

Index

- age of globalization, characteristics, 1
- Almond, Gabriel, 37, 42, 44, 61, 136, 138–139, 140
- altruistic social movement engagement, rise in, 55
- American Citizen Participation Survey, 20
- anti-austerity movement
- as driver of development of politicized identities, 166
 - characteristics of participants, 6
 - feelings of detachment from political parties, 97
 - global justice movement
 - comparison, 169
 - influence, 57
 - relationship with, 57
 - global reach, 56
 - grievances, 56
 - old and new movements comparison, 18–19
 - post-financial crisis emergence, 55
 - potential for the development of a counter democracy, 58
 - redistributive focus, 6
 - role of coalitions, 58
- anti-immigrant discourse, 5, 167
- associational involvement
- active/passive membership
 - commitment levels for, 130
 - cross-national variation, 111–115
 - as recruitment channel
 - importance, 120
 - by country, 36
 - by country/issue/type of demonstrator, 112–114
 - cross-national variation
 - active/passive membership, 111–115
 - participation, 33
 - political parties' role, 115
 - cultural vs economic demonstrators, 116
 - influence on participation in
 - demonstrations, 111–117
 - levels of among participants in
 - demonstrations, 115
 - measuring, 34
 - occasional demonstrators vs activists, 116–117
 - voluntary associations, 34–35
- austerity, effect on social movements, della Porta's analysis, 167
- badges, wearing of, *see* wearing/displaying a badge/sticker
- “battle of Seattle”, 4
- Baumann, Zygmunt, 199
- being asked to participate
- as key recruitment channel, 105, 106–110
 - as motivation, 161
 - commitment levels
 - relationship with, 131
 - cross-national variation, 121–123
 - interpersonal networks
 - by country/issue/type of demonstrator, 122
 - logistic regression models, 125–126
 - occasional demonstrators vs activists, 124–127, 178
 - predictors of, 107
 - role of attitudinal variables, 127
 - role of sociodemographic variables, 127
- Belgium, *see also* cross-national variation
- evidence of normalization of protesters, 197
 - role of the labor movement, 12
 - tradition of street protest, 4

- “black bloc”, 4
- boundaries between issues and protesters,
 - breakdown of, 196–199
- boycotting/buycotting, *see* consumer activism
- broad-based coalitions, challenges for, 58
- campaign badges, wearing or displaying, *see*
 - wearing/displaying a badge/sticker
- campaigning for a cause, current
 - relevance, 33
- capitalism, driving processes, 2
- Catholic Church, legacy in Spain
 - and Italy, 15
- Caught in the Act of Protesting
 - Contextualizing Contestation (CCC project), 22
- Change.org, 91
- changing conditions of labor, 168–169
- civic voluntarism model, of political
 - participation, 106, 136
- class cleavage, salience, cross-national
 - variation, 13, 14
- class consciousness
 - and collective identity/action, 163, 164
 - Marxist tradition, 60
 - Marxist vs Leninist perspectives, 61
 - of the precariat, 57
 - relevance for radical participation
 - cross national variation, 67
- class identification, as predictor of
 - commitment to protest, 201
- cleavages, as drivers of social movements,
 - 12–13, 14
- cognition and affect
 - emotions, role of in the social movement
 - literature, 141–143
 - political alienation
 - likelihood of, 145–152
 - political attitudes and emotions
 - and commitment levels, 152–159
 - relationship to participation, 137–141
 - role of in demonstrations, 143–145
- cognition and affect, 135–159
- collective identity/action
 - as motivation to protest, 189
 - class consciousness and, 163, 164
 - dynamic dual pathway model of, 143
- commitment levels
 - and levels of engagement in institutional
 - activism, 98
 - class and occupational differences, 72–75
 - connection to perceptions of effectiveness,
 - 188
 - correlation of political attitudes and
 - emotions, 152–158
 - effect of party identification on, 102
 - gender differences, 72
 - generational differences, 72
 - ideological differences, 75
 - influence of attitudes and emotion
 - combined, 188
 - influence of motivation, 179–183
 - logistic regression models, 128–129,
 - 155–156, 180–182
 - measures of associational involvement and,
 - 130
 - relationship to recruitment channel, 131
 - role of feelings of identification, 189
 - role of political attitudes and emotions,
 - 152–158
 - role of “push” and “pull” factors, 124–32
 - role of rationality
 - culture, and structure, 194–196
 - sociodemographic context, 71–76
 - sociodemographic differences, 130–131
- Communist parties, identification with,
 - cross-national variation, 94
- competitive political space, Kitschelt’s
 - definition, 38
- consumer activism
 - cross-national variation, 51, 88, 104
 - cultural vs economic demonstrators,
 - 91–92
 - current relevance, 33
 - popularity as a political activity, 34
 - rise of, 79, 104
 - the concept, 34
- contacting a politician
 - cross-national variation in, 33, 87–88
 - cultural vs economic
 - demonstrators, 90
 - current relevance, 33
 - occasionals demonstrators vs activists, 93
- contentious politics
 - changing repertoires, 2, *see also* repertoires
 - of contention
 - demonstrations as archetypal form of, 32
 - literature on social movements and, 7–11
 - mobilization potential by country, 29–31
 - street demonstrations as modular and
 - normalized form of, 2–4
 - the most typical form of, 3

