
BIBLIOGRAPHY

The primary texts listed are documents that have been explicitly cited and come from a range of sources: mainstream news, activist news and activists' statements and analyses found on websites and in print. All print books and articles from academic journals are included as secondary texts.

1. PRIMARY TEXTS

ACME Collective (1999) *N30 Black Bloc Communiqué*. Available at:

http://www.geocities.com/kk_abacus/ACME.html; last accessed 05/05/03.

Ainger, K. (2003) "Against the Misery of Power, the Politics of Happiness" in *New Internationalist 360: Reinventing Power*.

Allison, R. (2003) "London Police Braced for Violent Protests at Europe's Biggest Arms Fair" in *The Guardian*, 06/09/2003.

Amnesty International (2001) "Forty Years of AI" available on *Amnesty International Website* at: <http://web.amnesty.org/flash/40th/flashmovie.html>; last accessed: 18/08/05

Anderson, T. (2005) "Thousands march to demand withdrawal of troops from Iraq" in *The Independent on Sunday*, 25/09/05.

Anon. (1963) "From Oxford to Chad" in *The Economist 209(1)*, p. 37.

Anon. (1998) "Talks Failure is Bad for the World's Poor" in *The Independent*, 28/04/1998.

Anon. (1999) "The New Trade War" in *The Economist*, 04/12/1999.

Anon. (2001) "Give Peace a Chance? A Peace Movement Springs Up" in *The Economist*, 22/11/2001.

Anon. (2002) "Anti-Capitalism as Ideology, and as Movement?" in *Aufheben 10*, available at:

http://www.geocities.com/nowar_buttheclawar/aufheben_articles.html; last accessed: 10/10/2003.

Anon. (2004) "New Politics Takes a Bow" in *The Guardian*, 18/10/2004.

- Applebaum, A.** (2001) "Anti-Americanism Creates Some Strange Bedfellows" in *The Sunday Telegraph*, 16/09/2001.
- Appleyard, B.** (2001) "Why do they Hate America?" in *The Sunday Times*, 23/09/2001.
- Arthey, J.** (undated) "Christian Aid 1970 – Present", available on *Christian Aid's 60th Anniversary*, at: http://www.surefish.co.uk/ca60/ca_history_1970_present.htm; last accessed: 15/08/05.
- Bauman, Z.** (2001) "Quality and Inequality" in *The Guardian*, 29/12/01.
- BBC** (2001) "US planned attack on Taleban" on *BBC News*, 18/09/01. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/1550366.stm; last accessed: 15/04/05.
- Becker, T.** (2003) "The ESF comes to London - or does it?" in *Weekly Worker* 498, 02/10/2003.
- Brenner, R. & Dewar, J.** (2003) "Anticapitalist Manifestos: Monbiot, Albert and Callinicos" in *Fifth International: Journal of the League for the Fifth International* 1, pp. 101-120.
- CAFOD** (undated) "The Story of CAFOD", available on *CAFOD Website* at: http://www.cafod.org.uk/about_cafod/history/timeline; last accessed: 15/08/05
- Callinicos, A.** (2001) *The Anti-Capitalist Movement and the Revolutionary Left*, a strategic document for the SWP, available at: http://www.swp.org.uk/swp_archive_list.php?issue_id=176; last accessed, 03/07/05.
- Callinicos, A.** (2003) "War Under Attack" in *Socialist Review*, April 2003.
- Campbell, D.** (2001) "Anti-War Rally Gains Pace in New York, Pacifists Globalisation Effort Gives Way to Peace Protest" in *The Guardian*, 20/09/2001.
- Chomsky, N.** (2002) "Chom'pin at the Bit, an Interview with Noam Chomsky" in *Schnews* 386, *Winter Solstice*, 2002
- Chomsky, N.** (2004) "On The Strength of Movements" at a meeting of the *Another World is Possible! Network*, April 2004, Budapest. Video footage of this discussion is available at: <http://www.lehetmasavilag.hu/chomsky.html>; last accessed: 10/05/04.
- Christian Aid** (undated) "We Want Change" on *Pressure Works*, available at: http://www.pressureworks.org/dosomething/why/we_want_change.html; last accessed: 15/08/05.
- Clark, J. and Mahnaimi, U.** (2002) "Bush trains his military sights on the Iran-Iraq 'axis of evil' War on terrorism" in *The Sunday Times*, 03/02/2002.

- Cohen, N.** (2003) "The Lesson the Left has Never Learnt" in *The New Statesman*, 21/07/2003.
- Collins, P. & Cook, F.** (2003) "People of Britain vote for peace" in *The Mail on Sunday*, 16/02/03
- CPGB** (2004) "European Social Forum – Control and 'Consensus'" in *Weekly Worker* 521
- DAAWN** (2003) "Direct Action Against War Now", flyer distributed early February, 2003.
- De Angelis, M.** (2005) "Opposing Fetishism by Reclaiming Our Powers" on *The Open Space Forum*. Available at: http://www.openspaceforum.net/twiki/tiki-print_article.php?articleId=23; last accessed: 11/11/05.
- Ellis-Jones, M.** (2003) *States of Unrest III. Resistance to IMF and World Bank Policies in Poor Countries*, available at: <http://www.wdm.org.uk/campaigns/cambriefs/debt/stateunrest3/unrest3e.htm>; last accessed: 12/08/05.
- ESF** (2002) *Call of the Social Movements*, 12/11/2002. Available at: <http://www.resist.org.uk/reports/archive/esf/esfantiwarcall.html>; last accessed: 15/04/05.
- Fairford Peacewatch** (undated) "Peacewatching". Available on *Fairford Peacewatch Website* at: <http://www.fairfordpeacewatch.com/peacewatching.html>; last accessed: 15/04/05.
- Dodson** (2001) "The History of Anti-Capitalism Protests" in *The Guardian*, 01/05/2001.
- Fairtrade Foundation** (undated) "The Fairtrade Mark. Core Standards and Practices Behind the Five Guarantees" available at: http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/downloads/pdf/five_guarantees.pdf; last accessed: 10/09/05.
- Fashionably Late Collective** (2002) *Disobedience*. Available on *Indymedia UK*, 28/09/2002, at: <http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2002/09/105187.html>; last accessed: 15/04/05.
- Ferguson, E.** (2003) "The Peace Marches: One million. And Still They Came" in *The Observer*, 16/02/2003.
- Fisk, R.** (2003) "A Million March in London But, Faced With Disaster, the Arabs are Like Mice" in *The Independent*, 18/02/2003.

