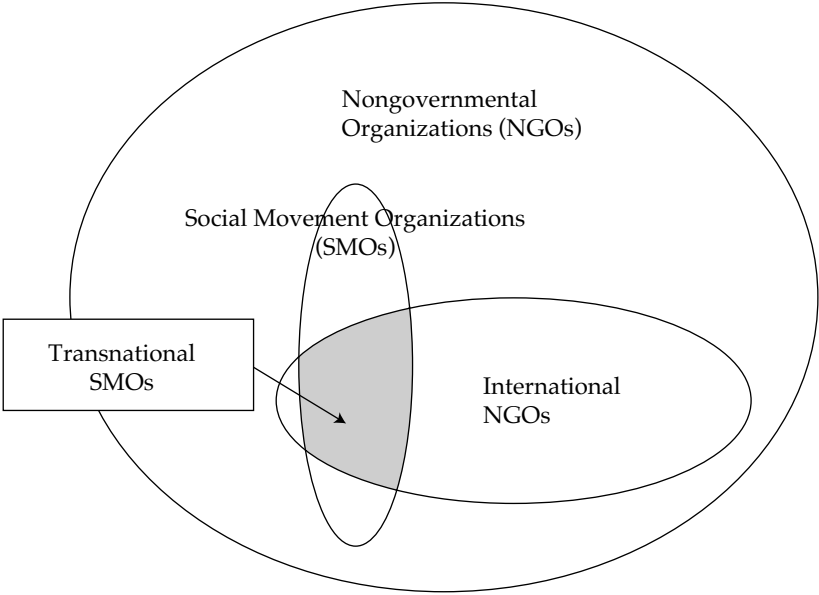
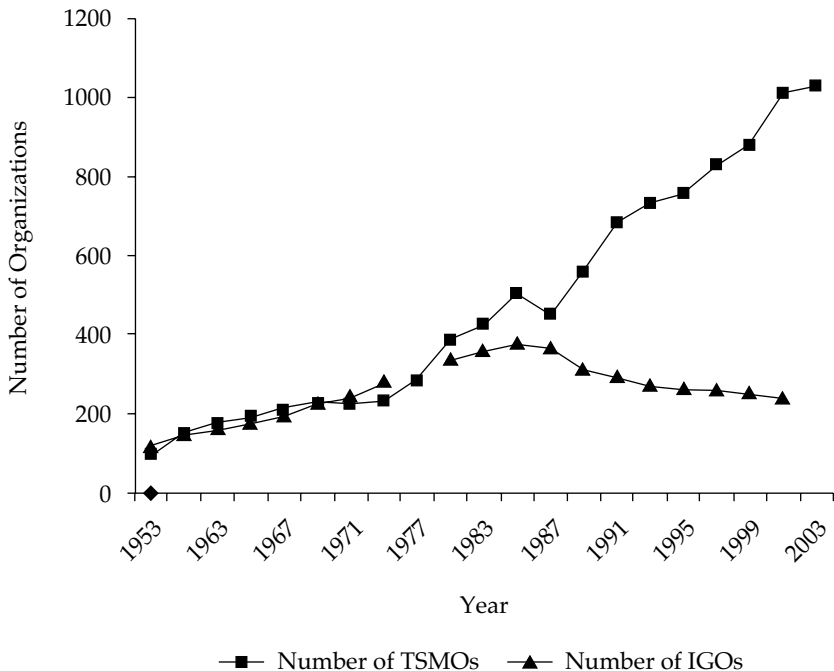


Figure 2.1 Types of Nongovernmental Organizations



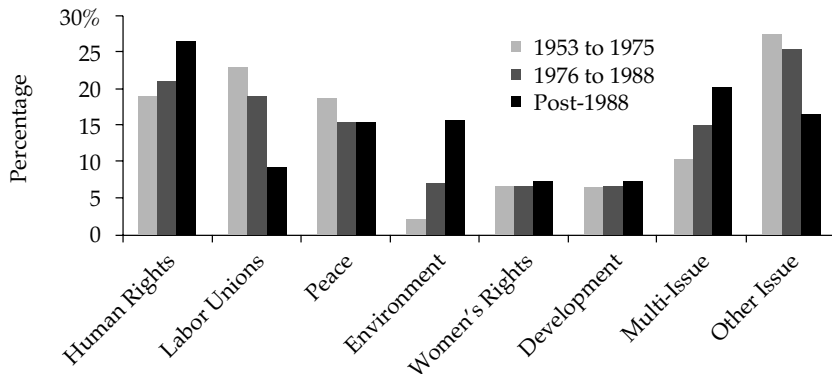
Source: Kriesberg (1997, 13).