- contentious potential of European citizens, 27–51
 - associational involvement
 - by country, 36
 - voluntary associations, 34–35
 - democratic satisfaction by country, 45
 - immigration values by country, 41
 - internal political efficacy by country, 50
 - measuring levels of contentiousness, 27–34
 - political attitudes, 42–49
 - political interest by country, 43
 - political trust by country, 47–48
 - value orientations
 - by country, 39
 - cross-national variation, 37–40
- crisis of responsibility, 166
 - and the rise in extra-institutional participation, 79–81
 - linkage with protest, 187
- cross-national variation
 - associational involvement
 - active/passive membership, 111–115
 - participation, 33
 - political parties' role, 116
 - being asked to participate, 121–123
 - class cleavage
 - salience, 13, 14
 - consumer activism, 51, 104
 - contacting a politician, 33, 87–88
 - democratic satisfaction, 44, 149
 - donating money to a political cause, 88
 - extra-institutional activism, 88–89
 - feelings of political efficacy, 49, 150–152
 - generational differences in political participation, 65
 - mobilization channels
 - interpersonal networks, 121–123
 - online social networks, 117–120
 - organizational networks, 120
 - mobilizing structures, 111–117
 - motivations, 172–179
 - defending interests, 172–174
 - expressing views, 174
 - feelings of moral obligation, 174–175
 - partisanship
 - parties aligned with, 94–97
 - party attachment, 97
 - party identification
 - Communist parties, 94
 - Green parties, 95
 - Liberal parties, 95–96
 - Social-democratic/Center-left parties, 95
 - Socialist/New Left parties, 94
 - political trust, 149–150
 - protest traditions, 12
 - state openness, 14–15
 - unemployed
 - overrepresentation among protesters, 187
 - value orientations, 37–40
 - voting behaviour/turnout, 28, 84–87
 - working in an organization, 35
- cultural vs economic demonstrators
 - associational involvement, 116
 - commitment levels, 196
 - consumer activism, 91–92
 - contacting a politician, 90
 - democratic satisfaction, 149
 - differing micro-level dynamics, 198
 - donating money to a political cause, 90
 - emotions, 152
 - institutional activism, 89–93
 - interpersonal networks
 - patterns of influence, 120
 - media as mobilization channel, 120
 - mobilization channels
 - media, 120
 - online social networks, 124
 - mobilizing structures, 192
 - motivations, 177–78
 - online social networks, 120
 - partisanship, 96, 97
 - patterns of participation in institutional/extra-institutional activities, 89–93
 - petition signing, 91
 - role of education, 69
 - role of social class, 69
 - sociodemographic variations, 68–69
 - striking, 92
 - voting behaviour/turnout, 89–90
 - wearing/displaying a badge/sticker, 90
- defending interests, as motivation for protest,
 - cross-national variation, 172–174
- Della Porta, Donatella, 3–4, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 20, 21, 23, 53–58, 58, 59, 62, 66, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 97, 103, 104, 137, 166, 167, 168–169, 169, 189, 198, 199
- democratic satisfaction
 - by country, 45
 - cross-national variation, 44, 149
 - cultural vs economic demonstrators, 149
 - role of in voter turnout, 44, 138

