

Radical Participation: Activists' Identities and Networks in Manchester, Oxford and North Wales.

Award No. L215252034

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Research Team: Ms Alex Plows
Dr Derek Wall

Period of Award: 01.01.00 to 30.04.02

Description of Project and Methodology

Empirically, our starting point was the Earth First! network which during the 1990s had been the main initiator of environmental direct action in the UK. We were also aware that Earth First! overlapped with a wider community of activists and wanted to examine the nature of these ties. We knew that similar groups had existed since the 1970s and wanted to compare Earth First! with these precursors and assess their influence on current activism. Second we wanted to compare current Earth First! communities and past direct action in areas that were structurally different. We chose Manchester, Oxford and North Wales because they each had a history of local non-violent direct action groups from the 1970s onwards; because they were structurally different, one relatively affluent small city, one relatively poor city within a major conurbation, and one rural and less affluent area; and because they had contrasting political alignments: North Wales is the heartland of Welsh nationalism; in Oxford the Green Party was represented on the local council, and in Manchester Labour dominated the City Council. We investigated how these differences affected local activist communities.

Research focussed on three areas:

- An analysis of patterns of protest action over time. This included a quantitative protest event survey for 1992-2001, using national and local activist publications; a qualitative analysis of local protest and radical activism 1970s-1990s based on *Peace News*, local newsletters and interviews and workshops with past and current activists.
- The organisation, culture and discourse of activist groups. This was done through observation, interviews, and studying activist texts.
- Individual trajectories into and out of activism. The evidence for this came from life history interviews.

As set out in the original application our Aims and Objectives were as follows

Aim

to provide new empirical data and a theory which explains the participation of non-violent direct action protest groups in contemporary British democracy.

Main Objectives:

1. To assess whether direct action protest by environmental radicals is related to failures of conventional politics.
2. To explain how high cost participation in direct action movements is sustained.
3. To examine whether latent networks of activists existed before the rise of recent environmental protests and, if so, to assess the influence on existing groups.
4. To assess the relationship between direct action groups and more conventional political actors at the local level.
5. To analyse the consequences of these findings for participation and democracy in Britain.

Methods

Our research design had to meet the above aim and objectives while remaining flexible enough to allow for new theoretical avenues to be explored as new data emerged during the research, in the tradition of grounded qualitative research. We began with *participant observation* which had to be negotiated differently in each area and by each researcher. While all three researchers had experience in the UK direct action habitus, our relationships to the subject of study varied from effective insider in North Wales, to sympathetic outsider in Manchester, with the Oxford researcher somewhere in between. Because activists were sometimes involved in illegal action and understandably cautious about researchers, this meant that considerable investment in activist work and trust-building was necessary before interviews could commence in Manchester and Oxford. The individualist nature of the activist network meant no policy decision could be taken collectively on whether our research was approved. Instead, each interview, or participant observation, had to be negotiated separately until our roles became more widely known. This was a major reason for the need for considerable staff time in the project proposal.

Participant observation of meetings and everyday work in offices provided the data on networks, styles of organising and the wider social forms that make up the less visible dimensions of the activist community. It also allowed us to compare activist characterisations of their community in interviews with our own and identify features of the habitus taken for granted by them.

Biographical/life history interviews

We used a semi-structured interview schedule covering individuals' involvement in direct action, views on the activist community, trajectories into activism, family and educational background, lifestyle and views on social and political change.

There were 58 interviews in total, ranging from an hour to four hours: 27 in Manchester, 17 in Oxford and 14 in North Wales. All were transcribed and coded using N5. This generated 83 general categories, which were then regrouped in tree form and will be further analysed in future publications.

Interviewees were selected as far as possible on the following principles:

- the core current activists in each area (we interviewed the majority of these)¹;
- some current activists whose main involvements were not with Earth First! but who still had some ties with Earth First!
- those who had been involved in anarchistic direct action in the locality prior to the 1990s and the emergence of Earth First!
- The gender balance reflected the approximate balance of core activists in each area.

A breakdown of the 27 Manchester interviewees is provided as an example:

12 female, 15 male;

22 1990s activists and five pre-1990s

Pre-1990s activists

Three activists involved in direct action in the 1970s were interviewed, one male aged 70, one male in his 50s and one woman in her 40s.

Two involved in direct action in the 1980s were interviewed, one male in his 30s and one female in her early 60s.

Non-Core Earth Firsters or Earth Firsters! with overlapping involvements

2 whose involvement was short-term,

¹ Only one activist in Manchester declined to be interviewed and he was not one of the principal activists at the time of the research.

