
Bridging Global Divides?

Strategic Framing and Solidarity in Transnational Social Movement Organizations

Jackie Smith

SUNY at Stony Brook

abstract: A growing body of research has revealed a rapid expansion in transnational organizing and activism, but we know relatively little about the qualitative changes these transnational ties represent. Using surveys of transnational social movement organizations (TSMOs) and additional case study material, this paper examines the extent to which these organizations have been able to articulate strategic frames that motivate global level organizing and collective action. The analysis also investigates how inequities between the global North and South affect TSMO solidarity. Key findings are that, while TSMOs have helped expand routine communications among geographically dispersed memberships, there is also evidence that they have developed new skills for managing the differences that characterize such memberships. But gaps between Northern and Southern members persist, particularly regarding groups' abilities to relate local concerns to global level campaigns. Another concern is that, while TSMOs help integrate new groups into global political processes, expanding participation in global activism may foster even greater diversity and conflict among social change groups working in global arenas. Transnational groups have been better at cultivating shared understandings of the problems they address than at building consensus around a shared response to these problems.

keywords: coalitions ♦ social movements ♦ transnational organization

Numerous studies as well as the recent dramatic protests at global trade meetings attest to the fact that civil societies are expanding beyond their

International Sociology ♦ December 2002 ♦ Vol 17(4): 505–528
SAGE (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi)
[0268-5809(200212)17:4:505–528;029483]

national confines and having an impact on global level politics (see e.g. Guidry et al., 2000; Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Smith et al., 1997a; Willetts, 1996). Nevertheless, we have comparatively little systematic information about the internal operations of the organizations that support transnational collective action.¹ Recent decades have seen quantitatively more transnational organizations, and this paper explores some of the qualitative changes these transnational ties represent.

Despite falling costs of transnational transportation and communication, global organizing requires tremendous amounts of resources and energies. For many activists, it may not seem worth the effort to devote already overstretched human and material resources to activities like attending international conferences or monitoring international negotiations. Thus, an important task of transnational organizations is to articulate frames that both justify transnational level action and identify a strategic approach seen as likely to produce the changes activists desire (Snow and Benford, 1986). There is also extensive debate about the extent to which transnational organizations reflect the predominant power inequities between the global North and South that persist in the government and business sectors. Even as many transnational social change groups struggle to promote greater equity and social justice, they work within institutional structures and cultural frameworks that inhibit efforts to fundamentally alter structural power relations.

The expanding influence of global institutions demands that challengers seeking to affect politics within states mobilize beyond their national boundaries. In order to be most effective, political challengers require international legal or scientific expertise, understandings of the rivalries and practices of inter-state political bargaining, and capacities for mobilizing protests and otherwise bringing simultaneous pressure on multiple national governments.² Activists thus need organizations that can facilitate cross-cultural communication and manage diversity in order to further a shared agenda. It should not be surprising, therefore, to find transnationally organized social movement organizations (TSMOs) playing key roles in global level contentious politics.

Collective Identities in Transnational Organizations

Just like their national and local counterparts, TSMOs must advance strategic frames and foster group identities that motivate members to engage in collective action. Collective identities represent the 'mesh between the individual and cultural systems' (Gamson, 1992: 55), or the sets of 'attitudes, commitments, and rules for behavior' that those who assume the identity can be expected to subscribe to (Friedman and McAdam, 1992: 157). Such identities are negotiated and re-negotiated by activists themselves, as group members work in an ongoing way to define

a collective 'we' and its relation to opponents (Gamson, 1991: 40–1; McAdam et al., 2001: 56–7). Geographic boundaries, limited shared experiences, cultural diversity, and high transaction costs are likely to complicate this process for transnational organizations. But organizations with capacities for routine transnational exchange and negotiation may be able to overcome these obstacles.³

Analyzing transnational identity-building processes, Rupp and Taylor (1999) found that feminist activists' adoption of a notion of international 'sisterhood' helped them transcend the different experiences of nationality, culture, and class and motivated their efforts to work through their differences. Groups that lack shared physical or group characteristics defined by race, gender, or sexual preferences must define other common values upon which to base their collective identities. For instance, one might characterize many progressive transnational movement organizations as advocating a universal notion of humanity that is at odds with the divisions that are constructed and reinforced by states and large corporations.

Identification with a group is one necessary component of collective action, but activists must be strongly motivated by and committed to that identity in order to engage in sustained collective action. Solidarity refers to the 'strength of our loyalties and commitment to a movement collective identity' (Gamson, 1991: 45). It also reflects 'the belief that the group is capable of unified action in pursuit of the group's goals' (Rochon, 1998: 98). The efforts of social movement organizations to promote shared ideologies and create opportunities for interactions among activists help cultivate a sense of unity that is essential to group solidarity. Moreover, to the extent that they engage their members in collective actions involving the public sharing of risks (such as police repression) or costs (such as traveling long distances to participate in a meeting or protest), they enhance group solidarity. Transnational groups face additional obstacles, however, since they must promote connections with an identity that is not readily reinforced in most individuals' local settings.

Within transnational organizations, activists from more privileged backgrounds will more frequently find themselves in dialogue (both face-to-face and indirect) with their organizational and activist counterparts from poor countries. Such exchanges of perspectives among activists who already share commitments to certain ideologies, goals, and even organizations serve to sensitize activists to the limits of altruistic notions about transnational cooperation and of the need for more equitable, 'transnationalist' perspectives (e.g. Eterović and Smith, 2001). More intensive transnational cooperation will, however, bring more conflicts as activists are forced to confront real differences in interpretations and perceptions of appropriate strategies. Nevertheless, by building sustained connections

among activists in different regions, they structure the repeated opportunities for transnational cooperation and exchange that are essential to building trust and promoting commitment to group identities.⁴

***Obstacles to Transnational Organization:
the North–South Divide***⁵

One of the most important challenges transnational activists face is the very same barrier to cooperation found among states: the North–South divide. This division results from different structural positions in the world system, but it incorporates cultural and ideological differences as well. Activists in Northern countries must often learn new ways of thinking about their own governments' policies and their views of citizenship as they learn about their Southern counterparts' divergent experiences and interpretations of the global economic order. Southern activists often find challenges to their assumptions that citizens from the rich Northern countries necessarily share their governments' views, and that they have substantial influence on the international policies of their governments. Interchanges among activists may also be complicated by class and racial divisions within states, as many transnational activists are from economically privileged backgrounds and bring with them cultural biases typical of their class positions and their mostly urban experiences (see e.g. Anand, 1999: 403; Brysk, 1996).⁶

