	Colombia	Colombia	Colombia	Colombia
	Ecuador	Ecuador	Ecuador	Ecuador
	Mexico (4)	Chiapas, Mexico, Sonora, Tijuana	Mexico (4)	Chiapas, Mexico, Sonora, Tijuana
	Puerto Rico	Puerto Rico	Peru	Peru
	Peru	Peru	Puerto Rico	Puerto Rico

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Figure 2 (Continued)

	Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Chile, Argentina	Qollasuyu		Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Chile, Argentina	Qollasuyu (also Qollasuyu Tawaintisuyu)
	Uruguay	Uruguay		Uruguay	Uruguay
Oceania (12)			**Oceania (8)***		
	Australia (6)	Adelaide, Brisbane, Darwin, Melbourne, Perth, Sydney		Australia (5)	Adelaide, Brisbane, Melbourne, Sydney, Perth
	New Zealand	Aotearoa		New Zealand	Aotearoa
	Burma	Burma		Indonesia	Jakarta
	Indonesia	Jakarta		Philippines	Manila
	Philippines (2)	Manila, QC			
	Regional "Hub"	Oceania			
South Asia (2)			**South Asia (2)***		
	India	India, Mumbai		India (2)	India, Mumbai
United States (58)			**United States (47)***		
	Arizona	Arizona		Arizona	Arizona
	Arkansas	Arkansas		Arkansas	Arkansas
	California	LA, San Diego, San Francisco, San Francisco Bay Area, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, CA		California (4)	L.A., San Diego, San Francisco Bay Area (sf), Santa Cruz
	Colorado	Colorado		Colorado	Rocky Mountain
	Connecticut	Danbury, CT		Connecticut	Danbury
	District of Colombia	DC		Florida	Tallahassee-Red Hills
	Florida	Miami, Tallahassee-Red Hills, Tampa Bay		Georgia	Atlanta
	Georgia	Atlanta		Hawaii	Hawaii
	Hawaii	Hawaii		Idaho	Idaho
	Idaho	Idaho		Illinois (2)	Chicago, Urbana-Champaign
	Illinois	Chicago, Big Muddy, Urbana-Champaign		Louisiana	New Orleans
	Kansas	Kansas City		Maine	Maine
	Louisiana	New Orleans		Maryland	Baltimore
	Maine	Maine		Massachusetts (2)	Boston, Western Massachusetts
	Maryland	Baltimore		Michigan	Michigan
	Massachusetts	Boston, Western Mass, Worcester		Minnesota	Minneapolis / St. Paul (also Twin Cities)
	Michigan	Michigan		Missouri	St. Louis

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Figure 2 (Continued)

Minnesota	Minneapolis/St. Paul		New Jersey	New Jersey
Missouri	Saint Louis		New Mexico	New Mexico
New Hampshire	New Hampshire		New York (5)	Buffalo, Ithaca, NY capitol (also Hudson-Mohawk), NYC
New Jersey	New Jersey		North Carolina	North Carolina
New Mexico	New Mexico		Ohio	Cleveland
New York	Binghamton, Buffalo, Hudson Mohawk, Ithaca, NYC, Rochester		Oregon (3)	Eugene, Portland, Rogue Valley
North Carolina	North Carolina		Pennsylvania (2)	Philadelphia, Pittsburgh
Ohio	Cleveland		Texas (3)	Austin, Houston, North Texas
Oklahoma	Oklahoma		Tennessee	Tennessee
Oregon	Portland, Rogue Valley		Virginia	Richmond
Pennsylvania	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania		Utah	Utah
Regional "Hub"	United States		Vermont	Vermont
Tennessee	Tennessee		Washington	Seattle
Texas	Austin, Houston, North Texas		District of Colombia	DC
Utah	Utah		Wisconsin (2)	Madison, Milwaukee
Vermont	Vermont			
Virginia	Charlottesville, Richmond			
Washington	Seattle			
Wisconsin	Madison, Milwaukee			
West Asia (3)		**West Asia (3)***		
Israel	Israel		Israel	Israel
Lebanon	Beirut		Palestine	Palestine (also Jerusalem)
Palestine	Palestine		Lebanon	Beirut
(N):153[1]			**(N): 122***	

* Source: Mamadouh, Virginie. 2004.

[1] N Not Equal to Total of First Column due to Cross Listings

Data Compiled from http://www.indymedia.org on August 30th, 2005.

Unless otherwise noted, all names and geographic classifications are those used by the Indymedia network.

Each of the individual collectives identified is affiliated with one another through dense interchanges of cooperation along technical assistance lines and in many circumstances, through financial linkages. Each of the sites falls under the umbrella of

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the global site which, through a process of editorial review and rules governing its behavior, chooses articles from the stories of sub collectives for inclusion in the central news stories of the main web page. The editorial staff of the Indymedia networks is selected based primarily upon interest. The stories that make the headlines at Indymedia, like all decisions within the collective, are decided by anyone who wants a say in the matter.

Indymedia's goals and objectives are broad but clear. Written in subscript on the global webpage www.indymedia.org, they seek to provide a medium of communication and alternative media for the dissemination of "radical, accurate and passionate tellings of truth." Through the use of the internet, they have enabled virtually anyone with an internet connection to become a creator of news media for public consumption. With their growth into nearly all geographic regions, Indymedia has quickly become a global force for predominantly left wing voices not heard within the mainstream media accounts of popular television and radio. This left wing slant, evidenced in their efforts to provide "radical" news coverage, is clearly evident in the tone many of their feature articles take as well as the content that the majority of their posters post on a regular basis. Stories promoting capitalism or any form of conservative viewpoint are not easily found on the members content sections of the website, if at all, and when found, are usually derided and cast aside. In the central feature articles, they are completely non-existent.

Indymedia argues that while many of its members are anti-globalization, their primary function within Indymedia is not one of direct support to the anti-globalization movement. Their role is to provide a medium of communication and news coverage of radical events which incidentally happens to cover the actions of the anti-globalization

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movement of which many of them are a part.

The Independent Media Center's primary goal is to facilitate the interchange and dissemination of advocacy related information through its creation of alternative, non-corporate news coverage of global events. It is the nature of their network to be bound together through common operating agreements, software languages / discourses, and principles. Clearly, the Independent Media Center is a transnational advocacy network as defined in Chapter 2. In providing a medium of communication for the anti-globalization movement, Indymedia presents an opportunity to examine the anti-globalization movement. It represents a window into the actions of the anti-globalization movement because the movement uses the site. I analyze the use to determine the growth of the anti-globalization movement as evidenced by the words and reports of activities of in the posts on the site related to the anti-globalization movement. The inner workings of social movements, their day to day expansions and contractions, and the success of their activities are difficult to view from an outside perspective. Researchers have attempted to counter such limitations by participating directly in social movement activities through participant observation methods. This thesis takes a different approach, one certainly as rewarding, potentially just as biased statistically but valuable nonetheless.

Hypothesized Relationships

This thesis' primary hypothesis is that increased public awareness of the anti-globalization movement fuels its growth. As more of the world's populations become aware of the goals, objectives, ideas and activities of the anti-globalization movement, the more adherents, activists or public support the anti-globalization movement should potentially gain.

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While the media isn't the only means of public awareness of the anti-globalization movement, it certainly is a significant one. It is presumed that when the media writes a story about the anti-globalization movement, people read it, pass it along, discuss it, or inquire further into it. As such, I hypothesize that media coverage is an adequate measure of public awareness of the anti-globalization movement.

A portion of people who become aware of the movement through the media should hypothetically be influenced by this increased awareness and increase their support of the movement, leading to the movements growth. Therefore, I hypothesize that the relationship between public awareness and the growth of the movement will be positive. In other words, as the public becomes more aware of the anti-globalization movement, the movement should experience increased rates of growth. It is presumed that the more intense the coverage of the movement, the more rapid or greater the magnitude of such growth. As public awareness of the movement decreases, the movement will either cease slow its growth rate, halt its growth or constrict its growth.

Given the global nature of the world media today, and the power of the internet as a medium of communication, I hypothesize that any effect on the growth of the movement that results from the increased or decreased levels of public awareness will occur within a short time frame surrounding the event or story reported by the media used as a measure of public awareness. If we measure the incidence of media coverage of the anti-globalization movement and the growth of the movement within a narrow temporal window immediately following the incidence of the media coverage, a statistically significant relationship should be witnessed if this hypothesis hold true.

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Operationalization of the Independent Variable

The measure of the independent variable, public awareness of the anti-globalization movement, has been adapted from the work of Dr. Bruce Podobnik. As part of his own research into the growth of the anti-globalization protest movement, he has created a database of individual protest events of the anti-globalization movement from 1990-2004. This database was created through a content analysis of news media stories appearing in the *Africa News*, the *Associated Press*, the *BBC*, *CNN*, *The Daily Yomiuri*, the *Financial Times*, the *Inter Press Service*, the *Japan Economic Newswire*, the *Jerusalem Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times*, *TASS*, *Times London*, *The Washington Post*, and *XINHUA*. Using LexisNexis, he identified each of the news stories / articles created by these sources related to the incidence of anti-globalization protests by performing a keyword search using the following:

> "(protest! and globali!) or (protest! and (international w/1 monetary w/1 fund)) or (protest! and imf) or (protest! and (world w/1 bank)) or (protest! and gatt) or (protest! and (world w/1 trade w/1 organization)) or (protest! and wto) or (protest! and summit)"

The results of his search were coded into an SPSS database and then manually filtered to eliminate duplicate entries or stories about the same events of the movement. Dr. Podobnik's original intent in creating such a database was to create a master database of all known anti-globalization related protests. In addition to this intent, the database he created also provides an excellent record of the number of individual protest events covered by what can generally be characterized as a broad sample of the global media, representing print and internet sources. As such, the portion of his database which

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identifies the dates of each of the anti-globalization protests also measures the incidence of media coverage of the unique events of the anti-globalization movement and gives it the added benefit of being useful as the independent variable in this thesis.

Extracting the dates of each protest in the year 2002, I imported them into a newly created SPSS database. Each entry in the SPSS database was dated according to a standardized date of MM/DD/YY, a non-periodic day of the year and a non-periodic month of the year. I input the total number of protest events for each relevant date in an adjacent column and labeled it "ProtestB," an acronym representing the incidence of a protest and the letter "B" which means "baseline." I specified that this variable be classified as a ratio level variable and then proceeded to input scores of "0" for those days of the year when no event was recorded.

Having created this variable, I also created 3 nearly identical variables adjacent to it which contain the same information but are adjusted 1, 3, and 5 days forward in time. These variables were created as such to account for any delayed effect of the event they record on the dependent variable in subsequent statistical correlations which will be described in detail later. Having established these variables, I proceeded to ensure that every measure of the dependent variable that occurred on the same date for each of the different independent variables was scored with the number of protest events that occurred on that day in order to ensure that the application of the independent variable to the dependent variable was statistically performed.

Individually, and collectively, these three variables represent the manner by which I operationalized the independent variable in this thesis.

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Operationalization of the Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this thesis is the growth in the anti-globalization movement. It is measured through a content analysis of the internet postings to the Independent Media Center. Indymedia is a large, decentralized collective of 152 individual collectives. Each of these sites operates according to different programming protocols, in different languages and utilizes different databases and staff members. Each of these collectives is also geographically limited. With these limitations in mind, I have chosen to limit the focus of my study to what has come to be known as Indymedia's "global" web-page in an effort to capture as wide a cross section of anti-globalization related activities and membership as possible for the world as a whole. This "global" page is located at http://www.indymedia.org and is considered to be the central page for the Indymedia network. It is presumed that the global webpage is "global" in scope and audience and that the opinions and reports of the activities of the anti-globalization movement that appear within its archives are equally "global" in scope.

The archives of 2002, the timeframe of interest for this thesis, were located in a secured database accessible only to programmers and database administrators of the Independent Media Center. Indymedia is very protective of its archives because it is concerned about its use in identifying individual members / contributors to its archives. With such concerns, it has been necessary to "jump through several hoops" to secure access to the records needed to perform the research herein.

I initially requested access to these archives by sending an e-mail to imc-tech@lists.indymedia.org. I was greeted by two "IMC technicians", Catherine Carey, and Stefani Banerian. After verifying my identity, these technicians extended an offer of

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support and informed me that the amount of data available to me was significantly large, in excess of 50 gigabytes. It was also fragmented across several servers around the world and incomplete or non-existent for certain time frame. After analyzing the availability, I determined that the year 2002 would be the most likely to be available and easy to access.

The databases for the year 2002 were made available to me through a secure website operated by Indymedia.org. In order to access this website, I needed a "static" IP address and a secured logon; attained by installing a VPN (Virtual Private Networking Client) on my laptop and coordinating the assignment of a static IP address with the academic computing department at the University of South Florida. Indymedia used the address I was assigned in conjunction with the user ID and logon they assigned me to allow me to access a secured download site at https://notes.seattleimc.org/ .

Once I gained access to this site, I located 12 individual comma delimited files (.CSV files), one for each month of the year in 2002. I downloaded each of the files to my computer and formatted each of them. First, I converted them to *Microsoft Excel* workbooks. Then I standardized the date format for each posting. I then eliminated extraneous fields leaving 4 columns titled *Date, Title, Brief Summary*, and *Comments*

For each month formatted, I instructed Excel to tabulate the number of individual posts per day of the month and then input this information into my *Thesis Master Database* in SPSS. This variable is the measure of the aggregate number of posts to the Indymedia global site and is useful for descriptive statistics on Indymedia and its use by the anti-globalization movement.

