Resistance and Reactions to

Neo-Liberal Economic Globalisation

and its Institutions:

Exploring the "Anti-Globalisation" Movement

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this assignment is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Abstract

In recent years, so-called "anti-globalisation" protesters have become an expected, though to many an unwelcome feature at almost all meetings of international institutions and at intergovernmental summits. The protesters are usually portrayed as senselessly violent anarchists, ridiculed in the media as eccentrics and outsiders, while academics have as yet paid them little or no attention.

This study attempts to determine whether the predominantly negative perception of the protesters is justified, or whether there is some merit to their concerns. The vague umbrella term anti-globalisation protesters tends to disguise the fact that many different and diverse groups are involved in the protest. Elements of social movement studies are drawn upon to structure the analysis of a number of groups that are represented on occasions of protest.

The analysis reveals that the protests are well-organised, active in international networks, and rely very much on the internet to co-ordinate their efforts. From the perspective of social movement studies, the anti-globalisation league represents an interesting new phenomenon. This is due to its simultaneous presence in a multitude of countries, as well as its non-state focus. Effectively, the movement transcends state boundaries and state structures.

The changing face of international politics is at the root of the formation of the anti-globalisation movement. A perceived loss of sovereignty and increased international multilateral co-operation has reduced the effectiveness of domestic and state-based campaigning and created an opportunity, if not the necessity, to form transnational groups that have international institutions as their focal point of protest.

It is submitted that the movement may be a source for unconventional ideas that could go some way in addressing various problems related to the ever-advancing process of globalisation. This may be accomplished by way of greater formalisation of the movement, and possibly with support from other prominent voices who are not anti-globalisation activists as such, yet in essence share many of the concerns of the protesters. In this way, the anti-globalisation movement could develop into a credible entity to complement the functioning of existing international institutions.

Opsomming

Protes aksies teen globalisering is gedurende die laaste paar jare 'n bekende, maar nie noodwendig 'n welkome verskynsel by feitlik alle vergaderings van internasionale organisasies en staatsberade. In die algemeen word die protesteerders beskou as gewelddadige anargiste, en word hulle in die pers as eienaardige buitestaanders beskryf. Academici het tot dusver ook nie veel aandag aan hierdie verskynsel bestee nie.

Die doel van hierdie studie is om vas te stel of die meestal negatiewe opvattings van deelname in aktiewe protes teen globalisering geregverdig is. Die besware van die aktiviste is dalk realisties en nie ongegrond nie. Die vae begrip van anti-globalisering protesteerders is misleidend, omdat dit die groot aantal verskillende groepe tydens die protesaksies verberg. Beginsels van sosiale bewegingsstudies is geraadpleeg om die analise van verskeie groepe wat by protesaksies teenwoordig is, te struktureer.

Hierdie analise wys dat die deelnemers aan protesaksies goed georganiseerd is, en dat hulle baie aktief is in internasionale netwerke, en hoofsaaklik op die internet staat maak om hulle bedrywighede te koördineer. Vanuit die standpunt van sosiale bewegingsstudies is die anti-globalisering aksie 'n baie interessante verskynsel omdat die beweging in baie lande teenwoordig is, en omdat dit nie staatsentries is nie. Staatsgrense en tradisionele staatstruktuure word dus oorskry.

Veranderinge in die internasionale politieke arena is beslis die rede vir die vorming van die anti-globaliseringsbeweging. Dit word beweer dat die toename in internasionale multilaterale samewerking die trefkrag van aktivisme binne die grense en die konteks van die staat verminder het. Die geleentheid, en dalk noodsaaklikheid, is dus geskep om internasionale groepe te vorm wat hul protes op internasionale organisasies fokus.

Die studie stel voor dat die beweging dalk die oorsprong van onkonvensionele idees kan wees wat baie van die negatiewe effekte en probleme wat verbonde is met die globaliseringsproses, sal aanspreek en help om hulle op te los. Voordat dit kan gebeur, moet die beweging egter 'n meer formele vorm aanneem, 'n proses wat beslis gesteun sal word deur groepe en indiwidue wat nie noodwendig anti-

globalisering aktiviste is nie, maar wel baie van dieselfde belange het. Op hierdie manier sal dit dalk moontlik wees vir die anti-globaliseringsbeweging om 'n geloofwaardige entiteit te word, wat die werk van bestaande internasionale organisasies sal komplimenteer.