The differences in perceptions and the cultural biases across the North–South divide have indeed proved to be a key obstacle to transnational cooperation. For instance, Steiner's discussions with human rights organizers led him to observe important differences between Northerners and Southerners. Whereas Northern organizers tended to prefer narrow, legalistic definitions of human rights (e.g. civil and political rights), their Southern counterparts saw in this emphasis a failure to recognize the economic or systemic causes of human rights violations. The former interpretation supports efforts to monitor and sanction Southern governments for human rights violations, whereas the latter points to Northern government policies – including support for brutal Southern regimes that foster Northern policy objectives and for transnational corporate interests – that directly contribute to these violations (Steiner, 1991). Krut found similar tensions among non-governmental organizations (NGOs)⁷ working in the United Nations in the mid-1990s. She noted tensions over Northern NGO attitudes of racism, patriarchy, and colonialism:

The view from the South presented at [an NGO 'parallel meeting' at the UN] was clear: that Northern attitudes to the South and to Southern development issues and Southern civil society organizations are characterized by a mixture of sensationalism and romanticism designed to provoke feelings of guilt and charity. Neither the image nor the reaction is based on any understanding of

the conditions of the South, and Northern interventions therefore simply perpetuate structural Southern underdevelopment and dependency. (Krut, 1997: 13)

Numerous case studies confirm that activists face serious challenges when they attempt to build transnational coalitions or campaigns (e.g. Gabriel and Macdonald, 1994; Cortright and Pagnucco, 1997; Rucht, 1997; Fox, 2000; Fox and Brown, 1998). But these cases also demonstrate that past efforts at transnational cooperation have helped cultivate skills and learning that enhance capacities for transnational collaboration. For instance, Gabriel and Macdonald observed that transnational collaboration against NAFTA led to 'greater openness and more consensual forms of decision-making'. These decision-making processes helped groups develop the 'ability to listen and pay attention to difference' in ways that enabled the group to respond to demands from the South (1994: 552). Rothman and Oliver (1999) describe a long-term learning process as activists opposing World Bank development schemes in South America altered their framing of the problem in response to their international counterparts. Brown and Fox (1998) observed that 'cycles of negotiation' within transnational coalitions targeting the World Bank contributed to social learning and social capital that helped prevent differences in the coalition from becoming sources of conflict. So while structural forces continue to impede transnational organizing, activists' experiences generate new skills and technologies for confronting those challenges.

Methods

This study draws from two different mailed surveys of TSMO leaders and their local and national affiliate organizations. One survey addressed leaders of transnational human rights SMOs and the other, the organizational affiliates of EarthAction, a TSMO working on global environment, development, and human rights issues. The human rights survey, conducted during 1996, examines the transnational headquarters of all human rights TSMOs, providing evidence about the human rights frames, contacts with inter-state institutions, resources, and geographic make-up of human rights TSMOs. The survey response rate was just over 50% (144 responses), and there was no systematic difference in the response rates of groups based in the global South as compared with Northern-based groups (see Smith et al., 1998). However, most human rights TSMOs were based in the North (103 Northern versus 41 Southern TSMO respondents).

The second survey addressed the organizational affiliates of EarthAction, a TSMO working on global environment, development, and human rights issues. EarthAction's principal focus is on supporting multilateral solutions for global environmental and economic justice problems. It

distributes 'action kits' to its affiliate or 'Partner Organizations', providing them with background information and action suggestions. EarthAction actively solicits input from affiliates as it plans its campaigns. EarthAction campaigns include global negotiations like those on Climate Change and local struggles like the Ogoni people's resistance to the Nigerian government and multinational oil companies. The survey was conducted during 1998, and achieved a response rate of 52% ($N = 209$). Comparisons of the pool of respondents with non-respondents found no systematic differences in organizational location, size, structure, or duration of ties with EarthAction. However, as one might expect, respondents tended to be somewhat more active partners than were non-respondents.⁸

Because EarthAction's mission emphasizes the goal of mobilizing partners from the global South into global political change efforts, it actively cultivates affiliations with Southern organizations.⁹ Two-thirds of EarthAction's more than 1400 affiliates are based in the global South.¹⁰ This organization was selected because it allows us to test the capacity of transnational organizations to overcome obstacles to global mobilization across the North-South divide. If we do *not* see evidence that this group has produced effective ties between Northern and Southern activists, it is unlikely that the many other groups that devote less attention to incorporating under-represented groups would do so.

Data

Strategic Framing and Collective Identities

If they are to cultivate shared interpretations of global problems and promote collective action to remedy them, TSMOs must help participants make connections between local problems and global processes. As they do this, they must develop strategic frames that both identify concrete actions that local actors can take to remedy problems with global sources and rationalize the strategic use of such action. In doing so, TSMOs help activists appreciate global interdependencies and understand connections between practices in one region of the world and experiences in another, fostering a sense of a shared fate. Strategic framing processes within organizations thereby shape the articulation of collective identities (Snow and McAdam, 2000). Table 1 displays the specific ways human rights TSMOs worked to make connections between their local and national members and global institutions.¹¹

The most common way that human rights TSMOs bridge local or national levels of action with global institutions is by channeling information from local or national groups to the appropriate international bodies. Often staffed by international lawyers, human rights TSMOs have

Table 1 *Linking Local/National With Global Arenas: Human Rights TSMOs*

	Occasionally %	Often %
Helped channel information from other NGOs to appropriate international bodies	19	58
Provided information and other materials to NGOs	9	56
Helped NGOs get to international conferences	26	37
Provided training for NGOs	23	35

Source: Human Rights TSMO Survey (N = 144).

important knowledge of the complex world of international human rights law. When local groups exhaust their options for legal recourse in their domestic contexts, TSMOs can help them organize the case material they have collected so that they can be brought to appropriate international forums. Another way TSMOs help link local and global processes is by collecting systematic evidence from political refugees or other victims of human rights abuses as well as local organizations who lack ties to global human rights institutions.¹² More than half of all respondents reported at least occasional participation in efforts that served to link NGOs with global human rights arenas.