- Fourth International** (1938) “The Transitional Program”, available on *Marxist Archive Website* at: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/works/1938-tp/>; last accessed: 07/07/05
- Gloucestershire Weapons Inspectors** (undated) “Mission” available on *Gloucestershire Weapons Inspectors Website* at: <http://cynatech.co.uk/gwi/mission.htm>; last accessed: 15/04/05.
- Hale, T.** (2005) “Globalising Freedom” published on *Open Democracy*, available at: <http://www.opendemocracy.net/debates/article-3-77-2372.jsp>; last accessed: 26/08/05.
- Hardstaff, P.** (2003) “Treacherous Conditions. How IMF and World Bank Policies Tied to Debt Relief are undermining development.” in *World Bank Debt Reports*, available at: <http://www.wdm.org.uk/campaigns/cambriefs/debt/treachcond.pdf>; last accessed: 12/08/05.
- Harnden, T.** (2002) “Bush readies US for struggle with the ‘axis of evil’: State of the Union” in *The Daily Telegraph*, 31/01/02.
- Harris, P.** (2003) “People Power Takes to the World’s Streets” in *The Guardian*, 16/02/2003.
- Hertz, N.** (2001) “We Beg to Differ” in *The Guardian*, 17/09/2001.
- Hodkinson, S.** (2002) “Another European Social Forum is Necessary: Reflections on Florence” on *Red Pepper Online*, available at: <http://www.redpepper.org.uk/intarch/x-anotheresf.htm>; last accessed: 12/12/05.
- Hodkinson, S., et al.** (2004) “For a Participatory ESF 2004: a Process Proposal”, circulated widely through email discussion lists, April 2004.
- Jasper, L., et al.** (2004) “Unwelcome Anarchy at the European Social Forum” in *The Guardian*, 19/10/2004
- Jones, T.** (2002) “Direct Action to Stop The War – Bulletin One”, widely circulated by email, 12/11/02.
- Jones, T. & Hardstaff, P.** (2005) “Denying Democracy. How the IMF and World Bank take power from the people.” in *World Bank Debt Reports*, available at: <http://www.wdm.org.uk/democracy/democracy.pdf>; last accessed: 01/09/05.
- Klein, N.** (2001) “A Fete for the End of the End of History” in *World Social Forum: Memorial*, available at: http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/dinamic/eng_bnaomi.php; last accessed: 20/10/05.
- Klein, N.** (2003) “Cut the Strings” in *The Guardian*, 01/02/03.

- London Social Forum**, undated, "Local Social Forums" available on *London Social Forum Website* at <http://www.londonsocialforum.org.uk/links-forums.htm>; last accessed: 25/05/03
- Lovett, A.** (2004) "The WTO and global trade after Cancún" from the *Oxfam Website* available at: http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/trade/interview_alovett.htm; last accessed: 15/08/05
- McLeish, P.** (2003) "Listen Up! Act Up! Serve the Needs of the Hive Mind! Towards an Effective and Participatory European Social Forum" on *The Commoner*, available at: <http://www.thecommoner.org.uk/01-12groundzero.htm>; last accessed: 18/11/05.
- Marshall, A., Woodroffe, J. & Kjell, P.** (2001) "Policies to roll-back the State and privatise?: Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers investigated" published on *Eldis Gateway to Development Information*, available at: <http://www.eldis.org/static/DOC9285.htm>; last accessed: 12/08/05.
- Medley, G.W.** (1887) *Fair trade unmasked: or, notes on the minority report of the Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry*. Cassell & Co., London.
- Monbiot, G.** (2003) "A wilful blindness. Why can't liberal interventionists see that Iraq is part of a bid to cement US global power?" in *The Guardian*, 11/03/2003.
- Naidoo, K.** (2004) "Civil Society and Power Shift" in *Global Agenda*. Available at: <http://www.globalagendamagazine.com/2004/kuminaidoo.asp>
- Olnier, D.** (2002) "War with Iraq will make the world more dangerous, not less" on *Sheffield Base*, available at: <http://www.shef.ac.uk/base/waroniraq.shtml>; last accessed: 27/08/05.
- Oxfam** (undated) "A Short History of Oxfam" in *About Oxfam*, available at: http://www.oxfam.org.uk/about_us/history/index.htm; last accessed: 15/08/05
- Perrin** (2000) "Another leader called Tony" in *The Socialist Standard, Journal of the Socialist Party*. Available at: <http://www.worldsocialism.org/spgb/may00/cliff.html>; last accessed 12/06/05.
- Piara Power, et al.** (2004) "ESF Protest was Not Racist" in *The Guardian*, 19/10/2004.
- Pigem, J.** (2002) "The Altered Landscape" in *New Internationalist 342: Another World is Possible*.

- PGA** (1998) *Organising Principles* available at <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/cocha/principles.htm>; last accessed: 12/12/05
- PGA** (1998) *Hallmarks of People's Global Action* available at <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/pga/hallm.htm>; last accessed: 12/12/05
- PGA** (2000) *Bulletin 5 – UK Edition, February 2002*.
- Project for the New American Century** (2002) “Rebuilding America’s Defenses. Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century” available at: <http://www.newamericancentury.org/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf>; last accessed: 12/12/05.
- Radical Routes** (undated) “About Radical Routes”, available at <http://www.radicalroutes.org.uk/>; last accessed: 15/09/05
- Ransom, D.** (2000) “Fair Trade: Small Change, Big Difference” in *New Internationalist 322: Fair Trade*.
- Ransom, D.** (2004) “Tales of the Unexpected” in *New Internationalist 368: Bite Back – The Return of the Co-op*.
- Rehman, A., et al.** (2004) “Consensus Breaks Down at the Social Forum” in *The Guardian, 21/10/2004*.
- Revolution** (2002) *What We Stand For - Manifesto Produced by Revolution National Committee*.
- Reyes, O. & Hodkinson, S.** (2004) “A Democratic Forum is Possible” in *Red Pepper, January 2004*.
- Robinson, M.** (2003) “Making Global and Ethical Rhyme: an interview with Mary Robinson.” on *Open Democracy*, available at: <http://www.opendemocracy.net/debates/article-3-122-1627.jsp>, visited: 17/03/05.
- Schnews** (1997) “Close Encuentro” in *Schnews 128, 01/08/1997*.
- Schnews** (1998) “Global Street Parties Roundup” in *Schnews 168, 22/05/1998*.
- Schnews** (2001) “G-Hate” in *Schnews 314/315, 27/07/01*.
- Schnews** (2004) “Endless Shit Flinging” in *Schnews 470, 22/10/04*.
- Seeds for Change** (undated) “Consensus Decision Making”, available on *Seeds for Change Website* at: <http://seedsforchange.org.uk/free/consensus.pdf>; last accessed: 08/08/05.
- Smith, A.** (1974) “Oxfam Rethinks” in *New Society 28(608)*, p. 497-8.
- Smith, J.** (2003) *Why is Britain Going to War*. (Article widely circulated by email).