- 3 who were also involved with the Green Party
- 1 who was involved with Friends of the Earth
- 3 who were also involved in CND
- 1 who was also involved in an animal rights group

We also held one 'history workshop' in each area with current and past activists in which we provided digests of our findings and activists from different generations discussed the history and character of direct action in their locality. We did not record these discussions but took extensive minutes, which were circulated to participants.

Other activists from the pre-1990s generations attended our workshops along with 1990s activists. For instance, at the Manchester history workshop there were three other 1970s activists as well as one who had been interviewed and two 1980s activists, who were not the two who were interviewed.

Analysis of movement texts:

Since popular perceptions of levels and forms of protest are often at variance with recorded levels of protest in published sources (Rucht and Roose 1999), we also analysed the forms and levels of protest in each area.

Local newspapers were considered as a source, but on investigation proved very unreliable, recording relatively few of the protests of direct action groups.² Activist newsletters were much more reliable however. We carried out a quantitative protest event survey for 1992-2001, using national activist publications. This was supplemented by a second wave of analysis of local activist newsletters from 1995-2001. We were able to verify the reliability of both sources through our participant observation in 2000-2001 and also by discussions with seven activists who had either edited national or local newsletters or provided reports for it.

We considered extending the quantitative survey back to the 1970s, but there was no single source that was directly comparable to the major source used for 1992-2001. The nearest candidate, *Peace News* became the national newspaper of the anarchistic direct action movement from the late 1960s/early 1970s and it provided a very important qualitative source of records of protest and activist perspectives for comparative purposes. We also made a detailed study of local activist magazines and newsletters in Manchester from the 1970s-90s.

Ethics

The research raised many ethical questions, but these had largely been anticipated and thought through prior to the research. Guarantees of anonymity were an essential condition of interviews and the confidentiality of research subjects has been protected in the preparation of research notes and interview transcripts for depositing with Qualidata.

Publications

(published or accepted for publication)

Doherty, B., Paterson, M., Plows, A. and Wall, D. (2002) 'The Fuel Protests of 2000: Implications for the Environmental Movement in Britain,' *Environmental Politics*, 11, 2: 165-173.

Doherty, B. Paterson, M. Plows, A. and Wall, D. (2003, forthcoming) 'Explaining the Fuel Protests', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 5, 1.

² This is a contrast with France where Filliuele found that local papers were a very reliable source of data when triangulated with other sources such as police reports (in Rootes 2002: 8).

Doherty, B. (2002, forthcoming) 'Reaching Out: Direct Action in Manchester in the 1970s' in Herbert, M. (ed) *The North in the 70s*, Salford: North West Journal of Labour History.

Planned Future Publications

Plows, A., Wall, D. and Doherty, B. 'Dark Matter: Understanding and Researching Ecotage,' provisionally accepted for *Social Movement Studies*, subject to satisfactory revisions.

A proposal for a book based on the research is under consideration by Routledge. If accepted, the book titled, *The Globalisation of Local Protest* would appear in late 2003.

We also plan two further papers: one on repertoires of direct action protest (target journal *American Journal of Sociology*) and another on capacity building (target journal *Mobilization*)

Material Included to be considered for deposit in ESRC Archives

Interview Transcripts:

We have not yet been able to complete anonymising all interview transcripts, though we aim to do so very soon. A few interviews remain to be transcribed. All but one of the Manchester interviews is included on the disk labeled Manchester Interviews. The North Wales and Oxford interviews will be sent as soon as possible.

List of Interviewees and Codes

Codes ending in Man were Manchester interviewees;
Those ending in Ox – were from Oxford and NW were from North Wales. There is no significance to the order of coding A, B, C. etc

All disk filenames are the code for the interviewee (eg file for B-NW is B-NW). All transcripts are text files or word files. The interviews for each area are organised in three separate folders. Manchester, Oxford and North Wales. The North Wales and Oxford transcripts will follow asap.

