

## SELECTION AND RESPONSE BIAS IN PROTEST SURVEYS\*

Stefaan Walgrave and Joris Verhulst†

*Popular opinion suggests protest has become ubiquitous in advanced postindustrial democracies. In order to assess this perspective scholars have increasingly relied on so-called protest surveys to gauge protesters' attitudes and characteristics while in the act of protesting. This growing body of literature has neglected the design of protest surveys and has yet to systematically test the reliability of the evidence they produce. This study attempts to make a contribution on both fronts. After reviewing the available studies relying on protest surveys, it proposes a standardized method to sample respondents in moving crowds. The sampling procedure is tested in 22 demonstrations across a variety of issues and countries. Based on a series of field experiments, the paper puts forward a specific protest survey fieldwork method by which selection bias and response bias can be reduced to a considerable degree.*

Political protest has become ubiquitous in advanced postindustrial democracies. Almost four decades ago, Etzioni (1970) introduced the concept of “demonstrating democracy,” and since then the levels and forms of political protest have continued to expand (Norris 2002). At a time when traditional forms of political participation—electoral participation, party membership, campaigning, associational activism—seem to have withered (Putnam 2000), protest participation appears to have become a normal and complementary way for citizens to express their political preferences. Whereas protest used to be the action repertoire of students or workers, it currently appeals to people from all walks of life (Dalton 1993; Van Aelst and Walgrave 2001). Increasing levels of protest and the expansion of protesters' diversity make the scientific study of protest participation more relevant and more popular.

Scholars increasingly rely on protest surveys, as strongly suggested by table 1 on the next page. The protest survey design essentially consists of oral interviews conducted on the spot, mail-in questionnaires distributed at the protest's venue, or a combination of both. This design has been used to chart who takes to the streets and how they are mobilized, and to gauge what makes people participate in protest and what opinions they express. Only a handful of social movement and political participation students drew on the protest survey design before 1995, but recently the method seems to be booming. The increased use of the method, though, has not been accompanied by an increase in methodological debate about the protest survey design itself. Scholars seem to have used the method in a number of ways, and generated a host of sampling strategies. Furthermore, the literature has not been very cumulative, as it does not appear to have generated a growing body of knowledge of how protest surveys could be carried out. Moreover, there has not been a systematic assessment of the reliability of the subsequent evidence. Many scholars have taken protest survey data at face value and have only partially reflected on the representativeness of their evidence. In fact, an important

---

\* In this article we present some of the most important results of a study funded by the Research Foundation Flanders: “Protest Surveys: Limitations and Possibilities of an Innovative Research Design,” 2006-2009.

† Stefaan Walgrave is full professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Antwerp. Joris Verhulst is senior researcher in the Department of Political Science at the University of Antwerp. Please direct all correspondence to the authors at [stefaan.walgrave@ua.ac.be](mailto:stefaan.walgrave@ua.ac.be) and [joris.verhulst@ua.ac.be](mailto:joris.verhulst@ua.ac.be). The authors wish to thank Jeroen Van Laer and Ruud Wouters for their indispensable help with the different protest surveys.

**Table 1.** Overview of Extant Studies Drawing on a Protest Survey Design

Author	Type of Demonstration	Year	Place	Type of interview	Number of Interviews	Response Rate	Sampling Type	Sampling Procedure
Parkin 1968	Antinuclear	1965	London	Mail-in	445	81%	?	Nonspecified
Jenkins 1967	Antinuclear	1965	London Hamburg	Face-to-face	143 137	+80%	Walking	Counting n <sup>th</sup> demonstrator
Seidler et al. 1976	Antiwar Antidraft Prowar Counterinaugural	1970 1970 1970 1973	Washington Fayetteville Washington Washington	Face-to-face	90 24 84 109	93-95%	Stationary	Zone-sector sampling + counting n <sup>th</sup> demonstrator
Ladd et al. 1983	Antinuclear	1979	Washington	Mail-in	420	42%	Stationary	Nonspecified
Scaminaci III and Dunlap 1986	Antinuclear	1979	San Francisco	Mail-in + self-administered questionnaires	276	28%	Stationary	Nonspecified
Waddington 1988	Anti PM Thatcher	1983	Sheffield	Face-to-face	300	?	Walking	Nonspecified
Jasper and Poulsen 1995	Antinuclear power Animal experiments Animal experiments	1984 1988 1988	Diablo Canyon New York Berkeley	Mail-in + face-to-face	273 270 30	?	Non-specified	Nonspecified
Fillicule 1997	Antiracism Pro-work Anti-unemployment	1994	Paris	Face-to-Face	236 180 211	?	Static + Walking	Counting rows and demonstrators
Van Aelst and Walgrave 2001	“White” march Antiracism Non-profit sector Social Security	1998	Brussels	Mail-in + face-to-face	123 457 374 355	40%	Walking	Counting rows and demonstrators
Goss 2003	Million Mom March	2000	Washington	Face-to-face	793	90%	Stationary	Several measures to maximize spread

Bédoyan et al. 2004	Global Justice	2001	Brussels	Mail-in	378	40%	Walking	Counting rows and demonstrators
Botetzagias and Boudourides 2004	Antiwar Iraq	2003	Thessaloniki	Face-to-face	180	?	Stationary	Distribution in campsites with demonstrators
van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2005	Trade unions “Turn the tide”	2004	Amsterdam	Mail-in + face-to-face	348 332	47% 42%	Stationary	Counting n <sup>th</sup> demonstrator
Fisher et al. 2005	“Human Dike” Anti-WEF Anti-IMF Anti-G8 Anti-IMF	2000- 2002	The Hague New York Washington Calgary Washington	Face-to-face	204 317 177 86 730	89-98%	Stationary	Counting n <sup>th</sup> demonstrator
Della Porta et al. 2006	Anti-G8	2001	Genoa	?	800	?	Non-specified	Nonspecified
Blanchard and Fillieule 2006	Anti-G8 ESF-meeting	2003	Evian Paris	Self-administered questionnaires	2,282 2,198	?	?	Nonspecified
Walgrave and Rucht 2007	Antiwar Iraq	2003	11 cities in 8 countries	Mail-in + face-to-face	6,753	47%	Walking	Counting rows and demonstrators
Heaney and Rojas 2007	Antiwar protest	2004- 2005	Events in 7 US cities	Face-to-face	2,529	89%	Stationary	Counting 5 <sup>th</sup> demonstrator (from an “anchor”)
Fisher 2007	AntiWEF Anti-IMF Anti-IMF Antiwar Anti-Bush	2002- 2004	New York Washington Washington Washington New York	Face-to-face	316 177 730 424 454	91%	Stationary	Counting n <sup>th</sup> demonstrator
Rootes and Saunders 2007	Anti-G8 (poverty) Climate Change	2005- 2006	Edinburgh London	Mail-in + face-to-face	563 674	28% 36%	Walking	Counting rows and demonstrators

question remains unanswered: is the sample of the protesters who accept to be interviewed or fill in a questionnaire an approximately random sample of the population of a given demonstration? In short, there has only been a limited debate about selection and response bias in protest survey data.

This study aims to remedy both the problem of unclear sampling procedures and the lack of bias checks. We attempt to provide a clear and robust method to draw a random sample of demonstrators out of a moving and dynamic crowd, and we develop a survey system to test for response and selection bias. Therefore, we rely on an extensive series of 22 protest surveys carried out by, or under the direct supervision of, the authors between 1998 and 2006. Most surveys were conducted in Belgium and cover a wide array of demonstration issues. Seven surveys were conducted simultaneously in other Western countries and focused on an identical issue (the the imminent invasion of Iraq in March 2003). During the nine years covered in this study, varying methods of sampling respondents and controlling for response bias have been employed. This learning process has generated reliable protest survey data. To measure the quality of our fieldwork, several field experiments were conducted, which allow us to test alternative procedures and to compare results. In this article we present an overview of our findings and yield some cautious guidelines for conducting protest survey research.