- Shiva, V.** (1999) "The Historic Significance of Seattle", a message circulated by *The Amazon Coalition*, available at: <http://flag.blackened.net/global/1299arshiva.htm>; last accessed: 03/12/03.
- SSF** (2004) "Want a loan? Get hard sell, small print and lies", flyer from Sheffield Social Forum, distributed May 2004.
- Stop the War Coalition** (2001) *Platform*. Available at: <http://www.stopwar.org.uk/about.asp>; last accessed: 15/04/05.
- Stuart, J.** (2001) "Peace Demonstration - London anti-war march attracts 15,000" in *The Independent*, 22/11/01.
- StWC** (2005) "A Great Day" on *Stop War News*, available at: <http://www.stopwar.org.uk/>; last accessed: 01/10/05
- SWP** (2004) *Post-Conference Bulletin, December 2004*.
- SWP** (2004) "What we Stand For: The fight for reforms gives revolutionaries their muscle" in *Socialist Worker* 1907, 26/06/04.
- Tempest, M.** (2004) "Louder than Words" in *The Guardian*, 5th August 2004.
- Thomas, M.** (2003) "It Creates Jobs? So Does Burglary" in *New Statesman* 08/09/03.
- Traidcraft** (undated) "About Us" available at: <http://www.traidcraft.co.uk/template2.asp?pageID=1634&fromID=1275>; last accessed: 15/08/05.
- Traidcraft** (undated) "What is Fair Trade?" available at: <http://www.traidcraft.co.uk/template2.asp?pageID=1650&fromID=1643>; last accessed: 15/08/05
- Tyler, P.E.** (2003) "Threats and Responses: A New Power in the Street" in *New York Times*, 17/02/03.
- UN** (undated) "Consultative Status with ECOSOC", database available at: <http://www.un.org/esa/coordination/ngo/>; last accessed: 15/08/05.
- UN/NGOs** (1987) "Appendix III: Final Statement of the UN/NGO Workshop on 'Debt, Adjustment and the Needs of the Poor'" in *World Development 15 (Supplement)*, pp. 255-261.
- Vidal, J.** (2001) "Magic numbers" in *The Guardian*, 22/11/01.
- Vidal, J.** (2003) "Making Waves" in *The Guardian*, 25/06/03
- Wainwright, H.** (2005) "Report on the Methodology of the WSF and its Possible Relevance for the 2006 ESF" on *Transnational Institute Website*, available at: <http://www.tni.org/archives/wainwright/methodology.htm>; last accessed: 20/11/05.

- Walsh, N.P.** (2001) "Protesters Threaten to Block Military Bases" in *The Guardian*, 23/09/2001.
- WDM** (1998) "Rights and Responsibilities: Lessons from the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI)" available on *WDM Campaigns Website* at: <http://www.wdm.org.uk/campaigns/cambriefs/wto/MAI.htm>; last accessed: 16/08/05.
- Whittaker, B.** (2001) "Letter to UN alarms Arab states" in *The Guardian*, 10/10/01.
- Workers Power** (2000) "What is the World Economic Forum?" in *Workers Power*, 24/08/00.
- WSF** (2001) *Charter of Principles*. Available at http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/main.php?id_menu=4&cd_language=2; last accessed: 12/12/05
- WSF** (2003) *WSF Memorial: Themes*, available at: http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/dinamic.php?pagina=temas_fsm2003_ing; last accessed: 25/10/05
- WSF** (2005) "World Social Forum 2006 Will Be Spread Out" in *WSF News*, available at: http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/noticias_01.php?cd_news=1548&cd_language=2; last accessed: 20/11/05.
- WSF** (2005) *World Social Forum Memorial*, available at: http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/main.php?id_menu=14_1&cd_language=2; last accessed: 26/10/05.
- Yorkshire CND** (undated) *Menwith Hill – The Campaign*. Available at: <http://cndyorks.gn.apc.org/mhs/>; last accessed: 15/04/05.

2. SECONDARY TEXTS

- Allahwala, A. & Keil, R.** (2005) "Introduction to a Debate on the World Social Forum" in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29(2), pp. 409-416.
- Anheier, H., Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M.** (2003) "Global Civil Society in an Era of Regressive Globalisation: The State of Global Civil Society in 2003." in Glasius, Kaldor & Anheier, eds., 2003, *Global Civil Society Yearbook*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

- Archibugi, D. & Held, D.** (1995) *Cosmopolitan Democracy: An Agenda for a New World Order*. Polity, Cambridge.
- Ashman, S.** (2004) "Resistance to Neoliberal Globalisation: A Case of Militant Particularism?" in *Politics* 24(2), pp. 143-153.
- Baron, R.A. & Byrne, D.** (2003) *Social Psychology. Tenth Edition*. Allyn & Bacon, Boston.
- Baykan, B.G. & Lelandais, G.E.** (2004) "Cross-Readings of the Anti-Globalisation Movement in Turkey and Beyond. Political Culture in the Making" in *International Social Science Journal* 56(4), pp. 519-529.
- Baszanger, I.** (1997) "Ethnography - Relating the Part to the Whole" in Silverman, D., ed., *Qualitative Research Methods*, p. 8-21.
- Benewick, R. & Smith, T.** (1972) *Direct Action and Democratic Politics*. Allen & Unwin, London.
- Benford, R.D.** (1997) "An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective" in *Sociological Inquiry* 67(4), pp. 409-430.
- Biagiotti, I.** (2004) "The World Social Forums. A Paradoxical Application of Participatory Doctrine" in *International Social Science Journal* 56(4), pp. 529-541.
- Bircham, E. & Charlton, J.** (2001) *Anti-Capitalism. A Guide to the Movement*. Bookmarks, London.
- Böhm, S.** (2005) "Ground Zero of the Forum: Notes on a Personal Journey", in *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 5(2): 134-145. Available at: <http://www.ephemeraweb.org>; last accessed: 25/10/05.
- Bookchin, M.** (1986) *Post Scarcity Anarchism*. Black Rose Books, Montréal.
- Borawoy, M.** (1991) *Ethnography Unbound: Power and Resistance in the Modern Metropolis*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Brecher, J., Costello, T. & Smith, B.** (2000) *Globalization from Below. The Power of Solidarity*. South End Press, Massachusetts.
- Brecher, J., Costello, T., & Smith, B.** (2004[2001]) "The Road from Genoa" in Sen, et al., eds., *Challenging Empires*, pp. 16-20.
- Brookes, D.C.** (2004) "Faction in Movement: the Impact of Inclusivity on the Anti-Globalization Movement" in *Social Science Quarterly* 85(3), pp. 559-577.
- Brown, M. & May, J.** (1991) *The Greenpeace Story*. Dorling Kindersley, London.
- Buechler, S.M.** (2000) *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism. The Political Economy and Cultural Construction of Social Activism*. OUP, Oxford.

- Byrne, P.** (1987) "The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament: the Resilience of a Protest Group" in *Parliamentary Affairs* 40(4), pp. 517-535.
- Cadogen, P.** (1972) "From Civil Disobedience to Confrontation" in Benewick & Smith, *Direct Action and Democratic Politics*, pp. 162-178.
- Callaghan, J.** (1987) *The Far Left in British Politics*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Callaghan, J.** (1990) *Socialism in Britain*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Callinicos, A.** (1986) *The Revolutionary Road to Socialism*. Socialist Workers Party, London.
- Callinicos, A.** (1990) *Trotskyism*. Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Carlson, R.** (1963) *Silent Spring*. Hamish Hamilton, London.
- Carlsson, C.** (2002) "Cycling Under the Radar - Assertive Desertion." in Carlsson, ed., *Critical Mass. Bicycling's Defiant Celebration*, pp. 75-82.
- Carlsson, C., ed.** (2002) *Critical Mass. Bicycling's Defiant Celebration*. AK Press, Edinburgh.
- Carroll, W. & Ratner, R.S.** (1999) "Media Strategies and Political Projects: A Comparative Study of Social Movements" in *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 24(1), pp. 1-33.
- Cassen, B.** (2003) "On the Attack, an interview with Bernard Cassen" *New Left Review* 19(Jan/Feb), pp.41-61.
- Castells, M.** (1997) *The Power of Identity. The Information Age Volume 2: Economy, Society and Culture*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Carver, T.** (2001) "Did ideology fall with 'the wall'? Marx, Marxism and Post-Marxism" in Freedman, M., ed. *Reassessing Political Ideologies. The Durability of Dissent*. Routledge, London.
- Caygill, M.** (2002) "Do the Labels Matter? Contested Categories and the 'Movement'", from *Eight International Social Movements Conference, Alternative Futures and Popular Protest*. Manchester Metropolitan University, 2nd – 4th April 2002.
- Cerny, P.G.** (2004) "Mapping Varieties of Neoliberalism" a *Conference Paper for the International Studies Association Annual Convention*, Montreal, March 2004. Available at: www.psa.ac.uk/cps/2004/cerny.pdf; last accessed: 30/04/03.
- Chesters, G. & Welsh, I.** (2001) "The Rebel colours of S26: Social Movement 'Framework' during the Prague IMF/WB Protests", in *Cardiff University Social Sciences Working Paper Series*.