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Chapter 1

Aim, Scope and Method

1.1   Background

The "Battle of Seattle" which disrupted the World Trade Organisation's (WTO) Ministerial Meeting in Seattle in November/December 1999 could be regarded as the birthplace of a new type of anti-globalisation protest. Thousands of protesters converged upon the city, and among other things blocked off the city centre, trapping delegates in their hotels and delaying some of the scheduled WTO events (*The Economist*, 2 December 1999). The failure of the "Millennium Round" of trade discussions was certainly not exclusively due to the disruptions created by the scores of anti-globalisation activists, considering the cleavages that had existed among the negotiators concerning many of the issues on the WTO agenda. It was also not the first time that protests were held at a high-level institutional meeting. However, the scale and scope of the protests in Seattle have given the protesters and their concerns great impetus (Halliday, 2000:124).

Ever since the events in Seattle, no meeting of an international institution or similar high-level international forum occurs without the presence of rather large-scale protests – examples abound: The World Economic Forum meetings in Davos in early 2000 and 2001, the IMF and WB spring meetings held in Washington in April 2000, the WB and IMF annual main meetings held in Prague in September 2000, and the G-8 summit held in Genoa in July 2001. These were all accompanied by what has become an almost inevitable, though ever more violent anti-globalisation protest ritual. Protesters seem increasingly active in world-wide (dare one say "globalised") networks, notably via the internet, and manage to attract much media attention, as well as causing inconvenience to conference organisers.

The threat of protests disrupting meetings and endangering delegates has resulted in changed meeting strategies being adopted by the conference organisers. A World

Bank meeting on fighting poverty that was scheduled to be held in Barcelona in June 2001 was cancelled one month in advance, for fear of protests hampering the proceedings. The meeting was held via the internet instead (www.nologo.org). Extreme security measures taken by Italian authorities to safeguard delegates of the G-8 in Genoa, as well as the ensuing violence and death of one protester lead to a decision by the G-8 leaders to convene the 2002 G-8 summit in a secluded Canadian resort in the Rocky mountains. The November 2001 WTO Ministerial Meeting was held in Qatar, a country that could not be reached easily by the protesters – geographically and from the point of view of obtaining visas and probably even in securing local support.

1.2   Problem Statement

Much recent academic and other literature has focused on globalisation – defining it, and assessing or estimating its impact on a variety of issues. Journals in a wide range of disciplines, from economics, political science and sociology to mention only the most obvious, as well as international media publications, can currently hardly be conceived without some or other treatise on globalisation. The phenomenon of anti-globalisation protests has been paid significantly less academic attention. This may be because it is a recent phenomenon, at least from the point of view of the unprecedented scale of the protests. Many of the concerns raised relate to recent developments that have been brought about or exacerbated by the rapid advance of the phenomenon of globalisation.

Globalisation is often portrayed as an inescapable, irreversible and unstoppable process, "framed in the famous phrase 'There is no alternative' (TINA)" in order to force countries open to the interests of international financial capital and restrict state influence on the economy (Taylor, 2001:1). The TINA of globalisation the world over discredits the voices of activists and movements who dare challenge this logic. It is probably for this reason that they are portrayed as eccentrics or idealists who are far-removed from reality and current events.

With reference to the restrictions the TINA of globalisation places on the sovereignty of states, and more particularly their economic policy options, Saul writes that "[p]ublic pronouncement and academic writing alike are reflecting the notion that an ineluctable and transcendent process of 'globalisation' is crushing the very plausibility of pro-active states and meaningful national jurisdictions." Saul can certainly be understood to allude to actors other than states when he asserts that, "to think of acting, nationally or globally, in order to challenge the underlying logic of capital or to realise some more social and humane purpose is, at best, seen as merely naïve" (Saul, 1999:50). The possibility that instances of "acting globally", are performed by the so-called anti-globalisation protesters should not be excluded.