EarthAction is one example of a TSMO that works specifically to help affiliates participate in global political arenas. Rather than generating its own campaigns, this group identifies what it sees as important international campaigns on its major goals, and it designs 'action kits' to mobilize its affiliates around these campaigns. It provides affiliates with background information on global negotiations, coupled with specific suggestions for local or national action, such as writing letters to national or foreign government officials or contacting the media. It also sees its role as helping educate local publics about the connections between their local interests and global political processes. Thus, it designs materials for affiliates to reproduce in their newsletters or to discuss at organizational meetings. Because there are no parallels to the political parties found within democratic political contexts (with some exceptions in the European Union), international organizations lack formal mechanisms for public participation and accountability. Citizens' access to international organizations is regulated by national governments. Moreover, the positions governments take in global institutions typically face very little democratic input or oversight, since they are made within trade and foreign policy bureaucracies that are insulated from public scrutiny (see Pagnucco and Smith, 1993; Markoff, 1999). Thus, the work TSMOs do to foster global political participation is essential to any effort to democratize global politics.

But while we can outline the ways that EarthAction tries to mobilize its partners into global political arenas, it remains to be seen how its affiliates actually interpret or respond to its efforts. Internal evaluation efforts as well as my own evaluations repeatedly showed substantially higher use of EarthAction materials by affiliates in the global South. The 1997 survey results confirm this difference. For instance, respondents were asked to indicate in which of EarthAction's 1997 campaigns they participated. Of the seven possible campaigns, Southern groups participated in an average of 3.36 campaigns, while Northern affiliates took part in an average of 2.76 campaigns.¹³ Also, when asked whether their organization has some routine way of using EarthAction's action kits, 46% of Southern groups, compared to 30% of Northern groups, indicated that they had such a routine. And 44% of Southern groups (compared to just 10% of Northern groups) indicated that they always make use of EarthAction materials, regardless of the issue.¹⁴

Table 2 explores further some of the ways that transnational organizing efforts have affected the strategies of different types of affiliates. The assumption here is that transnational organizing work has different effects on local groups than it does on organizations operating at a regional or global scale.¹⁵

The results in Table 2 indicate that the work of TSMOs like EarthAction is especially important for local or national groups. In contrast, transnational organizations appear to have relatively less need for the informational resources and global networking that EarthAction provides. Organizational structure alone, however, does not appear to explain all variation here. Consistently higher percentages of respondents from the global South indicated that EarthAction's campaigns were influential in their organizations' work. And Southern affiliates are clearly the most active of EarthAction affiliates by most measures, including their proclivity to respond to our survey as well as to have responded to prior efforts by EarthAction to communicate with them.

There are a number of likely explanations for this pattern. Perhaps most important is the relative scarcity of resources for voluntary action in much of the global South in comparison with the global North. It may also be a function of the knowledge base and social capital available in Southern contexts, where opportunities for *any* political mobilization and especially global level activism are more recent and less widespread than they are in the North. Southern affiliates were, on average, 13 years old, compared with 22 years for Northern affiliates. This statistically significant age difference is likely due to the relatively recent emergence of democratic systems in many countries of the global South and the subsequent flourishing of new civil society organizations in those areas (see e.g. Fisher, 1998). Also, the rocky and incomplete democratic transitions in many

Table 2 *Significance of TSMO Links to Global Arena for Affiliates North/South and Local-National/transnational Comparisons**

	North N = 53 %	South N = 156 %	Reg./ Global N = 79 %	Nat'l Local N = 130 %
EarthAction helps us work on issues we could not otherwise address	48	69	54	71
Being part of EarthAction has increased the global focus of our organization's work ¹	38	69	51	66
Being part of EarthAction helps us link local issues to global negotiations	59	67	45	69
EarthAction materials aid our work with other NGOs ¹	43	68	41	48
Since joining EarthAction, our organization has done more work related to the United Nations ^{1, 2}	27	46	39	43

Source: EarthAction Partner Survey.

* Percentages of respondents indicating statement is 'often' or 'always true' for their organization.

¹ The differences between responses of Northern and Southern affiliates were statistically significant for these items. No statistically significant differences were found in comparisons of global versus national and local associations or between local and national associations.

² This survey item asked respondents to indicate whether their organization did more, less, or about the same amount of work related to the United Nations since joining EarthAction.

countries of the South mean that NGOs in those countries are often vulnerable to government repression. Ties to transnational activist groups can help protect activist groups from repression in some contexts, and indeed one EarthAction affiliate from Indonesia indicated in the survey that this was one thing that their group found most useful about EarthAction (see also Coy, 1997). Another factor that helps account for North-South differences is the fact that EarthAction affiliates from the global South were more likely to be organized at the national level, and they were less likely to be global in scope.¹⁶ In contrast, roughly proportionate numbers of groups in the North and South were local (18% Northern vs. 23% Southern) or regional (14% vs. 16%).¹⁷

Perhaps the most important aspect of EarthAction's campaigns for affiliates in both the North and the South (but less so for groups that are global in scope) is its effort to link local issues to global negotiations. Sixty-five percent of all respondents indicated that EarthAction helped them relate local issues to global negotiations. Overall, the patterns

suggest that more differences correspond to an affiliate's location in the North or South than to the scope of an organization's work. In other words, the transnational organizing work of groups like EarthAction appears to be more important for linking associations of people in the global South than it is for linking locally-oriented associations from other regions with global political processes.