- Clark, A.M. & Friedman, E.J.** (1998) "The Sovereign Limits of Global Civil Society. A Comparison of NGO Participation in UN World Conferences on the Environment, Human Rights, and Women" in *World Politics* 51, pp. 1-35.
- Clark, G.** (1972) "Remember your Humanity and Forget the Rest" in Benewick, R. & Smith, T., *Direct Action and Democratic Politics*, pp. 178-192.
- Cliff, T.** (1974 [1955]) *State Capitalism in Russia*. Pluto Press, London.
- Cock, J.** (2003) "A Better or Worse World? The Third World Social Forum, Porto Alegre 2003" the *Centre for Civil Society, Research Report 5*; available at: <http://www.nu.ac.za/ccs/default.asp?3,45,10,723>; last accessed: 12/11/05.
- Cohen, J.L.** (1985) "Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements" in *Social Research* 52(4), pp. 663-716.
- Commoner, B.** (1971) *The Closing Circle: Confronting the Environmental Crisis*, (Cape, London)
- Connolly, W.** (1993) *The Terms of Political Discourse*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Conway, J.** (2005) "Social Forums, Social Movements and Social Change: A Response to Peter Marcuse on the Subject of the World Social Forum" in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29(2), pp. 425-8.
- Cornfield, D.B. & Fletcher, B.** (1998) "Institutional Constraints on Social Movement 'Frame Extension': Shifts in the Legislative Agenda of the American Federation of Labor, 1881-1955" in *Social Forces* 76(4), pp. 1305-1321.
- Creed, W.E.D., Langstraat, J.A. & Scully, M.A.** (2002) "A Picture of the Frame. Frame Analysis as Technique and as Politics" in *Organizational Research Methods* 5(1), pp. 34-55.
- Crossley, N.** (2001) "The Global Anti-Corporate Movement: A Preliminary Analysis", a paper for the *Seventh International Social Movements Conference, Alternative Futures and Popular Protest*. Manchester Metropolitan University, 2nd – 4th April 2001.
- Crossley, N.** (2002) "Global Anti-Corporate Struggle: A Preliminary Analysis" in *British Journal of Sociology* 53(4), pp. 667-691.
- Crossley, N.** (2002) *Making Sense of Social Movements*. Open University Press, Buckingham.
- Davis, J., ed.** (1991) *The Earth First! Reader. Ten Years of Radical Environmentalism*, (Peregrine Smith Books, Salt Lake City).
- Davies, S.** (2002) "The Paradox of Progressive Education. A Frame Analysis" in *Sociology of Education* 75(4), pp. 269-286.

- de Cleyre, V.** (1912) "Direct Action" available at:
<http://www.spunk.org/library/writers/decleyre/sp001334.html>; accessed
 01/06/03.
- De Angelis, M.** (2005) "PR Like Process! Strategy from the Bottom-Up" in *Ephemera. Theory and Politics in Organization* 5(2), pp. 193-204.
- Della Porta, D, & Diani, M.** (1999) *Social Movements. An Introduction*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Diani, M.** (1992) "The Concept of Social Movement" in *Sociological Review* 40(1), pp. 1-25.
- Diani, M. & Eyerman, R.,** eds. (1992) *Studying Collective Action*. Sage, London.
- Doherty, B.** (1998) "Opposition to Road-Building" in *Parliamentary Affairs* 51(3), pp. 370-383
- Doherty, B.** (1999) "Paving the Way: the Rise of Direct Action against Road-building and the Changing Character of British Environmentalism" in *Political Studies* 48, pp. 275-291.
- Doherty, B., Plows, A. & Wall, D.** (2003) "'The Preferred Way of Doing Things': The British Direct Action Movement" in *Parliamentary Affairs* 56, pp. 669-686.
- Donati, P.R.** (1992) "Political Discourse Analysis" in Diani, M. & Eyerman, R., *Studying Collective Action*, pp. 136-167.
- Dowling, E.** (2005) "The Ethics of Engagement Revisited" in *Ephemera. Theory and Politics in Organization* 5(2), pp. 205-215.
- Drury, J. & Reicher, S.** (2005) "Explaining Enduring Empowerment: A Comparative Study of Collective Action and Psychological Outcomes" in *European Journal of Social Psychology* 35, p. 35-52.
- Durkheim, E.** (1982) *Rules of the Sociological Method*, translated by Steven Lukes. Palgrave MacMillan, London.
- Dwyer, P. & Seddon, D.** (2002) "The New Wave? A Global Perspective on Popular Protest", a paper for the *Eight International Conference on Alternative Futures and Popular Protest*. Manchester Metropolitan University, 2nd – 4th April 2002.
- Eccleshall, R.** (1986) *British Liberalism. Liberal Thought from the 1640s to 1980s*. Longman, Harlow.
- Ehrlich, H.J.,** ed. (1996) *Reinventing Anarchy, Again*, (AK Press, Edinburgh).
- Ehrlich, P.R.** (1975[1968]) *The Population Bomb* (Rivercity Press, Massachusetts).
- Eisinger, P.K.** (1973) "The Conditions of Protest in American Cities" in *American Political Science Review* 67(1) pp. 11-28.