Once I finished formatting each of these files, I saved them and created a new

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Microsoft Access database I named *2002 Indymedia Postings Master Database*. Using this database, I imported each of the Excel spreadsheets into a single table within Access. After importing each of the posts into this table I now possessed a centralized and database of all 112,128 individual posts to the Indymedia website for the year 2002.

The task at hand was now to eliminate those posts that were completely irrelevant to the anti-globalization movement or duplicates of previous posts. I underwent several methods by which to do this, the first being a keyword query that identified and filtered only those posts that contained keywords relevant to the anti-globalization movement. In the hopes of casting a wide net for these posts, I utilized the following keywords:

> "capital" or "International Monetary Fund" or "liberal" or "mondialisation" or
>
> "bloc" or "Bank" or "IMF" or "teargas" or "forum" or "solidarity" or "DC" or
>
> "WTO" or "mask" or "movement" or "Allegre" or "reform" or "WEF" or
>
> "Bretton" or "World" or "Seattle" or "Porto" or "G7" or "Lenin" or "Washington"
>
> or "Genoa" or "anti" or "G8" or "police" or "mobiliz" or "NYC" or "neo" or
>
> "anarch" or "street" or "econom" or "GATT" or "global" or "protest" or
>
> "convergence" or "structural" or "action" or "event" or "marx" or "ACC" or
>
> "adjustment" or "organiz" or "forum"

Because of the structure of Microsoft Access, I was forced to conduct three individual keyword queries of the same database and then combine each of the queries into a single database. This obviously resulted in several posts being queried multiple times. Fortunately, each of the posts to the Indymedia website were uniquely numbered according by Microsoft Excel during the transition from Excel to Access making it easy for Access to delete posts with the same identifier. Unfortunately, textually identical

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posts that were differently numbered were not and needed to be eliminated.

I extracted all posts from the keyword reduced table I created and deposited them into a table which excluded posts based upon conditions which would eliminate duplicate posts. I instructed Access to use all possible combinations of the three relevant columns of content in the Indymedia postings as "master keys" which were not to be duplicated in the new table. I instructed Access to delete all posts that had the same *Title* and *Comments* as other posts, the same *Comments* and *Subject*, and the same *Subject* and *Title*. After the three possible "deduplication" queries I conducted, there were 46,546 individual posts to the Indymedia collective that were considered relevant to the anti-globalization movement based upon the keywords I identified.

Having removed duplicate entries and narrowed the scope of my study down to posts which contained keywords relevant to my scope of research, it was necessary to eliminate posts that, despite their containing keywords relevant to the anti-globalization movement, were still not relevant. This can occur because keywords, despite their relevance to the anti-globalization movement, are still just words and are used in many different situations. For example, the keyword "organiz" can be used in the context of "social movement organization" but can also be used in the context of "organize a homegrown farm."

In order to eliminate these irrelevant posts to the Indymedia website, it was necessary to manually read each of the 46,546 posts and discard the ones that were not relevant to the anti-globalization movement. While many would question what qualities make a post relevant to the movement and which do not, I generally followed a certain pattern. Posts which were critical of international economic institutions and their

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policies, free trade, neoliberalism, privatization, or were generally anti-capitalist related were considered relevant and kept. This has led to the inclusion of a range of ideological beliefs such as Marxism and anarchism. Given their broad opposition to globalization and neoliberalism, it seemed only relevant to include them.

Posts which mentioned the anti-globalization movement itself, its activities, protests, targets, or members were included. Posts which were critical of international economic institutions such as the IMF, WTO, World Bank, G8, G7, WEF and others, were also included. Most of the posts that were considered irrelevant were generally easy to identify and those that were included were generally identifiable through common sense. There were situations where posts seemed to be relevant to the movement but could, at face value be construed otherwise. These situations, such as a post where the author was critical of US imperialism, but did not overtly mention globalization or any international economic institutions were excluded based upon the fact that it was not possible to discern the actual intent of the author through their written words alone. At all times, an eye was kept toward those posts that reported on the actions and thoughts of the anti-globalization movement because these posts are considered central to the focus of this thesis. After eliminating irrelevant posts, there were 3,792 posts deemed relevant to the anti-globalization movement for the year 2002. The process of manually going through these posts to eliminate irrelevant posts took 2 weeks working 10 hours a day.

Possessing the posts to Indymedia relevant to the anti-globalization movement, it was necessary to develop a method of classifying them along an ordinal scale which adequately measures represents the growth of the anti-globalization movement. Utilizing my initial experience manually filtering each of the posts as a guide, I developed a

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classification system that measured the growth in the movement along two distinct dimensions which I have termed "discourse" and "action." Generally, each of the relevant posts to the Indymedia network represents generally two types of behaviors, dialogue/analysis and action, words or deeds. Taking this into account, I developed a classification system which measured increasing levels of sophistication and development along each of these dimensions. The resultant system ranked individual posts along a scale of 1-10. The first five measures of the variable represented the dimension of "discourse" and the second five represented the dimension of "action." The score of 0 was given to those posts that despite being relevant to the anti-globalization movement did not fit the classification system developed. This scheme is summarized in the table below.

Figure 3.) Content Analysis Coding Scale

| Code	Description of Classification	Summary	Dimension
0	Does not fit into classification system	N/A	N/A
1	Ideological/philosophical roots of anti-globalization supporters	Ideology	Discourse
2	Criticism of globalization, neoliberalism, or international economic institutions	Criticism	Discourse
3	Introspective perspectives on of the "movement"	Introspection	Discourse
4	Discussion of the current state of the "movement" as perceived by movement outsiders via media, word of mouth.	Image	Discourse
5	Analysis of goals/tactics for the movement	Tactics	Discourse
6	Linkages or expressions of solidarity / affinity with groups sharing similar goals	Linkages	Action
7	Call to action against globalization which specifies pertinent details such as event date, location, time, or other relevant details	Call to Action	Action
8	Creation / distribution of materials, information or resources to aid or direct actions against globalization	Resources	Action
9	Expression of intent to engage in actions or events against globalization	Intent	Action
10	Incidence of a protest / action against globalization	Action	Action

With this classification system in mind, I read through each of the 3,792 postings relevant to the anti-globalization movement and scored each according to this scale over the course of several days. After coding each of these posts according to the above system, I imported the data from Microsoft Excel for each of the postings into the SPSS database, creating 3,792 new entries in the database containing a unique score for each of the posts, its date of occurrence, non-periodic month, non-periodic date, and unique scores for each of the "discourse" and "action" variables I created.

At this point, it was necessary to clean up the database, fill in blank spaces with 0's or missing data codes and then copying and pasting the results of the number of media covered protests into the appropriate variable field for each measure of the dependent variable. Having done this, I was now able to turn my attention to examining the trends within the independent and dependent variables.

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Analysis of Trends in the Independent and Dependent Variables

Starting with the independent variable, public awareness of the anti-globalization movement, measured by the variables "ProtestB", "Protest 1", "Protest 3" and "Protest 5", I began an examination of each variable. The distribution of events covered by the media in the year 2002, and consequently, the distribution of the independent variable, is represented visually in the form of the following line graph.

Figure 4.) Distribution of the # of Media Covered Protests / Day in 2002

Day of the Year, Non-Periodic
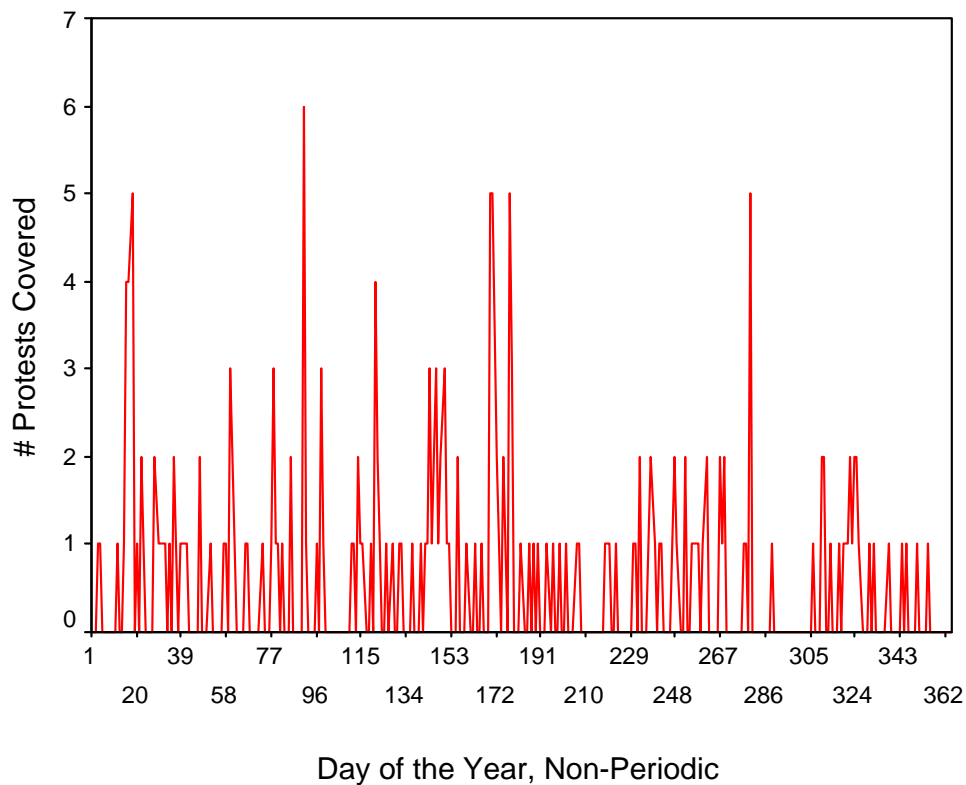
As is clear from the above graph, there does not appear to be a discernable trend in the coverage of the anti-globalization movement other than the occasional peak in activity. Aggregating the number of events covered by the media in 2002 by month, the distribution in the following table is witnessed.

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Figure 5.) # of Media Covered Protest Events / Month in 2002
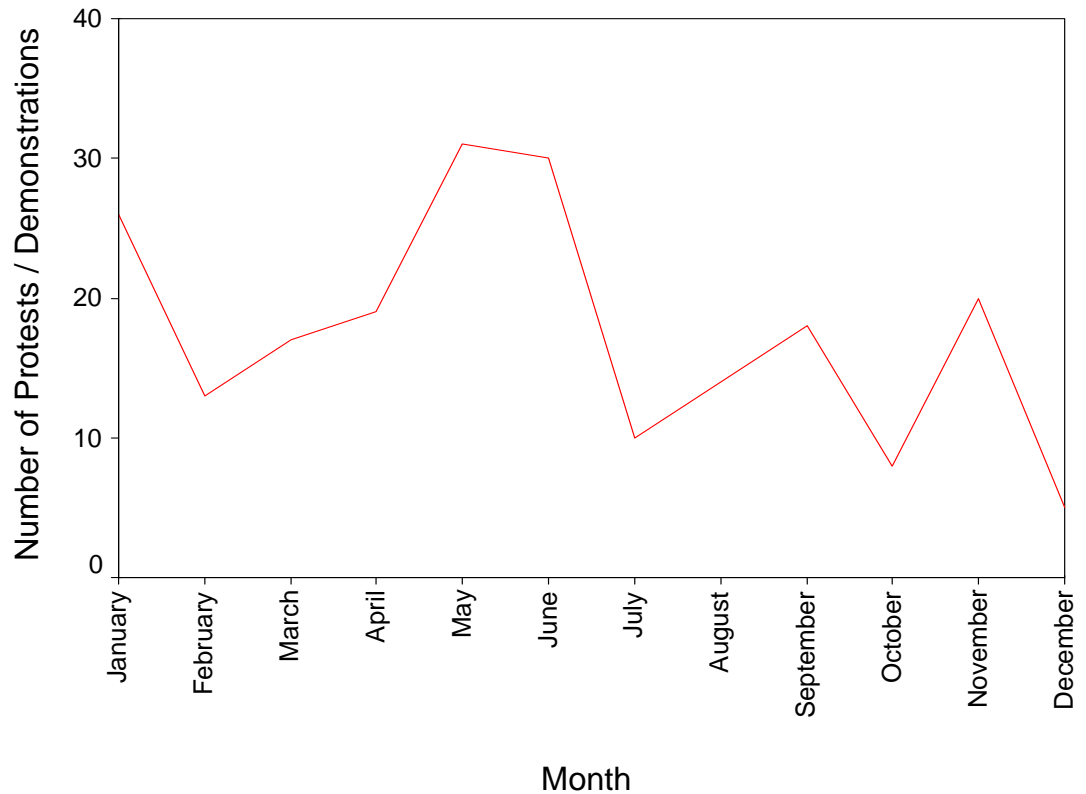
The previous two tables represent the distribution of the variable "ProtestB" as the baseline measure of the date of each event covered by the media in 2002. Other dispersions can be created for each of the measures of the independent variable adjusted forward in time but they would be visually identical with the exception of being further to the right. Thus, I have not included them.