Figure 2.2 Changes in Numbers of Transnational Social Movement Organizations and Intergovernmental Organizations



Source: Authors' adaptation of Chatfield (1997, 21).

Figure 2.3 Percentage of Transnational Social Movement Organizations in the Population by Issue-Focus^a



Source: Authors' compilation based on their Transnational Social Movement Organizations Dataset.

^a For all groups except labor unions, the categories depicted above are not mutually exclusive. Figures are based on the number of organizations active in each issue area as a percentage of all organizations active at any time during the period. The denominator includes every occurrence of an organization during each of the years covered in the time period.

Table 2.1 Transnational Social Movement Organizations and Labor Unions^a

	Movement Organizations		Labor Unions	
	Active	Percentage Founded Each Decade	Active	Percentage Founded Each Decade
Before 1950		12		33
1950s	127	7	39	11
1960s	205	11	59	26
1970s	250	20	80	12
1980s	467	26	104	8
1990s	777	23	85	9
2000s	1022	1	87	1
Total	1660 ^b	100	184	100

Source: Authors' compilation based on their Transnational Social Movement Organizations Dataset.

^a Counts are the average number of organizations identified in the *Yearbook* as active over the years in each of the decades listed.

^b Counts over each decade do not add to the figure in the total cell because an organization could have been active over more than one decade and is included in the count for each decade in which it was active.

Table 2.2 Percentage of Transnational Social Movement Organizations with Headquarters in Various Geographic Locations

	1953 to 1977	1976 to 1988	Post-1988
Western Europe	77%	64%	56%
U.S. and Canada	10	13	15
Africa	2	4	6
Asia	3	6	8
Eastern Europe	4	4	4
Latin America	1	3	5
Middle East	2	4	3
Global North	88	80	75
Global South	12	20	25

Source: Authors' compilation based on their Transnational Social Movement Organization Dataset.

Table 2.3 Disbanding of Transnational Social Movement Organizations

	1953 to 1977	1976 to 1988	Post-1988
Number of disbanded organizations	60	191	378
Percentage of disbanded organizations that were based in the global South	17	25	33
Percentage of disbanded organizations that were based in the global North	83	75	67
Percentage of all organizations based in the global South that disbanded	29	30	34
Percentage of all organizations based in the global North that disbanded	19	26	24
Total number of observations	1537	2625	5930
Total number of unique organizations	294	716	1409

Source: Authors' compilation based on their Transnational Social Movement Organization Dataset.

Table 2.4 Characteristics of Transnational Social Movement Organizations

	1953 to 1977	1976 to 1988	Post-1988
Organizational structure			
Coalition	28%	28%	40%
Federation	30%	30%	21%
Any individual members	22%	29%	41%
Regionally organized	22%	29%	36%
Average age (median in parentheses)			
All TSMOs	29 (20)	29 (22)	25 (18)
North-based TSMOs	30 (21)	31 (24)	27 (19)
South-based TSMOs	24 (16)	21 (15)	20 (15)
Networks			
Average number of ties to IGOs	1.4	1.5	2.4
North	1.4	1.5	2.5
South	1.0	1.3	2.0
Average number of ties to INGOs	1.1	1.8	4.9
North	1.1	1.8	5.0
South	1.3	1.8	4.4

