The 'Movement of Movements' as a 'Network of Networks'

The Global Justice Movement and the 'Make Poverty History' march

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Introduction

On 2 July 2005, some 225,000 people marched through the streets of Edinburgh in the largest demonstration the Scottish capital had ever seen. The occasion was the imminent G8 summit meeting at nearby Gleneagles at which the prime minister had pledged to highlight the economic plight of the world's poorest countries. The march was the culmination of the "Make Poverty History" campaign, a campaign that the Roman Catholic Primate, Archbishop Cormac Murphy O'Connor, has called "the greatest moral upheaval since the campaign against the slave trade." Despite competition from the simultaneous Live8 concert in London, the march drew more than half its participants from beyond Scotland and, despite a large and vigilant police presence, was wholly peaceful and overwhelmingly nonconfrontational. No doubt reflecting the substantial participation from the churches, the march seemed more a procession of witness than a protest.

During the following week, however, as the G8 leaders assembled and deliberated, numerous protests were staged in Edinburgh, in the immediate vicinity of the conference site, and at other locations in southern Scotland. These latter protests were organized by activists affiliated to the recently formed Dissent! network, who, in contrast to the organizers of the Make Poverty History (MPH) march, declined to negotiate routes and protocols with the police in advance. The resulting uncertainty was cited to justify the biggest policing operation in Scottish history as police, often in full riot gear and drawn from forces from all parts of the UK, confronted protesters. Yet,

despite a few skirmishes and isolated instances of property damage, these protests were overwhelmingly nonviolent.

These events illustrate the diversity of the complex phenomenon that we identify as the "global justice movement" (GJM) in Britain. Following Diani's 'consensual' definition of a social movement (Diani 1992), we have defined the global justice movement as the loose network of organisations and other actors that are, on the basis of shared concerns, engaged in collective action designed to promote social, economic, political and environmental justice among and between peoples across the globe (Rootes and Saunders 2006). It is a requirement of the definition that 'collective action' should be networked; action that is merely simultaneous, or that is taken by groups working in isolation from others, is excluded. The identity of the GJM as a movement is, therefore, uncertain, since it embraces two principal but largely noncommunicating strands, one consisting of a uniquely rich and long-established constellation of aid, trade and development nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), human rights and environmental organizations, and the other of a variety of radical groupings, mostly of the anarchist left; a third, socialist strand is uneasily related to both.

Before we go further, we perhaps need to justify our choice of the term 'global justice movement' to identify our subject. It or parts of it have variously been described as the 'direct action movement', 'the anti-capitalist movement', 'the anti-corporate movement', the 'anti-globalisation movement', the 'no global movement' and 'the global justice movement'. We prefer the term 'global justice movement' because it is inclusive, and because it does least violence to the open, inclusive and global goals of the movement. The terminology 'direct action movement', for example, underplays the role of NGOs in agenda-setting and organising mobilizations, 'anti-capitalism' usually implies socialism or anarchism, 'anti-corporate' is too narrow, and 'anti-globalisation' is overly negative. According to George (2002) and Chesters (2004), for example, the movement is not simply 'anti-globalisation', but is in many ways pro-globalisation:

> We want to globalize equity, not poverty, solidarity not anti-sociality, diversity not conformity, democracy not subordination, and ecological balance not suicidal rapaciousness (Michael Alberty cited in Chesters 2004:5).

Because the proponents of direct action and the anarchists have been the noisiest strand of the GJM and have been responsible for most of the most spectacular and confrontational events associated with it, the GJM has sometimes—mistakenly—been identified wholly or mainly with them (Saunders and Rootes 2005). The extent of that mistake was apparent in Scotland in July 2005. Because the G8 meeting was the focus for mobilization of all strands of the GJM, it provided a unique opportunity to assess the relative strengths of the various strands of the movement. By contrast with the massive numbers mobilized by MPH, the various direct action protests during the

following week attracted probably no more than 5,000 people in total. The fact that the latter protests were on weekdays, whereas MPH was on a Saturday, might somewhat flatter MPH, but the disparity is nonetheless huge. Even if one takes all the 50,000 subscribers to the direct action newsletter *Schnews* to be members or supporters of the GJM, they are still massively outnumbered by the tactical moderates who form the great bulk of the supporters of MPH. For that reason, an account of the GJM in Britain needs to consider, as well as the actors responsible for the events that have marked the development of the movement (Rootes and Saunders 2006, 2007), the networks and coalitions that have become its most characteristic organizational form. In these it is not those committed to direct action who have played the leading roles but the activists and employees of aid, trade and development, humanitarian and environmental organizations. Yet, although there is a growing literature on the 'anti-capitalist movement'(Bircham and Charlton 2001; Carter and Morland 2004), the 'direct action movement' (Doherty 2000b; Carter 2005), the 'anti-corporate movement' (Starr 2000; Crossley 2002) the 'social forum movement' (della Porta 2005) and the 'anti-globalisation movement'(Farnsworth 2004), there is none that adequately encompasses the full range of the GJM as we have conceived it.

MPH was not the first major British demonstration associated with the GJM. In 1982, WDM organised a 10,000-strong mass lobby of parliament, followed by an extensive letter-writing campaign seeking to influence the Prime Minister in the run-up to the first summit of world leaders on development at Cancún, Mexico. In May 1998, 70,000 people, including bishops, middle-class professionals, and radical environmental protesters, formed a human chain around Birmingham in an action called by Jubilee 2000 to raise the profile of debt in the G8 discussions. The February 2003 anti-war march in London attracted larger numbers of marchers (estimates vary between one and two million), but its aims were the narrow ones of a classic peace movement, it did not encompass the broad range of GJM themes, and it did not draw participants from such a diversity of organisations as did MPH. The 2004 European Social Forum in London encompassed a wide variety of GJM concerns, but socialists and trade unionists were over-represented in what was more a 'talking shop' than a protest event or campaign.

MPH, by contrast, attracted activists from an unprecedentedly broad range of ideological persuasions and movement sectors (including, as well as aid, trade and development, peace, the environment, women's rights, etc.). The MPH coalition with its three core demands – 'trade justice', 'more and better aid' and 'drop the debt' – consisted of over 500 groups and organizations including the Jubilee Debt Campaign and a host of other charities, campaigns, trade unions, faith groups and local organizations. Although some direct action groups regarded MPH as impossibly reformist and concentrated their efforts on organizing protests closer to the site of the G8 meeting at Gleneagles, they did not entirely dismiss MPH, and individual activists were not discouraged from marching. Moreover, Globalise Resistance actively encouraged supporters to participate in the

MPH march and laid on transport to enable them to do so. Thus, although a single event can only offer a snapshot of (part of) a movement on a particular day, none to date has promised to attract a larger number of participants or as broad a cross-section of the GJM than the MPH march and rally in Edinburgh on 2 July 2005.