### **LIMITED METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTION**

The older protest literature contains but a few examples of protest surveying. The very first protest surveys, according to our knowledge, were carried out as early as 1965 among the participants of two antinuclear demonstrations in Britain and Germany (Boserup and Iversen 1966; Jenkins 1967). Also Parkin (1968), in his seminal study on middle-class radicalism, relied on a protest survey. Three published studies draw on surveys carried out in the 1970s and the same applies to the 1980s. In the 1990s, hardly any protest surveys were undertaken. With the turn of the new millennium, the method seems to have quickly gained momentum; we counted eleven published studies drawing upon evidence collected at protest events staged during the first half of the decade only. During the most recent years, numerous protest surveys—more than we manage to mention here—have been undertaken; results have often not (yet) been published. The recent rise of the global justice movement and its eye-catching protest demonstrations has especially inspired scholars to conduct protest surveys. In short, it seems that the method is booming.

Although our goal in this article is not to explain why protest surveys have become more popular, we believe this trend is due to both changing protest realities and to changing theoretical accounts adopted by social movements and protest scholars. As we argued earlier, part of the rising scholarly use of protest surveys may be simply due to the increasing incidence of protest itself. Added to that, recent waves of protest seem to testify to a diminishing role played by social movement organizations in mobilizing for protest, making way for more fluid and dynamic forms of collective action. This has inspired scholars to adopt designs and methodologies that no longer put social movements and their organizations center stage but rather the individuals participating in protest.

Table 1 contains a nonexhaustive overview of the protest survey studies we found. It documents that protest surveys have been used in at least twenty studies and applied to fifty-three different protest events. Demonstration issue and nation vary, but American studies are predominant. Most surveys have been applied to events of the so-called “new social movements” (antiracism, antiwar, global social justice, etc.). We probably missed some of the earliest and certainly several of the most recent examples since the method is now spreading rapidly. Still, we think this overview is fairly representative for the use of the method in the study of collective action events. And, more importantly, our aim is not to present an exhaustive overview of existing protest survey research, but rather to use this sample of

studies as a guide through the method's use throughout the years, and to critically assess the related methodological issues.

When examining a growing body of literature that draws on what is essentially the same method, it is striking that there is only very little systematic discussion of approaches and methods. Scholars do not seem very aware of each other's work and they hardly address each other's findings. In terms of methodology, the literature is noncumulative. Among the listed studies we found few cross-references to other, similar studies. Consequently, there has been little methodological reflection about sampling procedures, response rates, and response bias.

Table 1 contains a brief outline of the sampling procedures used by the listed work. Many of these studies were influential and generated valuable ideas but, by and large, the methodological reflection they produced remains limited. Several studies lack any information regarding sampling whatsoever. Few authors refer to the practical difficulties of sampling in moving masses or describe how they dealt with it. Parkin (1968: 6), for example, does not explain how respondents were selected and what sampling procedure was followed. He states: "The difficulties of attempting to draw an accurate sample from a continuously moving column of marchers will readily be imagined; some people leave the ranks while others join in as the column proceeds, so that its composition is never really constant." Also Waddington (1988: 29) does not provide a clear procedure of his sampling of participants in the 1983 protests against a visit of Mrs. Thatcher to Sheffield: "Our survey of demonstrators, which was random in the literal rather than in the scientific sense, provided a rough profile of the demonstrators." Jasper and Poulsen (1995: 499) as well do not inform the reader about how they dealt with sampling; we only know that they used face-to-face interviewing and mail-in questionnaires. They only explain that "questionnaires were distributed in all parts of each crowd and, although this method does not obtain representative samples, we feel our sampling yielded no obvious biases."

Some of the more recent studies do offer a brief description of the sampling procedure. A stationary event, the Million Mom March, was sampled by Goss, relying on a series of randomizing measures such as counting every third "picnic blanket," interviewing all people in line for refreshments, etc. (Goss 2000; Goss 2003). Recently, Fisher, Stanley, Bergmann, and Neff (2005) succinctly describe their survey of five global justice protests. As used in earlier studies, they approximate random selection by "counting off" protesters standing in lines and by picking every fifth protester. The most thorough effort to design a reliable sampling procedure was undertaken by a French team who devised a systematic and well-considered approach for surveying moving crowds (Favre et al. 1997). The method that we will propose and test in the next section was strongly inspired by the work of these pioneering scholars.

An important distinction among the previous studies is related to the difference between moving and stationary protest events. None of the studies problematized this distinction and the challenge it creates for sampling respondents. There is a long-standing sociological tradition of studying contentious gatherings, with the work by McPhail probably being the best known (see, amongst others, McPhail 1991; McPhail 1994; Schweingruber and McPhail 1999). Most of this literature is not based on interviews but on a standardized method of observing crowd behavior. We argue that stationary protest sampling for interviewing is more complicated and more prone to selection biases than moving protest sampling. Dividing the stationary crowd into "imaginary" sectors as Seidler, Meyer, and MacGillivray (1976) did is difficult and sector sizes risk being unequal. Counting rows or individual demonstrators in a disorderly standing mass is difficult. It is hard to make sure that the people standing in the center of an (often dense) crowd get the same chance of being singled out for a survey than the ones standing on the fringes. Centrally monitoring the sampling implementation is almost impossible as interviewer teams get dispersed over the crowd and supervisors lose control. As the stationary phase often is only a temporary state before or after the demonstration "moves," this makes planning difficult. Standing crowds are incomplete, some people come late, they

move within the crowd or leave prematurely. Therefore, we think it is easier to sample for interviews when the crowd is moving as this transforms an erratic cluster of people into a more or less orderly cortege with a clear start and a foreseeable end. That is why we opt here for surveying moving protest events, that is: demonstrations moving from point A to point B.

To be clear, our argument is not that stationary protest sampling is impossible, nor that it cannot generate valuable data. In some countries, depending on the protest tradition or culture, static protest events are more frequent than moving ones. Limiting protest surveying to moving events would introduce a bias and limit the method's comparative possibilities across countries and protest cultures. Moreover, effectively interviewing people while they are standing instead of walking may have certain advantages as people have more time to respond to the interviewers and nonresponse may be lower. We simply argue that sampling participants at moving demonstrations seems easier than sampling at static events, and we limit ourselves to moving events in this article.

The type of interview also distinguishes among previous protest survey studies. Basically, there are two main types of surveys: face-to-face interviews versus written surveys. In our case mail-in questionnaires complete with return envelopes.<sup>1</sup> As both survey methods have their specific advantages, we decided to combine both types in the procedure we propose below. Very few of the studies mentioned above discuss the pros and cons of both interview types. The main advantage of face-to-face interviews is the response rate: when people are asked by a (friendly) interviewer, they hardly ever refuse to collaborate. Another advantage is that the procedure is relatively cheap, as the researchers do not have to pay for the mail return envelopes. A disadvantage of oral interviewing is the considerably lower numbers of successful interviews. Even when one manages to gather enough face-to-face interviews to carry out statistical analyses, the amount of resulting variables is small: interviews on the spot can only take a few minutes. Mail-in surveys face the opposite (dis)advantages. They yield smaller response rates but larger amounts of successful interviews, as distributing mail-in questionnaires can be done efficiently by a relatively small group of people. Still, irrespective of the satisfying response rates, questions about representativeness and response bias remain. An important advantage of mail-in interviews is that chances are higher that responses really reflect people's individual opinions and attitudes and are less affected by the "heat of the moment," as well as by social pressures from the social environment in which they participate (see also Tourangeau, Rips, and Rasinski 2000). Moreover, people often have difficulty concentrating on the questions asked when they walk along a noisy and vivid demonstration. They do not always understand the questions, and their oral answers might be imprecise and not well considered. When people fill in a questionnaire at home, these intervening elements are absent. Note that for some specific questions, for example those gauging for emotions people experience while protesting or questions about the company with whom people attend, oral interviews on the spot may produce better and more reliable data than mail-in surveys. But, in general, we think the advantages of mail-in surveys outweigh the disadvantages.