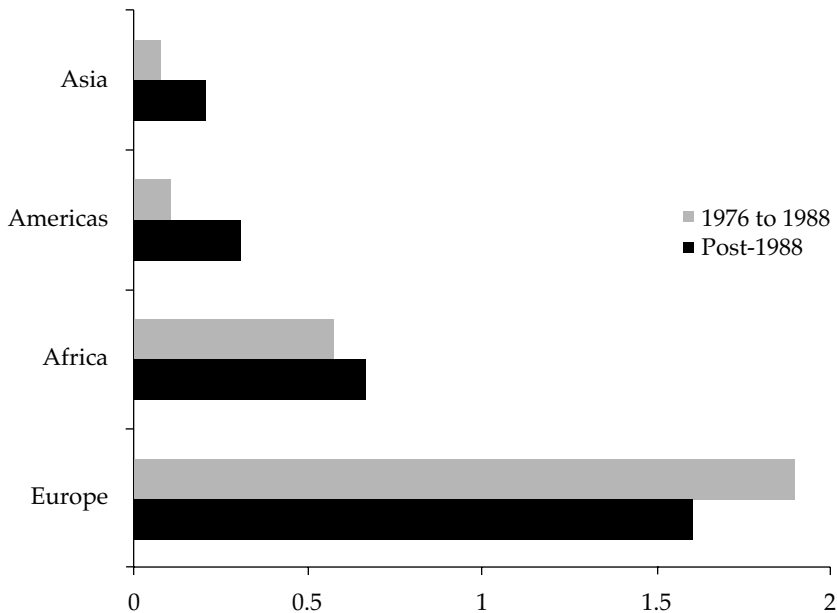
Source: Authors' compilation based on authors' Transnational Social Movement Organization Dataset.

Figure 3.1 Regional Transnational Labor Unions as Percentage of Social Movement Organizations



Source: Authors' compilation based on their Transnational Social Movement Organizations Dataset.

Figure 3.2 Social Movement Organizations with Ties to Interstate Bodies Relative to UN Agencies



Source: Authors' compilation based on their Transnational Social Movement Organizations Dataset.

Note: The figures were calculated by dividing the number of organizations with ties to regional IGOs by the number with ties to UN agencies in each period. Longer bars indicate a higher proportion of transnational social movement organizations with ties to regional IGOs relative to those with ties to the United Nations. For example, between 1976 and 1988, the ratio of European transnational social movement organizations with ties to European regional IGOs relative to those with ties to UN agencies was nearly 2:1. This chart includes only the 1976-to-1988 and post-1988 periods because very few regional transnational social movement organizations outside Europe had ties to regional bodies before 1976.

Table 3.1 Active Regional Transnational Social Movement Organizations with Ties to Regional Institutions

	1953 to 1975	1976 to 1988	Post-1988
Africa			
Total	5	34	83
Percentage IGO ties	7%	29%	39%
Americas			
Total	9	41	76
Percentage IGO ties	12%	6%	21%
Asia			
Total	5	33	81
Percentage IGO ties	0%	5%	10%
Europe			
Total	54	117	308
Percentage IGO ties	27%	34%	45%

Source: Authors' compilation based on their Transnational Social Movement Organization Dataset.

Table 3.2 Comparison of Regional Institutions

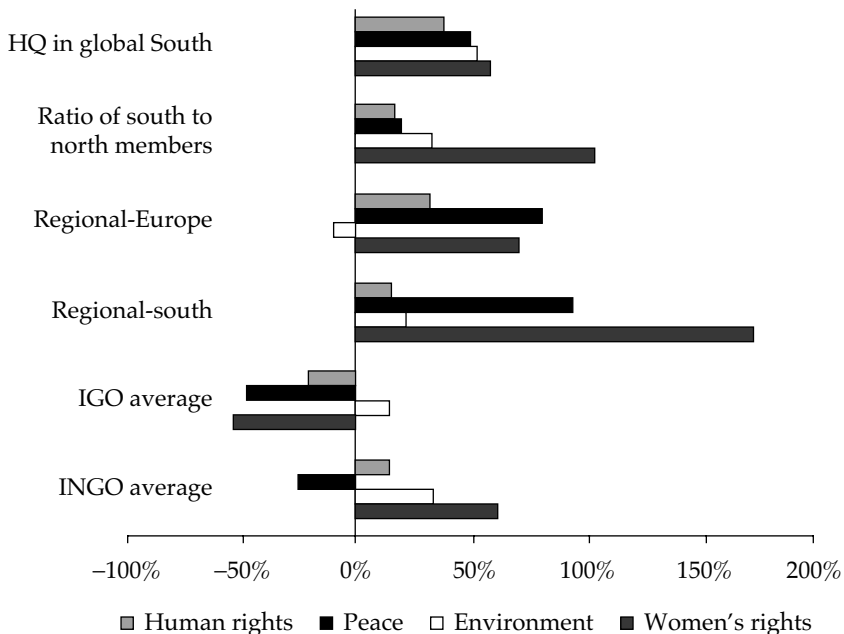
	European Union and the Council of Europe	Organization of American States	Association of Southeast Asian Nations	African Union/ Organization of African Unity
Regional treaties				
Human rights ^a	1953 ^b	1948	2010 ^c	1986
Women	1953	1954	2004	2005
Environment	1982	—	1985	1968
Civil society participation				
Formal mechanisms in place	1957	1999	1986	1990
Representative or constitutive bodies				
Parliament	1957	—	—	2004 ^c
Principal court	1952	—	—	2003 ^c
Human rights court	1950	1979	—	2004

Source: Authors' compilation based on multilateral treaties deposited with the secretary general (United Nations n.d.).