Gender	CODE	Age-Group	Included	COMMENTS
Female	B-NW	40s		
Male	C-NW	30s		
Male	A-OX	30s		
Male	B-Ox	40s		
Male	D-OX	30s		
Female	E-OX	30s		
Male	A-Man	30s	Yes	Poor sound quality–only part transcribed
Female	D-Man	60s	Yes	
Male	D-NW	20s		
Male	C-Ox	30s		
Male	F-OX	20s		
Male	B-Man	30s	Yes	
Male	C-Man	30s	Yes	
Male	G-Ox	30s	Yes	
Male	H-OX	30s	Yes	
Female	I-Ox	20s		
Female	E-Man	20s	Yes	
Female	A-NW	20s		
Female	E-NW	40s		
Female	J-Ox	20s		
Male	K-Ox	20s s		
Male	G-NW	20s		
Female	G-Man	20s	Yes	
Male	F-NW	40s		(not yet transcribed)
Male	H-NW	20s		
Male	I-NW	50s		
Male	L-OX	40s		
Female	H-Man	30s	Yes	
Female	I-Man	20s	Yes	
Male	J-Man	30s	Yes	
Female	L-Man	20s	Yes	

Female	M-Man	20s	Yes	
Female	K-Man	20s	Yes	
Female	N-Man	20s	Yes	
Female	J-NW	20s		
Male	L-NW	20s		
Male	O-Man	40s	Yes	
Male	P-Man	30s	Yes	
Male	R-Man	40s	Yes	
Male	S-Man	30s	Yes	
Male	T-Man	30s	Yes	(part is a summary – tape malfunctioned)
Female	F-Man	30s	Yes	
Male	U-Man	20s	Yes	
Male	N-Ox	20s		
Male	O-Ox	20s		
Female	M-NW	30s		Interview still to be completed, part one done
Male	V-Man	20s	Yes	
Male	O-NW	20s		
Female	N-NW	20s		
Male	W-Man	30s	Yes	
Male	X-Man	70s	Yes	
Male	Q-Man	20s	Yes	
Female	P-Ox	20s		
Female	M-Ox	20s.		
Male	Q-Ox	20s		
Female	Y-Man	20s	Yes	
Male	Z-Man	50s	Yes	
Female	Man1	40s	No	(not yet transcribed)

We have also included the interview schedule (RTF format) file name: interview schedule and the interview permission form (RTF File) file name Interview Permission Form both in the transcripts disk 1.

List of Other Material Included

History Workshops (notes on group workshops to discuss history of direct action in each area) in folder called History Workshops. One RTF file for each workshop, identified by location and date as follows:

Bangor April 2001
Manchester April 2002
Oxford September 2001

Observation Notes

For North Wales and Manchester

These are organised in the folder called observation and then in sub-folders North Wales and Manchester. The North Wales files are all in word, the Manchester files are in Word or RTF.

These cover events from November 1999 to end 2001 in North Wales

And February 2000 to November 2001 in Manchester.

Although some of these are in a standard form 'Field Notes for Participant Observation' others are unstructured notes. All files contain dates and descriptions of the events covered.

Protest Event Data

These comprise two files coded in SPSS and a codesheet in word.

They record protests involving Earth First groups from Manchester Oxford and North Wales between 1992 and the end of 2001 as reported in activist publications. We also coded for protests in three control areas: Birmingham, Dyfed and Stoke-on-Trent.

One file *nat.sourcesonly92-2001.sav* covers events reported in national Earth First! Publications, eg Earth First Action Update and Schnews. No event is coded twice. Thus if an event is reported in more than one publication each source is identified in the coding of the single protest.

The second file *allsources95-2001.sav* combines national and local sources for the years 1995-2001 inclusive for our three areas. The local sources pre-1995 were not adequate. Also, there were no good local sources for Oxford in 2001. National reporting (in Action Update and Schnews) of Oxford events is still included.

code.

Date

Age.

Warn not to refer to activities could be prosecuted for.

Tick off questions as answered.

A. How did you get involved in environmental direct action?

[narrative of

localities active in. Open question]

B. Describe the history of environmental direct action in Manchester/North

Wales/Oxford?

C. Describe the groups involved in environmental direct action in Manchester/North Wales/Oxford. (Groups of friends, how met?)

D. Describe the meeting places and centres that have sustained direct action

(cafes, community centres, squats, offices, bookshops)

Manchester/North

Wales/Oxford..

E. To what extent is the area good for taking direct action?

(political

opportunities).

F. How has your personal activity changes? [patterns of action - biographical

availability - if less active why? Why less active now? [for earlier

generation of activists Do you expect to return to activity? If yes why? Any

contacts with current generation of activists? Perceptions of current NVDA?EF!]