Mail-in surveys' primary weakness is their lower response rate. Still, only a few of the mail-in studies reported response rates and made an effort to account for nonresponse. With the exception of a handful of studies—Favre, Fillieule, and Mayer (1997); Klandermans and van Stekelenburg (2005); Rootes and Saunders (2007); and some of our own studies (Van Aelst and Walgrave (2001); Walgrave and Verhulst (2009); and Verhulst and Walgrave (2007, 2009)—none of the studies we discuss here incorporated systematic procedures to test for nonresponse bias. Even when authors do describe their sampling method and occasionally reflect, in passing, on the possible bias of their sample, no effort is made to assess response bias. The data are simply taken for granted. This lacuna probably represents the most significant challenge to the protest survey method, as it threatens to undermine the method's credibility (something we ourselves have faced in more than one anonymous journal review).

In the next sections, we attempt to remedy some of these problems. We discuss response rates comparing twenty-two different protest surveys across a variety of issues and countries.

To account for selection bias, we propose a method to draw an approximately random sample of a moving crowd of people. Based on a series of field experiments, we present a procedure to test for selection and response bias, and we show that this yields confidence in the validity of protest survey data on the condition that these are gathered through the sampling procedure we propose in this article.

### RESPONSE RATES ACROSS ISSUES AND NATIONS

Between 1998 and 2006 the authors of this article personally conducted, or directly supervised, protest surveys at twenty-two demonstrations.<sup>2</sup> Basic information about these surveys can be found in tables 2 and 3. A first group of fourteen studies was conducted in Belgium between February 1998 and December 2006. They cover a wide range of eleven issues classified along the straightforward axis of “old social movement demonstrations”—typical bread and butter demonstrations staged by the trade unions—“new social movement events”—antiracism, antiwar—and finally what we would call “protest against random violence” in support of the victims of random violence. A second collection of surveys covers 11 antiwar demonstrations all held on the same day, February 15, 2003, in eight different countries.<sup>3</sup> Altogether we assembled protest survey data evidence from about 9,600 protest participants. To test for the representativeness of the mail-in surveys, we also conducted face-to-face interviews, totaling 2,608 oral conversations. We will elaborate on this in the next section. The strength of this database is that the first collection of studies contains protest surveys carried out on demonstrations on a wide range of issues, but within the same nation, whereas the second collection consists of protest survey evidence of demonstration on the same issue, but within different countries.

Response rates vary across issues and nations. Compared to the average 10-20 percent response of normal mail-in surveys targeting a specific population group, which can rise to 60 percent after three specifically designed reminders (Dillman 2000), our average of 40 percent response is satisfying for a survey without reminders. The protest surveys conducted for this study did not imply any reminders—questionnaires were distributed at the events and addresses of the selected respondents were not recorded. Clearly, protest demonstrators are an appreciative target group. The reason for high collaboration, we suspect, is straightforward: people participating in protest events want to *express* themselves; they want to show their dissatisfaction and discontent. The protest questionnaire offers them another opportunity to utter why they attend and to repeat their message (see also Blanchard and Fillieule 2006: 12). Still, with an average response rate of 40 percent, we lack data about the larger part of the sampled demonstrators. Although we designed a test to assess the possible response bias (see below), nonresponse could in some cases be due to other, unmeasured variables. And, when we would find significant response bias on one or more specific variables, this would indeed mean that our survey is biased (on these variables), and would thus not provide an accurate demonstration sample.

In two of the twenty-two cases response fell below 30 percent: the February 2006 Brussels demonstration for asylum seekers (17 percent) and the March 2006 demonstration against the restructuring (layoffs) of the beer giant InBev (14 percent). In these cases, the high nonresponse seems to be due to characteristics specific to the protest events and participants, and would thus be influenced to a certain extent by the dependent variable of the study itself. The low response rates can be explained by the presence of a cultural and linguistic barrier: many of the foreign demonstrators did not speak either of the two languages in which the questionnaire was drafted. At the InBev demonstration, a typical blue-collar workers' demonstration, there may have been

**Table 1.** Belgian Issue Protests Surveys (BIPS): Descriptive Statistics and Response Rates

<b>Demonstration</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Aim</b>	<b>No. of participants</b>	<b>No. of oral interviews</b>	<b>No. of mail-in interviews distributed</b>	<b>Completed</b>	<b>Response (%)</b>
Second White March	Anti-violence	Brussels	Feb. 15, 1998	Solidarity victims Dutroux + against judiciary system	30,000	-	270	123	46
Antiracism	New	Brussels	Mar. 22, 1998	Rights immigrants + stop extreme right	15,000	125	700	337	48
Nonprofit sector	Old	Brussels	Mar. 26, 1998	Higher wages + more staff	20,000	120	700	254	36
Social security	Old	Brussels	Sept. 11, 1998	Higher social allowances	30,000	99	730	256	35
Education	Old	Brussels	May 17, 2000	Higher wages + more staff in schools	18,000	92	635	299	47
Antidrugs	Mixed	Brussels	Sept. 30, 2001	Against liberal drug policy	3,000	-	622	365	59
Global justice	New	Brussels	Dec. 14, 2001	Against neoliberal globalization	25,000	-	1,000	378	38
Anti-Iraq occupation 2004	New	Brussels	Mar. 20, 2004	Against occupation of Iraq	7,000	-	700	262	37
Asylum seekers	Mixed	Brussels	Feb. 25, 2006	Rights and respect of illegal immigrants	10,000	-	858	149	17
Anti-Iraq occupation 2006	New	Brussels	Mar. 19, 2006	Against occupation of Iraq	5,000	-	915	316	35
InBev	Old	Brussels	Mar. 28, 2006	Against layoffs at beer company	2,000	-	722	98	14
March for Joe	Anti-violence	Brussels	Apr. 23, 2006	Against violence + in memory of victim	80,000	313	1,018	437	43
Silent March	Anti-violence	Brussels	May 26, 2006	Against racism + in memory of victims of racist killings	20,000	-	1,281	585	46
VW Forest	Old	Brussels	Dec. 2, 2006	Against layoffs at VW factory	15,000	878	878	270	31
<b>Total</b>	-	-	-	-	-	1,627	11,029	4,445	40.3