- Escobar, A.** (2004) "Other Worlds are (Already) Possible. Self-Organisation, Complexity, and Post-Capitalist Culture" in Sen, Anand, Escobar & Waterman, *Challenging Empires. The World Social Forum*, pp. 349-358.
- Eyerman, R. & Jamison, A.** (1991) *Social Movements. A Cognitive Approach*. Polity, Cambridge.
- Festenstein, M. & Kenny, M.** (2005) *Political Ideologies*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford).
- Fisher, D.R., Stanley, K., Berman, D. & Neff, G.** (2005) "How do Organizations Matter? Mobilization and Support for Participants at Five Globalization Protests" in *Social Problems* 52(1), pp. 102-121.
- Fisher, K.** (1997) "Locating Frames in the Discursive Universe" in *Sociological Research Online* 2(3).
- Fisher, W.F. & Ponniah, T.**, eds., (2003) *Another World is Possible. Popular Alternatives to Globalization at the World Social Forum*. Zed Books, New York.
- Florini, A.**, ed. (2000) *The Third Force. The Rise of Transnational Civil Society*. Japan Centre for International Exchange, Tokyo.
- Freeden, M.** (1996) *Ideologies and Political Theory. A Conceptual Approach*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Freeden, M., ed.** (2001) *Reassessing Political Ideologies: The Durability of Dissent*. Routledge, New York.
- Freeman, J.** (1972) "The Tyranny of Structurelessness" in *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 17, pp. 151-165.
- Friedmann, J.** (1992) *Empowerment. The Politics of Alternative Development*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Fukuyama, F.**, (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*. London, Penguin.
- Gamson, W.A.** (1988) "Political Discourse and Collective Action" in Klandermans, Kriesi & Tarrow, *From Structure to Action: Comparing social Movement Research Across Cultures*.
- Gamson, W.A.** (1992) *Talking Politics*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Gamson, W.A. & Meyer, D.S.** (1996) "Framing Political Opportunity" in McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, pp. 275-290.
- Garner, R.** (2002) "Olson and Beyond: Recruitment and Mobilization in the Animal Rights Movement" a paper for the *Eight International Conference on Alternative Futures and Popular Protest*. Manchester Metropolitan University, 2nd – 4th April 2002.

- Genzuk, M.** (2003) "A Synthesis of Ethnographic Research" in *Occasional Papers Series. Centre for Multilingual, Multicultural Research*, (University of Southern California).
- Geras, N.** (1994) "Democracy and the Ends of Marxism" in *New Left Review* 203: 92-106.
- Gerhards, J. & Rucht, D.** (1992) "Mesomobilization: Organizing and Framing in Two Protest Campaigns in West Germany" in *American Journal of Sociology* 98(3), pp. 555-95.
- Germanin, R.D.**, ed. (2000) *Globalization and its Critics. Perspectives from Political Economy*. MacMillan, Basingstoke.
- Gerring, J.** (2004) "What Is a Case Study and What Is it Good for?" in *American Political Science Review* 98(2), pp. 341-354.
- Giddens, A.** (1977) "Review Essay: Habermas' Social and Political Theory" in *American Journal of Sociology* 83(1), pp. 198-212.
- Giddens, A.** (1984) *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Polity, Cambridge.
- Giddens, A.** (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Polity, Cambridge.
- Gill, S.** (1995) "Globalisation, Market Civilisation and Disciplinary Neoliberalism" in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 24(3), pp. 399-423.
- Gill, S.** (2000) "Towards a Postmodern Prince? The Battle of Seattle as a Moment in the New Politics of Globalisation" in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29(1), pp. 131-150.
- Glasius, M., Kaldor, M. & Anheier, H.**, eds., 2003, *Global Civil Society Yearbook*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Glasius, M.** (2005) "Deliberation or Struggle? Civil Society Traditions Behind the Social Forums" in *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization* 5(2): 240-252. Available at: <http://www.ephemeraweb.org>; last accessed: 25/10/05.
- Goffman, E.** (1974) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organisation of Experience*. Northeastern University Press, Boston.
- Goldsmith, E. & Allen, R.** (1972) *Blueprint for Survival*, first published as a special issue of *The Ecologist* 2(1). Available at: <http://www.theecologist.info/key27.html>; last accessed: 25/07/05.
- Graeber, D.** (2002) "The New Anarchists" in *New Left Review* 13: 61-73.
- Gramsci, A.** (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, edited and translated by Hoare, Q. & Nowell Smith, G., (Lawrence and Wishart, London).

- Gray, J.** (1986) *Liberalism*. Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- Green, D. & Griffin, M.** (2002) "Globalization and Its Discontents" in *International Affairs* 78(1), pp. 49-68.
- Griffin, M.** (2002) "Globalization and its Critics. An Examination of the 'Anti-Globalization' Movement" available on *Global Policy*, available at: <http://www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/advocacy/protest/general/2003/0104exam.pdf>; last accessed: 05/11/05.
- Gurr, T.** (1970) *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey.
- Habermas, J.** (1973) "What Does a Crisis Mean Today? Legitimation Problems in Late Capitalism" in *Social Research* 40, pp. 643-667.
- Habermas, J.** (1981) "New Social Movements" in *Telos* 49, pp. 33-7.
- Hafner-Burton, E. & Pollack, M.A.** (2002) "Mainstreaming Gender in Global Governance" in *European Journal of International Relations* 8(3), pp. 339-373.
- Halliday, F.** (2000) "Getting Real About Seattle" in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29(1), pp. 123-131.
- Hamel, J.** (1998) "The Position of Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Touraine Respecting Qualitative Methods" in *British Journal of Sociology* 49(1), pp. 1-19.
- Hardt, M & Negri, A.** (2000) *Empire*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Hardt, M.** (2002) "Today's Bandung?" in *New Left Review* 14, pp. 112-118.
- Held, D. & McGrew, A.** (1999) *Global Transformations. Politics, Economics, Culture*. Polity, Cambridge.
- Held, D.** (2002) "Violence, Law, and Justice in a Global Age" in *Constellations* 9(1), pp.74-98.
- Helfferich, B. & Kolb, F.** (2001) "Multilevel Action Coordination in European Contentious Politics: The Case of the European Women's Lobby" in Imig, D. & Tarrow, S., eds., *Contentious Europeans. Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity*, pp. 143-161.
- Hertz, N.** (2002) *The Silent Takeover, Global Capitalism and the Death of Democracy*. Arrow, London.
- Hinton, J.** (1989) *Protests and Visions. Peace Politics in 20th Century Britain*, (Hutchinson, London).
- Holloway, J.** (2002) *Change the World Without Taking Power. The Meaning of Revolution Today*, (Pluto, London).

- Honderich, T.**, ed. (1995) *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Hunter, R.** (1979) *The Greenpeace Chronicle*, (Picador, London).
- Inglehart, R.** (1977) *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Inglehart, R.** (1990) *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Imig, D. & Tarrow, S.** (2001) *Contentious Europeans. Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity*. Rowman & Littlefield, Maryland.
- Jenkins, J.C.** (1983) "Why Do Peasants Rebel - Structural And Historical Theories Of Modern Peasant Rebellions" in *American Journal of Sociology* 88 (3), pp. 487-514.
- Johnson, R.** (2000) "Advocates and Activists: Conflicting Approaches on Nonproliferation and the Test Ban Treaty" in Florini, ed., *The Third Force. The Rise of Transnational Civil Society*, (Japan Centre for International Exchange, Tokyo), pp. 49-81.
- Johnston, H.** (1995) "A Methodology for Frame Analysis: From Discourse to Cognitive Schemata" in Johnston & Klandermans, *Social Movements and Culture*, pp. 217-46.
- Johnston, H. & Klandermans, B.** (1995) *Social Movements and Culture*. UCL, London.
- Jordan, J.** (1998) "The Art of Necessity: The Subversive Imagination of Anti-Road Protest and Reclaim the Streets" in McKay, ed., *DiY Culture: Party and Protest in Nineties Britain*, pp. 129-152.
- Juris, J.S.** (2005) "Social Forums and Their Margins: Networking Logics and the Cultural Politics of Autonomous Space" in *Ephemera. Theory and Politics in Organization* 5(2), pp. 253-272.
- Kaldor, M.** (2000) "'Civilising' Globalisation? The Implications of the 'Battle in Seattle'" in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29(1).
- Kenny, M.** (1995) *The First New Left. British Intellectuals After Stalin*. Lawrence & Wishart, London.
- Keraghel, C. & Sen, J.** (2004) "Explorations in open space. The World Social Forum and Cultures of Politics." in *International Journal of Social Science* 56(4), pp. 483-493.
- Kitschelt, H.P.** (1986) "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies" in *British Journal of Political Science* 16(1), pp. 57-85.