1. Social background, Life history and environment.

1.1. Parents' class background and occupation.

1.2. Parents' voting behaviour and political involvement.

1.3 Perceived social class then and now.

1.4. Family and homelife [happy? Brothers/Sisters]

1.5. Ethnicity.

1.6. Childhood experience of the environment

2. School and Work.

2.1. Where went to school?

2.2. Likes and dislikes at school. [rebel?]

2.3. Introduction to environmental issues.

2.4. Activity as student.

2.5 Employment (to what extent compatible with direct action and beliefs)

3. Cultural and ideological reference systems.

3.1. Spirituality/Religion.

3.2. Voting patterns.

3.3 How would you describe your political beliefs?

3.4. Would you identify with the left?

3.5. Personal library [what do you read].

3.6. Television [has it influenced activism]

3.7. Other media/culture.

3.8. Influences on direct action [Gandhi, Ian Bone, etc].

3.9. Attitude to social justice and animal rights issues.

4. Membership/activity [prior and parallel to EF!]

- 4.1. Activity in Environmental groups, peace movements, animal rights.
- 4.2. Why join? How active? Satisfaction with? Participation in action? Expected results? Satisfaction with actions? Achievement of personal/political goals.
- 4.3. Activity in other movements/ political parties/organisations.

5. Environmental Concern.

- 5.1. What is the environment?
- 5.2. Do you have a vision of a Green future?

6. Activity

- 6.1. What are you trying to achieve through direct action?
- 6.2. How does direct action work to achieve your goals?
- 6.3. Assess the importance of the following as motivations for carrying out direct action : media events, bearing witness, personal satisfaction, physical disruption, party politics, pressure group activity, economic pressure.
[unnecessary if 6.2 is fully answered]
- 6.4. Is your activity based on what seems to work or upon an overall strategy?
- 6.5. Have these assumptions changed and why?
- 6.6. How and why has direct action tactics changed

7. Direct action and the State.

- 7.1. Are actions designed to influence the Government or local govt.
- 7.2. Can and should existing laws be used to achieve goals.?
- 7.3. Has the election of the labour government influenced your environmental strategies?
- 7.4. How much power has an individual in the U.K. to achieve them?
- 7.5. Has this power changed during your period of activity and why?
- 7.6. How much of your activism targets international institutions and companies
[wto]

8. Organization.

- 8.1. How is your group organised?
- 8.2. How does it work with other campaigners.
- 8.3. Who makes decisions.
- 8.4. local, national or global connections [internet?]

9. Approach to other environmental Groups [work with them, make strategic alliances]

- foe,
Green Party.
EF!
Animal rights/hunt sabs
peace movement
local campaigns
Welsh language
trade unions
oxfam/cafod
political parties/organisations
other ngos

10. Lifestyle [tell me about it].

- 10.1. Is it important?
- 10.2 Children or other commitments
- 10.3 Diet
- 10.4 Communal lifestyle?

11.

friendship - has it helped sustain your activism

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Radical Participation Project

Codesheet for Protest Event Data

Fifth Draft March 2001

1. Object of Analysis: Protest events in Manchester, Oxford and North Wales (Bangor and district) as reported in publications by direct action networks.
 Definition of a Protest Event: a collective, public action of non-state actors with the expressed purpose of critique or dissent together with societal and./or political demands

Unit of Analysis

Environmental, animal rights or peace protests: protest events regarding issues in which explicit concerns about the environment, animal rights or peace (or other issues, as listed under CLAIM) are expressed as a key factor. As for the range of such issues see the variable CLAIM

2. List of variables and Codes

Capital Letters mark the variable name; each stands for a number from 0 through nine; full lines (_____) stand for letters

PEN
 year/month/day/number

Protest event number: an 8-digit number composed of year, month, day of beginning and a running number in case that several protests occur on the same day.

EVENAME

Event Name – used to trigger memory and help identify event

CODER

B .Brian
D Derek
A Alex

YEAR.... MONTH DAY
 /year/month/day

Day of beginning of Protest; if the day is unclear, rules about how to deal with this have to be developed

SOURCE 1.... SOURCE 2 SOURCE 3.....
 Publication that reported the protest

1. EF! Action Update
2. Schnews
3. Peace News
4. Green Line
5. Loom Breaker

6. Manchester Networking Newsletter
7. Oxyacetylene
8. Other Local Newsletter (eg 80s local peace/green newsletters)
9. Other national magazine (eg Do or Die, Squall)
10. Coder Knowledge/Other

For SOURCE 2 & 3, 66. Not applicable

REPORT 1.....

Year/month/day of report 1

REPORT 2

REPORT 3.....

FOR REPORTS 2 & 3 (year, month and day) 66. Not applicable

LOCATION.....