^a The list of treaty areas included here is not exhaustive. We include only three of the major non-economic treaty areas for illustrative purposes.

^b ASEAN does not have a regional human rights treaty but adopted a human rights charter in 2010

Figure 4.1 Conference Effects on Organizational Cohorts by Issue Area



Source: Authors' compilation based on their Transnational Social Movement Organizations Dataset.

Note: This figure illustrates the percentage difference on features of transnational organizing between organizations founded in conference and non-conference years for four movement sectors.

Table 4.1 Major UN Global Conferences

Conference	Place	Year	Civil Society Participation
UN Conference on Human Rights	Tehran, Iran	1968	53 NGOs with consultative status, plus 4 additional invited NGOs
UN Conference on the Human Environment	Stockholm, Sweden	1972	255 to 298 NGO observers
First World Conference on Women	Mexico City, Mexico	1975	6,000 individuals 114 NGOs
World Food Summit	Rome, Italy	1976	400 NGOs
UN Special Session on Disarmament-I	New York	1978	236 NGOs 800 individuals
Second World Conference on Women	Copenhagen, Denmark	1980	8,000 individuals
UN Special Session on Disarmament-II	New York	1982	3,391 representatives of 450 NGOs
Third World Conference on Women	Nairobi, Kenya	1985	15,000 individuals (including 3,000 Kenyans—many rural) 163 NGOs
UN Special Session on Disarmament-III	New York	1988	2,000 NGOs
World Summit for Children	New York	1990	45 NGOs
UN Conference on Environment and Development	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	1992	Over 650 NGOs 2,400 representatives from NGOs participated in the formal event; 17,000 people attended the parallel NGO forum

(Table continued on p. 106.)

Table 4.1 *(Continued)*

Conference	Place	Year	Civil Society Participation
World Conference on Human Rights	Vienna, Austria	1993	1,400 to 1,500 NGOs Representatives of more than 800 NGOs attended the conference ⁶
International Conference on Population and Development	Cairo, Egypt	1994	15,000 individuals 1,500 NGOs
World Summit on Social Development	Copenhagen, Denmark	1995	2,315 representatives from 811 NGOs attended conference
Fourth World Conference on Women	Beijing, China	1995	30,000 individuals [attended independent NGO forum] 5,000 representatives from 2,100 NGOs attended summit
Earth Summit-II	New York	1997	First conference to allow NGO representatives to speak in plenaries
Habitat	Istanbul, Turkey	1996	8,000 representatives from 2,400 organizations attended parallel NGO forum
World Conference Against Racism	South Africa	2001	8,000 individuals from 3,000 NGOs attended parallel forum
World Summit on Sustainable Development	South Africa	2002	Over 8,000 individuals attended summit

Source: Authors' compilation based on Clark, Friedman, and Hochstetler (1998); Morphet (1996); Van Rooy (1997); Atwood (1997); and Pianta and Silva (2003).

Table 4.2 Comparing Founding Effects on Organizational Features for TSMOs Formed in Conference Years and After 1990^a

	Human Rights N = 2803 ^b		Peace N = 1886		Environment N = 1289		Women N = 827	
	Conference	Post-1990	Conference	Post-1990	Conference	Post-1990	Conference	Post-1990
Percentage Founded	13.6%	8.2%	20.8%	7.1%	27.5%	17.0%	38.0%	9.8%
Headquarters in global South	21.3%	8.2%	17.8%	7.1%	24.0%	17.0%	31.2%	9.8%
	***(+) ^c	**(+)	***(+)	n.s.(-)	***(+)	n.s.(+)	***(+)	n.s.(+)
Ratio of south to north countries	2.11		2.43		2.37		2.39	
	(+)	n.s.(-)	f(+)	n.s.(-)	**(+)	n.s.(-)	*(+)	**(-)
Regional structure	25.0%		17.4%		27.7%		27.1%	
	(+)	*(+)	***(+)	***(+)	n.s.(+)	***(+)	***(+)	***(+)
Average number of IGO ties	2.66		2.40		2.28		2.16	
	(-)	*(-)	***(-)	***(-)	n.s.(+)	*(-)	***(-)	**(-)
Average number of INGO ties	3.87		3.67		4.49		4.01	
	n.s.(+)	n.s.(+)	**(-)	***(+)	**(+)	n.s.(+)	***(+)	n.s.(-)