**Table 2.** International Peace Protest Survey (IPPS): Descriptive Statistics and Response Rates

Country	Type	Place	Date	Aim	No. of participants	No. of oral interviews	No. of mail-in interviews distributed	Completed	Response (%)
US	New	New York, Seattle, San Francisco	Feb. 15, 2003	Stop war against Iraq	1,000,000	-	1,500	698	47
UK	New	London, Glasgow	Feb. 15, 2003	Stop war against Iraq	1,000,000	504	1,400	544	39
Spain	New	Madrid	Feb. 15, 2003	Stop war against Iraq	800,000	-	1,200	445	37
Italy	New	Rome	Feb. 15, 2003	Stop war against Iraq	3,000,000	-	1,025	1,002	98 <sup>a</sup>
Netherlands	New	Amsterdam	Feb. 15, 2003	Stop war against Iraq	70,000	100	1,000	541	54
Switzerland	New	Bern	Feb. 15, 2003	Stop war against Iraq	45,000	181	1,200	637	53
Belgium	New	Brussels	Feb. 15, 2003	Stop war against Iraq	75,000	196	1,100	508	46
Germany	New	Berlin	Feb. 15, 2003	Stop war against Iraq	500,000	-	1,500	780	52
Total	-	-	-	-	-	981	9,925	5,155	46.9

*Note:* <sup>a</sup> The outlying Italian response rate of 98 percent is due to the fact that the Italian team used a different sampling and interview technique than the other teams. All interviews were done orally on the train to the demonstration in Rome. Assessing differences between the Italian and the other data is difficult, since they could just as well be an artifact of the difference in survey procedures (the train survey did not take place at the demonstration venue using the specific protest survey method) or survey respondents (data gathered on the trains towards Rome represents a strong bias towards people coming from farther away). For these reasons the Italian figure in the table should be considered as illustrative and we will not use these data in the remainder of the article.

a social mismatch between the working-class demonstrators anxious about their job insecurity and the student interviewers. We can, of course, speculate about the reasons for differences in response rates, but we do not have an empirical basis to account for them in all cases. One overall observation worth mentioning is that “old social movement” demonstrations get, on average, the lowest response rates (33 percent), followed by the “new social movements” (40 percent), and the “antiviolence” demonstrations (45 percent).

Clearly, protest surveys are also subject to several typical survey problems. Experience has shown that the questionnaire’s length plays a role (see also Rüdig 2006: 14) and that the type of questions affects response rates. Some questions are too difficult or inappropriate for some people and may not only lead to item nonresponse but also to total noncooperation. Non-response on a long battery of questions gauging emotions, for example, proved to be significantly higher for the lower-skilled segments in our samples.

Furthermore, though mail-in protest surveys tend to generate response rates of above 40 percent, the completed questionnaires may be biased and only represent a particular segment of the population. As mentioned earlier, scholars using protest survey evidence tended to remain silent about potential response bias. What we propose and test in the next sections is the combination of short face-to-face interviews with longer mail-in questionnaires. Oral interviews with an almost “perfect” response rate are used to test for the bias in the returned mail-in surveys. By combining both methods, we are able to unite the strengths of both approaches: the near-guarantee of a representative sample (oral) and a large amount of evidence (mail-in). Although some protest surveys in the past relied on both mail-in questionnaires and oral interviews (see table 1), none of the studies in which they were used employed the combination of methods to crosscheck for selection and response bias.

### A PROCEDURE APPROXIMATING RANDOM SAMPLING

There are three main reasons for the skewness of samples drawn from a population of demonstrators. First, not all participants may have had an equal chance to be selected, leading to noncontact with some segments of the targeted population (selection bias). When the sampling strategy secures no equal spread over the entire march, the obtained responses are not representative. Also, if interviewers systematically select a specific type of respondent instead of others, responses cannot be representative. So, we need a sampling strategy that guarantees an equal dispersion and that makes interviewer selection bias unlikely. Second, selected respondents may refuse to collaborate—to undergo a short face-to-face interview or to agree to take home a mail survey (noncooperation bias). So, the procedure needs to reduce the amount of immediate refusals. Third, mail-in survey response may be biased due to the fact that the people who send back their questionnaires differ systematically from the ones who did not (response bias). If these differences are linked to the variables the researcher is interested in, using the sample for scientific research is problematic (Groves, Dillman, Eltinge, and Little 2002). So, we need a way to test for this and to compare the population with the sample. In the remainder of this section we deal with the first source of bias, the selection of respondents. The next sections deal with noncooperation and with response bias.

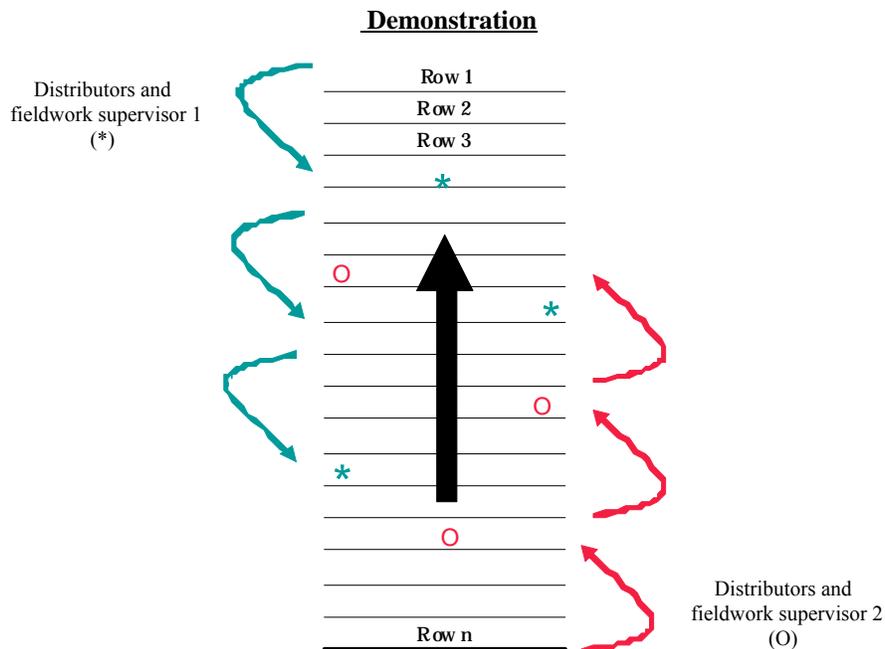
For our series of twenty-two protest surveys, we further elaborated the clever fieldwork method designed by the French team of Favre and Fillieule (Favre et al. 1997: 21-25). They tested three different strategies at three alternative demonstrations in 1994 in Paris and decided that working with moving and counting fieldwork supervisors directing a group of interviewers was the best procedure. In their, and our, method, fieldwork supervisors count rows to ensure a fair dispersion of questionnaires over the whole marching column, giving every demonstrator an equal chance to be singled out. The two (or more) fieldwork supervisors—each accompanied by a team of questionnaire distributors/interviewers—count the rows in the moving cortege and select every  $n^{\text{th}}$  row, after having made an estimate of the size of the entire demonstration. The

same number of rows is skipped throughout the demonstration and the whole procession is covered. This guarantees that all groups, no matter if their members prefer to walk in the first part of a march or in the back, have an equal chance to be part of the sample. One of the two groups of supervisors and distributors starts at the first row in the march and then gradually descends, counting and skipping rows until they arrive at the last row of the moving march. The other group of supervisors and distributors, the sporty ones—they have to overtake the marching crowd—start at the end and gradually work their way up to the head of the march. Each time, a row is selected by the fieldwork supervisor who selects every  $n^{\text{th}}$  person in that row and has the distributor handing out a questionnaire to this individual or orally interviewing that person. Alternately one person at the left side, one at the right side, and one in the middle of a row are selected, again taking into account that some participants will prefer to march at the margins or in the center of the crowd. Figure 1 displays the sampling procedure graphically.

This systematic sampling procedure is more advantageous in some demonstrations than others. If the procession is well organized and people are marching in clearly identifiable blocks—along with comembers of their organization or organized in territorial groups (such as by province)—it is paramount that the whole procession is systematically covered from front to back and from beginning to end. If the demonstration, in contrast, is not made out of specific blocks, and everyone just chooses where to walk and at what pace, it may be less important to cover the entire procession (see also Blanchard and Fillieule 2006: 13).