Turning to trends in the dependent variable, I examine the trends in the usage of the Indymedia website itself. This is an important place to start as it gives us an idea of the usage of the Indymedia site overall and its role within the anti-globalization movement. First, the aggregate number of posts to the Indymedia website for the year 2002 was 112,128 individual posts, non-exclusive of duplicate posts, irrelevant material

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or empty data. The distribution of these individual posts over the course of the year is

represented adequately in the following line graphs:
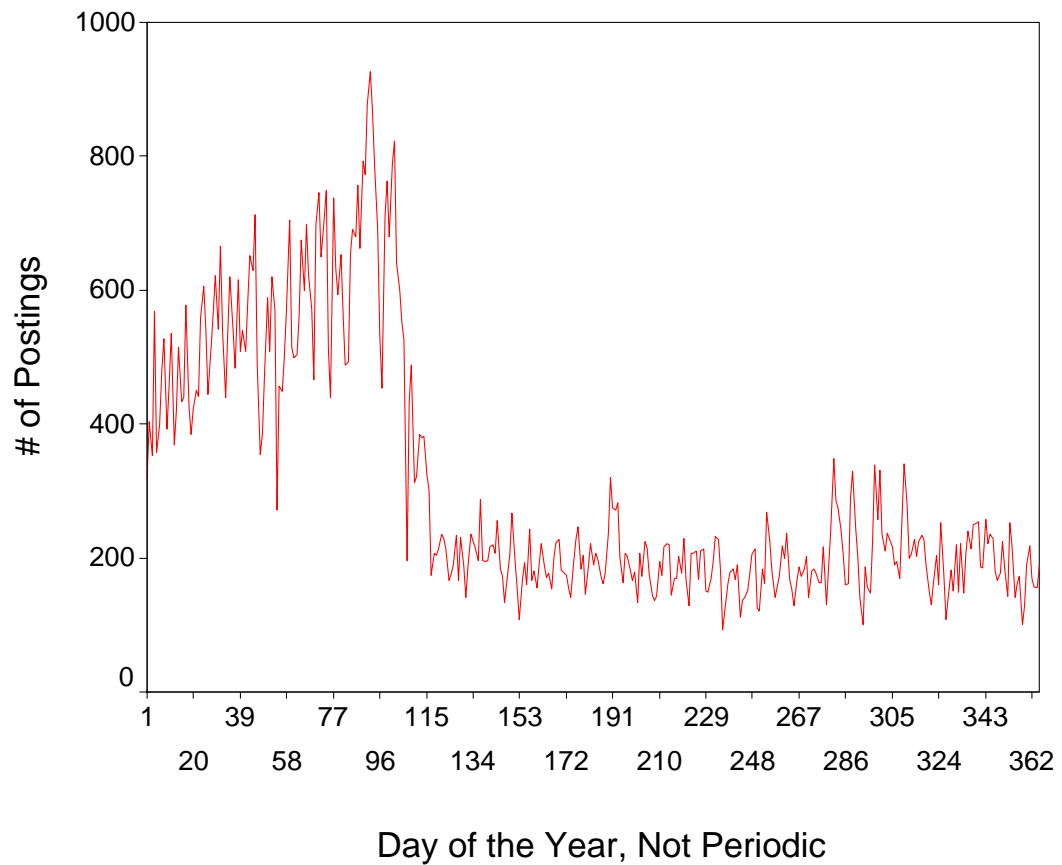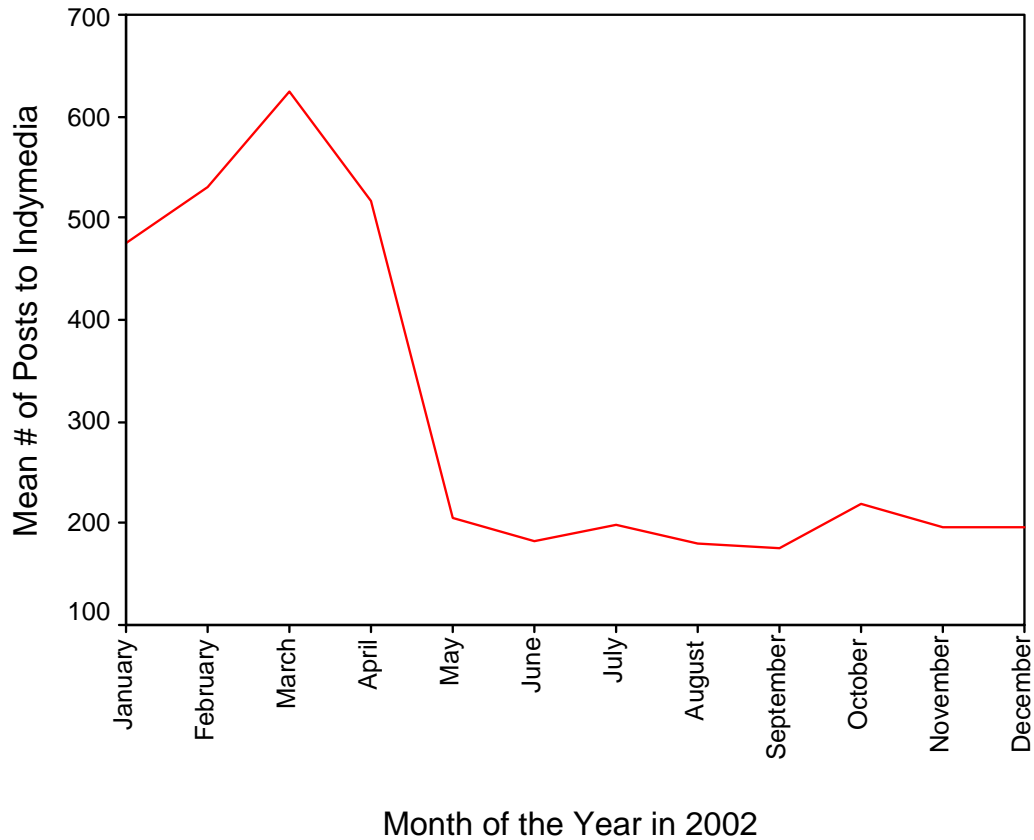
Figure 6.) Total # of Indymedia Postings / Day in 2002

Day of the Year, Not Periodic

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Figure 7.) Mean # of Indymedia Posts / Month in 2002


Month of the Year in 2002

As is clear from the graphs, the aggregate usage of Indymedia.org in the year

2002 was significantly greater in the first third of the year, peaking in the first quarter and

significantly dropping off to a baseline thereafter. While this trend is remarkable, there

are potentially several explanations for such a decrease, the most notable being a format

change the website underwent in April of 2002 in order to stem/censor unwanted posts

and irrelevant materials from reaching the content sections of the Indymedia website.

We can only surmise whether this effect has also impacted the level of the interactions

and usage of the site by the anti-globalization movement but, if we examine the following

figure, we can certainly presume that such an impact is possible given the sudden drop in

relevant posts to Indymedia around the same time period

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Figure 8.) # of Relevant Posts to Indymedia by Day
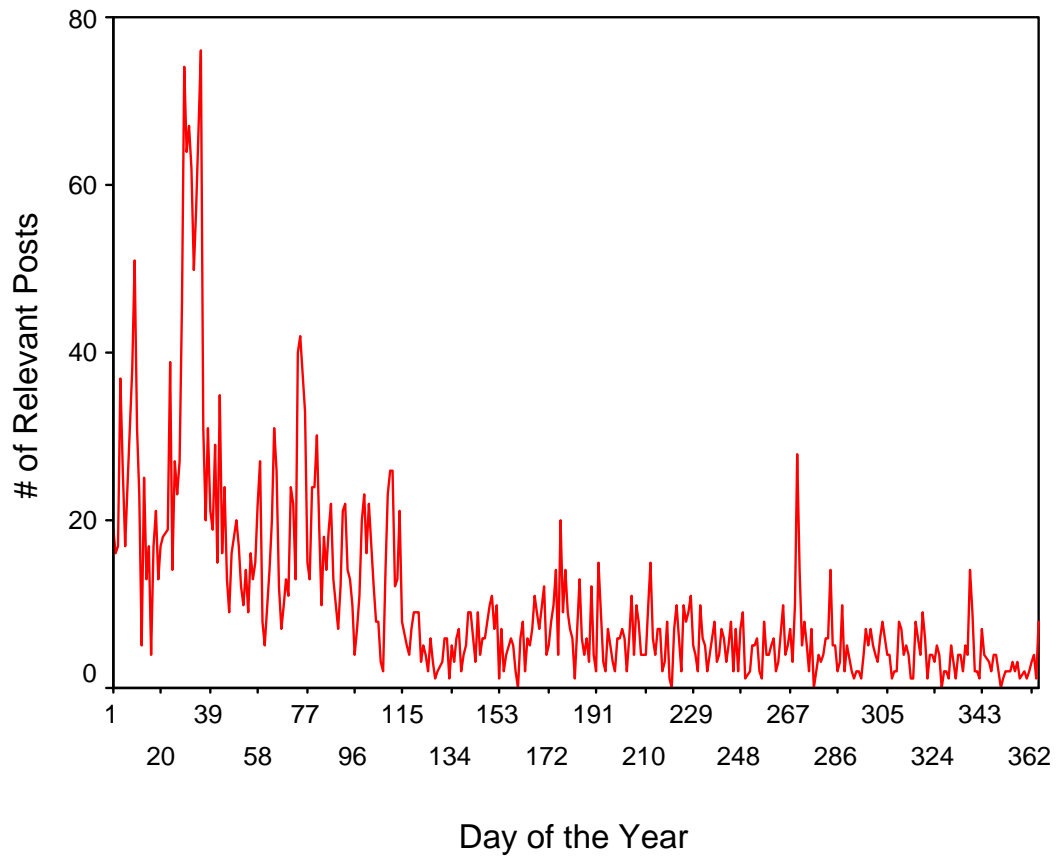
Contrasting the number of total posts and the anti-globalization related posts to Indymedia, we can see an interesting comparison. In filtering these posts and identifying the population of posts relevant to the anti-globalization movement, the total proportion of relevant posts to irrelevant posts was identified to be 0.2% to 99.8%. To put this into perspective, I have represented this proportion in the following pie chart.

Figure 9.) % of Total Posts that are related to the Anti-Globalization Movement for 2002

Anti-Global Posts

.2%

Unrelated

99.8%
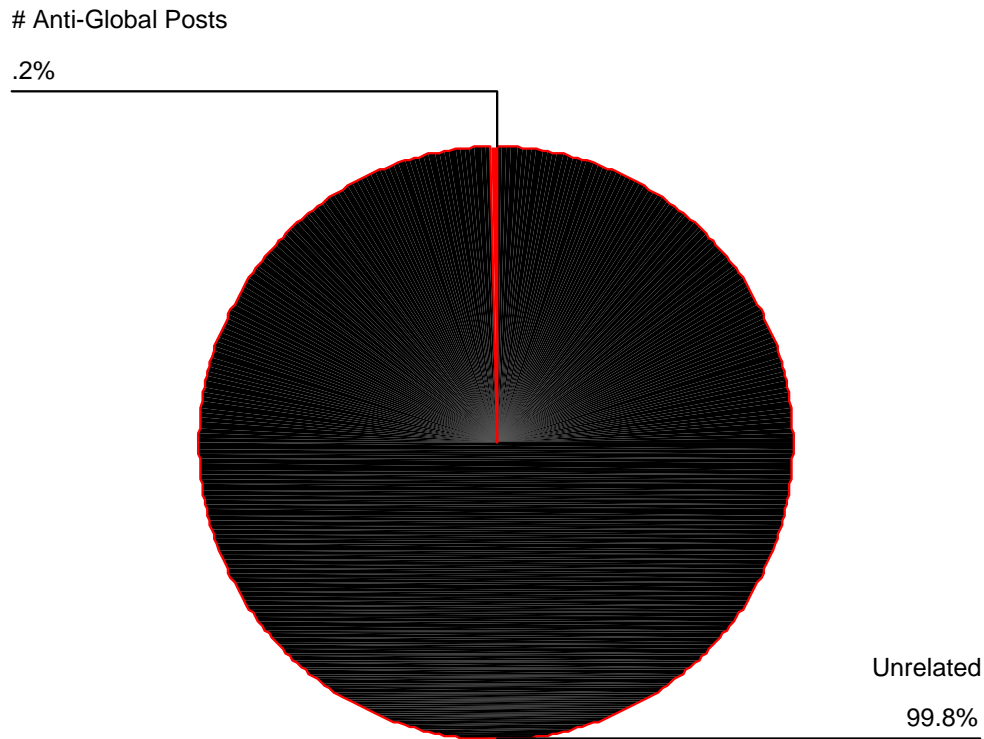
Interestingly enough, it appears as though the proportion of the usage of

Indymedia which is actually related to the anti-globalization movement in 2002 is very

slim (in so far as the posts to the main www.indymedia.org website are indicative of the

overall patterns we would expect to witness on subordinate collective or the entire

collective as a whole.) This is extremely interesting when one considers the claims made

on the part of Indymedia activists and members of the anti-globalization movement that

Indymedia is a central meeting place for members of the movement to plan and organize.

 While this data does not eliminate the possibility that Indymedia is in fact what it claims,

it does question the quality of the posts as related to the growth of the movement.

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Fortunately, the classification system developed to measure the growth of the movement through these posts should offer insight into these questions. When we delve into the trends within the data collected from the content analysis of the postings themselves, a much more vivid picture of the types of behaviors of the anti-globalization movement is gained. The following series of tables represent the trends identified in each of the 11 measures of the dependent variables. The axes for each of the tables have been standardized to give a more fluid representation of the magnitude of each of the trends in relation to each other.