Collective Identity & Solidarity

By promoting transnational interactions and to connect local activists with global political campaigns and policy arenas TSMOs support group identities and solidarity that contribute to transnational mobilization. In order to convince adherents to take on the costs and risks involved in collective action, TSMOs must '[link] the welfare of the group to a program of political or social change, and [create] the expectation that the group will act cohesively to bring about that change' (Rochon, 1998: 101). EarthAction's organizing strategy reveals important solidarity-building efforts. First, the framing of the campaigns seeks to demonstrate how the aims of its affiliates – such as the protection of the environment, economic justice and empowerment, and demilitarization – are tied to negotiations in inter-governmental settings. Moreover, its organizing brochure articulates a notion of a shared fate: at the end of the 20th century, more than ever before since the human story began, we all depend on each other. EarthAction also works to convey a sense of group efficacy by identifying concrete ways that local groups can seek to influence global political events. Finally, it cultivates the expectation among affiliates that their actions will be part of a much more extensive global campaign: each Action kit they distribute includes the message 'This action alert is being sent to over 1,500 citizen groups in more than 140 countries which are part of the EarthAction network. . . . When you act, you are acting together with citizens from all parts of the world.' And the EarthAction web page and organizational brochures display a tidal wave with the message that: 'Together, we can create a wave of public opinion around the planet that no government can ignore.' This claim is substantiated for affiliates by occasional reports on how other EarthAction partners have engaged different EarthAction campaigns.¹⁸

Scholars of social movements have emphasized the importance to collective action of activists' sense that they are not alone in their efforts, that they are part of a group that is united and committed to promoting change. Doug McAdam (1982) writes of the need for 'cognitive liberation' to motivate and sustain collective action. This concept implies that activists come to interpret the causes of their problems in systemic terms and that they view collective action as both plausible and effective at addressing the problem at hand. Numerous social movement analyses demonstrate

the importance of participants' sense that they are not alone in their struggle (even if they indeed *are* alone in their immediate locale) for sustaining participation and commitment to a movement (Edwards and Foley, 1997; Minkoff, 1997). In response to open-ended questions on the EarthAction survey, respondents repeatedly raised this point, expressing their appreciation for EarthAction's international network. They indicated that knowledge that they were part of an international effort helped encourage and motivate them to take part in global political campaigns. Indeed, some of the most frequent responses to the question of what affiliates like best about EarthAction was 'its global perspective' and 'its global network of affiliates'. And in a separate survey question, nearly three quarters of all respondents indicated that 'EarthAction makes us feel part of a global effort'.¹⁹ The exceptional efforts of a partner from the Congo to return their survey in the midst of a civil war in their country (with apologies for being late!) reflect the need that activists have for this connection to others who share their values and goals. This is especially true when groups are working in remote areas with few resources or local allies supporting their cause.

While solidarity and collective identity are difficult to measure, particularly with this cross-sectional, organization-level data, several survey items can help us assess whether or not there is evidence suggesting that TSMOs may contribute to the formation of transnational identities and solidarity.²⁰ Transnational collective identities should encourage participants to view their problems not as concerns for the people of one's own country but for people more generally. Several survey items allow us to ask whether TSMO affiliates express some commitment to transnational identities. As transnational campaigns expand the scope of local struggles to global arenas, they challenge participants to re-orient their thinking about appropriate targets or strategies. Table 3 displays responses to questions related to collective identities.

Of particular interest in Table 3 is the relatively close correspondence of responses from groups in the North and the South, which is not found in comparisons of other types of survey questions. Another interesting point to note is that Southern groups were slightly more likely to register agreement with the claim that EarthAction's positions reflect the priorities of people in their region. One respondent from Mali described the organization's views of EarthAction in a way that resonates with the pattern shown here: 'Although from the North, [EarthAction] criticizes the North'. This is likely because EarthAction's positions clearly do not emerge from a single, Northern activist or office. Rather, their actions and strategies emerge through lengthy dialogues among Northern and Southern activists in the context of multiple international conferences at the UN or among NGOs themselves. An international steering committee then shapes the

Table 3 *Collective Identity in Transnational SMOs: EarthAction Affiliates**

	North N = 53 %	South N = 156 %	Reg./ Global N = 79 %	Nat'l Local** N = 130 %
We do not act on some campaigns because we believe that our country's interests may be hurt by some of EarthAction's proposals	16	17	19	15
Our organization generally agrees with the policy positions advocated by EarthAction	65	68	51	70
The issues covered by EarthAction's campaigns reflect our organization's concerns	72	71	62	77
The issues covered by EarthAction's campaigns reflect the priorities of people in our region	62	71	63	72

Source: EarthAction Partner Survey.

* Percentages of respondents indicating statement is 'often' or 'always true' for their organization.

** None of the differences between either groups were statistically significant.

broad organizational agenda. So transnational perspectives are structured into the organization's routine operations.

These findings must be read alongside some contrasting themes raised in numerous written responses from Southern affiliates in the survey's open-ended questions. These responses suggest that EarthAction's strategy and decision making leave out important concerns of some Southern (and Northern) affiliates. A major concern for the leaders and steering committee within the organization is to strengthen multilateral institutions, especially the UN, to make them more effective protectors of peace, economic justice, and the environment. This perspective may not be shared by the more radical organizers in the global South, who see the UN as overly influenced by the United States and undemocratic in its structure as an inter-governmental body. Several Southern affiliates indicated a sense that they are doubly disenfranchised in the UN system. First, the UN structure allows only recognized governments to represent the interests of the people in specified national territories, and they feel powerless to influence their own government's policy. Second, even if they could impact their national positions at the UN, the US dominance there has meant that small, poor countries have no real impact on major decisions. Although EarthAction's campaigns have been critical of the US role in the

United Nations, they have not adequately responded to these concerns of Southern groups. For instance, two proposals in the organization's draft of an action plan for broad reforms of the UN drew consistent criticism from some affiliates for failing to account for the structural inequities in the UN system. Specifically, proposals to increase the ability of the UN to enforce economic sanctions and to command a rapid-response peace-keeping force raised concerns from affiliates that felt that the UN needed to be democratized and the US influence within it strongly curtailed before that institution was given stronger enforcement capabilities. A second type of written comment that was notably frequent was that EarthAction should take up more campaigns around the global economy.²¹

Another interesting pattern is the relatively higher percentage of local and national groups (contrasted with regional and global organizations) that see EarthAction's campaigns and goals as corresponding with their own. On all measures, local groups indicated greater correspondence with EarthAction campaigns than did groups working beyond the national levels. Because local groups are less focused on global scale campaigns and therefore are less likely to have considered their interests in relation to those of other global actors, we might expect more divergence between local organizations and EarthAction programs. I suspect that this weak but recurring pattern reflects an organizational dynamic whereby global groups have more highly articulated global action frames that make it more difficult for them to relate their organizational agendas to the campaigns framed by EarthAction. Lacking highly developed global action frames, local groups can more easily (and less critically) adopt the campaigns promoted by this TSMO. This observation raises an important question about the future course of transnational action and cooperation. Specifically, as more groups have access to information and skills needed to develop and mobilize around global strategic frames, will we see greater diversity and conflict among social change groups working in global arenas?