Source: Authors' compilation based on their Transnational Social Movement Organization Database.

^a The table shows: a) the percentage of organizations in each sector founded during conference years and after 1990 (top row of table); b) the overall percentage, ratio, or average for transnational social movement organizations in each sector irrespective of founding period; and c) the results of statistical tests comparing organizations founded in conference years with those founded in other years ("Conference") and comparing organizations founded after 1990 with those founded in 1990 or earlier ("Post-1990").

^b All figures in the table were calculated from the total number of organizations active over all years (organization-year spells). In other words, an individual organization is included in the count for each year that it is active.

^c For the nominal variables "Headquarters in global South" and "Regional structure," Chi-square tests were used to assess the difference between the percentage of organizations founded during conference years and the percentage founded in other years, and the difference between the percentage of organizations founded after 1990 and the percentage founded in 1990 or earlier. Independent sample *t*-tests were used for comparisons of the scale variables "Ratio of south to north countries," "Average IGO ties," and "Average INGO ties." + and - signs indicate that the percentage/ratio/mean for organizations founded during conference years or after 1990 was significantly higher or lower than the percentage/ratio/mean for the relevant comparison group; n.s. indicates no statistical difference. The *p*-values associated with the comparisons are: * $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$; $f p \leq .10$.

Table 4.3 Conference Intervals and Modal Founding Years for Transnational Social Movement Organizations^a

Conference	Conference Interval	Human Rights	Peace	Environment	Women
UN Conference on Human Rights	1966 to 1970				
UN Conference on the Human Environment	1970 to 1974				
First World Conference on Women	1973 to 1977				South
World Food Summit	1974 to 1978				South
UN Special Session on Disarmament-I	1976 to 1980	North		North	North
Second World Conference on Women	1978 to 1982	North	North	North	North
UN Special Session on Disarmament-II	1980 to 1984		North		
Third World Conference on Women	1983 to 1987	North and south	North		North and south
UN Special Session on Disarmament-III	1986 to 1990	North and south	North and south	North	
World Summit for Children	1988 to 1992	North and south	South	North and south	North
UN Conference Environment and Development	1990 to 1994	North and south	North	North and south	North
World Conference on Human Rights	1991 to 1995	North and south	North	North and south	North
International Conference on Population and Development	1992 to 1996	North and south	North	North and south	North
World Summit on Social Development	1993 to 1997	North and south	North	South	
Fourth World Conference on Women	1993 to 1997	North and south	North	South	

Source: Authors' compilation based on their Transnational Social Movement Organizations Dataset.

^a The chart indicates whether the modal year(s) for foundings of transnational movement organizations in the four sectors occurred within a conference interval. North indicates that modal years for north-based organizations correspond with conference cycles; south for south-based organizations; and north and south indicates that modal years for both north- and south-based organizations correspond with conference cycles.

Table 4.4 Comparing Organizational Features of Specific TSMO Sectors to All Other Sectors for Organizations Founded in Conference and Non-Conference Years^a

	Percentage Founded	Headquarters in Global South	Ratio of South to North Countries	Regional Structure	Average Number of IGO Ties	Average Number of INGO Ties
Human rights						
Non-conference years						
Human rights (N=2423) ^b	86.4%	20.3%	2.05	23.9%	2.73	3.80
Other sectors (N=6325)	87.7%	n.s.(-) ^c	2.46 ***(-)	24.6% n.s.(-)	1.78 ***(+)	3.33 **(+)
Conference years						
Human rights (N=380)	13.6%	27.9%	2.52	31.8%	2.23	4.32
Other sectors (N=964)	12.3%	28.2% n.s.(-)	2.81 n.s.(-)	36.3% f(-)	1.39 ***(+)	3.69 n.s.(+)
Peace						
Non-conference years						
Peace (N=1493)	79.2%	16.1%	2.34	14.6%	2.67	3.89
Other sectors (N=5584)	68.0%	19.6% **(-)	2.36 n.s.(-)	25.7% ***(-)	2.00 ***(+)	3.20 ***(+)