The Global Justice Movement through the prism of the Make Poverty History march
Because the GJM in Britain has thus far been ill-defined and its characteristics have been little explored empirically, we decided to undertake a survey of participants in the MPH march, which, considering the build-up to it, its association with the G8 meeting and the broad array of organizations that encouraged their members and supporters to participate in it, promised to be the largest and most representative event of the GJM in Britain to date. In order to examine the GJM through the lens of the MPH march, we posed three central questions:

1. What did MPH march participants think should be the priorities of the GJM, and how did they relate these issues one to another? Did they have a shared concern to advance the cause of justice among and between peoples across the globe?

2. Had march participants been previously involved in collective action on global justice issues, and had activists been at the same events as one another in the past? In other words, was there evidence of the existence of 'collaborative collective action networks'?

3. Were there relatively dense networks of multiple memberships that bound social movement organisations and activists together?

In order to address these questions we collected data by means of a mail-back questionnaire which was handed out as randomly as possible to protesters during the MPH march, using techniques for surveying participants in protest events advocated by Walgrave (2005). Of approximately 2,000 questionnaires distributed, 563 were returned and contained usable data, an effective response rate of just over 28%. To get a measure of the representativeness of the responses to our survey, we also interviewed a randomly selected 493 participants in the MPH march, using a one-page interview schedule to collect basic demographic information as well as information on their political allegiance, organizational affiliations and past involvement in protest. Very few of those we approached declined to be interviewed, and the effective response rate exceeded 95%.

As with the British surveys of participants in the 2003 anti-war demonstrations (Rüdig 2006), by comparison with those we interviewed the respondents to our survey were somewhat more likely to be female (though this difference was barely statistically significant), older, and (probably as a consequence) more highly educated. They were also more likely to have voted at the 2005 general election, but they did not differ significantly in respect of their party political allegiances or in the extent of their satisfaction with democracy in Britain. Although interviewees and survey respondents were not significantly different in respect of the frequency with which they had in the past participated in demonstrations, they did differ in the extent to which they had participated in direct action (including illegal demonstrations, blockades and occupations of

buildings) and whether they intended to participate in other protest actions during the week of the G8 meeting. Although the great majority of both interviewees and survey respondents had never participated in direct action (75% of interviewees compared with 83% of survey respondents), 10% of interviewees claimed to have participated in direct action more than five times, compared with fewer than 3% of survey respondents. Furthermore, whereas 37% of interviewees professed an intention to participate in other protest events associated with the G8, only 23% of survey respondents intended to (or had done so). They also differed in the extent to which they considered themselves to be part of the GJM; three-quarters of those interviewed considered themselves part of the GJM compared with just over 60% of survey respondents.

In the analysis that follows, we employ only data collected in response to our survey. It is important, therefore, to be aware of its limitations in terms of representativeness. The bias in our survey sample appears to be attributable to two possibly interrelated factors. Firstly, younger people, who because of their youth were less likely to have completed higher education or to have voted in 2005, were also less likely to have taken the trouble to complete and return the questionnaire. Secondly, it appears that veterans of direct action and those most disposed to take further protest action in G8 week were less likely to return questionnaires. The latter may be partly explained by the competing demands on serial protesters' time in the intensity of the week of protests and by the fact that opportunities actually to protest were, in the event, rather more limited than many might have anticipated, with the consequence that intentions to protest may not always have been translated into actual participation. Activists most disposed to direct action are famously skeptical of the value of survey research, and so it is no surprise that they should be less likely to return questionnaires. However, the fact remains that they and, by implication, the direct action wing of the GJM, are under-represented in our survey data. Nevertheless, their numbers are relatively small and so their under-representation, while it compels caution in the interpretation of our results, does not fatally vitiate the value of our survey or our analyses of the data so derived.

1. Shared Concern

The focus of MPH upon trade justice, debt and aid brings it securely into the ambit of the GJM. However, MPH is a coalition and is not itself a social movement, nor a single organization, and so, in the characteristic manner of coalitions, it articulates and frames the issues in a 'lowest common denominator' way designed to attract the largest mobilization possible around an agenda that is minimally contentious among the constituent members of the coalition (cf. Diani on coalitions). Although, as articulated and framed by the MPH coalition, the demands of MPH do not propose an overt or radical challenge to neoliberalism, they highlight symptoms of a neoliberal agenda that is held to be responsible for many of the world's ills.

To ascertain the extent to which MPH march participants shared concerns, we asked them to list, in their own words, what they thought should be the priorities of the GJM. The issues raised by respondents were coded if they were mentioned by at least five respondents.

Table 1.
Key issues mentioned by respondents to an open question on the priorities of the GJM

Issue	Frequency	Percentage
Trade/aid/development	328	84.3
Human rights	60	15.4
Peace	51	13.1
Democracy	45	11.6
Health	37	9.5
Corruption	36	9.3
Environment	34	8.0
Climate	25	6.4
Workers rights	20	5.1
Race / immigrants	19	4.9
Total (n)	389	100%

Of the 412 march participants who answered this question, 376 mentioned at least one of the following issues[i]: trade/aid/development, climate change, corruption, democracy, the environment (including climate change), health / health care, human rights, peace, race / immigration and workers' rights. Unsurprisingly, given the focus of the march upon 'making poverty history', the great majority of respondents (84.3%) considered that trade/aid/development should be a priority of the GJM (Table 1).

However, almost as many (78%) listed at least one other issue. Of the 328 activists listing aid as a priority issue, 18 also listed climate, 32 mentioned corruption, 26 democracy, 53 the environment, 28 health, 36 human rights, 40 peace, 10 race / immigrants rights and 13 workers' rights. The most marginal of these issues to the GJM is race / immigrants rights, an issue which has no coincidental listing with both climate change and corruption, and is only listed by one of the 51 respondents who believed that peace should be a priority issue of the GJM. Other co-incidences are shown in Table 2. The result is a dense network of overlapping issues of concern (Figure 1), which is consistent with della Porta's characterization of GJM identity as '*tolerant*' or' *flexible*', with activists drawing an inclusive identity from multiple movements, with 'positive emphasis upon diversity and cross-fertilization' (della Porta 2005:186). As one Italian activist in a focus group put it, 'the great strength [of the movement] is that there are big issues around which there is strong convergence' (della Porta 2005:201). MPH focused upon just such a 'big issue' and so facilitated the convergence of a number of particular issues.