Of course, the responses displayed above reflect the self-reporting of groups that have chosen to join a transnational organization, and we can presume that they are self-selecting in that they are more likely to share the views of the organization with which they affiliate. So caution is in order when extrapolating from these findings. But certainly if we did *not* see some convergence in identities around a shared transnational frame among these particular TSMO affiliates, we would be unlikely to see them elsewhere. The human rights survey allows us to see if similar patterns of responses are found among other TSMOs. Recall that this survey went not to affiliates of a transnational, but to the international secretariats of transnational organizations.²² Organizational leaders were asked to report on the extent to which their organizational members (often national

organizations) have shared views of global frames and strategies. Table 4 reports their responses.

The responses from transnational human rights organizers suggest that cultural differences are relatively unproblematic for the work they do and that there is fairly high consensus around organizational priorities. There is less agreement, however, about appropriate organizational activities and strategies, with fewer than half of the respondents indicating that they have frequent agreement on these matters within their organizations.²³

The data on human rights TSMOs also revealed North–South differences in strategic approaches. For instance, organizations based in the South were more likely to be pressing for new human rights standards, such as the right to development, *in addition to* advocating better implementation of existing civil and political rights. While there was some support for new rights among Northern-based groups, the latter were more likely to focus their energies on existing civil and political rights rather than to work for an expanded definition of human rights.²⁴ Such a strategic decision is based on their argument that without political protections, individuals cannot advance their economic and development interests (whereas many Southern advocates would argue the inverse). Another significant difference was that Southern-based TSMOs were more likely to be working to advance the national implementation of global human rights standards than were their Northern counterparts.

This finding about strategic differences between Northern and Southern activists bears further discussion. First, it suggests that transnational coalitions and organizations find it easier to share broad ideological frameworks than to move beyond those abstractions to articulate concrete

Table 4 *Collective Identity in Transnational Organization: Human Rights Organizations**

	Often or Always True %
Our members agree about which issues are most important for us to work on	68
Our members have a very strong sense of group solidarity	56
Our members have the same ideas about which political activities are most appropriate for us	47
Our members agree on organizational strategies and focus	38

Source: Human Rights TSMO survey (N = 144).

* Percentages of respondents indicating statement is 'often' or 'always true' for their organization.

responses to them. Second, it may also mean that, while transnational groups can fairly readily generate shared views of the problems they target, they face greater challenges in articulating a common response to these problems. National political cultures and structures reinforce strong assumptions among activists about which tactics and strategies are most appropriate for advancing social changes. Both national political opportunities and the related prospects for cultivating ties with other groups in society – including those with material or political resources – condition at least the short-term incentives and costs that activists must consider when they engage in transnational organizing efforts. Future, longitudinal studies may find that strategic consensus indeed does emerge after extensive experience in transnational organization and coalition-building helps break down nationally-oriented perspectives and strategies, replacing them with transnational ones. For now, at least, strategic differences remain important obstacles to transnational solidarity.²⁵

A second consideration is whether the responses in Tables 3 and 4 do indeed reflect some level of commitment to social change that benefits some universal conception of humanity rather than the view that transnational action is best able to help groups solve their local problems. The survey materials alone do not allow us to adequately address this problem. But we do have some less systematic evidence about EarthAction affiliates' participation in global campaigns prior to the time frame of the survey. EarthAction conducted several limited telephone surveys of randomly selected affiliates, and these surveys asked about participation in campaigns that targeted issues that were pertinent to a particular region or country.²⁶ If affiliates are motivated principally by self-interest, we would expect such campaigns to attract less response than more globally-framed campaigns, and that affiliates from affected regions would be most active on these types of campaigns.²⁷ All of the region-specific campaigns, however, achieved rates of reported participation that were comparable to other EarthAction campaigns. So overall figures do not suggest that affiliates are motivated to engage in regionally relevant campaigns to the exclusion of more global ones. When we compare regional participation in these campaigns, we find that those affecting Africa tended to attract relatively high levels of participation from African affiliates. However, high levels of participation for all of these campaigns was found among North American groups as well.²⁸ Where we have the most systematic data, for the campaign to protect Indonesian forests, participation rates for Asian affiliates were only slightly higher (28% of all groups taking action) than African and Latin American groups (23%). While the data used to generate these trends are somewhat problematic, they suggest that Southern affiliates are more motivated to participate in transnational campaigns by local/regional

interests and that Northern activists are more motivated by a commitment to transnational identities. Better data are needed to determine the extent to which these findings can be generalized and whether activist motivations change with longer experiences of transnational cooperation.

Conclusions

Transnational interactions within TSMOs and broader transnational movements allow activists to develop a shared language of resistance, objectives, collective action strategies, and symbols. This research explored some of the implications of the growing numbers of transnational interactions indicated by expanding numbers of transnational associations formed to promote social change goals. Research on the ways that global integration has affected social movement mobilization has only begun to move beyond basic analyses of particular campaigns to articulate a more detailed model of how global structural change affects political participation and democracy. A much denser population of transnationally structured social movement organizations signals more frequent and intense transnational exchanges among activists. These exchanges, moreover, are shaping new ideologies and identities that transcend national political and cultural arenas. The opportunities these associations provide for ongoing negotiation of shared identities, objectives, and strategies should foster the mutual trust and commitment that form the basis of transnational solidarity. Given the growing numbers of TSMOs and other transnational organizations, we should expect that transnational organizing and even transnational collective action such as that currently emerging around the global financial institutions will be more common, not less.