- Klandermans, B.** (1992) "The Social Construction of Protest and Multiorganizational Fields" in Morris, A.D. & Mueller, C.M., eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, pp. 77-103.
- Klandermans, B., Kriesi, H. & Tarrow, S.**, eds. (1988) *From Structure to Action: Comparing social Movement Research Across Cultures. International Social Movements Research Volume 1*. JAI, Connecticut.
- Klandermans, B. & de Weerd, M.** (2000) "Group Identification and Political Protest" in Stryker *et al.*, 2000: 68-90.
- Klein, N.** (2000) *No Logo*. Flamingo (Harper Collins), London.
- Klein, N.** (2001) "Reclaiming the Commons" in *New Left Review* 9, pp. 81-9.
- Kriesi, H.** (1988) "The Interdependence of Structure and Action: Some Reflections on the State of the Art" in Klandermans, Kriesi & Tarrow, eds., *From Structure to Action: Comparing social Movement Research Across Cultures*, pp. 349-68.
- Kropotkin, P.** (1972[1902]) *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution*, (Penguin, London).
- Larrain, J.** (1979) *The Concept of Ideology*. Hutchinson, London.
- Lawrence, R.G.** (2004) "Framing obesity - The Evolution of News Discourse on a Public Health Issue" in *Harvard International Journal of Press-Politics* 9(3), pp. 56-75.
- Le Bon, G.** (1913) *The Psychology of Revolution*, translated by B. Miall, Putnam, New York.
- Leits, N. & Wolf Jr., C.** (1970) *Rebellion and Authority. An Analytic Essay on Insurgent Conflicts*. Markham, Chicago.
- Lent, A.** (1998) *New Political Thought. An Introduction*. Lawrence & Wishart, London.
- Levidow, L.** (2004) "Making Another World Possible? The European Social Forum" in *Radical Philosophy* 128. Available at: http://www.radicalphilosophy.com/default.asp?channel_id=2187&editorial_id=16577; last accessed: 05/11/05;
- Lichbach, M.I. & Almeida, P.** (2005) *Global Order and Local Resistance: The Neoliberal Institutional Trilemma and the Battle of Seattle*, unpublished paper for the University of California Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation, available at: <http://www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/lichbach/GlobalPaper-01b.doc>; last accessed 20/12/05.
- Little, D.** (1995) "Objectivity, Truth, and Method. A Philosopher's Perspective on the Social Sciences" in *Anthropology Newsletter*, November 1995.

- Lukács, G.** (1971) *History and Class Consciousness : Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, translated by Livingstone, R. Merlin Press, London.
- McAdam, D.** (1982) *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- McAdam, D.** (1986) "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of freedom Summer" in *American Journal of Sociology* 92(1), pp. 64-90.
- McAdam, D.** (1996) "The Framing Function of Movement Tactics: Strategic Dramaturgy in the American Civil Rights Movement" in McAdam, D., McCarthy, J.D. & Zald, M.N., eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings*, pp. 338-355.
- McAdam, D., McCarthy, J.D. & Zald, M.N.**, eds. (1996) *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- McCarthy, J.D. & Zald, M.N.** (1978) "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory" in *American Journal of Sociology* 82(6), pp. 1212-41.
- McDonald, K.** (2002) "From Solidarity to Fluidarity: Social Movements Beyond 'Collective Identity' - The Case of Globalization Conflicts" in *Social Movement Studies* 1(2), pp. 109-128.
- McGrew, T.** (2002) "Transnational Democracy : Theories and Prospects" in Carter & Stokes, ed. (2002) *Democratic Theory Today*. Polity, Cambridge.
- McKay, G.**, ed. (1998) *DiY Culture: Party and Protest in Nineties Britain*. (Verso, London).
- Maheu, L.**, ed. (1995) *Social Movements and Social Class*. Sage, London.
- Marshall, P.** (1993) *Demanding the Impossible. A History of Anarchism*, (Fontana, London).
- Marx, K. & Engels, F.** ([1845] 1998) *The German Ideology*. Prometheus Books, New York.
- Marx, K.**, 1964, *Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy*. Translated by Bottomore, T.B. McGraw-Hill, London.
- Mavrakis, K.** (1976) *On Trotskyism. Problems of Theory and History*. Translated by John McGreal. Routledge & Keegan Paul, London.
- Meadows, D.H. et al.** (1972) *The Limits to Growth: A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind*. Earth Island, London.
- Melucci, A.** (1988) "Getting Involved: Identity and Mobilization in Social Movements" in Klandermans, Kriesi & Tarrow, *From Structure to Action: Comparing social Movement Research Across Cultures*, pp. 329-348.

- Melucci, A.** (1989) *Nomads of the Present. Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society.* Century Hutchinson, Victoria.
- Melucci, A.** (1992) "Frontier Land: Collective Action between Actors and Systems" in Diani & Eyerman, *Studying Collective Action*, pp. 238-258.
- Melucci, A.** (1995) "The New Social Movements Revisited: Reflections on a Sociological Misunderstanding" in Maheu, L., ed., *Social Movements and Social Class*, pp. 107-119.
- Melucci, A.** (1996) *Challenging Codes. Collective Action in the Information Age.* CUP, Cambridge.
- Miller, C.** (1983) "Development aid in a political context - the experience of War on Want" in *Community Development Journal* 18(1), pp. 42-49.
- Miller, D.** (1984) *Anarchism*, (Dent, London).
- Monbiot, G.** (2000) *The Captive State. The Corporate Takeover of Britain.* MacMillan, London.
- Monbiot, G.** (2002) "A Parliament for the Planet" in *New Internationalist* 342: *Another World is Possible.*
- Monbiot, G.** (2003) *The Age of Consent. A Manifesto for a New World Order.* Flamingo, London.
- Morland, D.** (1997) *Demanding the Impossible? Human Nature and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Social Anarchism.* Cassell, London.
- Morris, A.D.** (1992) "Political Consciousness and Collective Action" in Morris & Mueller, eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, pp. 351-373.
- Morris, A.D. & Mueller, C.M.,** eds. (1992) *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory.* Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Murray, A., & German, L.** (2005) *Stop the War. The Story of Britain's Biggest Mass Movement.* Bookmarks, London.
- Myers, F.E.** (1973) "Dilemmas in the British Peace Movement since World War II" in *Journal of Peace Research* 10(1-2), pp. 81-90.
- Nathanson, C.A.** (2003) "The Skeptic's Guide to a Movement for Universal Health Insurance" in *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 28(2-3), pp. 445-474.
- Nepstad, S.E.** (1997) "The Process of Cognitive Liberation: Cultural Synapses, Links, and Frame Contradictions in the U.S.-Central America Peace Movement" in *Sociological Inquiry* 67(4), pp. 470-487.