It should be considered that these social movements may be a real tool for transforming the global order (Nel et al, 2001:27) which is traditionally state-based, yet is currently experiencing an erosion of the autonomy and authority of individual nation-states that is creating a power vacuum of sorts. This is brought about partly by increased inter-state co-operation on an international level, which in many instances binds governments to decisions reached on those levels. A great usurper of national sovereignty is furthermore argued to be the embrace of neo-liberalism, allowing the free market to become a dominant force and allowing multinational corporations to gain much power. Advances in communication and technology available to the individual, however, have facilitated the creation and maintenance of international networks of persons or organisations that may or may not have the potential to rival government or institution-based co-operation.

1.3   Research Question

While it is generally agreed that globalisation produces winners and losers, the process is mostly considered to be irreversible and unavoidable. Yet the anti-globalisation league is becoming a presence that is increasingly hard to ignore, and it is of great research interest. This because it would document the birth or the early days of what is potentially a powerful new social movement. Already, the protests are significant and consistent – if only because of their disruptiveness – taking into

account that meetings of international institutions are cancelled or held in locations that are difficult to reach for protesters.

In order to determine the significance of the anti-globalisation protests, closer scrutiny of the protesters and their agenda is required. The identity of the nameless, faceless group of protesters that are presented in the media should be determined. Are the protesters indeed campaigning for one clear cause, or are their concerns more diverse? A pertinent point is whether these groups suggest any alternatives to the developments against which they so vehemently protest. Do the protesters merely intend to disrupt and destroy, or do they envisage an alternative to the globalisation against which they are protesting?

While the protesters are often disregarded as planless anarchists and portrayed in the media as eccentrics and outsiders, or as slightly bored, spoilt youth searching for some entertainment (*The Economist*, 5 May 2001:32), they are nonetheless a considerable entity that should not be disregarded. Protests are surprisingly well-organised, thanks mostly to the internet – and their usually non-hierarchic organisational forms and decentralised networks of people make for flexible groupings that are "more nimble and effective than the bureaucratic, centralised, and unwieldy institutions" opposed by them (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 2000:30).

The contradiction of a global or globalised movement, that ostensibly protests against globalisation is glaringly obvious and has been often used to criticise the protesters. An aggravating factor is that the majority of the adherents live in places where they can enjoy most of the benefits of globalisation, namely North America and Europe. Furthermore, the embrace of the internet by many of the protest groupings seems inappropriate.

Yet, while the internet is the medium that has arguably made the most significant contribution to the process of globalisation in the past decade, its extensive utilisation should not merely be interpreted as a ludicrous failure to observe the protesters' principles, since it can be understood to have greater significance. It may indicate that the protesters have a more informed approach about globalisation –

embracing its advantages, yet alerting the world to its ill effects (Danaher, 2001:19). Indeed, upon closer scrutiny of some of the objectives, it becomes clear that to describe the protesters as possessing "anti-globalisation" sentiments is an oversimplification of their goals.

In order to discuss the topic in greater depth, two basic conceptualisations need to be attempted. These are a definition of globalisation and an understanding of what a social movement is.

1.4   Key Concepts

Globalisation has in recent years become a buzzword that is used to signify a wide variety of things and has been both praised and vilified, used as a scapegoat or as the means to reach a better future, sometimes with reference to specific processes, other times to broader changes or developments. The overarching, generic features of the process of globalisation appear to be an increased interconnectedness of the nations of the world and their inhabitants. Technological advances and innovation have diminished the time with which travel and communication are possible even between the formerly most remote places of the world. For all its popularity, it cannot be said that a sufficient degree of clarity exists in the utilisation of the term.

Keohane and Nye agree that "[g]lobalisation refers to the shrinkage of distance on a large scale". They make a distinction between globalisation as a dynamic process, and "globalism" as a condition, a state of being, that can either decrease or increase. In this sense, globalism is a measure of how far globalisation has advanced. Globalism is portrayed by the authors as a phenomenon that is not only multidimensional but the dimensions of which may change at different speeds or during different times (2000:106, 107). This view can be likened to one that sees globalisation as possessing different "landscapes" within which states and individuals can be positioned, the landscapes respectively encompassing elements such as ethnicity, media, technology, finance and ideology (Appadurai in Koelble, 2000:58).