1. Manchester/Greater Manchester
2. Oxford
- 3 Gwynedd and Mon
- 4 Other (Manchester involvement reported)
- 5 Other (North Wales involvement reported)
6. Other (Oxford involvement reported)
7. Other (Two or more of Manchester, Oxford or North Wales reported as involved)
8. Potteries/North Staffs
9. Dyfed
10. Birmingham/West Midlands (but not Coventry)

LEVEL

Level of Mobilisation (from Local to international)

1.local/district/regional/state

4 national

7 international

CLAIM1

CLAIM 2

Code for the topic/claim/issue at stake

10 protecting wildlife
 20 protecting woods/wildplants
 30 countryside and landscape protection
 40 sustainable forestry
 50 tropical rainforest
 60 environmentally friendly agriculture/organics
 70 Protecting hunted animals
 80 Protecting fish
 90 Opposing resource extraction
 100 Environmentally friendly tourism and recreational activities
 110 Environmentally friendly industrial production
 120 Reducing environmentally negative effects of weapons/military
 130 Opposing construction, transport and communication systems
 131 Industrial buildings
 132 Housing
 133 Other Buildings
 134 Roads
 135 Trains
 136 Airports
 137 Harbours, water transport
 138 Car traffic
 139 Other
 140 Opposing waste disposal/treatment/transport
 141 nuclear
 142 non-nuclear hazardous waste

14. domestic waste
 144 other waste
 150 Opposing energy production/installation/use
 151 Nuclear Power
 152 Gas
 153 Oil
 15.4 Coal
 155 Hydroelectric
 160 Promoting Solar, wind, biogas
 170 Animal Welfare
 171 Opposing Vivisection
 172 Opposing Hunting
 180 Environmental Education
 190 Environmentally Friendly Research and Technology
 200 Health
 210 Natural Food
 220 Opposing Pollution
 221 Land
 222 Ocean
 223 Lakes/rivers
 224 Air
 225 Genetic Modification
 226 Other (eg mobile masts)
 230 Opposing Noise
 240 Access to Land
 250 Land ownership rights
 (Sections from here on are NOT included in TEA survey)
 260 creating an autonomous space
 300 Opposing nuclear weapons
 30.1 Opposing nuclear weapons base
 30.2 Opposing Nuclear Weapons Convoys
 310 Opposing Other Weapons

- 311 Conventional
- 312 Chemical/Biological
- 320 Opposing Arms Production
 - 321 British Aerospace
 - 322 Other weapons producers
- 330 Opposing Arms Sales
- 340 Opposing Military – general
- 341 Opposing Iraqi sanctions
- 400 Opposing Pariah Companies/Anti-capitalism
 - 401 Macdonalds
 - 402 Banks/financial institutions
 - 403 Nestle
 - 404 Monsanto
 - 405 Other Bio-technology companies
 - 406 RTZ
 - 407 Shell
 - 408 Other Oil Companies
 - 409 Supermarkets
- 500 Opposing male domination
 - 501 Opposing male violence
 - 502 opposing threats to women's autonomy
 - 503 Opposing discrimination
- 600 Opposing state oppression
 - 601 CJA
 - 602 Terrorism Act (2000)
 - 603 Other legislation (eg cannabis)
 - 604 restrictions on travellers
 - 605 Secret Services/Surveillance
 - 606 Opposing Oppressive Overseas Regime**
- 610 Defence of civil liberties
- 611 Opposing school closure**
- 700 Opposing racism
 - 701 asylum seekers/refugees
 - 702 racial attacks
 - 703 racial discrimination
- 704 Nazis/Fascists
- 800 Gay and Lesbian Rights/Pride
 - 801 Lesbian rights/pride
 - 802 Gay rights/pride
 - 803 Opposing violence
- 900 Welsh nationalism
 - 901 Full independence
 - 902 Welsh parliament/assembly/devolution
 - 903 Welsh language rights/
 - 904 Broadcasting in Welsh
 - 905 Opposition to Second homes

FOR CLAIM 2, 66. NOT APPLICABLE

FORM 1.....

FORM 2

FORM 3

FORM 4.....