- NextGENDERation Network** (2004) "Refusing to be 'The Women's Question'... Embodied Practices of a Feminist Intervention at the European Social forum 2003" in *Feminist Review* 77, pp. 141-151.
- Notes from Nowhere** (2003) *We Are Everywhere. The Irresistible Rise of Global Anti-Capitalism*. Verso, London.
- O'Sullivan, N.** (2000) *Political Theory in Transition*. Routledge, London.
- Oberschall, A.** (1973) *Social Conflict and Social Movements*. Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.
- Oberschall, A.** (1978) "Theories of Social Conflict" in *Annual Review of Sociology* 4, pp. 291-315.
- Oliver, I.** (1983) "The 'Old' and the 'New' Hermeneutic in Sociological Theory" in *The British Journal of Sociology* 34(4), pp. 519-553.
- Oliver, P. & Johnston, H.** (2000) "What A Good Idea! Ideology and Frames in Social Movement Research" in *Mobilization* 5(1), pp. 37-54.
- Oliver, P. & Johnston, H.,** (2000) "Reply to Snow and Benford" in *Mobilization* 5(1), pp. 61-3.
- Olivers, D.** (2004) "Counter Hegemonic Dispersions: The World Social Forum Model" in *Antipode* 36(2), pp. 175-182.
- Olson Jr., M.** (1965) *The Logic of Collective Action*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Outhwaite, W.,** ed. (1996) *The Habermas Reader*. Polity, Cambridge.
- Patomäki, H. & Teivainen, T.** (2005) "The Post-Porto Alegre World Social Forum: An Open Space or a Movement of Movements?" in *WSF 2005 Memorial*, available at:
http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/dinamic.php?pagina=bal_teivo_fsm2005_in;
 last accessed: 12/10/05.
- Peters, B.** (1994) "Jubilee 2000" in *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 32(4), pp. 699-700.
- Petras, J.** (1999) *The Left Strikes Back. Class Conflict in Latin America in the Age of Neoliberalism*. Westview Press, Colorado.
- Pichardo, N.A.** (1997) "New Social Movements: A Critical Review" in *Annual Review of Sociology* 23, pp. 411-430.
- Piven, F. F. & Cloward, R. A.** (1977) *Poor People's Movements : Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. Pantheon Books, New York.

- Polletta, F.** (1997) "Culture and Its Discontents: Recent Theorising on the Cultural Dimensions of Protest" in *Sociological Inquiry* 67(4), pp. 431-450.
- Polletta, F.** (2000) "The Structural Context of Novel Rights Claims: Southern Civil Rights Organizing, 1961-1966" in *Law and Society Review* 34(2), pp. 367-406.
- Prasad, A.** (2002) "The Contest Over Meaning: Hermeneutics as an Interpretive Methodology for Understanding Texts" in *Organizational Research Methods* 5(1), pp. 12-33.
- Radice, H.** (1999) "Taking Globalisation Seriously" in *The Socialist Register: Global Capitalism Versus Democracy*, pp. 1-28.
- Railton, P.** (1995) "Ideology" in Honderich, *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, pp. 392-3.
- Rohlinger, D.A.** (2002) "Framing the Abortion Debate: Organizational Resources, Media Strategies and Movement-Counter-Movement Dynamics" in *Sociological Quarterly* 43(4), pp. 479-507.
- Roseneil, S.** (1995) *Disarming Patriarchy*, (Open University Press, Buckingham).
- Rucht, D. & Neidhardt, F.** (2002) "Towards a 'Movement Society'? On the Possibilities of Institutionalizing Social Movements" in *Social Movement Studies* 1(1), pp. 7-30.
- Rupert, M.** (2000) *Ideologies of Globalization. Contending Visions of A New World Order*. Routledge, London.
- Scheff, T.J.** (2005) "The Structure of Context: Deciphering *Frame Analysis*" in *Sociological Theory* 23(4), pp. 368-385.
- Schnews** (2004) *Schnews at Ten. A Decade of Party and Protest*. Calvert Press, London.
- Scholte, J.A.** (1997) "Global Capitalism and the State" in *International Affairs* 73(3), pp. 427-452.
- Schumacher, E.F.** (1973) *Small is Beautiful: a study of economics as if people mattered*, (Blond & Briggs, London).
- Scott, A.** (1990) *Ideology and the New Social Movements*. Routledge, London.
- Sen, J., Anand, A., Escobar, A. & Waterman, P.,** eds. (2004) *World Social Forum – Challenging Empires*. Viveka Foundation, New Delhi.
- Silverman, D.,** ed. (1997) *Qualitative Research Methods*, (Sage, London.)
- Sloboda, J., & Doherty, B.** (2004) "The Human Face of Political Dissent. What we know about the anti-war marchers of February 2003." in *Oxford Research Group Briefing Papers*. Available at:

<http://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/publications/briefings/iraqprotest.htm>;
last accessed: 14/10/05.

- Smelser, N.** (1962) *Theory of Collective Behaviour*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- Smith, B.** (1986) "Christian Aid: The Politics of Charity" in *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* 11(1), pp. 73-82.
- Smith, J.** (2004) "The World Social Forum and the challenges of global democracy" in *Global Networks* 4(4), pp.413-421.
- Snow, D.A., Rochford Jr., E.B., Worden, S.K., & Benford, R.D.** (1986) "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation" in *American Sociological Review* 51(4), pp. 464-81.
- Snow, D. & Benford, R.D.** (1988) "Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization", in Klandermans, Kriesi & Tarrow, *From Structure to Action: Comparing social Movement Research Across Cultures.*, (JAI Press), pp. 197-216.
- Snow, D.A. & Benford, R.D.** (1992) "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest" in Morris & Mueller, eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, pp. 133-155.
- Snow, D.A. & Benford, R.D.** (2000) "Clarifying The Relationship Between Framing And Ideology In The Study Of Social Movements: A Comment On Oliver And Johnston" in *Mobilization* 5(1), pp. 55-60.
- Snow, D.A. & McAdam, D.** (2000) "Identity Work Processes in the Context of Social Movements: Clarifying the Identity/Movement Nexus" in Stryker *et al.*, 2000: 41-68.
- Snow, D.A.** (2004) "Framing Processes, Ideology, and Discursive Fields" in Snow, Soule & Kriesi, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, pp. 380-413.
- Snow, D.A., Soule, S.A. & Kriesi, H.**, eds. (2004) *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Stanbridge, K.** (2002) "Master Frames, Political Opportunities, and Self-Determination: The Åland Islands in the Post-WWI Period" in *Sociological Quarterly* 43(4), pp. 527-552.
- Starr, A.** (2000) *Naming the Enemy. Anti-Corporate Movements Confront Globalization*. Zed Books, London.
- Stears, M. & White, S.** (2001) "New Liberalism Revisited" in Tam, H., *Progressive Politics in the Global Age*. Pp. 36-54.
- Steck, H.J.** (1965) "The Re-Emergence of Ideological Politics in Great Britain: The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" in *Western Political Quarterly* 18 (1), pp. 87-103.
- Steel, M.** (2001) *Reasons to be Cheerful*. Scribner, London.