Conference years							
Peace							
(N=393)	20.8%	24.2%	2.82	28.0%	1.39	2.83	
Other sectors							
(N=2622)	32.0%	29.8%	2.43	32.0%	1.68	4.05	
		*(-)	f(+)	n.s.(-)	*(-)	***(-)	
Environment							
Non-conference years							
Environment							
(N=1006)	72.5%	21.0%	2.17	27.1%	2.20	4.13	
Other sectors							
(N=7790)	86.2%	20.4%	2.35	23.7%	2.00	3.26	
		n.s.(+)	n.s.(-)	*(+)	*(+)	***(+)	
Conference years							
Environment							
(N=283)	27.5%	32.2%	2.89	29.4%	2.50	5.46	
Other sectors							
(N=1013)	13.8%	29.5%	2.65	36.4%	1.62	4.05	
		n.s.(+)	n.s.(+)	**(-)	***(+)	***(+)	
Women							
Non-conference years							
Women's rights							
(N=513)	62.0%	25.5%	1.77	18.7%	2.72	3.26	
Other sectors							
(N=5967)	64.4%	17.1%	2.36	22.9%	2.15	3.33	
		***(+)	*(-)	*(-)	***(+)	n.s.(-)	

(Table continues on p. 126.)

Table 4.4 (Continued)

	Percentage Founded	Headquarters in Global South	Ratio of South to North Countries	Regional Structure	Average Number of IGO Ties	Average Number of INGO Ties
Conference years						
Women's rights (N=314)	38.0%	40.4%	3.60	40.8%	1.24	5.23
Other sectors (N=3298)	35.6%	28.4% ***(+)	2.45 ***(+)	30.6% ***(+)	1.66 **(-)	3.72 ***(+)

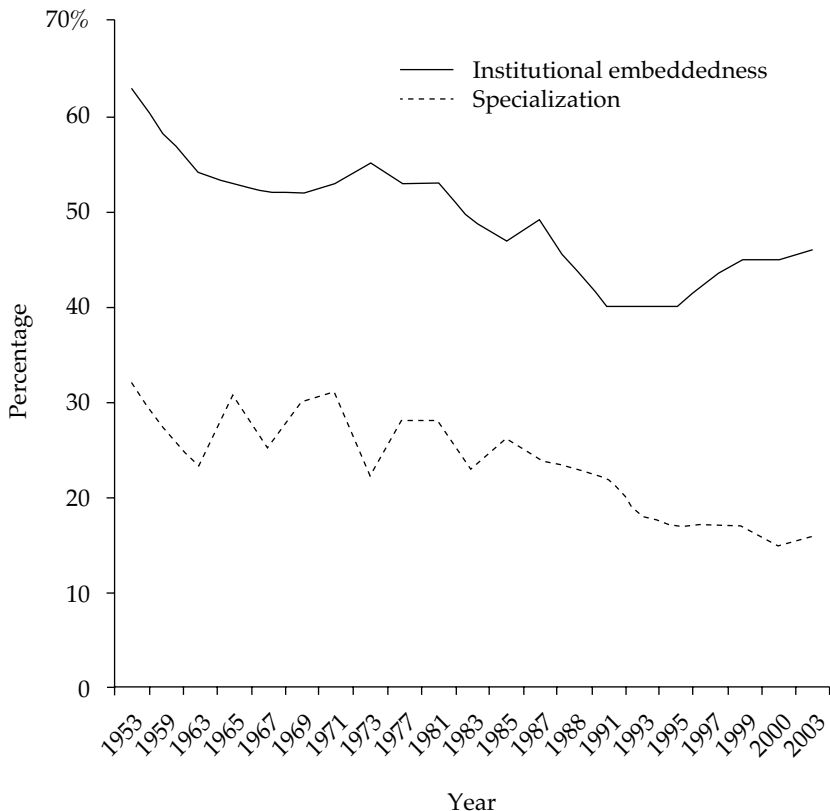
Source: Authors' calculations based on their Transnational Social Movement Organizations Dataset.