The sketched sampling procedure is feasible—we applied it in numerous demonstrations across issues and countries—but has obvious limitations. Not all demonstrations are fit to be assessed by this method. For the surveys conducted on the massive antiwar demonstrations of February 15, 2003, the surveyors faced several difficulties in the application of the survey procedure. Many of these demonstrations were extremely large and, thus, fairly static; the streets were congested with people and it was difficult for the fieldwork supervisors and interviewers to get through the whole march to cover each of the groups present for the march. This was the case in London, Madrid, and for the most part also in Berlin (see table 3). Furthermore, it is

**Figure 1.** Sampling Procedure for Moving Crowd



impossible to get a systematic sample in violent and/or irregular demonstrations (or in violent sectors of an otherwise peaceful demonstration). Next, protests have to have a certain size before one can apply the method. When protest events are too small, say less than 5,000 people, interviewers become extremely visible, which may have unwanted effects (Favre et al. 1997).

At the VW Forest demonstration we set up a field experiment, to test whether our fieldwork method would produce a better sample than in an instance in which our interviewers could decide for themselves how to sample the demonstration in the most random way. We divided our interviewers in two equal groups. One group of interviewers was simply instructed to interview and distribute questionnaires as they saw fit while trying to get an optimal sample of the crowd. The other group of interviewers was closely supervised by the fieldwork supervisors; they followed the described fieldwork method in full detail without any leeway to personally select interlocutors—respondents were selected by the supervisors. Table 4 compares the samples of demonstrators drawn via both methods.

First, we need to explain the procedure followed at the VW Forest demonstration. We combined face-to-face with mail-in interviews. After making contact with the interviewee, all interviewers walked along for a short while with the selected respondents asking a few key questions and writing down the answers. Then, they separated (“tore off”) the already completed part of the questionnaire from the larger remainder of it and they handed the second (empty) part to the respondent asking him or her to fill it in at home and send it back. The tear-off and the remaining questionnaire were labeled with an identification number, allowing for the accurate measurement of nonresponse (see below).

Table 4 contains tests for statistically significant differences between the systematic and nonsystematic sampling (drawing on the respondents who sent back their questionnaire). We use the Mann Whitney U test, a nonparametric test for assessing whether two independent samples of observations come from the same distribution. The Mann Whitney U test, being a central tendency test, is not relying on means or variances, and is not presupposing normal distribution. Since most of our variables are measured at the ordinal level, this makes the test preferable to t-tests, which presuppose interval-level variables (with fixed distances between the variable’s values) and a normal distribution. Therefore, the test is based on ranks of the original variable rather than on the values themselves. Additionally, the fact that it is based on ranks rather than on intervals or categories makes it suited for using the same test for all variables (on different levels). A positive sign refers to a positive correlation with the variable in the group that was sampled by the nonsystematic interviewers. For example, the “+\*” entry on the third line indicates that nonsystematic interviewers tended to select people with an on average higher education than the systematic interviewers and that this difference is statistically significant.

Table 4 suggests that there are interviewer selection effects—interviewers tend to pick out specific conversation partners and, thus, are not able to select a truly random sample. “Free” interviewers at the VW Forest demonstration tended to select interlocutors with a more than average high education, with a high interest in politics, who were not working at VW Forest, who did not agree with a number of highly polarized and “anticapitalist” statements (they are less radical), who displayed less “hope” and “fighting spirit,” and who came less with family and colleagues. These differences make perfect sense. We anticipate interviewers prefer talking to approachable peers (see Favre et al.: 22-23). As the interviewers were highly skilled students in social sciences, they probably unconsciously or deliberately avoided approaching angry blue-collar workers that demonstrated in a group of colleagues displaying a good deal of “fighting spirit.” So, adopting a systematic and strict sampling procedure seems to make a difference and leads to a substantially different, and most likely better, sample of respondents. Splitting the task of selecting respondents and interviewing them is a fruitful strategy (Seidler et al. 1976). Note that in table 4 we cannot definitely rule out the possibility that we are dealing here with both selection as well as response bias at the same time. That does not change the conclusion, though, that the different procedures generate different results and that the systematic sampling most likely generates better results.

**Table 4.** Selection Bias Resulting from Systematic Versus Nonsystematic Sampling at VW Forest Demonstration. Direction and Significance (Mann Whitney U Test).

	Face-to-face + mail-in response
Sex (male-female)	ns
Age (years)	ns
Education (1-7)	+*
Interest in politics (0-10)	+***
Union member (no-yes)	ns
Working at VW Forest (no-yes)	-.***
Job function (manual worker-employee-executive/management)	ns
Know someone working at VW forest (no-yes)	ns
“We must foremost send a clear message to the VW management in Forest” (importance 1-5)	-.*
“I took to the streets in the first place to denounce the fact that ordinary workers are exploited” (importance 1-5)	-.*
“If shareholders would not have been so greedy, many more people could have kept their jobs” (importance 1-5)	-.*
Emotions:	
hope (1-7)	-.**
fighting spirit (1-7)	-.**
Company:	
family (no-yes)	-.*
colleagues (no-yes)	-.*
others (no-yes)	+*
N systematic sampling	154
N nonsystematic sampling	113

\*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ ; ns = not significant.

## NONCOOPERATION

The sample can also be biased by respondents immediately refusing to collaborate when addressed by the interviewers. As shown in table 1, direct refusal rates in protest surveys are low most of the time. When people are approached for an interview or asked to accept a mail-in questionnaire, the large majority agrees. Acceptance rates always surpass 80 percent and sometimes approached total collaboration. On average, immediate noncooperation is lower than 10 percent. In face-to-face situations, demonstrators hardly ever refuse to orally answer a few noninvasive questions (see also Rüdig 2006; Fisher, Stanley, Bergmann, and Neff 2005; Seidler, et al. 1976; Goss 2003).

When experimenting with distribution methods and interviewer features at the VW Forest demonstration, we found interesting differences in refusal rates. Remember that we used the “tear off” system with an initial short face-to-face interview followed by a second longer mail-in questionnaire. General refusal rate for this dual interview was 12 percent. Interviewers who were allowed to select their interlocutor themselves (i.e., not following the strict method) found

more willing conversation partners than interviewers following the strict method. The collaboration rate among “free” interviewers was 92 percent, while among “systematic” interviewers it was “only” 85 percent. This difference, again, indirectly suggests that interviewers, when let free, tend to choose respondents who appear to be “approachable” and avoid difficult respondents; and they are often right in their intuitive choice (or, interviewers may feel more at ease with the people they selected themselves, leading to a better interaction and consequently better response rates). Once more, this underscores the importance of strictly guiding the interviewers and not giving them the opportunity to select their respondents themselves, even more so when they have to personally interview the selected respondents (and not just hand out a questionnaire).

### RESPONSE BIAS

To test for the representativeness of the mail-in survey, at eight of the twenty-two demonstrations, a sample of other demonstrators was interviewed face-to-face (see tables 2 and 3). Both across issues and across nations we can compare face-to-face interviews with mail-in surveys. With response rates of face-to-face interviews close to 100 percent, we consider this a benchmark to test the response bias of the mail-in surveys with response rates of about 40 percent. The comparison is not entirely unproblematic, however, as face-to-face sampling in these eight demonstrations was less “random” and “systematic” than the mail-in sampling procedure. Indeed, the gathering crowd before the start of the demonstration was divided into sectors, and each interviewer randomly, often following a specific procedure, selected a fixed number of respondents in his or her sector (see also Seidler et al. 1976). The problem with such face-to-face sampling is, as shown above, that the selection procedure gives the interviewer significant freedom in selecting respondents he/she “likes” at first sight. Thus, while non-response is problematic for mail-in surveys, the sampling for face-to-face surveys is imperfect due to interviewer selection bias.