This limited examination of what takes place within TSMOs revealed several important areas where tensions may emerge over time. First, national and global level politics remain distinct enough to create obstacles for organizers who must continue to struggle with the difficulties of relating the immediate concerns of potential movement supporters to global level agendas and political processes. Local groups reported the most difficulties in participating in global campaigns. To the extent that globalization expands the relevance of global policy for people's everyday lives and thereby helps encourage greater popular knowledge of global processes, the local/global connections may become easier to bridge. But in the meantime, TSMOs provide some of the few accessible arenas where individuals can educate themselves about and participate in global processes. Thus, while they call for the democratization of global institutions, TSMOs must also be conscious agents of global democratization.

Another concern is that, while TSMOs help integrate local and national groups into global political processes, the expansion of information and skills needed for global activism means that organizing across national boundaries becomes easier, and more organizations and leaders may emerge to advance competing agendas and campaigns. This could foster greater diversity and conflict among social change groups working in global arenas. While such a development would indicate a more democratic and open global polity, it may also complicate coherent and unified transnational action to promote urgent social change agendas. This, in turn, could fuel the efforts of governments to curtail NGO participation in international organizations, as is now happening in the UN and other international forums. Lessons from past transnational collective actions – such as efforts to develop common NGO statements at global conferences during the 1990s and to build powerful global coalitions such as the coalition to ban land mines or to promote an International Criminal Court (ICC)²⁹ – suggest important mechanisms for managing differences across organizations that may serve to advance common agendas in the global arena.

A final conclusion is particularly salient as contemporary global activists debate the merits of large-scale protests that are readily hijacked by militants engaging in property destruction and other violence. Transnational groups have been fairly readily able to generate shared views of the problems they address, but they appear to face far greater challenges in articulating common responses to these problems. In particular, political conditions faced by activists from much of the global South lead them towards more radical critiques and more confrontational strategies for change. Northern activists may or may not adopt the structural critiques of their Southern counterparts, but they tend to adopt reformist strategies that are more consistent with institutionalized political discourse and practices. In other words, they may accept the view that the World Bank must be severely reduced or abolished, but they may resist adopting such a goal because they believe it would be politically ineffective to do so. As global elites seek to co-opt or otherwise undermine the mobilizing potential of their critics, the temptation to adopt more conventional approaches may further divide activists across North and South. The only way strategic differences might be overcome is through broader and more intensive dialogue about strategic matters across the North–South divide and through broader education about global interdependence as well as global political processes and opportunities for participation. As activists are faced with more frequent opportunities to work together around shared goals, they are likely to find new ways to cooperate, and through their strategic disagreements, they will generate tactical innovations to advance their visions of global change.

Notes

Support for portions of this research was provided by the Joyce Mertz-Gilmore Foundation (for the survey of human rights organizations) and by the Aspen Institute's Nonprofit Sector Research Fund (for the survey of transnational affiliates). This paper is a much-revised version of an earlier paper, which appears in German translation in *Globalisierung, Partizipation, Protest* (edited by Ansgar Klein and Ruud Koopmans). I am grateful for the helpful suggestions provided by Kenneth Andrews, Joe Bandy, Irene Bloemraad, Bob Edwards, Ivana Eterović, John Guidry, David Maynard, Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, Byron Miller, Mara Perez-Godoy, Robert Schaeffer, Paul Silverstein, Sidney Tarrow, Charles Tilly, and Deborah Yashar, Dawn Wiest and anonymous reviewers. Thanks to Ivana Eterovic for assistance with the survey of EarthAction affiliates.

1. This has been changing, and the work of Jonathan Fox (2000) and his collaborators (1998), Young (1991), Macdonald (1997) and of Edwards and Gaventa (2001) are some exceptions.
2. For more on the political dynamics of social movements within nested national and inter-state politics see Rothman and Oliver (1999), Tarrow (2001), Smith (2002), and Smith et al. (1997b).
3. Their efforts at organizational integration across national boundaries is aided by broader cultural globalization processes advanced by mass media and Internet communications, as well as by a growing set of global cultural references such as the Zapatista struggle; a growing number of sites of global struggle such as Seattle, Prague, Nice, Porto Alegre, etc.; heroes such as Subcomandante Marcos and José Bové; and, tragically after the Genoa protests, martyrs.
4. Hirsch (1986) refers to this process as building political solidarity. He argues that participants' commitment to a group identity changes over time. Whereas initial involvement in a social movement organization often grows out of some direct interest or material incentive to cooperate, a second level of involvement in Hirsch's observations grew out of participants' desire to reciprocate the efforts of other social movement participants and/or organizers by cooperating with group activities that have no direct impact on their interests. Finally, those who sustained their participation in the group were likely to identify common patterns or sources of abuse that led to both their own and to others' grievances.
5. The terms 'North' and 'South' refer to the western, industrialized ('core') states and the Third World ('periphery') states, respectively. Though not geographically accurate, this usage reflects that of practitioners and in the UN System as well as many scholars and analysts.
6. But see Edelman (1999) for examples of ties between rural, local organizers and transnational groups.
7. The term NGO is applied to all non-state organizations by the United Nations. It is commonly used among scholars and practitioners despite its catch-all nature. The social movement or advocacy groups we are concerned with in this paper are a subset of NGOs.