Some of the different forms of "globalism" as are identified as economic, military, environmental and socio-cultural globalism. Economic globalism refers to market exchanges, particularly international flows of capital, goods and services. Military globalism encompasses inter-continental security networks and forms of interdependence, particularly alliances that arose out of the cold war situation. Environmental globalism refers to the vulnerability of all people and the planet to diseases, biohazards and environmental catastrophes. Diseases are spread across the world by travellers, and as a consequence of human activity, the ozone layer has become severely damaged. Finally, social and cultural globalism concerns the dissemination of visual and ideological information, religious movements and scientific knowledge (Keohane & Nye, 2000:105-7).

Keohane and Nye claim that social and cultural globalism is preceded, affected and influenced by economic and military globalism: "Ideas, information and people follow armies and economic flows, and in doing so, transform societies and markets" (2000:107).

This conceptualisation provides an insightful framework for the formation of the movement that is investigated in this study. It demonstrates how different aspects of globalisation occur at different times and/or at different speeds. Developments of a political or economic nature influence one another, as well as other developments such as those of a socio-cultural nature, where responses to various developments are accumulated, developed and disseminated.

Despite the vagueness, uncertainty and even discrepancies surrounding the term globalisation, some consensus exists as to the main developments that have been linked to the process of globalisation. This is mainly the aspect of the increased mobility of factors of production that has come as a result of globalisation. This form of economic integration - termed globalisation - can be distinguished from previous periods of economic integration (such as Roman times or the Middle Ages) by the "unparalleled scale" and speed at which integration is occurring (Calitz, 2000:564-567).

Whereas it is certain that not all regions of the world are affected by all facets of globalisation, particularly the technological progress and increased telecommunications connectivity associated with globalisation, one aspect of globalisation is capable of penetrating and affecting almost every country in the world, and this is the globalisation of international finance. Currency speculations can cause markets to crash, and several billion dollars' worth of financial flows do not need passports to travel the globe within minutes. These represent possibly the greatest change associated with globalisation.

Because of this, Gills suggests that instead of speaking of globalisation, reference could be made to "neo-liberal economic globalisation" in order to bring clarity to the concept. This he characterises as being driven by the interests of those who accumulate capital. The protection and further accumulation of capital is facilitated and ensured by "a tendency towards homogenisation of state policies and state forms (...) via a new 'market ideology'" (Gills, 2000:4).

A key factor in this process is "the formation and expansion of a new tier of transnationalised institutional authority above the state's which has the aim and purpose of re-articulating states to the purposes of facilitating global capital accumulation". According to Gills, this is achieved by "the political exclusion of dissident social forces from the arena of state-policy making, in order to desocialise the subject and insulate the neo-liberal state form against the societies over which they preside. (...) The main historical thrust of economic globalisation is to bring about a situation in which private capital and 'the market' alone determine the restructuring of economic, political and cultural life" (Gills, 2000:5).

This conceptualisation or prediction, perhaps, brings to mind Polanyi's treatise on the societal consequences of unfettered capitalist market forces. In the quest for profit, humans are seen as units of input, the labour provided becomes a factor of production and dehumanises the worker (Mittelman & Chin, 2000:170). In support of his hypothesis, Polanyi traces the history of the market system and argues that human society developed into "an accessory of the market" (Polanyi, 1944:75). The culmination of this process of dehumanising people is the disembedding of the

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economy from society, with society having to serve the needs of capital. Some possible results (already evident in the world) are a greater divide between rich and poor in the world, and thus greater social dissatisfaction.

The analysis of whether there can be talk of an anti-globalisation *movement* and its possible significance is preceded by a consideration of existing social movements literature in order to clarify basic concepts and identify the salient features and structures of a social movement.

1.5   Theoretical Framework

The study of social movements is a wide and diverse field that encompasses the work of a number of writers who follow different approaches and focus on various aspects of social movements (Della Porta & Diani, 1999:3). For the purpose of this study, social movements literature is consulted in order to gain some insight into the workings of social movements, their origins and some of their constituent parts – the focus lies mainly on the study of "new social movements" as it has been conducted since the 1960s. Elements of the existing generic social movements literature that are relevant to this study have been selected and combined in a synergic approach. The objective is to obtain, from the social movements literature, analytical tools to facilitate the study of the largely misunderstood, often misrepresented anti-globalisation protests.