Figure 10.) # of Anti-Globalization Related Posts Classified as Unclassifiable by Day
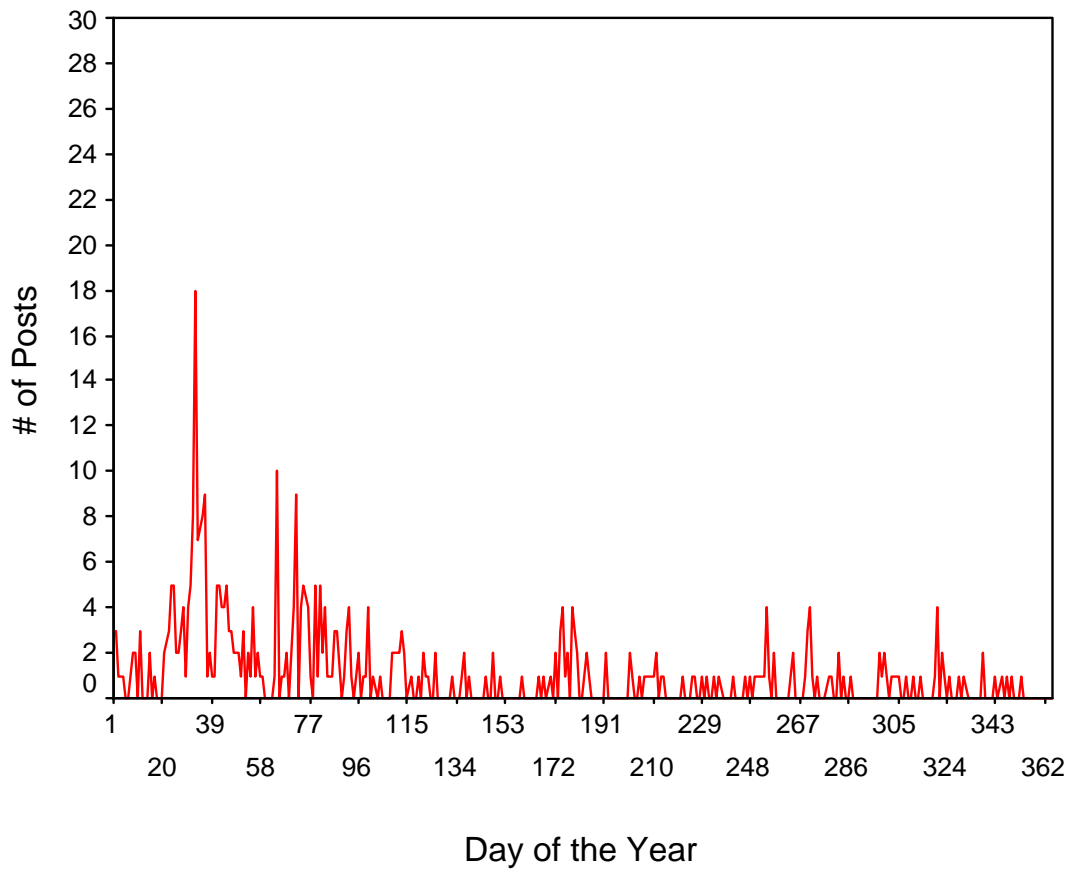

Day of the Year

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Figure 11.) # of Anti-Globalization Related posts Classified as Growth in the Ideological / Philosophical Discourse by Day

55
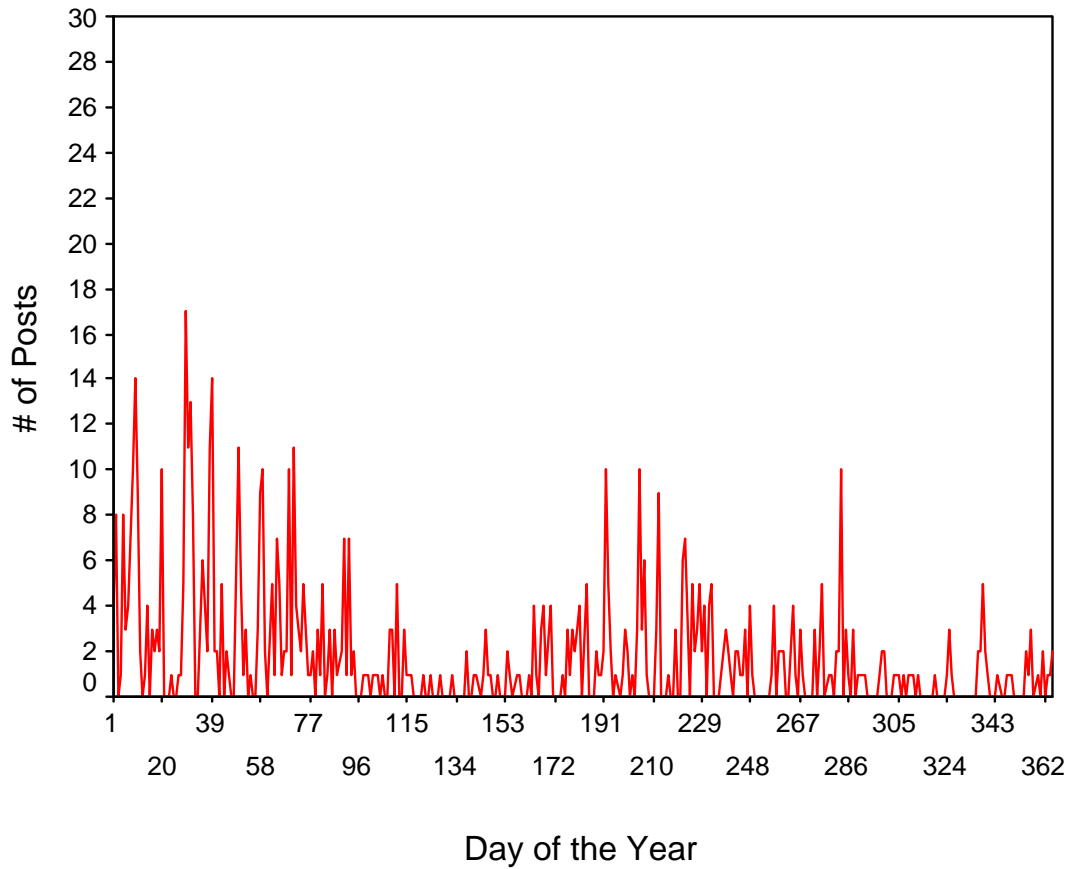
Figure 12.) # of Anti-Globalization Related posts Classified as Growth in the Criticism of Globalization, Neoliberalism of International Economic Institutions Discourse by Day.

Day of the Year

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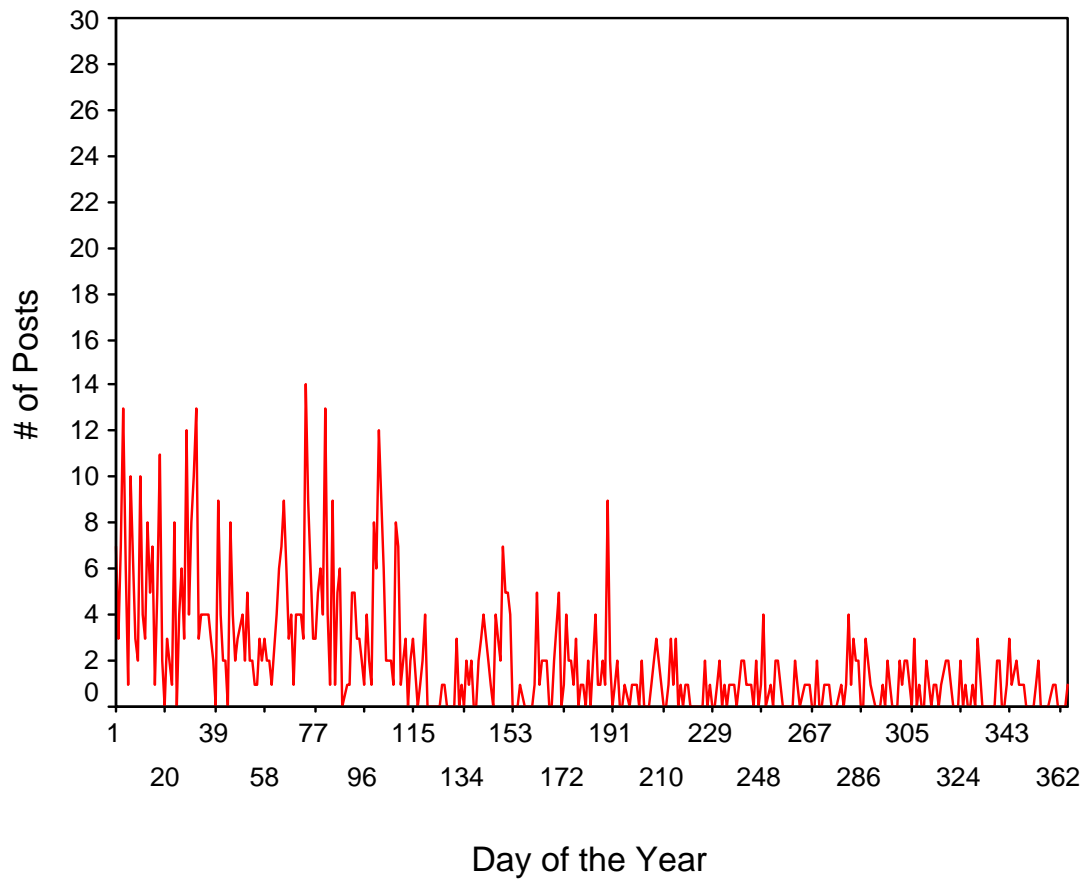
Figure 13.) # of Anti-Globalization Related posts Classified as Growth in the Introspection Related Discourse by Day

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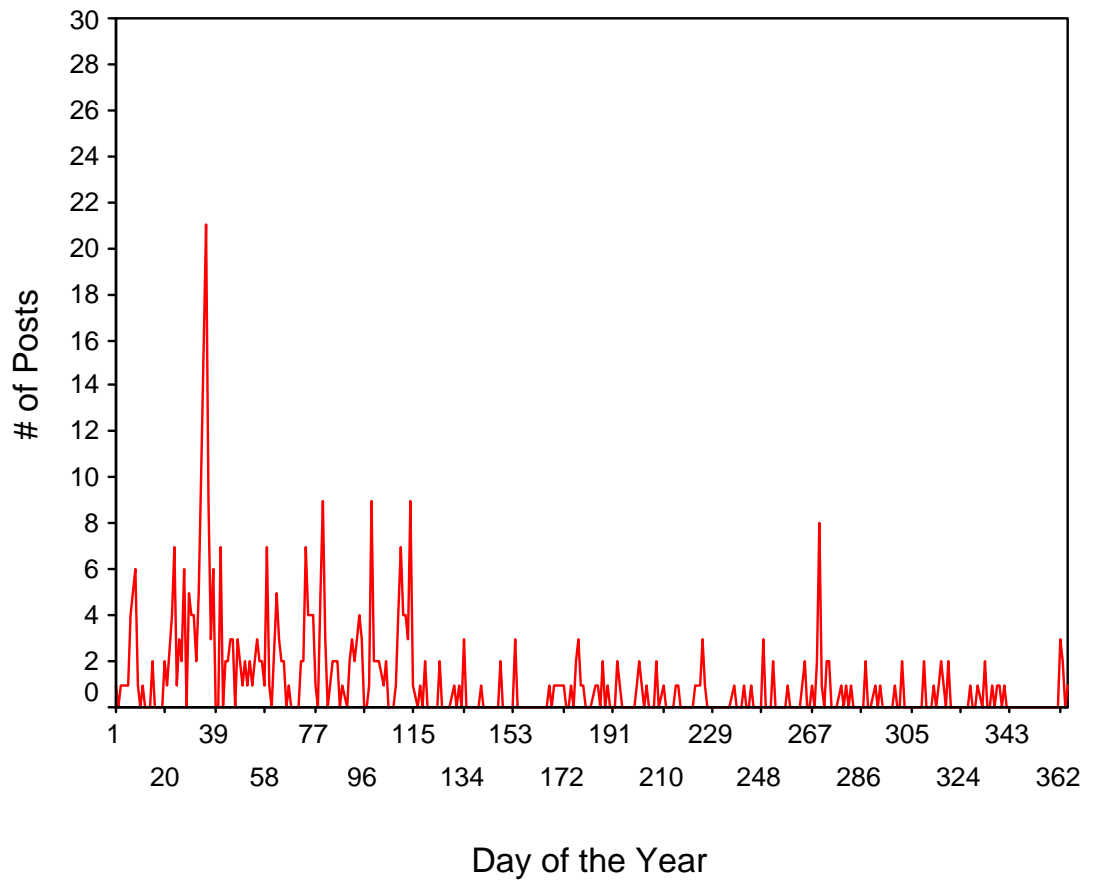
Figure 14.) # of Anti-Globalization Related posts Classified as Growth in Discussion of External Perspectives such as Media Coverage of the Movement by Day.