Table 5 compares face-to-face interviews with mail-in interviews for four demonstrations in Belgium on various issues. For these demonstrations we have enough oral interviews to be able to compare them with the more numerous mail-in surveys. We observe hardly any significant differences between both samples—we must acknowledge though that sample sizes are small. To reach significance, therefore, differences must be substantial. Regarding socio-demographics, in two of the four demonstrations female respondents are overrepresented among the mail-in respondents (see the “+\*\*\*” and “+\*” entries on the first line). At the Education demonstration, older demonstrators appeared to be more willing to return the completed questionnaire. In terms of political participation there are few differences: prior participation in demonstrations was associated with an increased response rate at the Social Security demonstration but a decreased response rate at the Education demonstration. Only one attitudinal variable is significant: at the antiracist demonstration, mail-in respondents were less satisfied with democracy in general. By and large, differences between both samples—face-to-face versus mail-in—are small, suggesting there is no evidence to believe mail-in surveys are biased toward specific respondents. Yet, we repeat that the N of these comparisons is rather small.

Table 6 undertakes the same exercise for four of the antiwar demonstrations in different countries. Differences are somewhat stronger and the sample sizes are considerably larger, but remain limited. In three countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, and the UK) female respondents seemed more likely to return their questionnaire; in three countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland) older people collaborated more easily with the mail-in surveying; in all four countries higher skilled people completed the questionnaire more frequently. Women tend to complete mail surveys more frequently (Porter and Whitcomb 2005) and young people respond less frequently (Kaplowitz, Hadlock, and Levine 2004). These findings correspond neatly with the current literature. No behavioral and attitudinal variables display any difference between

**Table 5.** Response Bias at Four Belgian Demonstrations on Different Issues: Comparison of Face-to-Face and Mail-in Surveys. Direction and Significance (Mann Whitney U test).

	<b>Antiracism</b>	<b>Nonprofit sector</b>	<b>Social Security</b>	<b>Education</b>
Sex (male-female)	ns	+***	+*	ns
Age (years)	ns	ns	ns	+*
Education (1-7)	ns	ns	ns	ns
Participated in demo before (no-yes)	ns	ns	+*	-***
Interest in politics (1-10)	ns	ns	ns	ns
Protest company (open-closed) <sup>a</sup>	ns	ns	ns	ns
Mobilization (open-closed) <sup>b</sup>	ns	ns	ns	ns
Participation decision (today-last week-few weeks ago-more than a month ago)	ns	ns	ns	ns
Satisfaction democracy (1-5)	-*	ns	ns	ns
Union member (no-yes)	ns	ns	ns	ns
<b>N face to face</b>	125	120	99	92
<b>N mail-in</b>	337	254	256	299

\* p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p≤.001; ns = nonsignificant.

Notes: <sup>a</sup> “first time,” “2-5 times before,” “5-10 times before,” “10-20 times before,” “20+ times before,” “2-5 times before,” “5-10 times before,” “10-20 times before,” “20+ times before.” <sup>b</sup> The company scale was constructed from “open” to “closed” company categories: “with partner,” “with family,” “with friends,” “with colleagues/fellow students,” “with fellow organization members” (multiple answers).

**Table 6.** Response Bias at Antiwar Demonstrations (2/15/2003) in Three Different Nations: Comparison of Face-to-Face and Mail-in Surveys. Direction and Sig. (Mann Whitney U test).

	<b>Belgium</b>	<b>Netherlands</b>	<b>Switzerland</b>	<b>UK</b>
Sex (male-female)	+*	+*	ns	+***
Age (years)	+***	+**	+*	ns
Education (1-7)	+***	+*	+***	+*
Protest frequency (low-high) <sup>a</sup>	ns	ns	ns	ns
Interest in politics (1-10)	ns	ns	ns	ns
Protest company (open-closed) <sup>b</sup>	ns	ns	ns	ns
Satisfaction with government's antiwar efforts (1-5)	ns	ns	ns	ns
<b>N face-to-face</b>	510	542	637	1,124
<b>N mail-in</b>	196	100	101	504

\* p<.05; \*\*p<.01; \*\*\*p≤.001; ns = nonsignificant.

Notes: <sup>a</sup> “first time,” “2-5 times before,” “5-10 times before,” “10-20 times before,” “20+ times before,” “2-5 times before,” “5-10 times before,” “10-20 times before,” “20+ times before.” <sup>b</sup> The company scale was constructed from “open” to “closed” company categories: “with partner,” “with family,” “with friends,” “with colleagues/fellow students,” “with fellow organization members” (multiple answers).

**Table 7.** Response Bias at the Belgian March for Joe and VW Forest Demonstration Surveys. Comparison of Face-to-Face Only with Face-to-Face + Mail-in Surveys. Direction and Significance (Mann Whitney U test).

	March for Joe	VW Forest
Sex (male-female)	ns	ns
Age (years)	+**	+***
Education (1-7)	ns	—
Interest in politics (1-10)	ns	ns
Ethnicity (Caucasian-other)	ns	—
Emotions <sup>a</sup>	ns	—
Participation aims <sup>b</sup>	ns	—
Union member (no-yes)	—	ns
Working at VW Forest (no-yes)	—	ns
Job function (manual worker-employee-exec./manager)	—	ns
Know someone working at VW Forest (no-yes)	—	ns
Issue position <sup>c</sup>	—	+*
<b>N face to face only</b>	193	608
<b>N face to face+mail-in</b>	106	270

\*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ ; ns = nonsignificant; — = not asked.

Notes: <sup>a</sup> We confronted the respondents with a long list of emotions (like anger, fear, hope, etc) and asked them to score them with regards to the issue of the demonstration (1-7). None of these emotions differed significantly between the two samples. <sup>b</sup> We confronted the March for Joe participants with five statements on the issue of the demonstration and the reason of their participation in the demonstration? None of the statements gave a significant difference. <sup>c</sup> “VW’s management tries to play off the different branches against one another to force the workers to accept lower wages,” (0, totally disagree to 5, fully agree).

samples, nor do we find that more radical or engaged respondents would be more willing to send back their questionnaires as typically found in employee surveys (Borg and Turen 2003).

How should we interpret the differences we found? We believe they more likely point towards interviewer selection bias than to response bias. Men and young adults are significantly overrepresented among the face-to-face interviews. It seems that our (also) young and predominantly male interviewers tended to select more female and younger conversation partners for their face-to-face interviews or, inversely, that female and older respondents more frequently sent back their mail-in questionnaire. The observed gender and age differences might be due both to a response (mail) as to a selection (face-to-face) bias. The educational differences—highly skilled people are in general more willing to participate in an intellectual exercise such as filling in a questionnaire (Couper and Groves 1996)—more clearly point towards a response bias. It is probably the case that our highly skilled interviewers tended to more frequently select peers but even within that specific selection the more skilled people more readily participated.

In order to provide a stronger and more direct test for whether the small differences between the face-to-face and mail-in samples are due to biased selection (face-to-face) or biased response (mail-in) we devised a different research design for the March for Joe and the VW Forest demonstration. This time, we only sampled people *during* the march relying on the method of counting the rows and the fieldwork supervisors indicating the precise respondent to be addressed. As already stated, interviewers conducted a short face-to-face interview combined with a second part of the questionnaire handed out to the same respondent. This design allows us to better test whether or not responses on mail-in surveys were biased: the sampling procedure is similar and (almost) perfect information about the population is available. Results are documented in table 7.