Table 2.

Coincidence of issues mentioned by respondents as priorities of the GJM

	Aid/Trade	Environment	Human Rights	Peace	Democracy	Health	Corruption	Climate	Workers' Rights	Race
Aid/Trade	**328**	53	36	40	26	28	32	18	13	10
Environment	53	**64**	17	10	5	9	4	24	3	3
Human Rights	36	17	**60**	12	9	15	6	5	4	5
Peace	40	10	12	**51**	9	9	10	4	2	1
Democracy	26	5	9	9	**45**	8	7	1	2	4
Health	28	9	15	9	8	**37**	6	2	6	2
Corruption	32	4	6	10	7	6	**36**	2	2	0
Climate	18	25	5	4	1	2	2	**25**	2	0
Workers' Rights	13	3	4	2	2	6	2	2	**20**	3
Race	10	3	5	1	4	2	0	0	3	**19**

Figure 1. Network of issues mentioned by respondents as priorities of the GJM
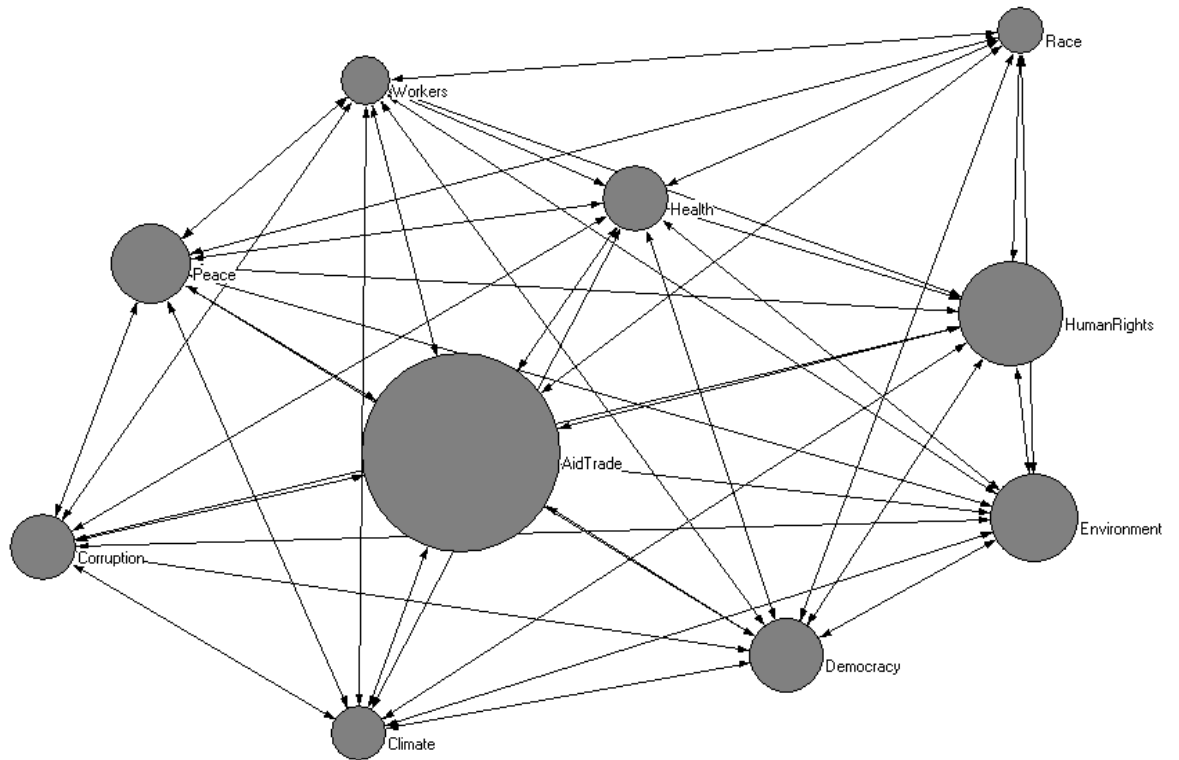
2. *Collective Action*

In recent work, Diani (2005) stresses that we should not take it for granted that protest events such as peace and environmental demonstrations are linked by a globalisation-related protest agenda. The links between social movement protests are, he states, 'an empirical question to be explored, not a datum for analysis' (p.48).

Collaboration in collective action is important for social movements because it binds movement supporters together in shared situations, and provides common experiences that allow for cross-fertilization of ideas between and within social movement sectors, helping in the building of 'tolerant identities' (della Porta 2005:189). The questionnaire asked activists whether they had participated in certain GJM events, including social forums / conferences, marches and rallies, and direct action. Although few had participated in World and European social forums (1.6% and 4%), nearly a fifth had participated in a local social forum, or something that approximates to one (19.2%)[ii], three quarters had previously participated in a march or rally, and 16% had participated in direct action (e.g., illegal demonstrations, occupations or sabotage) (Table 3). As might be expected, fewer marchers had experience of 'high risk activism' (McAdam 1989) than of marches and rallies which require less commitment (*cf.* Doherty 2000a:75).

Anti-war marches were by far the most common form of GJM-related collective action in which MPH marchers had previously participated, with nearly half (47.5%) claiming to have participated in at least one. Next followed trade union marches (20.8%), trade justice marches (19.5%) and local social forums (19.2%) (see note 2). The smaller number who had previously participated in direct action nominated a variety of events, with May Day protests and direct action against the G7/8 most prominent among them, the low scores probably being best explained by the fact that the list with which respondents were prompted included none of the recurrent anti-nuclear, anti-war or environmental direct action events that have provided many activists with opportunities to participate in direct action.

Table 3. GJM events attended (from a pre-specified list)

GJM Event	Frequency	Percentage
Marches or rallies (generally) (n=556)	417	75
Direct action (generally) (n=556)	90	16.1
Anti-war march (n=556)	264	47.5

Trade union march (n=557)		116	20.8
Trade justice march (n=554)		107	19.5
Local Social Forum (n=557)		107	19.2
Previous MPH march (n=556)		73	13.1
European Social Forum (n=556)		22	4
UN conference (n=557)		21	3.8
World Social Forum (n=557)		9	1.6
Direct action protest on May Day (n=556)		9	1.6
Direct action against G7/8 (n=556)		6	1.1
Direct action against World Bank (n=556)		5	0.9
Direct action against WTO / IMF (n=556)		5	0.9
Precarious workers direct action (n=556)		4	0.7
Direct action at DSEI protest (n=556)		4	0.7
'No borders' direct action or camp (n=556)		2	0.4

Table 4 shows a coincidence table of MPH marchers' previous participation in GJM-related collective action. The top line and first column of the table replicate much of the information shown in Table 3: of the 563 survey respondents, two had been involved in a 'no borders' camp or direct action protest, four in Disarm DSEI[iii] events, 22 in an ESF and so on. Those respondents who claimed to have participated in direct action events tend to have participated in a range of more conventional protests, including previous MPH marches, anti-war marches and TJM marches. Coincidence of attendance at events forms a fairly dense network, dense enough to allow for this pattern of participation in direct action to qualify as a social movement dynamic.