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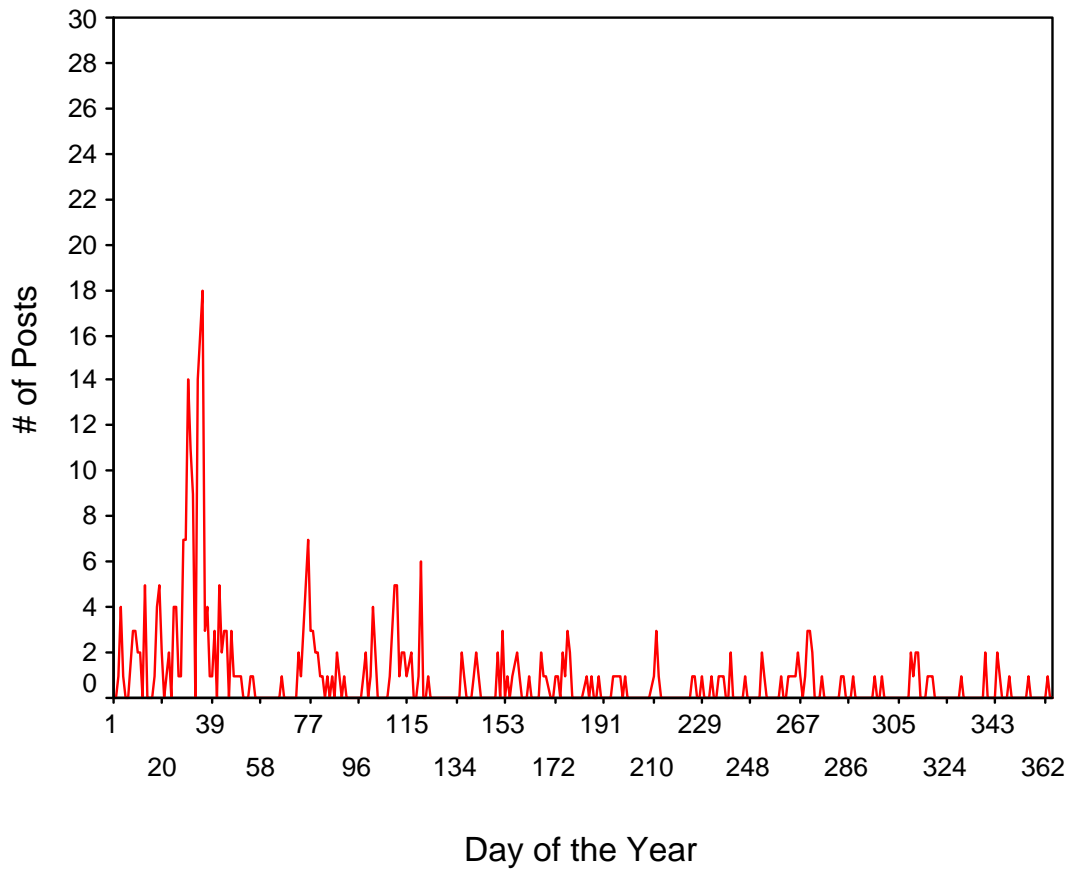
Figure 15.) # of Anti-Globalization Related posts Classified as Growth in the Analysis of Goals or Tactics for the Movement by Day.

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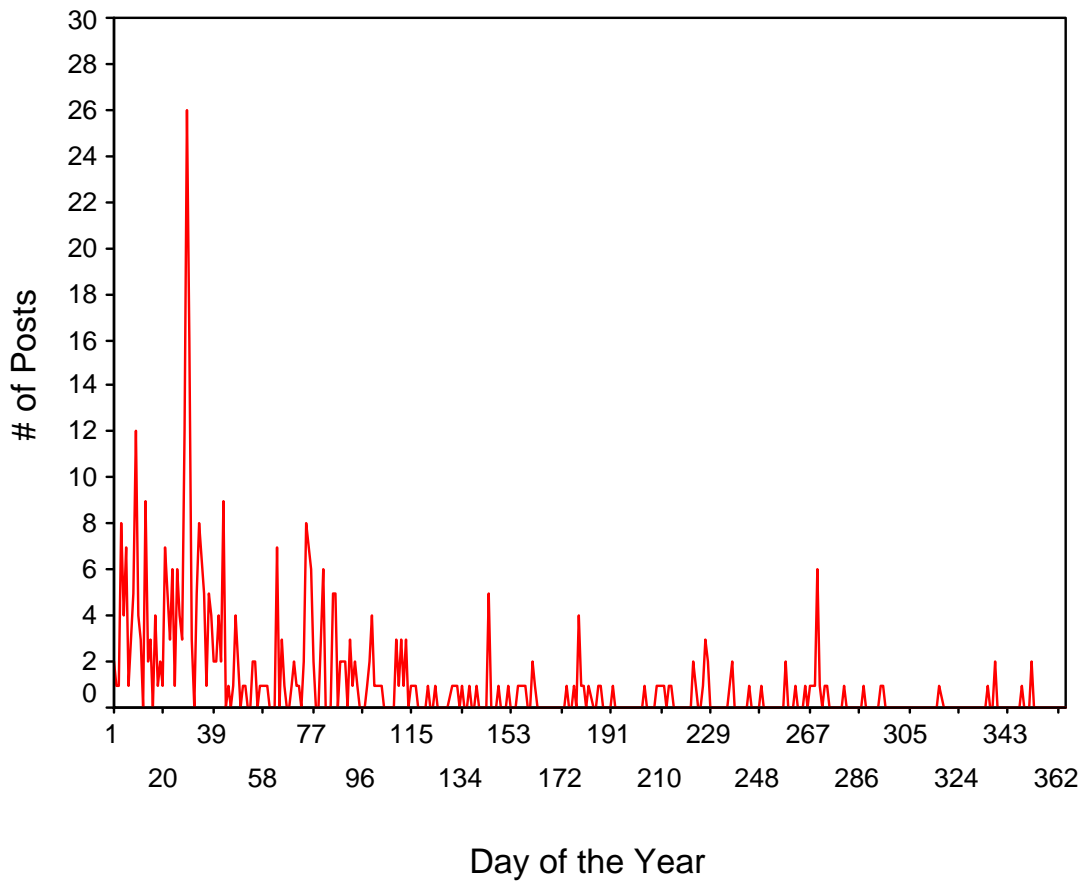
Figure 16.) # of Anti-Globalization Related Posts Classified as Growth in the Formation of Linkages or Expressions of Solidarity with Groups Sharing Similar Goals by Day.

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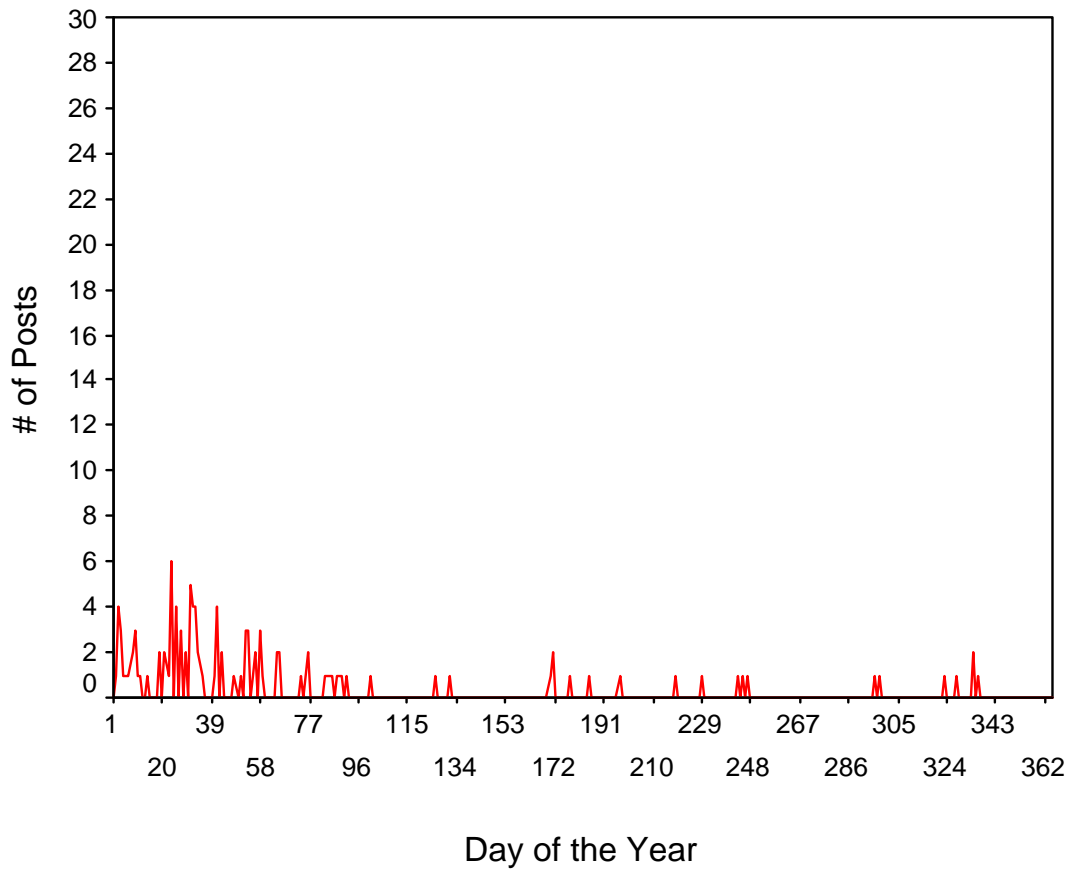
Figure 17.) # of Anti-Globalization Related posts Classified as Specific Calls to Action by Day.

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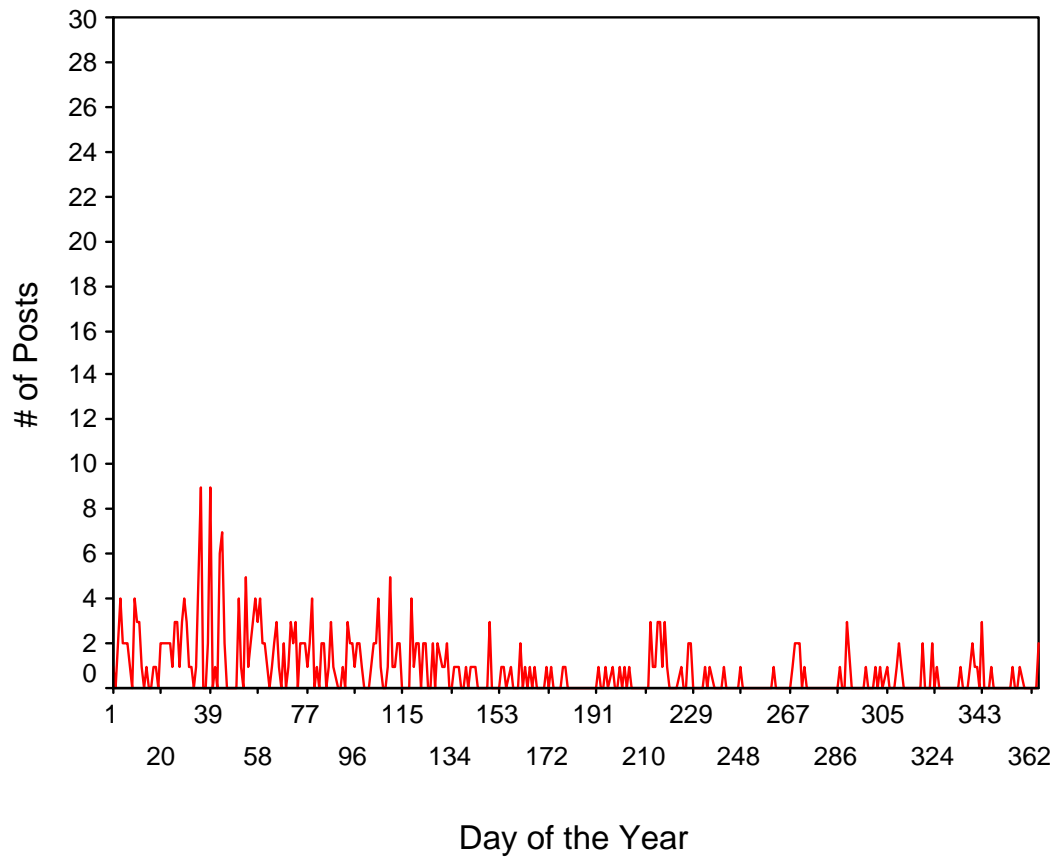
Figure 18.) # of Anti-Globalization Related posts Classified as Growth in the Creation or Distribution of Materials, Information or Resources to Aid or Direct Actions against Globalization by Day.