8. The measure used here was a dummy variable indicating whether or not the group had made any contact with EarthAction (e.g. by sending newsletters or news clippings about their campaigns or returning post cards indicating that they took action on an EarthAction campaign) or responded to earlier attempts by EarthAction to contact them prior to the survey. Thirty-five percent of respondents and 22% of non-respondents had made prior contact with EarthAction's international offices ($T = 3.23, p < .01$).
9. Other groups also actively work to mobilize and integrate members from the global South. Broad geographic representation, especially from the global South and generally under-represented regions, increases their legitimacy in and access to inter-governmental forums like the UN. It enhances their ability to raise money from foundation and government sources. It also can increase the political leverage a group might have by providing links to both information and political pressure in different countries whose strategic influence varies across different issue campaigns.
10. The survey sample somewhat over-represents Southern affiliates, in part due to over-sampling to maximize responses from that region. Response patterns also suggest a greater propensity of Southern affiliates to respond to all EarthAction communications, including the survey. About 75% of the respondents were from the South, compared with their overall representation in the organization of about two-thirds of affiliates.
11. Many TSMOs have organizational members, while some – including important groups in this survey of human rights TSMOs – do not have formal members but rather serve as transnational cadre organizations providing training or consultation for activists in local and national-level NGOs.
12. This occasionally leads to resentment of local groups who provide crucial information but who lack the prominence or reputations of transnational groups like Amnesty International. Such reputations are often important for efforts to legitimate claims and to raise resources. However, shifts since the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development to allow direct links between national NGOs and UN bodies as well as enhanced experience and expertise on the part of Southern activist leaders (see Fox, 2000; Foster and Anand, 1999; Edelman, 1999; Brysk, 2000) may help reduce such dependencies in the future.
13. *T*-test for difference of means was 2.00 (significant at .05 level).
14. Comparisons of responses to this same question by local versus more broad-scope organizations revealed no substantial differences in the levels of participation in global campaigns. Thus, the differences are a function of geographic location rather than organizational scope.
15. The term 'regional' here refers to organizations whose memberships and/or agendas extend beyond the boundaries of a single country but do not extend beyond a particular area of the world to encompass a 'global' scope. 'Local' groups are sub-national, and 'national' groups organize at the level of the national polity. 'Global' groups are transnational groups that extend beyond a limited geographic region.
16. Fifty percent of Southern groups were national in scope, compared with 20% of Northern affiliates, and just 11% of Southern groups were global in scope, compared with 48% of Northern groups.

17. Many of the rationales outlined here would suggest that Southern groups are motivated more by direct self-interest than some compelling global identity to participate in EarthAction campaigns. Theories of political solidarity-building like that discussed above (see note 4) would suggest that participation in group activities should alter motivations to participate. My attempts to evaluate this claim with these data were inconclusive: comparisons of groups with longer versus shorter lengths of affiliations with EarthAction revealed no significant differences in responses to survey items listed in Table 2. This question is one that merits attention in future research.
18. In written comments in the surveys, a notable number of affiliates indicated that they most liked receiving information about other EarthAction affiliates and their actions. This signals a strong interest in learning from the experiences of other activists, an interest which is also apparent in the more recent transnational gatherings of activists in Seattle, Prague, Porto Alegre, Quebec City, and elsewhere (author's fieldnotes).
19. There were no significant geographic or organizational differences among responses to this item.
20. Without longitudinal or comparative data between participants and non-participants in TSMOs, we cannot attribute a causal role to TSMOs in the formation or strengthening of transnational identity and solidarity. We would, however, expect to find evidence of transnational identities and solidarities within these TSMOs, given our understandings of transnational interactions at global conferences and other transnational forums that suggest that the kinds of transnational exchanges routinized in TSMOs help foster collective identities.
21. The organization did take up a campaign around the Seattle WTO meeting, and in 1995 it participated in the 'Fifty Years is Enough' campaign to protest the operations of the World Bank and IMF. But most of its campaigns have focused on the UN and the environmental and social development conferences and agreements that have emerged since the organization's founding at the UN Conference on Environment and Development in 1992.
22. As such, these responses can also be expected to introduce a bias that overstates the effectiveness of their organizations in unifying members or affiliates around shared identities.
23. This corresponds with observations of other transnational campaigns, such as Jubilee 2000, the global campaign for multilateral debt relief. In this campaign, activists in Northern and Southern countries tended to divide over the question of whether the campaign should focus on reducing or eliminating multilateral debt (the position of many Northern groups) or whether they should declare the debt illegitimate and insist on reparations from lending institutions (the position of Jubilee South).
24. In response to the question 'Our organization worked to promote civil and political rights', Northern groups scored an average of 4.22 on a five point scale where 1 signifies 'never' and 5 means 'always'. Southern groups scored an average of 4.32 on this item. In contrast, Southern groups were significantly more likely to work towards two more transformative goals, including social, economic, and cultural rights (4.51 vs. 3.94 average score for Northern groups)

- and the right to development (4.05 vs. 3.00 for Northern groups). (*T*-tests for differences of means were significant at the .01 level.)
25. Fox (2000: 11–12) found a similar dynamic in his examination of binational coalitions. The conflict was particularly problematic for the transnational environmental organizations working on the dolphin-safe tuna case which pitted their interests in sustaining US dues-paying members against claims for greater equity in the use of natural resources by poor countries like Mexico.
 26. These campaigns included a campaign to press the Brazilian government to demarcate indigenous lands, three different campaigns to urge the Canadian, Gabon, and Indonesian governments to limit commercial logging within their borders, and a campaign for international action to end the conflict in Rwanda and Burundi.
 27. The samples for telephone surveys were selected at random, but there was no subsequent effort to insure that the completed telephone interviews represented a random selection of affiliates, and certain regions were under-represented.
 28. African and North American affiliates were over-represented in this study. Asian and Latin American partners were under-represented.
 29. For information on the landmines campaign, see Price (1998); on the ICC, see Johansen (2001).

References

- Anand, Anita (1999) 'Organizing Challenges for Non-Governmental Organizations', in John W. Foster and Anita Anand (eds) *Whose World Is It Anyway? Civil Society, the United Nations, and the Multilateral Future*, pp. 391–426. Ottawa: United Nations Association of Canada.
- Brown, L. David and Fox, Jonathan A. (1998) 'Accountability Within Transnational Coalitions', in J. A. Fox and L. D. Brown (eds) *The Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs, and Grassroots Movements*, pp. 439–84. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Brysk, Alison (1996) 'Turning Weakness Into Strength: The Internationalization of Indian Rights', *Latin American Perspectives* 23: 38–58.
- Brysk, Alison (2000) *From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indigenous Peoples' Struggles in Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Cortright, David and Pagnucco, Ron (1997) 'Limits to Transnationalism: the 1980s Freeze Campaign', in Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield and Ron Pagnucco (eds) *Solidarity Beyond the State: The Dynamics of Transnational Social Movements*, pp. 159–73. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Coy, Patrick (1997) 'Protecting Targets of Human Rights Abuse: the Networking Work of Peace Brigades International', in J. Smith, C. Chatfield and R. Pagnucco (eds) *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Edelman, Marc (1999) *Peasants Against Globalization: Rural Social Movements in Costa Rica*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Edwards, Bob and Foley, Michael (1997) 'Social Capital and the Political Economy of Our Dissent', *American Behavioral Scientist* 40: 668–77.