- demonstrations, *see also* participation
 in demonstrations; protest; street demonstrations
 as archetypal form of contentious politics, 32
 context dependency of micromobilization, 11–15
 research into participants, 19–20
 role of in political change, 200
 surveying participants, 20–24
 treatment of in research, 17
 variation in style and substance, 17–18
- direct channels of recruitment, cross-national variation in importance, 117
- donating money to a political cause
 cross-national variation, 88
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 90
 occasional demonstrators vs activists, 93
- dynamic dual pathway model, of collective action, 143
- economic crisis
 and the changing conditions of labor, 168–169
 uneven bearing of the costs, 5
- economic crisis of 2008
 and the bringing about of new grievances, 6
 culprits and victims, 56
 drivers, 59, 60
 impact, 58, 59
 protests and movement as direct response to, 5
 role of in mobilization, 19, 32, 200–201
- economic liberalism, characteristics of the first wave, 59
- education
 cross-national variation, 65–66
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 69
 mobilizing impact, 3
 role of in political participation, 55
 role of in protest, 60, 79
 role of in recruitment, 127
- efficacy, feelings of political efficacy, *see* feelings of political efficacy
- emotions
 by country/issue/type of demonstrator, 154
 cross-national variation, 153
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 153
 occasional demonstrators vs activists, 153
 role of in the social movement literature, 141–143
- European citizens, contentious potential, *see* contentious potential of European citizens
- European Social Survey (ESS), use of in this book, 21, 22
- exploitation, working class awareness of, 60
- expressing views, as motivation for protest, cross-national variation, 174
- extra-institutional activism
 cross-national variation, 88–89
 occasional demonstrators vs activists, 93
 rise in participation, 79
- Facebook, 117, 124
- fascism, 15
- feelings of moral obligation, as motivation for protest, cross-national variation, 174–175
- feelings of political efficacy
 cross-national variation, 49, 150–152
 individual vs collective, 46
 internal political efficacy by country, 50
 internal vs external, 49, 139
 role of in political participation, 139–140
- free rider problem, 34, 169
- Gamson, William, 46, 107–108, 137, 139–140, 157, 159, 163–164
- gender, *see also* sociodemographic context and mobilization channels, 127
 commitment levels, 72
 cross-national variation, 65
 occasional demonstrators vs activists, 69
- general population surveys, advantages and disadvantages of using survey data from, 21
- generational differences in political participation, cross-national variation, 65
- Giugni, Marco, 4, 5–6, 9, 13, 14, 17–18, 19, 21, 23, 46, 53, 58, 77, 80, 83, 107, 109–110, 130, 137, 140, 168, 190, 191–192, 193, 198
- global justice movement
 and the potential for coalitions, 58
 anti-austerity movement
 comparison with, 169
 influence, 57
 relationship, 57
 birth of the movement, 4
 defined, 4
 influence on Italy and Spain, 12
 rise of and aims, 169
- globalization, protesting in the age of, 4–7
- Goldstone, Jack, 9, 17, 84, 199