Table 4. Coincidence of GJM attendance

|	MPH	War	TU	TJM	LSF	MPH prior	ESF	UN	WSF	May Day	G7/8	WB	WTO	Precarity	DSEI	Border
MPH	563	264	116	108	107	73	22	21	9	9	6	5	5	4	4	2
War	264	264	78	73	65	37	20	18	6	9	3	3	4	4	4	2
TU	116	78	116	39	33	16	7	3	0	7	3	2	3	3	3	2
TJM	108	73	39	108	31	37	11	7	2	6	3	2	3	2	1	2
LSF	107	65	33	31	107	19	9	8	7	5	1	1	2	1	4	2
MPH prior	73	37	16	37	19	73	3	2	3	1	3	2	2	1	1	1
ESF	22	20	7	11	9	3	22	7	5	3	1	3	3	1	2	1

	MPH	War	TU	TJM	LSF	MPH prior	ESF	UN	WSF	May Day	G7/8	WB	WTO	Precarity	DSEI	Border
UN	21	18	3	7	8	2	7	**21**	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
WSF	9	6	0	2	7	3	5	3	**9**	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
May Day	9	9	7	6	5	1	3	0	0	**9**	3	2	3	1	1	2
G7/8	6	3	3	3	1	3	1	0	0	3	**6**	2	1	1	1	1
WB	5	3	2	2	1	2	3	1	0	2	2	**5**	3	1	1	1
WTO	5	4	3	3	2	2	3	0	0	3	1	3	**5**	1	1	2
Precarity	4	4	3	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	**4**	1	1
DSEI	4	4	3	1	4	1	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	**4**	1
Border	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	2	1	1	**2**

Figure 2 shows a very dense patterning of relations between collective action events because a vertex is drawn between nodes if just one activist had co-attended the events represented by the nodes. Perhaps a better way to show the relationships between events is to draw vertices between nodes only in those cases where there is at least a modest (>0.4) and significant (<0.05) association between GJM event attendance profiles (Figure 3). Analysing the data in this way, the result is a network with two components (sections of the network with two or more actors), each with five actors. The component which has attracted most support from activists consists mostly of marches / rallies, with a link to the ESF. Local social forums, the World Social Forum and UN conferences do not have significant coincidences >0.4 with the other GJM events that activists were questioned about. Figure 3 also shows that direct activists tend to engage mostly in other direct action events, with five of seven direct action events having significant associations of co-membership. Despite the fact that this analysis indicates two strongly differentiated blocks of collective action events (moderate, mostly marches and rallies, versus direct action), we should remember that all respondents, whether dialoguers, marchers or direct activists, *did* participate in the MPH march, indicating that the march attracted activists from a variety of activist backgrounds.

Figure 2. Network of coincidence of attendance at GJM events

<u>Key</u>

◯ Rallies or marches
⬤ Direct action
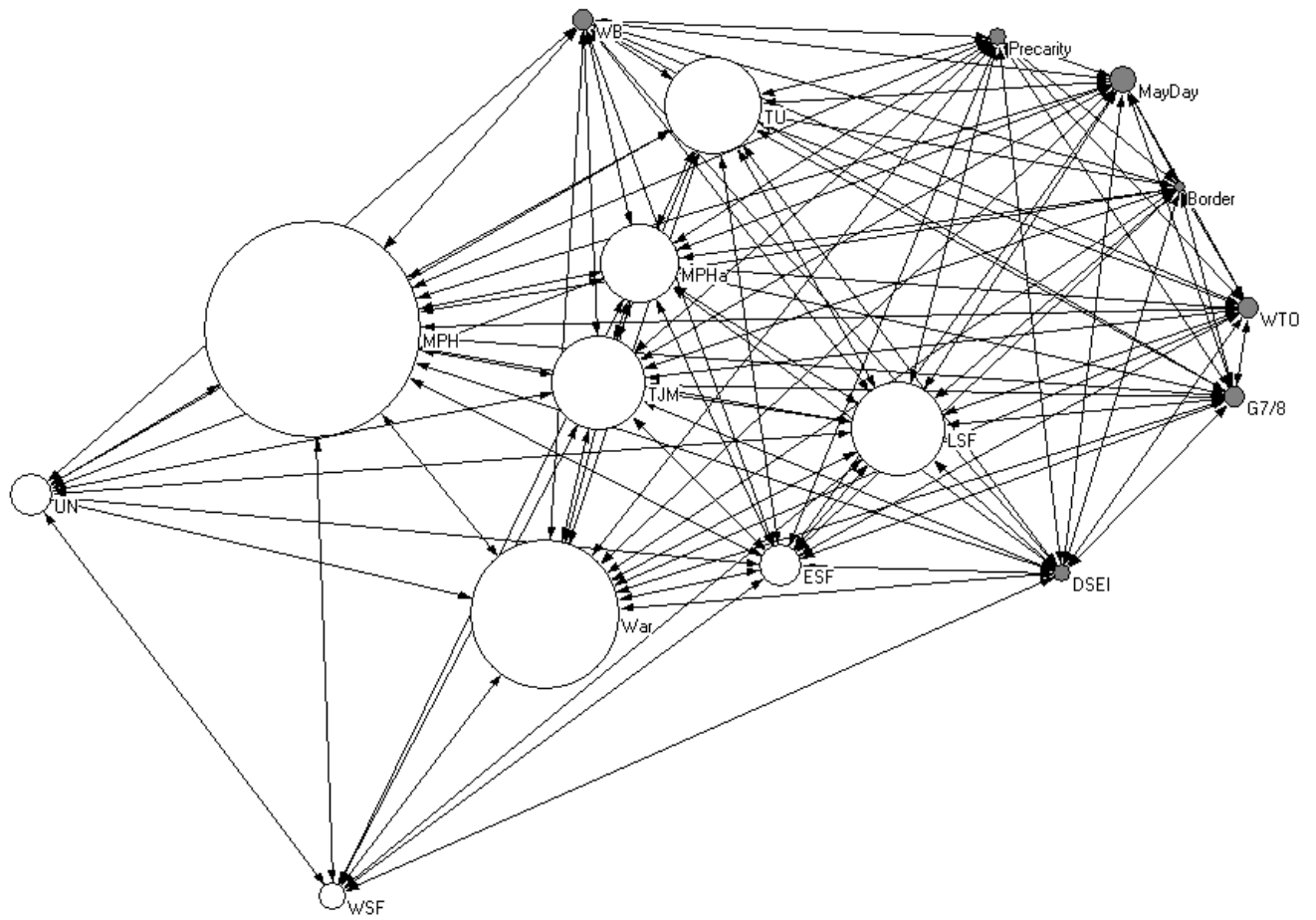
NB. The size of the nodes is scaled to represent the total number of individuals who claimed to have participated in each GJM event. As all respondents participated in the MPH march, this is the largest node. Because 'No Borders' actions were the least frequently attended GHM events, the 'Border' node is the smallest. Also note that MPHa is shorthand for participation in 'previous Make Poverty History marches or rallies'.