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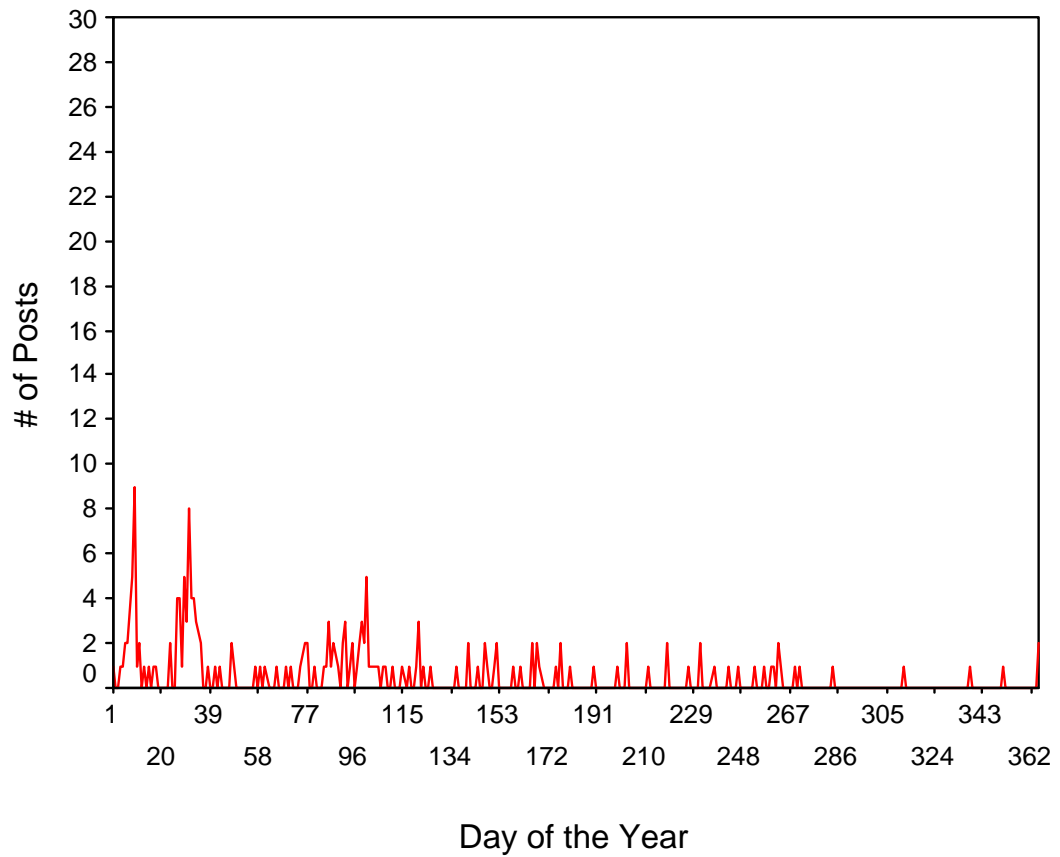
Figure 19.) # of Anti-Globalization Related posts Classified as Growth in the Expression of Intent to Engage in Actions or Events against Globalization by Day.

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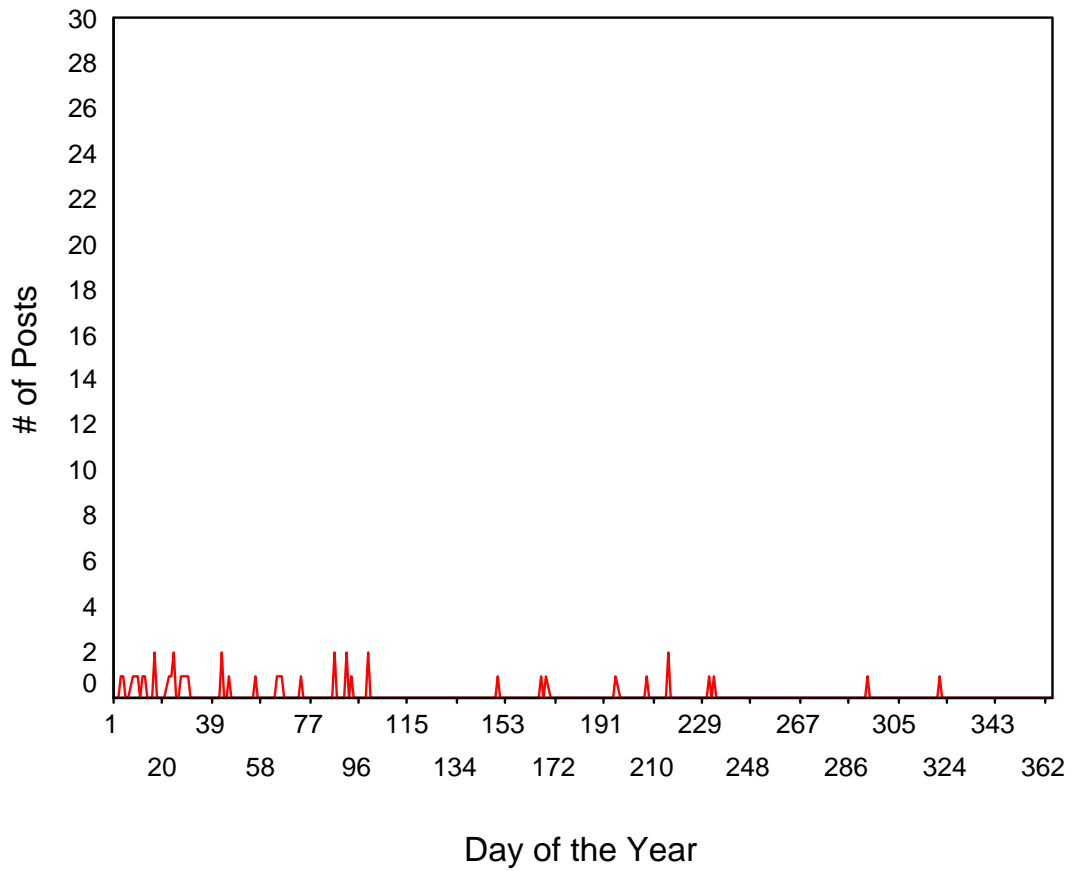
Figure 20.) # of Anti-Globalization Related posts Classified as Growth in the Incidence of Protests or Actions against Globalization by Day.
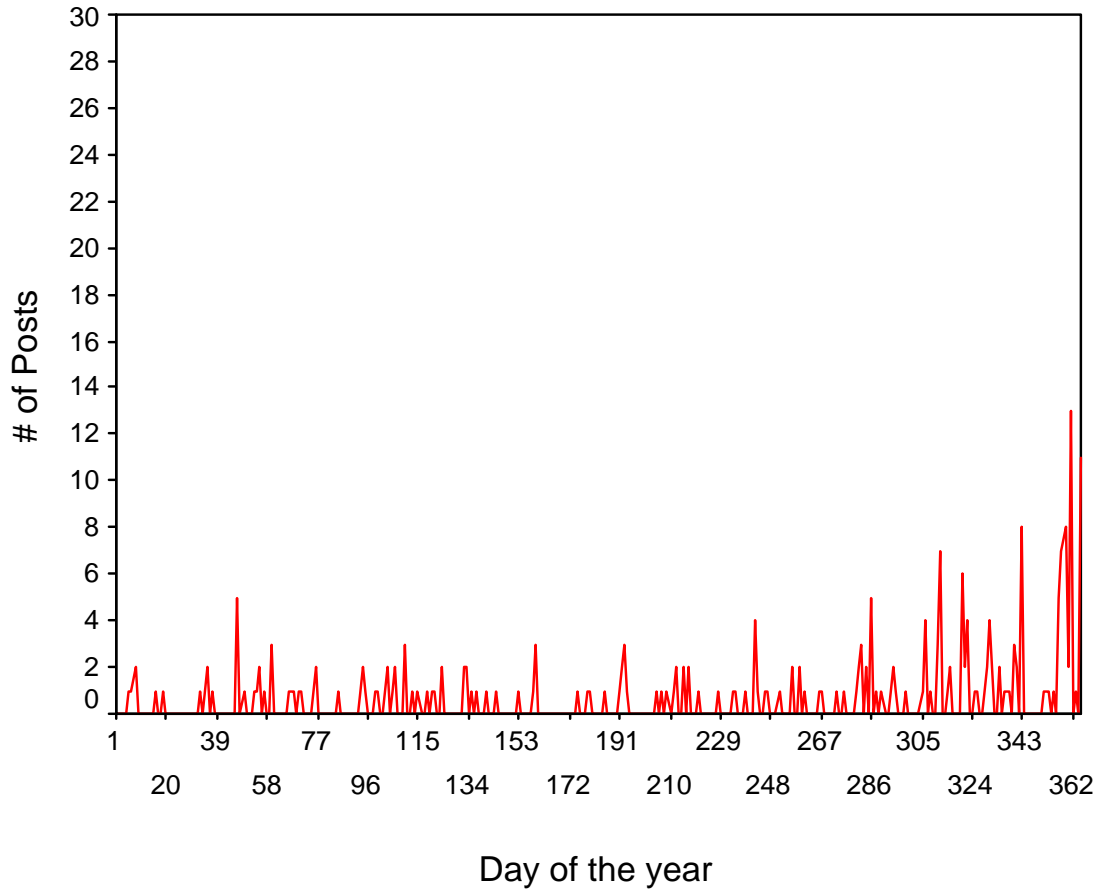
While each of these trends is interesting in their own, the culmination of the trends into an overall picture of total postings to the website is possibly more interesting and provides a different perceptive. Furthermore, by taking these trends and combining them into the two classificatory schemes of "discourse" and "action", a wider picture of the types of behaviors and activities of the anti-globalization movement through Indymedia is achieved. The following charts adequately represent this.

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Figure 21.) % of Discourse Related Relevant Posts in 2002 by Classification Code
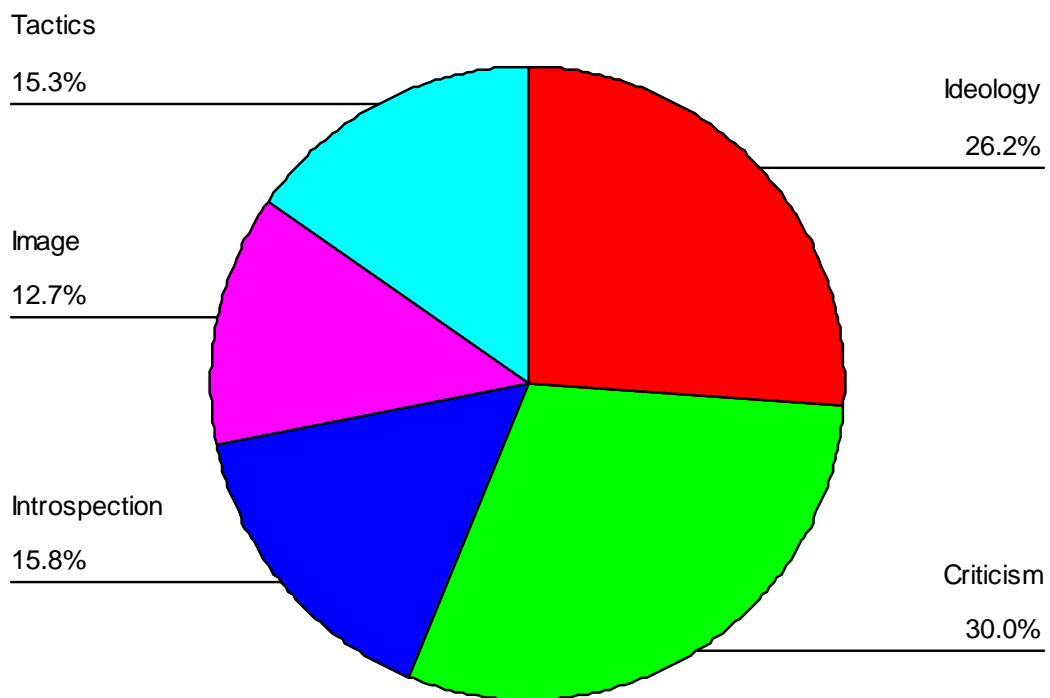
Tactics
15.3%

Image
12.7%

Introspection
15.8%

Ideology
26.2%

Criticism
30.0%

* For a More Detailed Breakdown of Each of these Categories, See Figure 3 within this Chapter.

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Figure 22.) % of Action Related Relevant Posts in 2002 by Classification Code
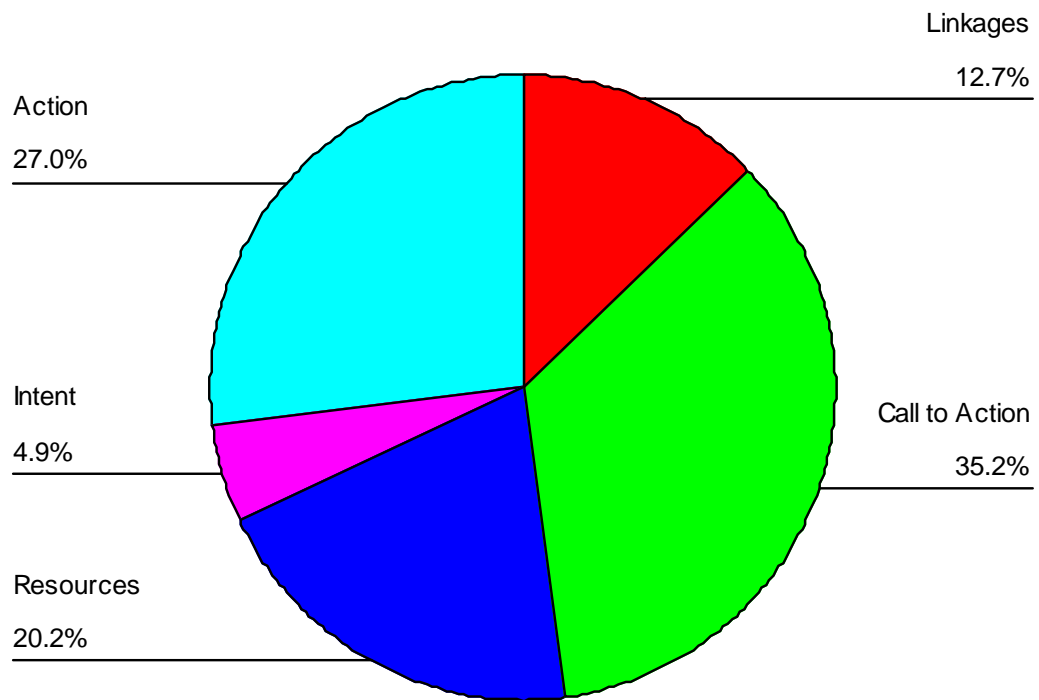
Linkages

12.7%

Action

27.0%

Intent

4.9%

Call to Action

35.2%

Resources

20.2%

* For a More Detailed Breakdown of Each of these Categories, See Figure 3 within this Chapter.