- Steinberg, M.W.** (1998) "Tilting the Frame: Considerations on Collective Action Framing from a Discursive Turn." in *Theory and Society* 27, pp. 845-872.
- Stevens, S.M.** (2005) "Intentional Communities as Prefigurative Politics: New Social Movements and The Maturation of Utopia", paper presented at the *Tenth International Conference on Alternative Futures and Popular Protest*. Manchester Metropolitan University, March 2005.
- Stevenson, N.** (2000) "Globalization and the Cultural Political Economy" in Germanin, R.D., ed., *Globalization and its Critics. Perspectives from Political Economy*. MacMillan, Basingstoke.
- Streeten, P.** (1997) "Non-Governmental Organisations and Development" in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 556.
- Stryker, S., Owens, T.J. & White, R.W.** (2000) *Self, Identity and Social Movements*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Sullivan, L.L.** (2005) "Activism, Affect and Abuse: Emotional Contexts and the Consequences of the ESF 2004 Organising Process" in *Ephemera. Theory and Politics in Organization* 5(2), pp. 344-369
- Sztompka, P.** (1993) *The Sociology of Social Change*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Tam, H.** (2001) *Progressive Politics in the Global Age*. Polity, Cambridge.
- Tarrow, S.** (1988) "National Politics and Collective Action: Recent Theory and Research in Western Europe and the United States" in *American Review of Sociology* 14, pp. 421-40.
- Tarrow, S.** (1989) *Democracy and Disorder. Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965-1975*. OUP, Oxford.
- Tarrow, S.** (1992) "Mentalities, Political Cultures and Collective Action Frames. Constructing Meanings through Action" in Morris & Mueller, ed., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, pp. 174-202.
- Tarrow, S.** (1998) *Power in Movement. Social Movements and Contentious Politics – Second Edition*. CUP, Cambridge.
- Tate, J.W.** (1998) "The Hermeneutic Circle vs. the Enlightenment" in *Telos: A Journal of Critical Thought* 110, pp. 9-38.
- Taylor, C.** (1971) "Interpretation and the Sciences of Man" in *Review of Metaphysics* 25(2), pp. 3-51.
- Taylor, R.** (1988) *Against the Bomb. The British Peace movement, 1958-1956*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford).
- Teivainen, T.** (2002) "The World Social Forum and Global Democratisation: Learning from Porto Alegre" in *Third World Quarterly* 23(4), pp.621-632.

- Thompson, E.P. & Smith, D.** (1980) *Protest and Survive*. Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- Thoreau, H.D.** (1849) *Civil Disobedience*, initially entitled *Resistance to Civil Government*, available at: <http://eserver.org/thoreau/civil.html> accessed 05/07/05.
- Tilly, C., Tilly, L. & Tilly, R.** (1975) *The Rebellious Century, 1830-1930*. Harvard University Press, Massachusetts.
- Tilly, C.** (1985) "Models and Realities of Popular Collective Action" in *Social Research* 52(4), pp. 717-747.
- Touraine, A.** (1981) *The Voice and the Eye. An Analysis of Social Movements*. CUP, Cambridge.
- Touraine, A.** (1985) "An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements" in *Social Research* 52, pp. 749-87.
- Touraine, A.** (1988) *Return of the Actor. Social Theory in the Postindustrial Society*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Trotsky, L.** (1942) *In Defense of Marxism*, available at: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/works/1942-dm/index.htm>; last accessed: 07/07/05.
- Turner, R.H.** (1969) "The Public Perception of Protest" in *American Sociological Review* 34(6), pp.815-31.
- Turner, R.H. & Killian, L.M.** (1972) *Collective Behavior, Second Edition*. Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.
- Vargas, V.** (2003) "Feminism, Globalization and the Global Justice and Solidarity Movement" in *Cultural Studies* 17(6), pp. 905-920.
- Veldman, M.** (1994) *Fantasy, The Bomb, and the Greening of Britain. Romantic Protest, 1945-1980*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Wall, D.** (1999) *Earth First! and the Anti Roads Movement. Radical Environmentalism and Comparative Social Movements*. Routledge, London.
- Wall, M.A.** (2003) "Press Conferences or Puppets. NGOs' vs. Street Groups' Communication in the Battle of Seattle" in *Javnost* 10(1), pp. 33-48.
- Wallerstein, I.** (2004) "The dilemmas of open space: the future of the WSF" in *International Social Science Journal* 56-4, pp. 629-639.
- Ward, B.** (1966) *Spaceship Earth*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Ward, B., & Dubos, R.** (1972) *Only One Earth: The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet*. Penguin, Middlesex.

- Ward, C.** (1982) *Anarchy in Action*. Freedom Press, London.
- Wax, M.K.** (1980) "Paradoxes of 'Consent' to the Practice of Fieldwork" in *Social Problems* 27(3), pp. 272-283.
- Weick, D.** (1996) "The Habit of Direct Action" in Ehrlich, H.J., ed., *Reinventing Anarchy, Again*, (AK Press, Edinburgh), pp. 375-6.
- Welsh, I. & McLeish, P.** (1996) "The European Road to Nowhere: Anarchism and Direct Action against the UK Roads Programme" in *Anarchist Studies* 4.
- Welsh, I.** (2000) *Mobilising Modernity: the Nuclear Movement*. Routledge, London.
- Welsh, I.** (2001) "Anti-Nuclear Movements: Failed Projects or Heralds of a Direct Action Milieu?" published as *Cardiff University School of Social Sciences Working Paper Series 11*
- Welsh, I. & Chesters, G.** (2001) "Re-Framing Social Movements. Margins, Meanings and Governance" in *Cardiff University School of Social Sciences - Working Paper Series*.
- White, S.K.** (1988) *The Recent Work of Jürgen Habermas. Reason, Justice and Morality*. CUP, Cambridge.
- Whyte, W.F.** (1943) *Street Corner Society. The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Willetts, P.** (1996) "From Stockholm to Rio and beyond: the impact of the environmental movement on the United Nations consultative arrangements for NGOs" in *Review of International Studies* 22(1), pp. 57-80.
- Wilson, J.** (1973) *Introduction to Social Movements*. Basic Books, New York.
- Winch, P.** (1958) *The Idea of a Social Science: And Its Relations to Philosophy*. Routledge, London.
- Woodcock, G.** (1963) *Anarchism*, (Pelican, Middlesex).
- Woodroffe, J. & Ellis-Jones, M.** (2000) *States of Unrest: Resistance to IMF Policies in Poor Countries*. World Development Movement. Available at: <http://www.wdm.org.uk/campaigns/cambriefs/debt>; last accessed: 08/12/03.
- Zald, M.N.** (1992) "Looking Backward to Look Forward: Reflections on the Past and Future of the Resource Mobilization Research Program" in Morris & Mueller, eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, pp. 326-348.
- Zald, M.N.** (1996) "Culture, Ideology and Strategic Framing" in McAdam McCarthy & Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, pp. 261-274.