Figure 3. Association network for relationship between events (Phi >0.4)

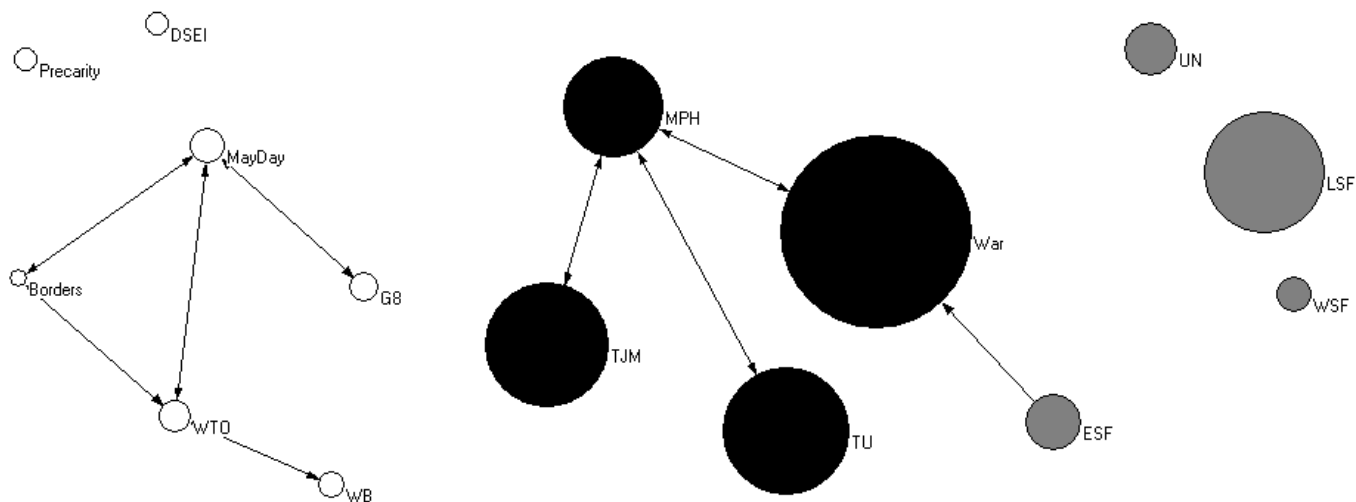*NB. As in previous diagrams, the size of the nodes is scaled to represent the total number of individuals who claimed to have participated in each GJM event. Therefore the 'War' node is the largest, and 'Borders' is smallest. In this diagram, MPH stands for participation in 'previous Make Poverty History marches or rallies', and the category MPHa does not exist.*

3. Networks of individuals and organisations

As the survey was administered to march participants, we do not have data on actual interorganisational networks in the GJM. However, our questionnaire did ask respondents to identify up to five organisations of which they were members, or with which they most closely identified. It also asked them of which types of voluntary groups and campaigning organisations they had been, or were, a member or active participant. By transforming this data into a coincidence matrix, we can analyse the extent to which organisations and organisational fields are linked by means of multiple memberships, participation or identification. Diani (1995, 2003a) shows how the participation of activists in multiple organisations helps to foster participation between the organisations, and it serves as a fairly reliable predictor of actual interorganisational linkages.

In response to the question, 'If you are a member of any voluntary, advocacy or campaigning organisations, name the five groups / organisations that are most important to you',

respondents listed a total of 272 different organisations, including a host of local, national and international groups from a range of traditional, 'new' and 'newer' movement sectors. Because 272 is too large a number of nodes to display in a sociogram without it appearing impossibly cluttered, the most 'central' organisations were selected on the basis of Freeman's 'degree' (Freeman 1979) in UCInet (Borgatti & Everett 2001).[iv] A 'degree' is the score obtained by totaling figures in the row of a social network matrix for a single actor. Simply put, it is a measure of popularity. However, the degree scores used for this part of the analysis were calculated from a coincidence matrix, and therefore a high degree does not necessarily correspond with frequency of the most popularly listed organisations, but rather with the number of places in which organisations appear in the matrix. For example, although the trade union UNISON (public services union) was listed by eight respondents, and Médicins Sans Frontières (MSF) was listed by only four, they have an identical degree score because those who listed MSF tended to list three or four other organisations, whereas those listing UNISON tended to list it individually, or as part of a smaller list of groups. All the organisations selected have a degree score of 15 or greater (Table 5), allowing us to reduce the size of the organisational membership/identification coincidence matrix to a more manageable 32 organisations. Of the 32 most central organisations in the multiple membership coincidence matrix, half (16) are aid/trade or development organisations, five environmental, three peace, two religious, two political parties, two human rights, one is a pro-democracy organisation, and one is a trade union. The positive bias towards membership of aid/trade or development organisations was expected in view of the anti-poverty focus of the march.