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Figure 23.) % of Relevant Posts in 2002 by Dimension

Action Related

20.6%

Discourse Related

79.4%
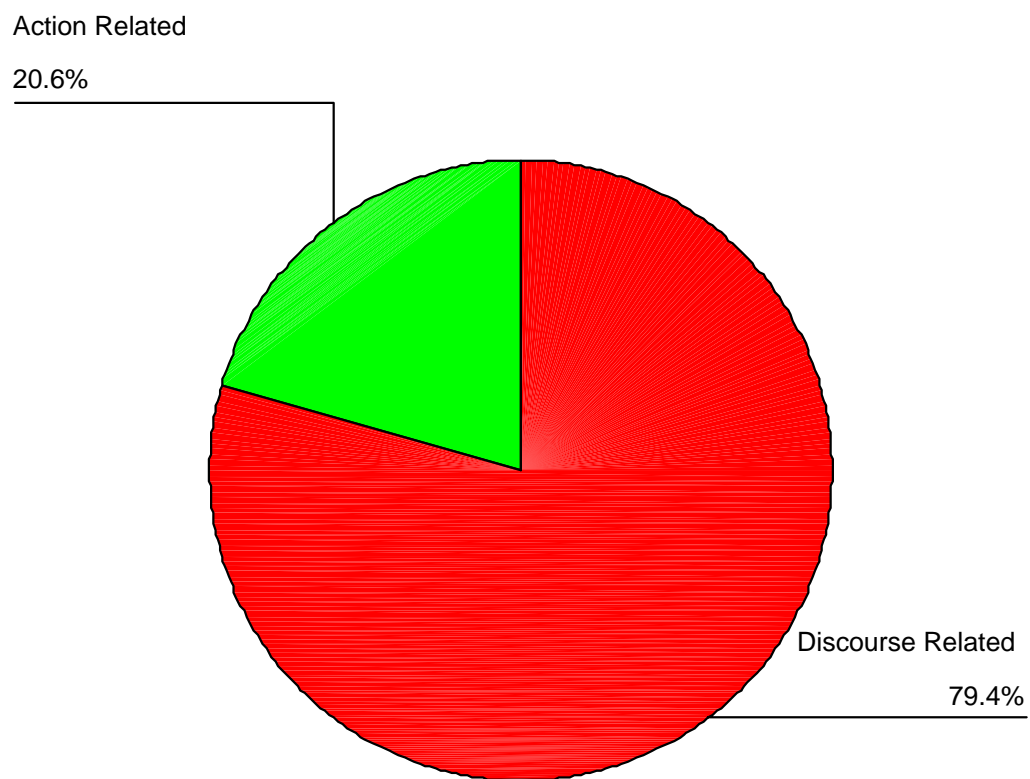
*Each Category within this Pie Chart was compiled using the Content Analysis Coding Scale identified in Figure 3 of this Chapter.

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Figure 24.) # of Anti-Globalization Movement Related Posts to Indymedia by Categories of Growth in the Anti-Globalization Movement.

Measure of Movement Growth on a Scale of 1-10
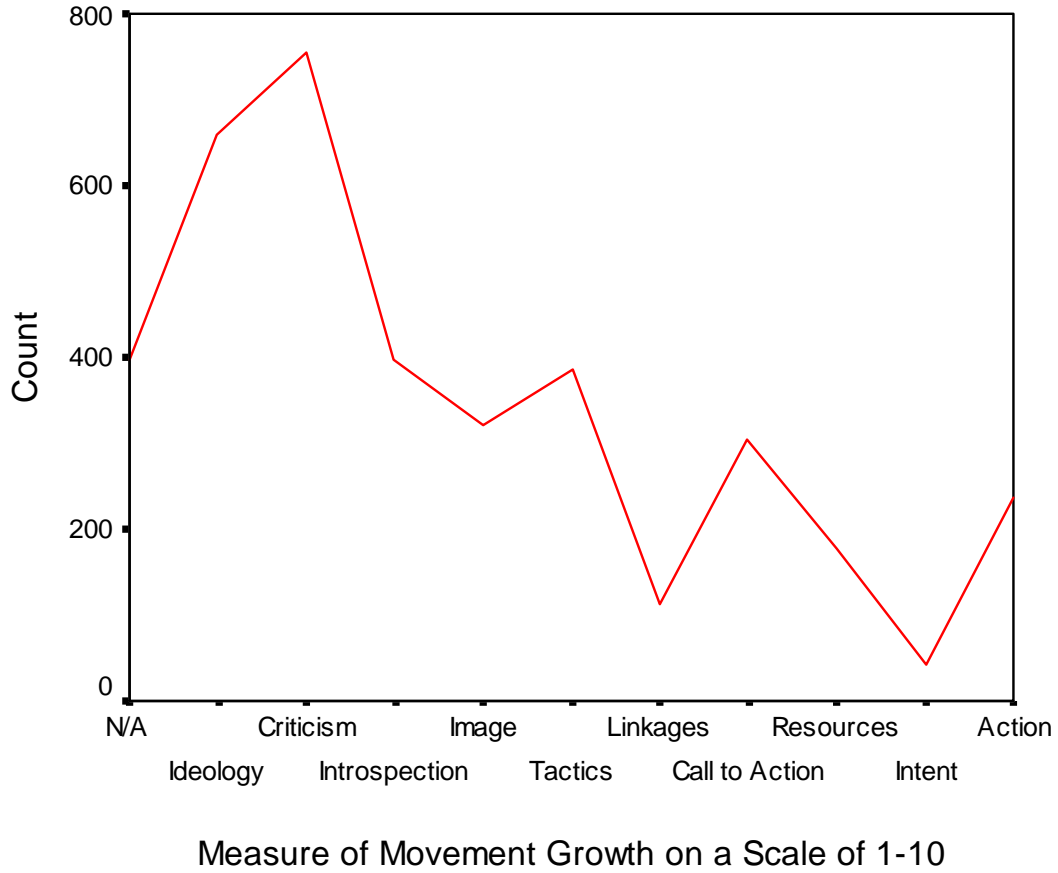
Having a general understanding of the trends which exist within the independent and dependent variables, we will now turn to the central objective of this thesis, examining whether a relationship exists between the independent and dependent variables, if so, its direction, magnitude, significance, and whether the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable is causal.

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Relationship Testing

Does a relationship exist between the independent variable and the dependent variable? To answer this question, I first set out to see if I could disprove the opposite, known as the null hypothesis, which asserts that no relationship exists between the public awareness of the anti-globalization movement and its growth. In order to determine whether a relationship exists, and given that the two variables operationalized in this thesis are ratio and ordinal level variables, a regression analysis was necessary to determine whether it was possible to disprove the null hypothesis. Regression is a standard statistical procedure used to explore relationships and test hypotheses. It also provides a statistics known as statistical significance which identifies whether any relationship observed is significant or insignificant.

Using SPSS, I conducted 4 linear regression analyses using the independent variables "ProtestB", "Protest1", "Protest3", and "Protest5" with the dependent variable "DVCode." A detailed explanation of what each of these variables measures, and their description, please consult Appendix A. The results of these regression analyses are listed in the following pages.

Figure 25.) Results of the Regression Analysis between Public Awareness by Date of Event Covered and Movement Growth

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.002[a]	.000	.000	2.865

a. Predictors: (Constant), Measure of Public Awareness by Date of Event

ANOVA[b]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.119	1	.119	.015	.904[a]
	Residual	31103.241	3790	8.207		
	Total	31103.360	3791			

a. Predictors: (Constant), Measure of Public Awareness by Date of Event

b. Dependent Variable: Measure of Movement Growth on a Scale of 1-10

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	3.574	.055		65.538	.000
	Measure of Public Awareness by Date of Event	5.655E-03	.047	.002	.121	.904

a. Dependent Variable: Measure of Movement Growth on a Scale of 1-10

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Figure 26.) Results of the Regression Analysis between Public Awareness by Date of Event Covered Plus 1 Day and Movement Growth.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.002[a]	.000	.000	2.865

a. Predictors: (Constant), Measure of Public Awareness 1 Day After Event

ANOVA[b]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.185	1	.185	.022	.881[a]
	Residual	31103.176	3790	8.207		
	Total	31103.360	3791			

a. Predictors: (Constant), Measure of Public Awareness 1 Day After Event

b. Dependent Variable: Measure of Movement Growth on a Scale of 1-10

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	3.582	.055		64.966	.000
	Measure of Public Awareness 1 Day After Event	-6.86E-03	.046	-.002	-.150	.881

a. Dependent Variable: Measure of Movement Growth on a Scale of 1-10

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Figure 27.) Results of the Regression Analysis between Public Awareness by Date of Event Covered Plus 3 Days and Movement Growth.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.011[a]	.000	.000	2.865

a. Predictors: (Constant), Measure of Public Awareness 3 Days After Event

ANOVA[b]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	3.731	1	3.731	.455	.500[a]
	Residual	31099.630	3790	8.206		
	Total	31103.360	3791			

a. Predictors: (Constant), Measure of Public Awareness 3 Days After Event

b. Dependent Variable: Measure of Movement Growth on a Scale of 1-10

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3.558	.055		64.805	.000
	Measure of Public Awareness 3 Days After Event	3.076E-02	.046	.011	.674	.500

a. Dependent Variable: Measure of Movement Growth on a Scale of 1-10

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Figure 28.) Results of the Regression Analysis between Public Awareness by Date of Event Covered Plus 5 Days and Movement Growth.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.008[a]	.000	.000	2.865

a. Predictors: (Constant), Measure of Public Awareness 5 Days After Event

ANOVA[b]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	2.031	1	2.031	.247	.619[a]
	Residual	31101.330	3790	8.206		
	Total	31103.360	3791			

a. Predictors: (Constant), Measure of Public Awareness 5 Days After Event

b. Dependent Variable: Measure of Movement Growth on a Scale of 1-10

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	3.563	.054		65.645	.000
	Measure of Public Awareness 5 Days After Event	2.309E-02	.046	.008	.497	.619

a. Dependent Variable: Measure of Movement Growth on a Scale of 1-10

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Examining the beta scores, which indicate the slope of the regression line generated in each of the regressions performed, and utilizing the correlation statistics of Pearson's R and R squared, I was able to determine whether any relationship existed between the independent variable and the dependent variable, and in the process, test the null hypothesis. In all of the regressions, there are positive but highly insignificant relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variables. This is evidence by the positive but very low Pearson's R scores in each of the summaries listed above and the statistical significance scores which hover very far from acceptable levels such as 0.005 or 0.010. Accordingly, it is not possible to reject the null hypothesis that no relationship exists between the independent and dependent variable.

Summary of Research Findings

This thesis set out to test the hypothesis that increasing public awareness of the anti-globalization movement fuels its subsequent growth. It tested this relationship by conducting a regression analysis of the measures of the independent and dependent variables and concluded that it was not possible to reject the null hypothesis and assert a relationship between the two variables.

Chapter Four: Analysis

Synopsis

As indicated by the results of the linear correlations performed on the measures of the independent and dependent variables, it has not been possible to disprove the null hypothesis in this thesis. Given this, this thesis is led to the cautious conclusion that no evidence has been created to support to the central hypotheses that increasing public awareness of the anti-globalization movement fuels its growth. This is by no means an assertion that there is no relationship between the two variables in reality. Instead it is an assertion that given the methodology employed and the observed values of those measures gathered, it is not possible to say definitively that any relationship exists.

Despite the inability to disprove the null hypothesis and assert a relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable, we can learn from the methodology that was used in the process of measuring the independent and dependent variables and apply these lessons toward better understanding the reasons why this thesis could not identify a relationship between the two variables.

This chapter starts off by examining the issues identified to exist within the conceptualization of key variables utilized, organized topically. It then moves into specific methodological problems in the measures of the independent and dependent variables with a section on suggested improvements to the methodology to correct these problems. Finally, it seeks to identify the relevance that this research has to the larger

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fields of transnational collective action and international relations with a call for further research into key areas.

Conceptualization of Public Awareness Issue

In retrospect, the conceptualization of several key variables has been problematic in this thesis. First and foremost has been the usage of the concept of public awareness. This thesis has examined public awareness as the ultimate determinant of public support for a social movement, disregarding the form that public awareness takes in public opinion. While public awareness of the anti-globalization movement is important, public opinion of the anti-globalization movement is far more relevant to understanding movement growth. Public opinion can also be positive or negative and the impact that it has on the anti-globalization movement is the real issue. Public awareness in itself is meaningless without taking into account the form such awareness takes. It is important to take into account whether a person became aware of the movement through favorable or unfavorable media coverage. In either of these situations, public awareness would have increased but the impact on movement growth would be substantially different.