The table indicates that response bias is minimal and that differences between respondents are small. Only one variable seems to affect response and that is, again, age. As suggested above, older people are more prone to collaborate with the researchers. We found this fairly strong response effect regarding age among both the March for Joe and VW Forest demonstrators. It is unclear whether older people have more time or show more respect for the interviewers or whether young people consider answering a mail questionnaire to be old fashioned (Rüdig 2006). We can conclude also that the more direct tests suggest that the nonresponse bias is small for the mail-in surveys, at least for the variables we included in our face-to-face questionnaires.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

We started with the observation that while protest surveys are increasingly used to assess demonstrators' sociodemographic backgrounds as well as attitudes and behavior, scholars have only started to reflect on the validity of the evidence these surveys generate. The literature is scattered and noncumulative, and data are often accepted at face value. This study attempts to initiate a methodological debate about protest survey design. Earlier work is punctuated by two main problems: a lack of thorough reflection on sampling strategies and an absence of accounting for response bias. We have attempted to begin remedying both problems by providing a transparent and systematic sampling procedure and by introducing a method to test for response bias.

Drawing upon an original dataset containing twenty-two different protest surveys applied to demonstrations on varying issues and in eight different countries, we have outlined a proven method for collecting protest survey data and have introduced guidelines to secure an approximately random sample of demonstrators. The fieldwork method ensures that the selection approaches randomness by generating an equal dispersion over the whole demonstration's population. We showed that the systematic fieldwork method designed to secure uniform coverage of the whole demonstration delivers better results than less systematic approaches, where interviewers were allowed to select their interlocutors according to their own procedures. Moreover, interviewer selection bias can be measurably reduced when the tasks of selecting respondents and interviewing them are attributed to two different individuals. Protest surveys following the standardized template yield response rates of around 40 percent in most cases. Except for some specific cases, the procedure seemed to perform quite well in various circumstances.

To assess whether returned mail-in questionnaires are a true reflection of the demonstration's population as a whole, we conducted a series of field experiments. We combined face-to-face surveys having very high response rates with mail-in surveys having smaller response rates. The procedure in which the same respondent is briefly interviewed orally and then asked to take a second part of the questionnaire home and send it back is noteworthy for yielding convincing results. All experiments demonstrated that differences between both samples are usually small. The only systematic difference seems to be age: older people complete and return questionnaire more often than younger people. By and large, there is more proof of interviewer selection bias (interviewers' selection of respondents is biased) than there is proof of response bias (collaborating respondents being systematically biased compared to noncollaborative ones).

Scholarly work drawing on protest surveys is increasingly common, but the method is still in its infancy. We made headway with standardizing and formalizing the technique but the method can be refined and extended further—subsequent studies should at least systematically incorporate tests for response bias. First of all, for practical reasons, large, announced, and peaceful collective action events will be easier to cover than smaller, unannounced, and disruptive events. Small demonstrations, as mentioned, are more difficult to cover since interviewers are too conspicuous. Also, only demonstrations that are announced at least a couple of days beforehand are covered, since this is the minimum amount of time required to construct

issue-related questions, assemble a team of interviewers, and get the questionnaires printed. Protest that is estimated to be potentially violent will not be covered in order to avoid endangering the interviewers, and when a peaceful demonstration turns violent, the survey mission is immediately aborted. These are but a few examples of the practical limits of the method, and they surely need to be investigated further.

Also, protest surveys typically produce snapshots and not films. A single protest event is picked out of an often-longer protest cycle. Consequently, protest surveys ignore the longitudinal aspect of protesting. Recent social movement and political participation studies, though, tend to put protest careers and patterns of recurring protest participation center stage (Klandermans 1997; Downton and Wehr 1998). The largest challenge for protest surveying is to incorporate a longitudinal dimension in its design. Securing data from single individuals over time allows an evolution from a cross-sectional to a panel design that is more capable of coping with diachronic phenomena. Also, scholars should explore techniques that may increase the response rate of the mail-in surveys. Inspired by Dillman's (2000) Total Design Method, one may search for ways to identify demonstrators in order to send reminders in case of non-response. Yet, whatever expansions and refinements the method may witness in the future, we showed in this article that the core of the method is valid and can yield, when respecting certain procedures and rules, better evidence than when the method is not followed. We suggest subsequent studies would incorporate these simple rules and procedures in their designs.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Other types are possible too. For example, one may distribute self-administered questionnaires, ask people to complete the questionnaire while protesting, and collect the filled-in questionnaires at the end of the event. Or, one may ask protesters to go to a website and fill in an online questionnaire. Still, we choose mail-in surveys, as these are non-intrusive during the act of protest and do not presume online access of all protest participants.

<sup>2</sup> The authors wish to thank Jeroen Van Laer for his numerous efforts in helping out and organizing several of the protest survey efforts this article draws on.

<sup>3</sup> All IPPS data are available at [www.m2p.be/IPPS](http://www.m2p.be/IPPS) and free to use with appropriate reference: International Peace Protest Survey (IPPS) 2003, with Stefaan Walgrave (coordinator), Joris Verhulst (Belgium), Bert Klandermans (Netherlands), Dieter Rucht (Germany), Michelle Beyeler (Switzerland), Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani (Italy), Lance W. Bennett (US), Wolfgang Rüdiger (UK) and Manuel Jiménez (Spain).

## REFERENCES

- Bédoyan, Isabelle, Peter Van Aelst, and Stefaan Walgrave. 2004. "Limitations and Possibilities of Transnational Mobilization: The Case of EU Summit Protesters in Brussels 2001." *Mobilization* 9(1): 39-54.
- Blanchard, Philippe, and Olivier Fillieule. 2010. "Individual Surveys in Rallies (INSURA): A new tool for exploring transnational activism?" Pp. 186-210 in *The Transnational Condition. Protest Dynamics in an Entangled Europe*, Simon Teune, ed. Berlin: Bergahn Books.
- Borg, Ingwer, and Tracy Turen. 2003. "Early versus Later Respondents in Internet-based, Organizational Surveys." *Journal of Behavioral and Applied Management* 4(1): 1-17.
- Botetzagias Iosif, and Moses Boudourides. 2004. "Perceptions of War and Justice amongst Greek Mobilisers: The Case of Iraq Second War." Paper presented at the Conference "'Critically Thinking Global Resistance One Year Later': A Conference on the Global Protest of February 15, 2003, and the Movement against the War in Iraq." Columbia University, New York, March 27-28.
- Boserup, Anders, and Claus Iversen. 1966. "Demonstrations as a Source of Change." *Journal of Peace Research* 3(4): 328-48.
- Couper, Mick P., and Robert M. Groves. 1996. "Social Environmental Impacts on Survey Cooperation." *Quality and Quantity* 30: 173-188.
- della Porta, Donatella. 2004. "Multiple Belongings, Flexible Identities and the Construction of 'Another Politics': Between the European Social Forum and the Local Social Fora." Pp. 175-202 in *Trans-*