Table 5. Degree scores for the most central organizations

Name of organisation	Frequency	Degree
Amnesty International	127	373
Church	125	292
Christian Aid	98	285
Oxfam	89	231
Greenpeace	63	180
Friends of the Earth (FoE)	57	166
World Development Movement (WDM)	40	128
Tearfund	38	117
Traidcraft	35	100
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)	23	77
Jubilee Debt Campaign (JDC)	17	52
Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF)	16	50
Save the Children (STC)	14	49

Name of organisation	Frequency	Degree
Make Poverty History (MPH)	16	44
Stop the War Coalition (STW)	15	43
Fairtrade Foundation (Fairtrade)	14	40
World Vision	12	39
Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD)	16	34
Action Aid	10	34
Labour Party (Lab Party)	16	32
Trade Justice Movement (TJM)	10	30
Charter 88	7	27
Green Party	9	27
Justice and Peace	8	20
Liberal Democrat Party (Lib Dems)	7	19
Quakers	5	17
Plan	5	16
Water Aid	5	16
Wildlife Trusts	5	15
Barnardos	4	15
Médicins Sans Frontières (MSF)	4	15
Unison	8	15

The fact that each organisation in the coincidental network of central actors has a degree score that by far exceeds its frequency (the number of times it was listed) suggests that participants of the MPH march who were members of, or identified with, one of the most central organisations tended to 'belong' to or identify with others as well. Of the 127 respondents who listed Amnesty International as one of the five most important organisations with which they were involved or most closely identified, a substantial number also listed church (28), Christian Aid (26), Oxfam (38), Greenpeace (37), FoE (24), CND (15) and Save the Children (10). Thus it appears that Amnesty International, a human rights organisation, has significant cross-memberships with religious organisations (church), trade, aid or development organisations (Oxfam, Christian Aid, Save the Children), environmental organisations (FoE and Greenpeace) and the peace movement sector (CND).

Overlapping memberships are nothing new. In their 1993 survey of members of FoE and Amnesty International, Jordan and Maloney (1997:119-120) found 12.8% of FoE members were also members of Amnesty International, 5.7% of Oxfam and 31.9% of Greenpeace, while 12% of Amnesty International members were members of Oxfam, 16.9% of FoE, and 33.7% of Greenpeace. Our survey shows greater percentages of overlapping memberships for these

organisations despite the fact that participants had the opportunity to list only up to *five* organisations with which they were most involved or most closely identified. Of MPH march participants claiming membership or close identification with FoE, 42% were members of or identified with Amnesty International, 36.8% with Greenpeace and 33% with Oxfam. Of the larger number of respondents who claimed membership of or close identification with Amnesty International, 18% were members of or identified with FoE, 29% with Greenpeace, and 30% with Oxfam. Of course, we were surveying participants in a single demonstration whereas Jordan and Maloney surveyed members of organizations identified via the organizations' own records, and so our findings are not directly comparable. It is possible that surveys of members of organizations include large numbers of purely passive members who are less likely to have multiple affiliations than are demonstrators, or, alternatively, that they include people whose strong commitment to a single organizations precludes simultaneous membership of other organizations. Nevertheless, it is possible that the extensive multiple memberships revealed in our survey of MPH marchers indicated that multiple memberships have become increasingly common since the early 1990s and that activists have increasingly developed multiple and tolerant identities as the opportunities provided by the anti-war, global justice and environmental movements have proliferated.

The network of inter-organisational relations based on multiple memberships of march participants among the 32 central organisations is very dense, and, because it focuses on a small part of the movement, it does not give a very clear indication of the linkages among movement sectors within the GJM. If our aim is to examine the links between movement sectors, to discover which are the most important constituents of the GJM, it is a simple exercise to recode the names of organisations as movement sectors, and then to analyse the links between sectors.[v] Given the organisational complexity of the GJM, this approach is probably the closest we can get to understanding its constituent parts, on the understanding that the nodes are only broadly representative of the tendencies of the organisations within them. The environmental sector, for example, incorporates green organisations from a variety of ideological standpoints, from conservationists through to deep greens, and employing a variety of campaigning strategies.

Unsurprisingly, the sector with which march participants most frequently claimed an organisational affiliation or close identity was aid/trade (Table 6). Of the 255 respondents who claimed membership of or close identification with an aid/trade organisation, a considerable number were members of at least one organisation from each of the religious (99), human rights (102), environment (84), and peace (22) sectors. Looking at interorganisational memberships in this manner, it appears that the core of the movement consists of organisations concerned with trade/aid, religion, human rights and the environment (Figure 4). Peace, workers' rights / trade unions, anti-racism, socialist, women's rights, and pro-democracy sectors are connected to the core organisations via multiple-memberships, but have much smaller numbers of march participants as

members / close identifiers. Anti-capitalist organisations, so prominent in the Florence ESF (2002) that they accounted for 80% of sector affiliation of British activists (Andretta 2005:6), were barely mentioned by MPH marchers.

Table 6. Coincidence of sector membership/identification, all cases

	Aid / trade	Religious	Human Rights	Environment	Peace	TU	Parties	Race Ethnic	Socialist	Women's Women's' Rights	Democracy	Other
Aid / trade	**255**	99	102	84	22	17	14	13	2	5	6	18
Religious	99	**149**	40	26	12	14	5	3	3	4	6	10
Human Rights	102	40	**146**	65	26	12	8	11	2	2	3	13
Environment	84	26	65	**136**	19	9	8	8	2	3	1	19
Peace	22	12	26	19	**51**	6	4	7	7	1	2	7
TU	17	14	12	9	6	**39**	4	0	4	1	1	6
Political Party	14	5	8	8	4	4	**31**	2	1	1	1	2
Race Ethnic	13	3	11	8	7	0	2	**19**	0	0	0	0
Socialist	2	3	2	2	7	4	1	0	**13**	1	0	5
Women's Rights	5	4	2	3	1	1	1	0	1	**11**	0	1
Democracy	6	6	3	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	**8**	2
Other	18	10	13	19	7	6	2	0	5	1	2	**39**