^a The table shows a) the percentage of transnational social movement organizations in a specific sector and in all other sectors founded during sector-specific conference years and during non-conference years; b) the overall percentage, ratio, or average for transnational social movement organizations founded in sector-specific conference years and non-conference years; c) the results of statistical tests comparing organizations in a specific sector with organizations in other sectors founded during sector-specific conference years and during non-conference years.

^b All figures in the table were calculated from the total number of organizations active over all years (organization/year spells) in conference and non-conference founding periods. In other words, an individual organization is included in the count for each year that it is active.

^c For the nominal variables, "Headquarters in Global South" and "Regional Structure," Chi-square tests were used to assess differences between organizations. Independent sample *t*-test were used for comparisons of organizations on the scale variables "Ratio of South to North Countries," "Average IGO Ties," and "Average INGO Ties." + and - signs indicate that the percentage/ratio/mean for organizations in a specific sector was significantly higher or lower than the percentage/ratio/mean for organizations in other sectors in sector-specific conference and non-conference years. The *p*-values associated with the comparisons are: **p* ≤ .05; ***p* ≤ .01; ****p* ≤ .001; *f p* ≤ .10.

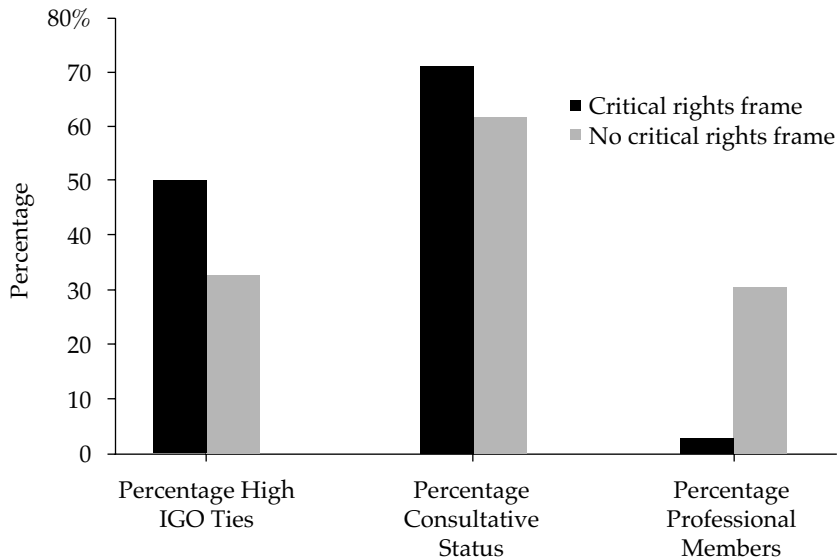
Figure 5.1 Institutional Embeddedness and Specialization over Time



Source: Authors' compilation based on their Transnational Social Movement Organizations Dataset.

Note: The figure displays the percentage of transnational social movement organizations that had two or more of the following indicators of specialization: a centralized structure, professional membership, and a single-issue agenda, and the percentage of transnational social movement organizations that had two or more of the following indicators of institutional embeddedness: consultative status with an multilateral agency, any tie to an intergovernmental agency, or ties to a high number of intergovernmental agencies.

Figure 5.2 Characteristics of Transnational Social Movement Organizations by Human Rights Frame



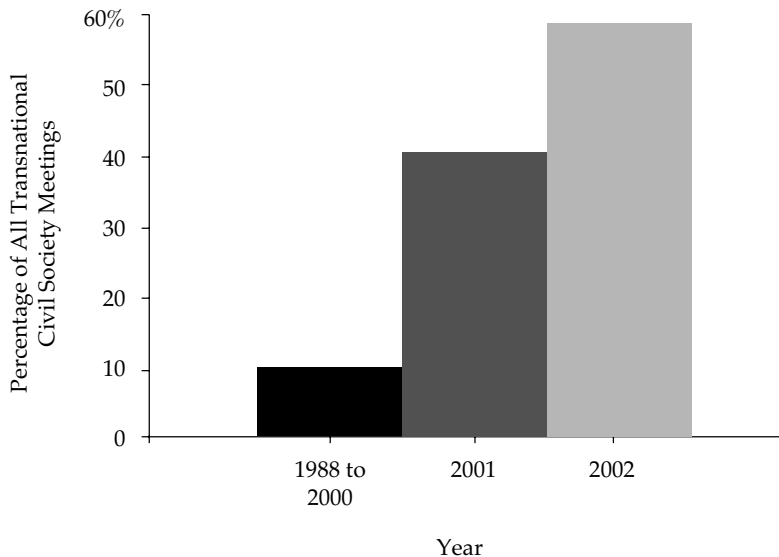
Source: Authors' compilation based on their Transnational Social Movement Organizations Dataset.