- national Movement and Global Activism*, edited by Donatella Della Porta and Sidney Tarrow. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- della Porta, Donatella, Massimiliano Andretta, Lorenzo Mosca, and Herbert Reiter. 2006. *Globalization From Below: Transnational Activists And Protest Networks*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Dillman, Don A. 2000. *Mail and Internet Surveys: The Tailored Design Method*. New York: John Wiley.
- Downton, James, and Jr. Paul Wehr. 1998. "Persistent Pacifism. How Activist Commitment is Developed and Sustained." *Journal of Peace Research* 35(5): 531-50.
- Etzioni, Amitai. 1970. *Demonstrating Democracy*. New York: Gordon and Breach.
- Favre, Philippe, Olivier Fillieule, and Nonna Mayer. 1997. « La fin d'une étrange lacune de la sociologie des mobilisations: L'étude par sondage des manifestants: fondements théoriques et solutions techniques." *Revue Française de Science Politique* 47: 3-28.
- Fillieule, Olivier. 1997. *Stratégies de la rue. Les manifestations en France*. Paris : Presses de Sciences Po.
- Fisher, Dana R., Kevin Stanley, David Bergmann, and Gina Neff. 2005. "How Do Organizations Matter? Mobilization and Support for Participants at Five Globalization Protests." *Social Problems* 52(1): 102-121.
- Fisher, Dana R. 2007. "Taking Cover Beneath the Anti-Bush Umbrella: Cycles of Protest and Movement-to-Movement Transmissions in an Era of Repressive Politics." *Politics and Globalization, Research in Political Sociology* 15: 27-55.
- Giugni, Marco, Marko Bandler, and Nina Eggert. 2006. "The Global Justice Movement." Civil Society and Social Movements Programme Paper Number 24, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Goss, Kristin A. 2000. "The Million Mom March: A Preliminary Report on Survey Findings." Department of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- . 2003. "Rethinking the Political Participation Paradigm: The Case of Women & Gun Control." *Women & Politics* 25(4): 83-118.
- Groves, Robert M., Don A. Dillman, John L. Eltinge, and Roderick J.A. Little. 2002. *Survey Nonresponse*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Heaney, Michael, and Fabio Rojas. 2007. "Partisans, Nonpartisans, and the Antiwar Movement in the United States." *American Politics Research* 35(4): 431-64.
- . 2004. "A Strategic Approach to Collective Action: Looking for Agency in Social Movement Choices." *Mobilization* 9(1): 1-30.
- Jasper, James M., and Jane Poulsen. 1995. "Recruiting Strangers and Friends: Moral Shocks and Social Networks in Animal Rights and Anti-Nuclear Protests." *Social Problems* 42(4): 493-512.
- Jenkins, Robin. 1967. "Who Are These Marchers?" *Journal of Peace Research* 4(1): 46-60.
- Kaplowitz, Michael, Timothy Hadlock, and Ralph Levine. 2004. "A Comparison of Web and Mail Survey Response Rates." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 68: 94-101.
- Klandermans, Bert. 1997. *The Social Psychology of Protest*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Klandermans, Bert, and Dirk Oegema. 1987. "Potentials, Networks, Motivations and Barriers: Steps Towards Participation in Social Movements." *American Sociological Review* 52: 519-31.
- Klandermans, Bert, and Jackie Smith. 2002. "Survey Research: A Case for Comparative Designs." Pp. 3-31 in *Methods of Social Movement Research*, edited by Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Klandermans, Bert, and Jacquelin van Stekelenburg. 2005. "Promoting or Preventing Social Change? Perceived Threat (Instrumental/Ideological) and Identity as Protest Participation Motives." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Philadelphia, PA.
- Ladd, Anthony, Thomas C. Hood, and Kent D. Van Liere. 1983. "Ideological Themes in the Antinuclear Movement: Consensus and Diversity." *Sociological Inquiry* 53(2-3): 252-72.
- McPhail, Clark. 1991. *The Myth of the Madding Crowd*. New York: Aldine De Gruyter.
- . 1994. "Social Behavior in Public Places: From Clusters to Arcs and Rings." Pp. 35-57 in *The Community of The Streets*, edited by Spencer Cahill and Lyn H. Lofland. Greenwich, CN: JAI Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 2002. *Democratic Phoenix*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, Pippa, Stefaan Walgrave, and Peter Van Aelst. 2005. "Who Demonstrates? Anti-State Rebels or Conventional Participants? Or Everyone?" *Comparative Politics* 2(37): 251-75.
- Parkin, Frank. 1968. *Middle Class Radicalism: The Social Bases of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament*. New York: Praeger.
- Porter, Stephen, and Michael Whitcomb. 2005. "Non-response in Student Surveys: The Role of Demographics, Engagement and Personality." *Research in Higher Education* 46: 127-152.

- Putnam, Robert. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Rootes, Chris, and Clare Saunders. 2007. "Demonstrations of Democracy: The Make Poverty History and Stop Climate Chaos Marches." Paper presented at the European Consortium for Political Research Joint Workshops, Helsinki, May 7-12.
- Rüdiger, Wolfgang. 2006. *Assessing Nonresponse Bias in Activist Surveys: A Study of 2003 Anti-Iraq War Protesters in Scotland*. Unpublished paper. University of Strathclyde, Department of Government, Glasgow. Online on [http://www.strath.ac.uk/media/departments/government/Assessing\\_non\\_response\\_bias\\_in\\_activist\\_surveys.pdf](http://www.strath.ac.uk/media/departments/government/Assessing_non_response_bias_in_activist_surveys.pdf).
- Rüdiger, Wolfgang, Lynn G. Bennie, and Mark N. Franklin. 1991. *Green Party Members: A Profile*. Glasgow: Delta Publications.
- Scaminaci, James, and Riley E. Dunlap. 1986. "No Nukes! A Comparison of Participants in Two National Antinuclear Demonstrations." *Sociological Inquiry* 56: 259-88.
- Schweingruber, David, and Clark McPhail. 1999. "A Method for Systematically Observing and Recording Collective Action." *Sociological Methods Research* 27: 451-98.
- Seidler, John, Katherine Meyer, and Lois MacGillivray. 1976. "Collecting Data on Crowds and Rallies." *Social Forces* 55(2): 507-18.
- Tourangeau, Roger, Lance J. Rips, and Kenneth Rasinski. 2000. *The Psychology of Survey Response*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Aelst, Peter, and Stefaan Walgrave. 2001. "Who Is That (wo)man in the Street? From the Normalisation of Protest to the Normalisation of the Protester." *European Journal of Political Research* 39: 461-86.
- Van Stekelenburg, Jacquélien. 2006. "Promoting or Preventing Social Change: Instrumentality, Identity, Ideology and Group-based Anger as Motives of Protest Participation." Doctoral Dissertation, Amsterdam, Free University.
- Verhulst, Joris, and Stefaan Walgrave. 2007. "Protest and Protesters in Advanced Industrial Democracies: The Case of the 15<sup>th</sup> February Global Anti-war Demonstrations." Pp. 124-144 in *Civil Societies and Social Movements: Potentials and Problems*, edited by Derrick Purdue. London: Routledge.
- . 2009. "The First Time is the Hardest? A Cross-national and Cross-issue Comparison of First-time Protest Participants." *Political Behavior* 31(3): 455-84.
- Waddington, David. 1988. *Flashpoints of Public Disorder*. London: Methuen.
- Walgrave, Stefaan, and Bert Klandermans. 2009. "Patterns of Mobilization." Pp. 169-193 in *Protest Politics: Antiwar Mobilization in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, edited by Stefaan Walgrave and Dieter Rucht. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.
- Walgrave, Stefaan, and Dieter Rucht (eds). 2009. *Protest Politics: Antiwar Mobilization in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.
- Walgrave, Stefaan, and Joris Verhulst. 2006. "Towards 'New Emotional Movements'? A Comparative Exploration into a Specific Movement Type." *Social Movement Studies* 5(3): 275-304.
- . 2009. "Government Stance and Internal Diversity of Protest." *Social Forces* 87(3): 1355-87.