Index

235

- Goodwin, Jeff, 10, 13, 16, 53, 56, 141–144, 196, 198
- Grasso, Maria, 4, 5–6, 9, 12, 18, 21, 23, 35, 42, 53, 60, 65, 70, 77, 87, 109, 111, 137, 145–146, 168, 191, 198, 200
- Great Recession, 5, 58, 166
- Green parties, identification with, cross-national variation, 95
- grievances, as ultimate motivation to get involved in protest politics, 194
- group or party activities
 cross-national variation, 33, 35
 examples of, 33
- identity, *see also* collective identity/action
 as motivation to protest, 164–169, 189
 the concept of, 165
- ideology
 as fundamental component of political commitment, 98
 as predictor of participation in social movements, 61
 general understanding of, 61
- immigration
 values on by country, 41
 views on
 cross-national variation, 40
 influence of value orientation, 40
- Indignados* movement, 5, 32, 56, 117, 121, 174–175
- inequality
 as driver of collective action, 55, 56, 62, 198
 as incentive for free-market competition, 37
 drivers of, 61
 rise of, 58–59
- Inglehart, Ronald, 17, 37, 78, 79–80, 87, 91, 103, 111, 116, 140
- institutional activism
 cross-national variation, 84–88
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 89–93
 levels of engagement and commitment levels, 98
- institutional legitimacy, role of political trust in understanding, 44
- institutional politics
 bridging the literature on protest politics and electoral behavior, 81–84
 crisis of responsibility
 and the rise in extra-institutional participation, 79–81
 disaffection, 1
- impact of various indicators on political commitment, 98–102
- institutional/extra-institutional participation by country/issue/type of demonstrators, 85–86
- involvement of demonstrators in, 84–94
- perceived decline in participation, 35, 79
- relationship between protest and, 9
- relationship between protest politics and, 78–104
- state openness
 cross-national variation, 14–15
- instrumentality, the meaning of, 162
- interpersonal networks
 as mobilization channels, 122
 by country/issue/type of demonstrator, 122
 cross-national variation, 121–123
 occasionals vs activists, 123
- cultural vs economic demonstrators
 patterns of influence, 120
- importance for recruitment to social movements, 117
- importance to demonstrators, 188
- role of in economic demonstrations, 120
- Iraq, 23, 32, 171
- Italy, *see also* cross-national variation
 tradition of protest, 12
- Jasper, James M., 10, 16, 108, 141, 142, 143, 144, 163–164, 170–171, 195
- job insecurity, 168, *see also* precariat
- Kitschelt, Herbert, 11, 37, 38, 62, 81, 83, 189
- Klandermans, Bert, 8–9, 10–11, 15, 18–19, 21, 22, 23, 32, 61, 107, 137, 138, 139–140, 143, 153, 157–158, 161–162, 164–165, 170, 183, 193, 194
- Koopmans, Ruud, 20, 83, 157
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, 3, 5–6, 9, 11–15, 17, 18, 19, 22, 27, 32, 33, 35–38, 40, 53, 55, 59, 62, 66, 77–78, 81–84, 103, 139, 146, 157, 167, 189–190, 191, 193, 194–195, 197, 199
- labor, changing conditions of, 168–169
- Leach, Colin Wayne, 143, 158
- left-wing values, as predictor of commitment to protest, 201
- Liberal parties, identification with, cross-national variation, 95–96
- liquid modernity, 199