Figure 4. Inter-organisational membership/identification coincidence network by sector
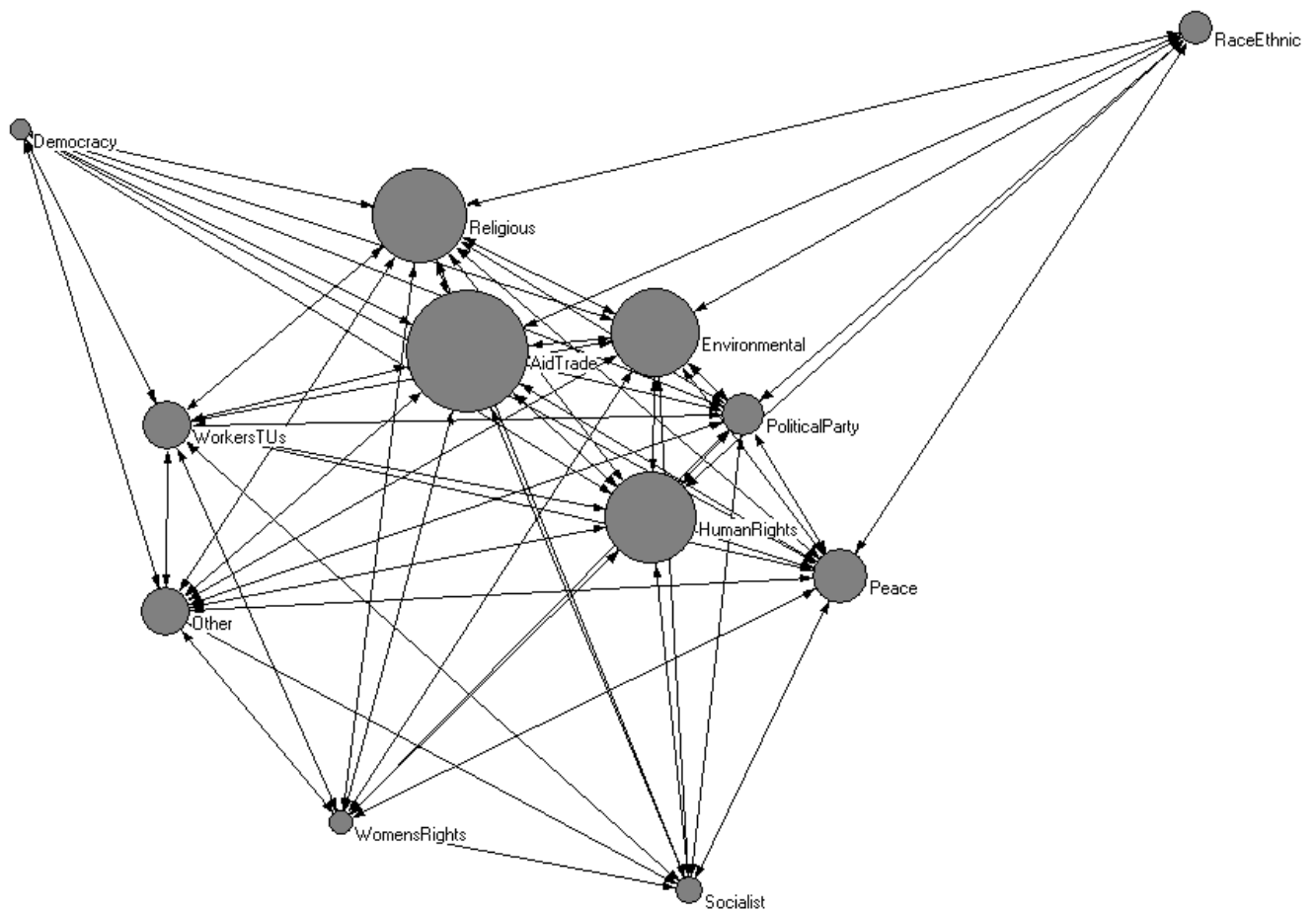
The race / ethnic solidarity movement sector is least well connected, via interpersonal linkages, to the rest of the movement. Of the nineteen respondents who listed at least one race / ethnic solidarity movement organisation, not one listed a trade union / workers' rights, socialist, women's rights or pro-democracy organisation. Race also proved to be the most marginal of the movement concerns analysed. The pro-democracy sector – the smallest sector listed here – lacks multiple-membership connections with organisations working on anti-racism / ethnic solidarity, socialism and women's rights. Apart from the exceptions of the anti-racism and pro-democracy sectors, the network is 'complete', i.e. there are links between all movement sectors.

Because the network is so dense, it is difficult to get a sense of which sectors are most closely associated with the others. For this reason, Phi measures of association were computed between variables referring to past or present involvement in each movement sector, and significant associations over 0.4 are marked on Figure 5.

Viewing the network of previous and present involvement in movement organisations through the lens of associations that are at least modest and significant (Figure 5), we find a network with two components with two or more members, and a series of GJM sectors that appear isolated. The largest and most connected component of the network is dominated by 'new' social

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movement organisations alongside human rights, social justice and aid / development. This part of the diagram shows the peace movement sector to be central to GJM movement networks. It suggests that there is some likelihood that respondents who have been, or are, members of peace organisations are likely to have been, or in the future to become, members or volunteers in aid / development, women's rights, race, human rights, environmental and social justice movement sectors. The second, much less dense, component represents the left-wing of the movement and consists of pro-democracy, anti-globalisation, anti-capitalist (including anarchist and communist) and socialist sectors. Pro-democracy organisations appear to play a peripheral role in the network, being connected only to anti-globalisation organisations. This is consistent with our earlier observation (Rootes and Saunders 2007) that the movement has two very distinct wings; the 'left' wing, including and anarchist and direct action groups as well as socialist organisations such as the Socialist Workers' Party, is kept at more than arms length by the core of the movement that consists largely of members and supporters of aid, trade and development NGOs.

However, were we to reduce the association threshold to 0.25, we would pick up on significant associations in membership patterns between democracy organisations and each of environment (0.35), anti-capitalism (0.36), socialist (0.357), gay rights (0.27), race (0.37), aid/trade (0.27) and peace (0.31) sectors. Religious organisations appear disconnected, and membership of the religious sector lacks significant associations with any other type of organisation. Indeed, there is a negative association between membership of religious organisations and each of the animal rights (-0.053), anti-capitalist (-0.14), communist (-0.029) and social centres / squats (–0.005) sectors, but all those relationships are weak and statistically non-significant.