Klandermans draws on much of the existing social movements literature and presents what he considers to be a useful definition of social movements, namely one suggested by Tarrow, which is in turn based on Tilly: Social movements are "collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities" (Klandermans, 1997:2).

While Kuechler and Dalton note that diverse definitions of social movements exist, they submit the following: "a social movement is a collectivity of *people* united by common belief (ideology) and a determination to challenge the existing order in pursuit of these beliefs outside institutionalised channels of interest intermediation"

(1990:278). In the context of this study, such "institutionalised channels" would certainly be the working groups and decision-making bodies and meetings of international institutions such as the WTO and the IMF.

Eyerman and Jamison criticise the common sociological approach toward social movements which they claim is one that attempts to analyse and rationalise social movements in order to understand them and thereby exert a form of political control. Instead, they view social movements as dynamic, creative processes that provide "the breeding ground for innovations in thought". Social movements can be characterised by their specific "worldview assumptions" that the adherents have in common, "as well as the specific topics or issues that movements are created around" (1991:2-3). Social movements bear greater significance than often acknowledged since they "express shifts in the consciousness of actors as they are articulated in the interactions between the activists and their opposition(s) in historically situated political and cultural contexts." Furthermore, Eyerman and Jamison credit social movements for being the source of new "ideas, identities, even ideals" for societies (1991:4). In short, they assert that social movements deserve a high status in society since they are responsible for its evolution.

In the context of the rise of European fascism, social movements were at the beginning of the 20[th]century studied as threatening and deviant forms of political behaviour. However, subsequent forms of protest have placed this perception in question. Their increased presence since the 1960s (notably the student protests of 1968/9 and the civil rights and women's movements) has changed researchers' attitudes (Jenkins & Wallace, 1995:96).

Consensus seems to exist among scholars - and studies have confirmed - that since the 1960s, participants in social movements are members of the "new middle class" (Della Porta & Diani, 1999:46). This new middle class is the product of post-industrial societal change and typically, indicators of this class are "youth and a high level of education" (Della Porta & Diani, 1999:48).

In media accounts of incidents of protest, Della Porta and Diani's findings seem to be supported, since protesters are portrayed as affluent youngsters living in industrialised countries who are slightly bored and seek some novel form of entertainment. For example, concerning the May Day protest in London in 2001, an article in *The Economist* reports that before midday, protest was still peaceful because it was still too early for the more violent protesters: "The only challenge on offer was to avoid being kissed by determined female fluffies, bent on spreading love and peace. But of course, real anarchists would not be out of bed yet" (5 May, 2001:32). This scathing portrayal does not correspond with the alleged changed view that social movements researchers have of the protesters. The main reason for this negative perception is that since globalisation is presented as an ineluctable process, anyone opposed to it belongs at the margins of today's society.

An additional factor is certainly the confusion created by the large variety of groups involved in the protest. Different concerns, objectives and methods of protest, including the most dominating conflict between the violent and non-violent protesters cause confusion among protesters and observers alike. There is great difficulty in testing these claims, and compiling an extensive membership profile of anti-globalisation activists. This is because social movement organisations do not have extensive official membership lists. By their nature, their existence depends to a large extent on the number of persons who are willing to attend an actual protest event as such. A core group of dedicated activists exists that maintains websites and organises meetings and camps, yet those attending protest meetings can vary extensively from one protest event to another.

When can occurrences of protest be considered part of a social movement? Della Porta and Diani cite several factors that may be indicative of the existence of a social movement. Among these is the presence of a wider perspective of the protests – the acknowledgement of a broader context within which protest activity is conducted. This exists in the form of a shared belief, a common vision of the world shared by the protesters. Also, it is important to consider whether the protest actions are isolated incidents or "components of a longer-lasting action" (Della Porta & Diani, 1999:19).

Protests on the occasion of World Bank or IMF meetings were previously common throughout the 1990s but did not reach the scale of the November/December 1999 protest manifestations in Seattle. However, starting in Seattle, the waves of large-scale and intensifying protest – leading to the death of a protester in Genoa in July 2001 – should serve as sufficient indication that the protest actions are, at the very least, not isolated incidents.