- Madrid, 15M demonstration, 5
- Marx, Karl, 54–55, 57, 60–61, 163, 165, 166
- McAdam, Doug, 9–10, 14, 19, 28, 34, 55, 59–60, 67, 78, 81, 83, 103, 105, 107, 109–110, 115, 130, 132, 138, 193, 194–195, 199, 200
- McCarthy, John D., 10, 34, 59, 171
- media
 as mobilization channel
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 120
 occasionals vs activists, 120–121
- Melucci, Alberto, 138, 142, 167, 170, 191
- Meyer, David S., 16, 18, 107, 110, 185
- Micheletti, Michele, 34, 89
- micromobilization, context dependency of, 11–15
- middle classes
 protest as campaign tool for, 187
 role of social bases of protest, 54
- mobilization channels
 associational involvement, importance, 120
 being asked to participate
 as key recruitment channel, 105, 106–110
 logistic regression models, 125–126
 by country/issue/type of demonstrator, 118–119
 commitment levels
 relationship to, 131
 direct and indirect, 117–124
 influence on commitment levels, 131
 interpersonal networks
 by country/issue/type of demonstrator, 122
 cross-national variation, 121–123
 occasionals vs activists, 123
 media
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 120
 occasionals vs activists, 120–121
 occasionals vs activists, 124
 online social networks
 cross-national variation, 117–120
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 124
 organizational networks
 cross-national variation, 120
 role of attitudinal variables, 127
 social networks, 109–110
 widening in variety, 197
- mobilizing structures
 cross-national variation, 111–117
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 191
 definition, 10, 105
 impact on participation in demonstrations, 127–130
 influence on commitment levels, 124–132
 occasionals vs activists, 193
 pre-existing networks as, 115–116
 social embeddedness of demonstrators, 111–117
 the role of in street demonstrations, 108–111
 voluntary associations
 cross-national variation, 34–35
- mobilizing structures, 105–133
- moral incentives for activism, importance for social movements, 170–172
- Morales, Laura, 14, 79, 109, 190
- motivations
 by country/issue/type of demonstrator, 173
 cross-national variation, 172–179
 collective incentives, 175–177
 defending interests, 172–174
 expressing views, 174
 feelings of moral obligation, 174–175
 individual incentives, 172–175
 the decision process, 177
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 177–178
 definition, 161
 identity incentives, 164–169, 189
 individual vs collective, 163
 influence on commitment, 179–183
 instrumental incentives, 162–164
 logical regression model of commitment, 180–182
 main incentives for participation in movements, 162
 moral incentives, 170–172
 occasionals vs activists, 178–179
 of people who participate in demonstrations, 11
 selective incentives, 169–170
 sense of injustice, 164
 solidary and moral incentives, 169–172
- Movimento 5 Stelle, 81, 97
- neoliberalism
 and the rise of inequality, 58–59
 need for a new framework of ideas to contest, 168

Index

237

- Netherlands, *see* cross-national variation
 new radical right, 38
 new social movements
 association of donation with, 90
 comparison with old movements, 17
 New York, Occupy Wall Street protests, 5
 Nie, Norman H., 10, 42, 139
 normalization of protest/protesters, 3–4, 185, 197
 Norris, Pippa, 3, 4, 9, 17, 44–46, 78–80, 83,
 87, 103, 111, 116, 137–138, 139, 140,
 152, 159, 191, 194, 199
 “Not in My Name”, 170
 occasional demonstrators vs activists
 associational involvement, 116–117
 class and occupational differences, 70–71
 contacting a politician, 93
 distinguishing criteria, 20, 57
 donating money to a political cause, 93
 educational differences, 70
 emotions, 153
 extra-institutional activism, 93
 gender differences, 69
 generational differences, 69–70
 ideological differences, 71
 involvement in parties and unions, 188
 mobilization channels, 124
 interpersonal networks, 124
 media, 120–121
 mobilizing structures, 193
 motivations, 178–179
 participation in demonstrations, 69–71
 partisanship, 96–97
 patterns of participation in institutional/
 extra-institutional activities, 92–94
 political trust, 150
 violence, 94
 voting behavior/turnout, 93
 wearing/displaying a badge/sticker, 93
 occupational status, cross-national variation
 of role in participation, 66–67
 Occupy Wall Street, 5
 Oliver, Pamela, 11, 19, 108, 139, 157, 193
 Olson, Mancur, 169
 online social networks
 as mobilization channel
 cross-national variation, 117–120
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 124
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 120
 role of in recruitment to the *Indignados*
 movement, 117, 121
 Opp, Karl-Dieter, 46, 108, 139, 157, 170, 196
 organizational embeddedness, of
 demonstrators, 188
 organizational networks, as mobilization
 channel, cross-national variation, 120
 Parsons, Talcott, 162
 participation in demonstrations, *see also*
 demonstrations; protest; street
 demonstrations
 as response to the economic crisis, 19, 32,
 200–201
 associational involvement
 levels of, 116
 average percentages, 32
 cross-national variation, 32
 cultural vs economic demonstrators
 sociodemographic variation, 68–69
 dynamics of, 8–9
 evolution over time, 32
 explanatory factors, 106–108
 gender
 cross-national variation, 65
 impact of mobilizing structures, 127–130
 influence of social embeddedness, 111–117
 key attitudes linked to, 135, 137–141
 likelihood of political alienation, 145–152
 motivations of participants, 172–179
 occasional vs activist protesters, 69–71
 psychological dynamics, 10–11
 rational choice explanations, 108
 reasons for, 161–184, *see also* motivations
 role of education in issues engaged with, 69
 role of political attitudes, 136–137
 role of political attitudes and emotions,
 143–145
 role of political trust and efficacy, 139–140
 role of pre-existing networks, 34, 57, 110
 role of “push” and “pull” factors, 124–132
 role of social class in issues engaged with, 69
 social psychological explanations, 107–108
 sociodemographic determinants, 62
 structural explanations, 106–107
 variations by country
 issue and commitment, 189–194
 varying factors accounting for, 16–20
 partisanship
 cross-national variation
 attachment to parties, 97
 parties aligned with, 94–97
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 96, 97
 occasional demonstrators vs activists,
 96–97