This could have been rectified through a better construction of the methodology and a reformulation of the central hypothesis. In examining the impact of media stories on the movement's growth, the methodology disregards the tone and intent of those media stories. News media stories are far from unbiased and often reflect the opinions of the writers, or others. In order to determine the impact that these stories have on public awareness and any subsequent growth in the movement, it is necessary to consider whether a news story reflects favorably on the movement or is critical of it. In examining the methodology employed within this thesis, it is evident that the measure of public

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awareness employed prohibited just such an attempt but it should not be rule out in future attempts.

A further issue with the conceptualization of public awareness is the validity of the use of print sources as effective measures of public awareness. While historically, print media sources have been a dominant means of public awareness, there are a much wider range of media sources competing with print sources such as television and radio. With such a change, the reliance on print media sources as the primary means of public awareness has certainly declined. The methodology employed in this thesis took a sample of multiple print sources including some internet based sources and this is a step in the right direction but a more effective methodology that seeks to measure public opinion of the movement would incorporate an analysis of television media in its construction.

Conceptualization of the Local and Transnational Issue

A second critical conceptualization issue lies within the anti-globalization movement itself. The anti-globalization movement is certainly global but the manner by which this global character manifests itself is in question. In examining the movement's activities through Indymedia, it is evident that the large majority of the anti-globalization movement is organized domestically or locally in response to global influences. The current conceptualization of the movement treats the anti-globalization movement as a homogenous global entity when it may be far from it. This is not to say that the anti-globalization movement is not global but rather that the definition of global used to define it in this thesis needs to be reinterpreted. Rather than understand the movement as a centralized structure with global reach (top down), it is probably best understood as a

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decentralized structure, loosely connected, that responds to global influences with similarly shared objectives, tactics, and concerns (bottom up.) Instead of the organizational structure defining the transnational nature of the movement it is rather the response to transnational influences that defines its transnational nature.

This issue of local primacy in the anti-globalization movement has therefore caused a methodological problem with the construction of this thesis and calls into question the measure of the growth of the movement through the "global" webpage of Indymedia. Given the nature of the anti-globalization movement's response to transnational influences to be manifested locally, an examination of the top down aspects of the anti-globalization movement misses the mark. A better measure of the movement's growth could have been achieved through localizing the focus of study to Indymedia's subordinate local collectives rather than focusing attention solely on the global webpage. While this change to the methodology is technically possible, it is highly difficult given the wide range of languages, server locations, database administrators, and amounts of data available throughout the range of Indymedia's local collectives in the world.

The Digital Divide

In reading through each of the postings to the Indymedia global webpage, it is impossible to disregard the fact that the vast majority are related to primarily U.S. political issues. While this questions the global nature of the webpage and its usefulness as a measure of the growth of the anti-globalization movement, it also brings up the topic of what has come to be known as the "digital divide." The digital divide is the inequality in both access to and usage of technological advances such as computers and the internet

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across the globe. Many parts of the world are without internet access, telephone service or many of the advances the modern world takes for granted. Given such a technological disparity and its evident appearance in the mobilization of the anti-globalization movement, several of the assumptions guiding the central hypothesis, such as the ubiquity of technology in transnational movements are called into question.

Even if the utility of technological advances is taken for granted, the forms which it takes is not addressed within this thesis. This thesis assumed that the internet was the primary form of technology that would be utilized in the anti-globalization movement and did not take into account other forms of technology or media such as cellular phones, pagers, or other devices. Given the nature of the anti-globalization movement to be primarily located within lesser developed countries in the world, this technological disparity calls into question the usefulness of the internet and web based resources as effective analytic sites for measuring the anti-globalization movement.

Methodological Problems with the Independent Variable

In this thesis, the means of measuring the independent variable was the reliance on the results of a database of protest events of the anti-globalization movement that had been derived from a content analysis of print media stories that covered said protests. The nature of this database employed as it was, could have adversely impacted the measure of the independent variable to such an extent that it was not a viable measure of the intended variable. In condensing a wide range of print media coverage of an event down to a single digit, representing the coverage of that event, the measure does not do justice to the magnitude of coverage given to that event. A story about an anti-globalization protest in a small village that was covered by one newspaper is essentially

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on par with a large anti-globalization protest in a developed country covered by a broad range of multiple media outlets.

In addition, by measuring the impact of the independent variable in this manner, it does not take into account geographic limitations which prevent the independent variable from influencing people and instead assumes that the influence has taken place if the event occurred. While ideally, a print media story would ultimately reach the eyes and ears of all people of the world through word of mouth or other means, it is just not the case and to assume otherwise severely degrades the quality of any attempt at actually determining if the two variables do have any relationship in reality

The means by which the methodology employed attempted to correct for the temporal variation in the application of the influences of the independent variable was too general as well. Media stories do not come out like clockwork at a certain time frame after an event or occurrence in the world. Some writers produce stories a day after an event, another publishes over the internet immediately. While the measures of the independent variable attempted to correct for this, it did not rely on any known standard or mean as a point of reference which could have potentially offered a standardized production time and better narrowed the influence of the variable considerably.

Finally, the measure of the independent variable assumes primarily that public awareness of the anti-globalization movement occurs through the global media. It discounts other means by which people become aware of the movement such as word of mouth, underground literature, books, and first hand experience.

Methodological Problems with the Dependent Variable

The reliability of the measure of the dependent variable is clearly called into

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question when we consider the percentage of the total posts to the Indymedia website that are anti-globalization related. The primary reason that the Indymedia website was chosen for content analysis was due to its history and reputation of being a viable and utilized medium of communication by members of the anti-globalization movement. Given that such a very low percentage of the site's participating traffic is related to the anti-globalization movement, it is suspect to continue believing that it is indicative of any measure of the growth in the anti-globalization movement based upon the content of its postings.

Another possible problem with the operationalization of the dependent variable was the coding system that was employed to measure the gradations in the growth of the anti-globalization movement. Initially, the categorizations appeared to be effective measures of the growth of any social movement along fairly straightforward and ideal dimensions. In application, the classification system was not so cut and dry. In many situations, it was difficult to classify a variable according to a single code. In addition, there is no way of knowing whether the measures that were presumed to measure the growth of the movement based upon the content of an internet posting actually did.

Recommendations for Improving the Methodology

In light of the results of this thesis and the potential causes for the lack of an identified relationship outlined above, several recommendations come to mind as possible improvement or additions to the methodology in this thesis. If this methodology was to be utilized again in the future, it is highly recommended that instead of aggregating print media stories into the number of protests globally, that the number of print media stories be used as a more effective measure of the independent variable and

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that their positive or negative tone be taken into account when examining their impact on public opinion rather than on public opinion in general. In this manner, a greater coverage of the anti-globalization movement is achieved and consequently, there is a greater chance that the trends expected to exist within the independent variable would be measured. This would help to counteract the problems with the delayed onset of the influence of the independent variable that was problematic in this thesis and required the creation of separate independent variables. It would also take into account the role of the media in framing issues and portraying the movement in certain lights.

As to the methodological limitations of the dependent variable, I have thought at length about improvements to its measure. In the future, I would recommend that more research be done into the characteristics of social movement growth. A more refined classification system for the dependent variable should be developed that takes better account of the growth in the movement. My current methodology was based upon my own personal judgment of what behaviors constituted growth in a social movement as well as their rankings relative to one another. In some situations, there was overlap between categories and in general, the coding system was not based upon on a recognized scale of movement growth that could be referenced. Effort should definitely be made toward ensuring categories are more mutually exclusive and effectively measure the variable.

Initial results call into question the reliability of Indymedia as an effective repository of documentation related to the activities and growth of the anti-globalization movement. This limitation may be a product of other influences during the time frame witnessed. As mentioned briefly in previous chapters, the Indymedia website underwent

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a dramatic format change in the first quarter of the year and this could have potentially impacted the measure of the dependent variable by dissuading members of the anti-globalization movement from utilizing its services. Furthermore, the main webpage is primarily written in English and is used heavily by North American internet users. If the trends identified to exist in the movement by Dr. Podobnik, specifically that the movement is more active in underdeveloped countries, then utilizing the main "global" page may not be most conducive to examining the relationship between the independent and dependent variable. Perhaps by identifying a single collective in a specific geographic region and limiting the scope of the study to just that geographic region, a better measure of the relationship between the two variables could be gained. This could potentially be supplemented by narrowing the scope of media source to just those accessible by members of the movement within those geographic boundaries. Another possibility is to expand the scope of the measure of the dependent variable and attempt to measure the growth of the movement across all collectives of the Indymedia network This latter option seems cost prohibitive given the language, technical and geographic barriers that would make such an endeavor difficult.

As hard as it is to say it, it is probably best that any future attempts at measuring the impact of public awareness on the growth of a social movement be abandoned as they do not get to the roots of what is really important and the results of such an attempt are confusing at best. Clearly, what is important in the study of public awareness is truly public opinion. If research examined the role of the media on public opinion and its impact on the growth of the anti-globalization movement, the larger question of the role of the media on the growth of social movements could be addressed and that, in my

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opinion is what is truly important in understanding the reasons for the growth in social movements.

Taking the conceptualization issues into account, an effective attempt at measuring the roles of media coverage on public opinion and its role on the growth of the anti-globalization movement, should adopt a multi-method approach. While statistical analysis is certainly an effective method of analyzing variables and the relationships between them, it is often an ends to a means rather than the means itself. In the future, a survey that measured the opinions of readers of media stories that were critical and favorable of the anti-globalization movement to determine their resultant opinions of the movements and their likelihood of joining or supporting them could be employed. This survey could be used in conjunction with survey research into the reasons members of the anti-globalization movement became members and the role that the media had on influencing their opinions of the movement.

Relevance to Transnational Collective Action and International Relations

As no relationship was observed to exist between the two variables, no evidence can be given to support the assertion that increased public awareness of the anti-globalization movement affects its growth. As a result, the methodological assumptions made in attempting to measure these variables have more relevance for these two fields than the results of the thesis do.

Implicit in the methodology was the assumption that a transnational advocacy network, Indymedia, was used by the anti-globalization movement as a means of facilitating its growth and communications. It was a unique proposition that a transnational advocacy network could utilize the internet and act as a political

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opportunity for the expansion and growth of a transnational social movement. Whereas the reliability of the measures of growth in the interactions/posts was suspect, the possibility of using the relationships between transnational actors for insight into each other should not be discounted. While the end results may prove this assertion wrong, it is worth attempting again out of the sheer fact that it was not proven to be a total failure.

Recommendations for Future Research

As the null hypothesis was not disproved in this thesis, and potentially critical methodological issues may have been at work, it is clear that future research which attempts to ascertain whether public awareness of the anti-globalization movement, or any social movement for that matter, affects its growth should not be conducted. Efforts should instead be made to examine the impact of the media on public opinion and its effect on the growth of the anti-globalization movement. .

Given the rudimentary analysis of the Independent Media Center that has been performed herein, I think it is best to call for further study of this transnational advocacy network in particular, if only for determining the influence that internal or external variables have had on the network. Has Indymedia ever been representative of the movement? If so, what caused the network to no longer be representative? What affect have previous and subsequent format changes had on the anti-globalization movement, if any? These questions could all be interesting avenues to explore.

Further examination of the interrelationships between transnational collective actors is also warranted. Do transnational actors cooperate on a regular basis or are these cooperative behaviors only opportunistic? Are there situations where transnational collective actors exhibit competitive behaviors with one another? This is especially

interesting in light of the advent of the social movement society discussed by Meyer and Tarrow.

Given the digital divide witnessed to exist, and the political opportunity that technology represents for many social movements, what is the role that the decreasing costs of technology has on the political opportunities available to transnational collective actors? Do the numbers of successful transnational actors increase with increasing advances in / decreasing costs of technology or are they countered by the adoption of technology by other actors in the world system including the state, the media, and inter-governmental bodies? Does this decreasing cost of technological advance serve to lessen the disparity within the digital divide or does it further enhance or maintain the inequity?

On the subject of globalization, are the political opportunities brought about by globalization uniform in nature or are they transient? In other words, do they permanently enhance the abilities of transnational actors or do they temporarily do so? Can we expect that as more transnational collective actors experience the benefits of the diffusion of technological advances by globalization, that their goals and objectives will be harder to achieve given intra-social movement competition and information overload on the part of their intended targets? Will we instead witness a consolidation of actors within the transnational collective actor sector to attempt to counteract such an (im) balance? Is this happening now and can it be measured? What are the implications of all of these possibilities for the sovereignty of the state in the world today given the increasing role that soft power is playing in the construction of global norms of state behavior?

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Appendices

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Appendix A: Variables Created in SPSS

DATE: Commonly Used Dates in MM/DD/YY format

DAY: Day of the Year, Not Periodic,
        Values: 1   January 1, 2002
                365   December 31, 2002

MONTH: Month of the Year, Not Periodic
        Values: 1   January
                2   February
                3   March
                4   April
                5   May
                6   June
                7   July
                8   August
                9   September
                10   October
                11   November
                12   December

PROTESTB: # AG Protests Covered by the Media by Day of Occurrence
            Measure of the Independent Variable

PROTEST1: # AG Protests Covered by the Media Adjusted One Day into the Future
            Measure of the Independent Variable

PROTEST3: # AG Protests Covered by the Media Adjusted 3 Days into the Future
            Measure of the Independent Variable

PROTEST5: # AG Protests Covered by the Media Adjusted 5 Days into the Future
            Measure of the Independent Variable

DVCODE: Measurement of Movement Growth along a Scale of 0-10
            Measure of the Dependent Variable

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