Figure 5.
Association network for past or present involvement in various social movement sectors (Phi> 0.4)
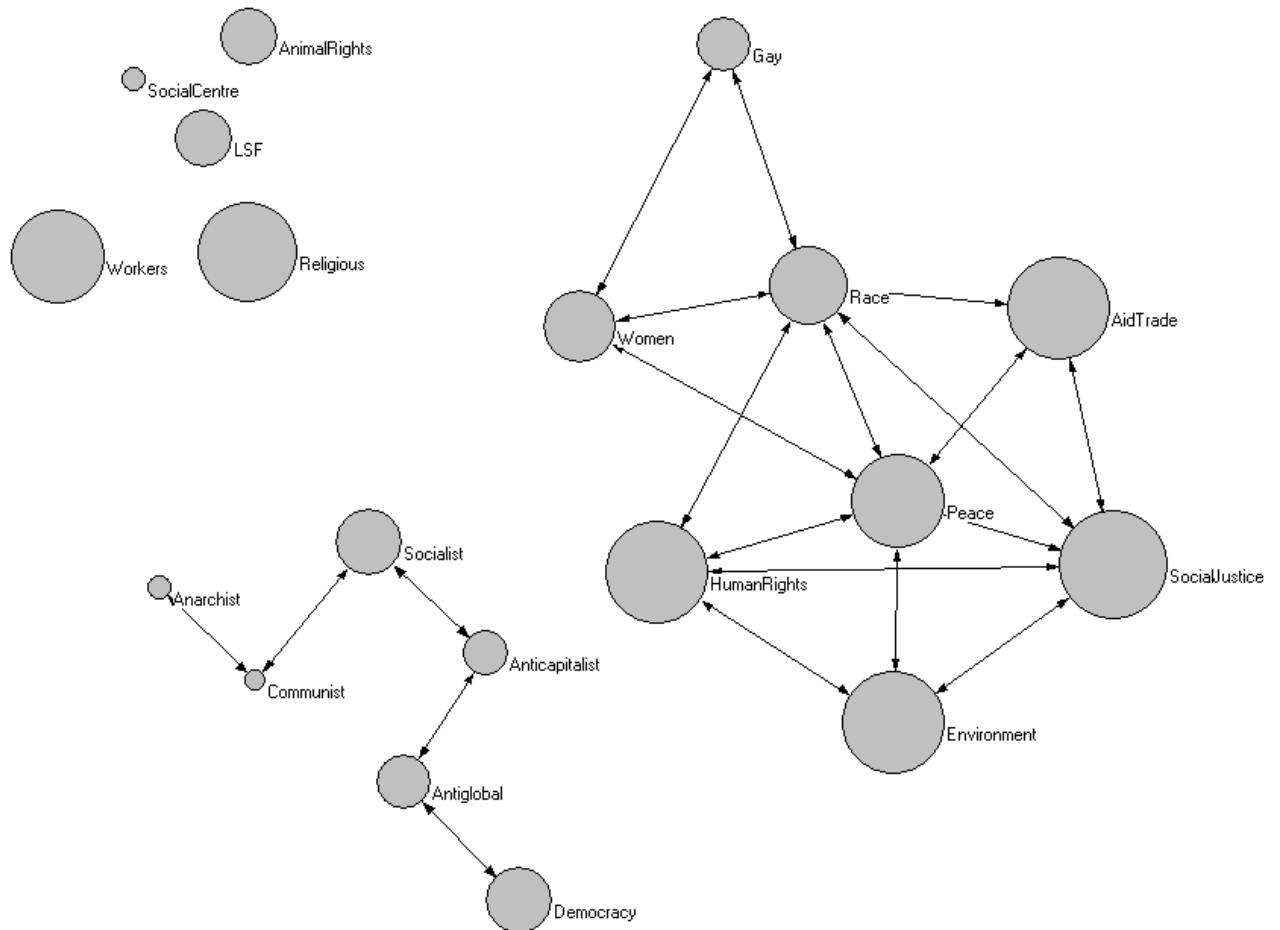
In terms of current and past organisational affiliations, which are used as a means of gauging interorganisational and interpersonal networks between movement organisations and sectors, human rights, religious, environmental and peace sectors are the most popular among MPH participants' current memberships. Religion and peace are not amongst the top four sectors for past and present involvement taken together, which suggests that religious organisations are newly mobilised into the GJM, and peace organisations have, unsurprisingly, mobilized increased support since the advent of the Iraq war in 2003. The left wing is structurally isolated from the core of the movement, which centres around involvement in aid/trade and development and religious organisations, and is dominated by social justice, environmental, peace, anti-racism and human rights organisations. Trade unions, which are structurally isolated in terms of current organisational affiliation, appear in the core of the movement if past and present organisational affiliations are considered in tandem. Thus, it may be the case that those who are currently trade union members tend not to join other organisations, whilst those who *were* trade unions, have moved on to become involved in other movement sectors. Perhaps trade unionism, especially in organisations such as Unison, which has been involved in a number of GJM events, increases the chances of exposure to, and therefore chances of involvement in, other social movement sectors.

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Conclusion

Earlier, we defined the GJM as the loose network of organisations and other actors that are, on the basis of shared concerns, engaged in collective action designed to promote social, economic, political and environmental justice among and between peoples across the globe (Rootes and Saunders 2006). On the basis of the evidence of our survey, Make Poverty History marchers appear, despite the under-representation of younger and more tactically radical activists in our sample, to have been a broad cross-section of the GJM in Britain. MPH participants were concerned with a variety of issues that shelter under the umbrella of global social justice – trade / aid / development, human rights, peace, democracy, health, anti-corruption, the environment, climate change, and workers' and immigrants' rights / anti-racism – issues that resonate with or reflect the critique of neo-liberal agenda. The fact that marchers usually mentioned two or more of these issues in tandem supports della Porta's (2005) contention that GJM activists have multiple belongings and 'tolerant identities'. Moreover, we have found evidence of the existence of dense collective action networks and overlapping organisational memberships that are possibly more dense now than they were a decade ago. Together, these findings justify our characterization of the GJM as a movement rather than simply a campaign coalition, but also as a 'movement of movements'. Although, in view of the stance that some radicals have taken toward it, and its focus on the specific issue of poverty, MPH cannot be regarded as fully representative of the GJM in its entirety, it was arguably the most significant GJM mobilisation that has occurred in Britain to date, and this has made it a useful lens through which to assess the network dynamics of the movement.

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Notes

1. The 36 participants who answered the question but did not state an issue offered instead a priority that involved a strategy, e.g. 'lobby world leaders', 'get the public on our side', 'peaceful demonstrations', etc.

iv. See Scott (2000:131-8) for a concise introduction to the CONCOR algorithm, and its strengths and weaknesses.

v. The blocks are coded with a 1 if the density of the block is equal to, or exceeds, the average density of the overall network, and with a zero if it is less.

2. This high figure is surprising given the relative lack of active social forums in Britain. Even where they do exist, local social forums tend to have few regular participants. It may well be the case that respondents interpreted 'local social forum' in a manner different from the one we expected, including any local discussion forum, whether or not derived from the principles of the World Social Forum Charter.

3. DSEI stands for Defence Systems Equipment International, a biennial defence systems conference held in East London, which regularly attracts significant direct action protests against the arms trade.

4. This approach inevitably squeezes local organisations out of the network, because they tend to have lower levels of supporters. However, the coding approach taken later includes local organisations.

5. The data was originally imported into UCInet using a DL edgelist format, which consists of a list of vectors and nodes. For example, if respondent 1claimed to be closely identified to Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, and respondent 2 claimed to be closely identified to their church, Christian Aid and Make Poverty History, the data would be inputted in the following manner:
```
1 Greenpeace FoE
2 Church MPH ChristianAid
```
To create the sector-by-sector matrix, the names of organisations were replaced with movement sectors, e.g.
```
1 Environment
2 Religious AidTrade
```
These matrices were both then transformed into affiliations matrices in UCInet to give the coincidence matrices shown throughout this paper.

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