1.6   Purpose of the study

The distinction clarified above already goes some way to help make sense of the chaos, hysteria and perceived lack of leadership that has become a feature of the anti-globalisation protests. Confusing language is used to describe the protesters, but it is important to realise that the protests are a manifestation of the mobilisation that has been achieved by a number of groups and organisations whose work includes educating persons about specific concerns by producing literature and organising meetings and even camps. The work of these groups is done persistently and continuously, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

Because the protests are only the most visible aspect - the "product" - of a social movement, the anti-globalisation sentiment on which the movement is based deserves further scrutiny, with reference not only to some dominant organisations and groups active in this sphere as will be attempted in the following chapter, but also in a brief comparative look at other social movements, which reveals that this new "movement" is a peculiar phenomenon because its form, extent and focus are unprecedented.

The anti-globalisation movement represents an interesting new phenomenon in terms of its social movement status. This is due to its simultaneous presence in a multitude of countries, as well as its non-state focus. Effectively, the movement transcends state boundaries *and* state structures.

The study of social movements has traditionally been characterised by a state-centred approach: "As with so many aspects of political life, extant work on political

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opportunities has tended to betray a state-centred or closed-polity bias" (McAdam, 1996:34). Social science theorists recognise that protest movements (or "spin-offs") can occur in other countries, an oft-cited example being the student revolts in the USA and Germany in the late 1960s (McAdam, 1996:33). Comparative studies have also been undertaken, but these imply the presumption that the movements are different from country to country, and rely on the respective country-specific socio-political circumstances.

Thus, while similar movements have existed in different countries at the same time or in temporal succession, they have occurred within the context of the nation-state, and it was similar conditions in various states that provided the political opportunity for similar intra-state protests.

Social movements have been defined within the context of national politics, such as Tilly's definition of a "sustained series of interactions between a challenging group and the state" (in Jenkins, 1995:15). Yet with an increasingly globalised world and the emerging prominence of supranational multilateral institutions whose decisions are in many cases binding on the state, this seems to have opened the way for social movements who are also supranational.

Some transnational movements have existed ever since the early days of organised social movements. The movements (e.g. the anti-slavery movement) were "diffused across national boundaries: by print media, (...) immigrants (..) and by transnational actors" (Tarrow, 1996:52).

The several facets of globalisation have vastly accelerated the speed and effectiveness at which information can be disseminated internationally – arguably, the term "diffusion" is no longer relevant – perhaps it should be replaced with "infusion" or penetration, when one document can be e-mailed around the world to thousands of recipients within seconds, or posted on an internet site for the perusal of an unlimited number of internet users.

Therefore, the nature of the anti-globalisation protests must be unprecedented in terms of the international presence of various protest groups and the protest action

that is not state or country-specific, but rather institution-specific. This has been vastly facilitated by the internet which has made the international dissemination of information dramatically cheaper and faster than before.

The growing prominence of international institutions is also a relatively new phenomenon as they have been gaining importance (and membership) mainly since the early 1990s after the demise of communism in Eastern Europe and Russia. Thus, perhaps this tradition from state-focused protest to institution-focused protest is an inevitable development that follows suit of international political trends.

The changing face of international politics has created opportunities - and constraints - for social movements. A perceived loss of sovereignty and increased international multilateral co-operation has reduced the effectiveness of domestic and state-based campaigning and created an opportunity, if not the necessity, to form transnational groups that follow international institutions from meeting to meeting around the world.

1.7   Delimitation of the topic

The study is intended to discuss anti-globalisation protest groups as a phenomenon. For this reason, it will not entail an analysis of the functioning of the WTO, the IMF or the World Bank to determine the merits of the protesters' arguments and criticism.

A great difficulty in documenting the anti-globalisation phenomenon is due to the nature of globalisation, which has so many different facets which each create the possibility of at least as many responses to them. Examples of concerns abound, and they include environmental issues, labour rights, human rights more generally, women's movements as well as the more abstract concerns of anti-capitalism protesters. Hundreds of different protest groups have attended fringe debates and marches at high-level institutional meetings. Groups attending vary from green groups, academics and church members to trade unions, anarchists and hard-line communists.