- party membership, *see also* group or party activities
 - declining trend, 35
 - role in associational involvement
 - cross-national variation, 115
- Passionate Politics* (Goodwin et al.), 142
- Passy, Florence, 11, 19, 46, 107, 108–109, 109–110, 115, 130, 132, 140, 169–170, 193
- peaceful protest, increase in legitimacy, 3
- petition signing
 - creation of online platforms for, 91
 - cross-national variation, 88
 - cultural vs economic demonstrators, 91
 - current relevance, 33
 - popularity as a political activity, 33–34
- pluralization, of protest politics, 196–199
- Podemos, 81, 96–97
- Polanyi, Karl, 59, 80
- political activities, by country, 29–31
- political alienation, likelihood of, 145–152
- political attitudes
 - by country/issue/type of demonstrator, 147–148
 - cross-national variation, 42–49
 - influence on commitment levels, 152–159
 - relationship to participation in demonstrations, 137–141
 - role of in explanations of political participation, 136–137
- political commitment, *see also* commitment levels
 - ideological belief as fundamental component of, 98
 - impact of various indicators on, 98–102
- political efficacy, *see also* feelings of political efficacy
 - role of in political participation, 139
- political interest
 - by country, 43
 - cross-national variation, 42–44, 150
 - levels of among street citizens, 188
 - role of in voter turnout, 137
- political opportunity
 - criticism of the approach, 195
 - formal vs informal structures, 14–15
 - influence on protest behaviour, 14
- political participation
 - forms
 - available, 32–34
 - taken part in, 28
 - influence of 1960s events, 79
 - main determinants, 106
 - role of education and socioeconomic status, 55
- political parties, as natural allies of social movements, 78, 80
- political values
 - and sociodemographic profile of demonstrators by country/issue/type of demonstrator, 63–64
 - cross-national variation in role of in involvement with political action, 67–68
- populism/populist parties, opening of political space for, 81–82
- postmaterialism
 - as characteristic of the Left, 58
 - Inglehart's theory, 17
 - opening up space for the emergence of postmaterialist struggles, 167
 - rise of, 37, 62
- precariat, 57, 82
 - as new class base for protest, 5, 58, 66, 75–76
 - membership and social conditions, 57
- predictors of sustained activism, 77
- predispositions, impact on participation in demonstrations, 10
- pre-existing networks
 - as mobilizing structures, 115–116
 - influence in decisions to protest, 34, 57, 109–110, 111–117, 195
- protest, *see also* demonstrations; participation in demonstrations; street demonstrations
 - as a way of mobilizing public opinion and influencing government, 79
 - as campaign tool for the middle classes, 187
 - linkage with crisis of democratic accountability, 187
 - normalization of protesters and, 3–4, 185, 198
 - role of education, 60, 79
 - role of social class, 79
 - “the protest generation”, 60
 - traditions
 - cross-national variation, 12
 - unemployment and engagement in, 59
- “Protest as a Political Resource” (Lipsky), 53
- protest generation, impact on society, 200
- protest politics, characteristics influencing participation in, 3–4
- protest survey data, use of in this book, 22