FOR FORM 2,3 & 4 66. NOT APPLICABLE

Form of Protest according to the temporal sequence in the event

- | | |
|---|---|
| 10 | 27 Sit-in/Office or Site occupation – without dwellings |
| signatures/petitions/resolutions/
public letters | |
| 11 referendum | 28 Protest Camp/dwellings |
| 12 Press Conference | 29 Site defence construction |
| 13 Distributing leaflets/posters | 30 Resisting site eviction |
| 14 Illegal | 31 Strike |
| billboarding/subvertising/graf
fiti/flyposting | 32 Hunger Strike |
| 15 non-verbal protest (e.g. vigil)
or die-in | 33 Theft/Burglary |
| 16 Cultural Performance/street
theatre | 34 Ethical shoplifting |
| 17 Noncommercial positive
action | 35 Minor attack on property |
| 18 Indoor Assembly/Teach
in/meeting/gathering | 36 Crop sabotage |
| 19 Public protest/assembly/rally | 37 Major attack on
property/arson/bombing |
| 20 Demonstration march | 38 Aggressive bodily contact/
Pie-ing |
| 21 Procedural complaint | 39 Personal injuries |
| 22 Litigation by protesters | 40 Homicide/murder |
| 23 Boycott | 41 Street Party |
| 24 Blockade | 42 Shareholder action |
| 25 Hunt sabbing | 43 Banner-Hang |
| 26 Preventing work | 44 Critical Mass |
| | 46 Squat Caff |
| | 99. Other |

NUMBER 1

Number of participants according to FORM 1-4
(leave blank if not known)

SOCIAL1 SOCIAL 2.....

Social characteristics of protesters

- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| 1. Employees/White Collar | 7. Youth |
| 2. Manual and low grade
service workers | 8. Senior Citizens |
| 3. Unemployed | 9. Students |
| 4. Foreigners/Refugees/Ethnic
groups | 10. Professionals |
| 5. Farmers | 11. Intellectuals |
| 6. Women | 12. Craft/Trade |
| | 13. Socially Heterogeneous |
| | 14. Residents/locals |

FOR SOCIAL 1 & 2, 99. OTHER (use when no info given)
FOR SOCIAL 2, 66. NOT APPLICABLE

KIND 1..... KIND 2

- Political/Organisational Characteristics of Protesters
1. Politicians
 2. Representatives of interest groups
 3. Heterogeneous
 4. Anonymous/clandestine
 5. 'Direct Activists'
 99. Other

ORNAME1

names of organisations/individuals as surrogates of organisations

ORCODE 1.....

- 1. UK Direct Action group- EF!/RTS or ad hoc and nameless – general (local or national)**
2. (defunct category – now merged with 1)
3. PGA/International DA networks
4. CND
5. Anti Nuclear Campaign
6. Local Environment/Anti-Roads Group
7. Local Peace/CND Group
8. Local Animal Protection Group
9. Friends of the Earth (local or national)
10. Greenpeace (Local or national)
11. Green Party
12. Labour Party
13. Liberal Democrats/Liberal Party (pre-80s)
14. Trade Union (general)
15. Plaid Cymru
16. Cymdeithas y laith
17. Other Welsh nationalist group
18. Local residents/parents group

ORNAME 2

names of organisations/individuals as surrogates of organisations

ORCODE 2

ORGNAME3

names of organisations/individuals as surrogates of organisations

ORGCODE 3

ORGNAME 4

names of organisations/individuals as surrogates of organisations

ORGCODE 4.....

ORGNAME 5

names of organisations/individuals as surrogates of organisations

ORGCODE 5.....

FOR ORGCODE 1 TO 5, 99. OTHER
FOR ORGCODE 2 TO 5, 66. NOT APPLICABLE

ORGCOUNT.....

Number of Participating/Initiating Groups

SCOPE

(of underlying issue – eg Iliusu dam or apartheid)

1.Local/district/regional

4.National

7 International

8 International and at least one other

(absence of 2,3,5,6 is not a mistake – intended to cut down on recoding work)

TARGET1.....

TARGET 2.....

Target of Action

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. State/public institutions/officials – local or national 2. Government/ ministers 3. Members of Parliament 4. Parties 5. Unions | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Companies/Trade Associations 7. Other associations/Churches 8. Private Persons 99. Other |
|---|--|

TARGLEV1.....

TARGLEV 2

Level of target group

1. Local
4. National

7 International

INJUNCT.....
(injunction)

1. by state/police
2. by others
- 66 Not applicable

FORCE.....
(physical force)

1. by state/police
2. by others
3. by both
- 4 Not Known (when seems conceivable)
- 5 By security guards
- 66 Not applicable (when clearly not relevant)

INJURY.....
(Injuries)

1. By state/police
2. by others
3. to both by both
4. Not Known
- 66 Not applicable

FOR INJUCT, FORCE and INJURY 66. NOT APPLICABLE

ARREST.....
(Arrests)

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not KNown

ARNUMLOW

Arrests, ESTIMATE NUMBER

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