- Edwards, Michael and Gaventa, John (2001) *Global Citizen Action*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Eterović, Ivana and Smith, Jackie (2001) 'From Altruism to a New Transnationalism? A Look at Transnational Social Movements', in Marco Giugni and Florence Passy (eds) *Political Altruism: Solidarity Movements in International Perspective*, pp. 197–218. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Fisher, Julie (1998) *Non-Governments: NGOs and the Political Development of the Third World*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Foster, John and Anand, Anita, eds (1999) *Whose World Is It Anyway? Civil Society, the United Nations, and the Multilateral Future*. Ottawa: United Nations Association of Canada.
- Fox, Jonathan (2000) 'Assessing Binational Civil Society Coalitions: Lessons from the Mexico-US Experience', Working Paper Number 26, Chicano/Latino Research Center, University of California, Santa Cruz.
- Fox, Jonathan and Brown, L. David (1998) *The Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs, and Grassroots Movements*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Friedman, Debra and McAdam, Doug (1992) 'Collective Identity and Activism: Networks, Choices, and the Life of a Social Movement', in Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller (eds) *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, pp. 156–73. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Gabriel, Christina and Macdonald, Laura (1994) 'NAFTA, Women and Organising in Canada and Mexico: Forging a "Feminist Internationality"', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 23: 535–62.
- Gamson, William (1991) 'Commitment and Agency in Social Movements', *Sociological Forum* 6(1): 27–50.
- Gamson, William (1992) 'Social Psychology of Collective Action', in A. D. Morris and C. M. Mueller (eds) *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, pp. 53–76. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Guidry, John A., Kennedy, Michael D. and Zald, Mayer N. (2000) 'Globalizations and Social Movements', in J. A. Guidry, M. D. Kennedy and M. N. Zald (eds) *Globalizations and Social Movements: Culture, Power, and the Transnational Public Sphere*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Hirsch, Eric L. (1986) 'The Creation of Political Solidarity in Social Movement Organizations', *Sociological Quarterly* 27: 373–87.
- Johansen, Robert (2001) 'Transnational Politics and Nongovernmental Organizations: Drafting a Treaty to Establish a Permanent International Criminal Court', paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Meeting, February 20–24, Chicago, IL.
- Keck, Margaret and Sikkink, Kathryn (1998) *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Krut, Riva (1997) *Globalization and Civil Society: NGO Influence on International Decision Making*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- McAdam, Doug (1982) *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- McAdam, Doug, Tarrow, Sidney and Tilly, Charles (2001) *Dynamics of Contention*. New York: Cambridge.

- Macdonald, Laura (1997) *Supporting Civil Society: The Political Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Central America*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Markoff, John (1999) 'Globalization and the Future of Democracy', *Journal of World-Systems Research* 5: 242–62. <http://csf.colorado.edu/wsystems/jwsr.html>
- Minkoff, Deborah (1997) 'Producing Social Capital: National Social Movements and Civil Society', *American Behavioral Scientist* 40: 606–19.
- Pagnucco, Ron and Smith, Jackie (1993) 'The Peace Movement and the Formulation of US Foreign Policy', *Peace and Change* 18: 157–81.
- Peoples' Global Action (2000) *Worldwide Resistance Roundup: Newsletter 'Inspired by' Peoples' Global Action* (February). London: Peoples' Global Action Editorial Collective.
- Price, Richard (1998) 'Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines', *International Organization* 52: 613–44.
- Rochon, Thomas (1998) *Culture Moves: Ideas, Activism, and Changing Values*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rothman, Franklin Daniel and Oliver, Pamela E. (1999) 'From Local to Global: The Anti-Dam Movement in Southern Brazil 1979–1992', *Mobilization* 4: 41–57.
- Rucht, Dieter (1997) 'Limits to Mobilization: Environmental Policy for the European Union', in J. Smith, C. Chatfield and R. Pagnucco (eds) *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*, pp. 195–213. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Rupp, Leila and Taylor, Verta (1999) 'Forging Feminist Identity in an International Movement: A Collective Identity Approach to Twentieth-Century Feminism', *Signs* 24(2): 363–86.
- Smith, Jackie (2002) 'Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements', in J. Smith and H. Johnston (eds) *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Smith, Jackie, Chatfield, Charles and Pagnucco, Ron, eds (1997a) *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Smith, Jackie, Pagnucco, Ron and Chatfield, Charles (1997b) 'Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: A Theoretical Framework', in J. Smith, C. Chatfield and R. Pagnucco (eds) *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Smith, Jackie, Pagnucco, Ron and Lopez, George (1998) 'Globalizing Human Rights: Report on a Survey of Transnational Human Rights NGOs', *Human Rights Quarterly* 20: 379–412.
- Snow, David and McAdam, Doug (2000) 'Identity Work Processes in the Context of Social Movements: Clarifying the Identity/Movement Nexus', in S. Stryker, T. J. Owens and R. W. White (eds) *Self, Identity and Social Movements*, pp. 41–67. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Snow, David, Rochford, E. B., Warden, S. and Benford, Robert (1986) 'Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization and Movement Participation', *American Sociological Review* 15: 273–86.
- Steiner, Henry J. (1991) *Diverse Partners: Non-Governmental Organizations in the*

- Human Rights Movement. Retreat of Human Rights Activists.* Harvard, MA: Harvard Law School Human Rights Program & Human Rights Internet.
- Tarrow, Sidney (2001) 'Transnational Politics: Contention and Institutions in International Politics', *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 1-20.
- Willetts, Peter (1996) *The Conscience of the World: The Influence of NGOs in the United Nations System.* London: C. Hurst.
- Young, Dennis R. (1991) 'The Structural Imperatives of International Advocacy Associations', *Human Relations* 44: 921-41.

Biographical Note: Jackie Smith is Associate Professor of Sociology at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. She is co-editor of *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2002) and of *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State* (Syracuse University Press, 1997). She has written numerous articles on transnational social movements and the organizations that promote them.

Address: Department of Sociology, SUNY Stony Brook, Stony Brook, New York NY 11794-4356, USA. [email: jackie.smith@sunysb.edu]