Index

239

- protesters
 distinguishing criteria between occasional demonstrators and seasoned protesters, *see also* occasional demonstrators vs activists
 surveying tools, 20–24
 typology, 19
 psychological dynamics, of participation in demonstrations, 10–11
 psychological engagement
 political interest as standard measure of, 137
 role of in political participation, 136
 role of in protest participation, 137
 Putnam, Robert D., 44, 109, 138

 radical populist right, emergence, 58
 recruitment, *see also* mobilization channels
 direct and indirect channels of, 117–124
 role of education, 127
 role of in bringing people to protest behavior, 107
 role of sociodemographic variables, 127
 repertoires of contention
 and the emergence of the industrial working class, 54
 changing, 166
 historical linkages, 54
 Tilly's definition, 54
 transformation, 2
 resource-poor groups
 likelihood of engaging in demonstrations over economic issues, 200
 protest as means of political engagement, 53
 right-wing populism
 impact of the rise in, 1
 monopolization of critique of neoliberalism, 168

 satisfaction with democracy, *see* democratic satisfaction
 Seattle, WTO protests, 4
 Simon, Bernd, 162, 164–165
 Snow, David, 5, 10, 19, 61, 107, 109, 115, 130, 132, 142, 163–164, 170–172, 196
 social action, Weber's typology, 162
 social bases of protest
 biographical availability approach, 60
 changing, 54–56
 class consciousness, 60–61
 ideology, 61
 influence of sociodemographic variables on commitment, 71–76
 participation in demonstrations, 62–71
 political values, 61–62
 relationship between social structure and values, 57–60
 role of the middle classes, 54
 sociodemographic profile and political values of demonstrators by country/issue/type of demonstrator, 63–64
 underlying factors, 59
 widening of, 53
 social change, role of street demonstrations, 200–201
 social class
 cross-national variation of role in participation, 66–67
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 69
 Marxian perspective, 54
 role of in commitment to protest, 194
 role of in movement participation, 9
 role of in protest, 79
 social embeddedness, influence on participation in demonstrations, 111–117
 social movement studies, methodological pluralism in the field of, 20
 social movements
 as part of the new repertoire of contention, 2
 classification attempts, 16–17
 della Porta on the effect of austerity on, 167
 differential participation, 19–20
 ideology as predictor of participation in, 61
 importance of moral incentives for activism, 170–172
 importance of the structural dimension of participation, 9
 literature on contentious politics and, 7–11
 political parties as natural allies, 78, 80
 traditional linkage with capitalism and the development of the nation-state, 58
 social networks, mobilization channels, 109–110
 Social-democratic/Center-left parties, identification with, cross-national variation, 95
 Socialist/New Left parties, identification with, cross-national variation, 94
 sociodemographic context
 being asked to participate, 127
 commitment levels, 71–76, 130–131