Table 5.1 Characteristics of Transnational Environmental Movement Organizations

	All	North-Based	South-Based
Number transnational environmental movement organizations	259	193	66
Sustainable development	31%	27%	43%
Number southern countries in membership	23.4	25.3	19.9
Ratio of south to north member countries	3:1	2:1	4:1
IGO ties	3.2	3.5	2.8
INGO ties	6.4	6.8	5.5
Environmental protection	65%	67%	57%
Number southern countries in membership	21.5	21.3	22.2
Ratio of south to north member countries	2:1	2:1	5:1
IGO ties	1.8	1.9	1.6
INGO ties	4.0	3.8	4.8

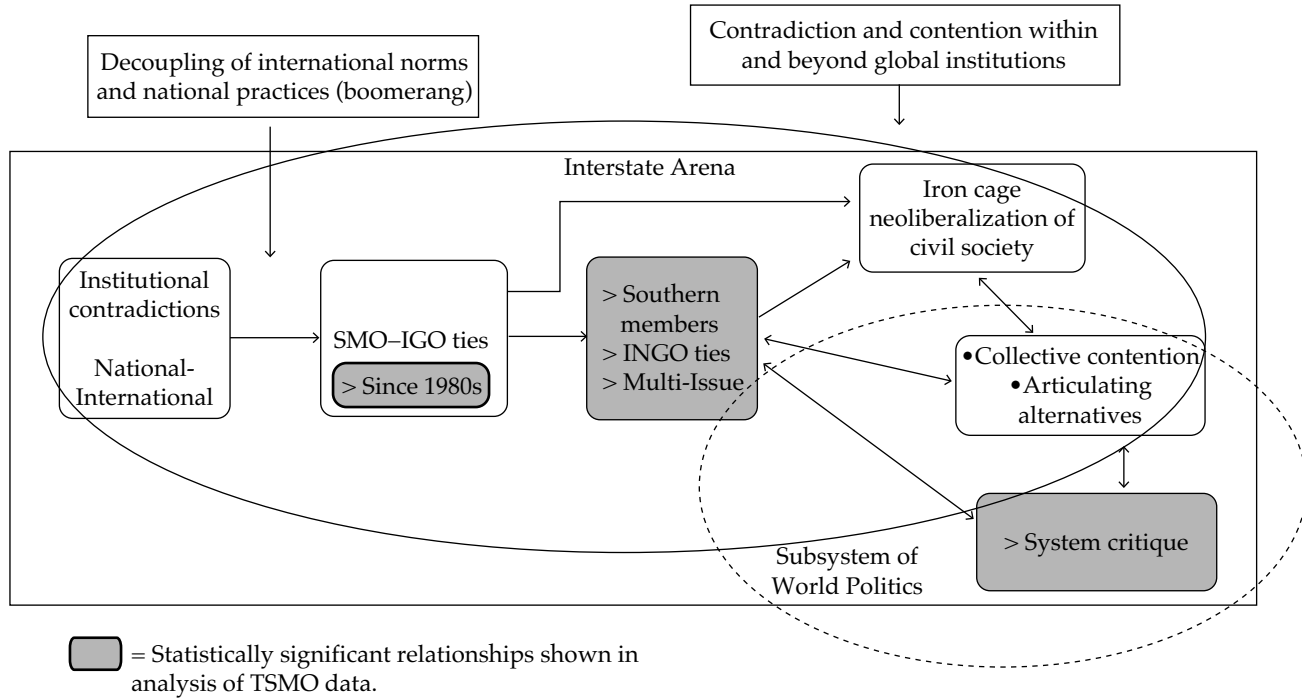
Source: Authors' compilation based on their Transnational Social Movement Organizations Dataset.

Figure 6.1 Autonomous Transnational Civil Society Meetings



Source: Authors' adaptation of Pianta and Silva (2003, 389).

Figure 6.2 Systemic Contradictions, Movement Contestation, and Global Transformation



Source: Authors' figure.