- cultural vs economic demonstrators, 68–69
- participation in demonstrations, 62
- political values of demonstrators by country/
 issue/type of demonstrator, 63–64
- recruitment, 127
- socioeconomic status, role of in political
 participation, 55
- Soule, Sarah, 20, 42, 65, 84, 107, 109, 110,
 111, 124, 127, 137
- Spain, *see also* cross-national variation
 corruption levels, 15
- tradition of protest, 12
- Stop the War protests, 170
- street demonstrations, *see also* demonstrations;
 participation in demonstrations;
 protest
 - analysis of participation in, 7–11
 - as modular and normalized form of
 contentious politics, 2–4
 - role of mobilizing structures, 108–111
- striking
 - cross-national variation, 89, 104
 - cultural vs economic demonstrators, 92
 - levels of
 - cross-national variation, 89
- survey instruments
 - data used in this book, 21–24
 - examples of, 20
 - general population surveys
 - advantages and disadvantages, 21
 - INSURA methodology, 21
 - protest survey data
 - increasing reliance on, 21
- Sweden, *see also* cross-national variation
 overrepresentation of the unemployed
 amongst protesters, 187
- protest tradition, 12
- Switzerland, *see also* cross-national variation
 overrepresentation of the unemployed
 amongst protesters, 187
- protest tradition, 12
- Syriza, 81, 97
- Tarrow, Sidney, 2, 5, 9, 20, 27, 28, 32, 55, 78,
 81, 83, 103, 168, 185, 199
- The Logic of Collective Action* (Olson), 169
- The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*
 (Standing), 57
- Tilly, Charles, 2, 10, 11, 20, 28, 32, 34,
 54, 58–59, 79, 83, 89, 138, 164,
 166, 185
- Touraine, Alain, 142, 167
- trade union membership
 - cross-national variation, 35
 - levels of, 35
- trade unions, weakening of, 168
- tradition of protest, cross-national variation,
 12
- trust in political institutions
 - cross-national variation, 46–49, 149–150
 - occasional demonstrators vs activists, 150
 - political trust by country, 47–48
 - relationship with political participation,
 138–140
 - role of in understanding institutional
 legitimacy, 44
 - treatment of as emotion, 144
- Twitter, 117, 124
- unemployment
 - and engagement in protest, 59
 - cross-national variation, 66
 - overrepresentation among protesters
 cross-national variation, 187
 - rapid increase, 59
- value orientations
 - by country, 39
 - cross-national variation, 37–40
 - values, general understanding of, 61
- Van Aelst, Peter, 3–4, 79, 137, 185, 197
- van Deth, Jan W., 37, 51, 109
- Van Laer, Jeroen, 19
- van Stekelenburg, Jacqueliën, 10, 11, 18,
 22, 23, 107, 138, 139, 143, 157, 158,
 164–165, 184, 189
- van Zomeren, Martijn, 107, 139–140, 143,
 152, 157, 158, 162, 164–165
- Verba, Sidney, 10, 37, 42, 44, 55, 59–60, 61,
 87, 106, 132, 136, 138–139, 140, 161
- Verhulst, Joris, 18, 19–20, 21, 22, 191
- violence, occasional demonstrators vs
 activists, 94
- voluntary associations, cross-national
 variation, 34–35
- voluntary/charitable work, cross-national
 variation, 35
- voting behavior/turnout
 - cross-national variation, 28, 84–87
 - cultural vs economic demonstrators,
 89–90
 - influence of democratic satisfaction on, 44
 - occasional demonstrators vs activists, 93
 - role of democratic satisfaction, 44, 138
 - role of political attitudes, 136

Index

241

- Walgrave, Stefaan, 3–4, 19–20, 21–23, 32, 79–80, 123, 137, 161, 185, 197
- wealth distribution, unjust patterns, 5
- wearing/displaying a badge/sticker, *see also*
 group or party activities
 cross-national variation, 88
 cultural vs economic demonstrators, 90
 occasional demonstrators vs activists, 93
 popularity
 cross-national variation, 33
- welfare state, influence on value orientation, 37
- working class
 awareness of exploitation, 60
 exclusion from politics, 60
 undermining of supporting organizations, 168
- working in an organization, *see also*
 associational involvement; group or party activities
 cross-national variation, 35
 current relevance, 33
- World Trade Organization, protests against, 4
- Wouters, Ruud, 123
- Zald, Mayer N., 10, 59, 171