The study does not intend to provide an exhaustive list of groups and organisations who have been present at recent protest events. Focus remains largely on organisations and groups who mobilise their constituents/supporters for action in protest against globalisation in the overarching sense, with particular reference to international institutions and economic globalisation. The main reason for this is to narrow the scope of groups that would otherwise have to be included in such an investigation. Such an extensive investigation would exceed the size and scope of this study.

The time period under consideration commences with the "Battle of Seattle" in November 1999 and continues to the events of the G8 summit in Genoa from 20 to 22 July 2001.

1.8   Methodology

The research is mainly of an exploratory and descriptive nature, providing a brief background to the current situation, documenting the most recent occurrences of protests, and attempting to provide some categories into which the different protest groups, as well as their specific concerns and methods, can be classified. An analysis of the alternatives to the current world order proffered by protest groups is also conducted.

Eyerman and Jamison note that a key aspect in the formation of a social movement is the constitution of the "Other" against which it is to react (1991:158). However, they point out that the act of defining a social movement is a problematic one, and that different schools exist. Firstly, "defining" a social movement is difficult, and depends on the researcher's vantage point. Social movements can be studied empirically, as a phenomenon. The study could be approached from the point of view of self-definition, using the vantage point of the actor(s) involved in the movement itself. A third possibility is for a movement to be defined in "operational terms", investigating the particular organisations involved and the recruitment strategies applied (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991:45).

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A combination of all three approaches is adopted in this study, to provide an overview that is objective and informative. An empirical study is presented as an overview, a brief chronicle of occasions of protest and the reactions of the media, academia, states and international institutions. Self-definition is applied in order to explore the components of the movement, and identify the groups and issues involved. The latter requires some extent of analysis of organisational components, yet again mostly from the vantage point of self-definition.

In an overview of some of the groups involved in the protests, the resource mobilisation approach will be favoured. This means that instead of focusing on the sociological or psychological context of why the movement formed or what personally motivates individuals to join social movement organisations or attend protest events, the spotlight falls on the groups and organisations involved in the protest (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991:23-24).

Much information was obtained from the internet. Every scheduled international institutional meeting (such as those mentioned above) has several websites dedicated against it by protesters and so-called "activists", co-ordinating and informing about the protests, providing meeting places, press releases and so forth. Most, if not all, protest groups and organisations have homepages providing information about themselves, publications, upcoming events and so forth. Admittedly, the findings are perhaps in some cases skewed because information by the groups themselves has been included. Yet this was unavoidable because of the extant shortage of more objective information.

During the research process, some difficulty in obtaining information was encountered. The mainstream media appears to be prejudiced against the protesters. As a consequence, media reports have not proven a useful resource for the purposes of the research. While protests are discussed, protesters involved are discredited and mocked and mention is seldom made of any specific groups involved. Academic sources also did not provide significantly more assistance. While incidents of protest, particularly the "Battle of Seattle" has filled a number of pages in journals and papers, the anti-globalisation movement is discussed as an overarching

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notion in rather vague terms. While useful information could be obtained with regard to the conceptualisation of a "politics of resistance" (Gills, 2000), extensive discussion or analysis of the groups constituting in the movement – scrutinising their manifestos and objectives – does not appear to have occurred to any remarkable extent.

Popular culture and the internet, on the other hand, constitute a more abundant source of information. Klein's book *No Logo* (2001) which has often been described as the Bible of anti-globalisation protesters, contains extensive information of some of the Canadian and US grassroots community organisations and documents many different types and occasions of protest, specifically against the increased global dominance of corporate capitalism, and their exploitation of labourers in the developing world, as well as the limited choice offered to consumers because certain brands and labels have become so domineering. However, this is still only one aspect of what this study intends to investigate.

1.9   Chapter Outline

The conceptualisations in this chapter provide the basic framework for the consideration of the structures, groups and issues that form part of the anti-globalisation movement considered in the remainder of this study. The following chapter contains a brief description of a number of different social movement organisations and supportive organisations that have been prominent in the activities of the movement to date. The strategic importance of the internet is discussed, as are some of the contradictions and problems that are apparent within the movement.

The third chapter considers some of the alternatives suggested by the protesters, structured according to the main issue areas that are addressed. Attention is also paid to the problem of a dual democratic deficit which is inherent in the movement as well as in the institutions which it criticises.

The concluding chapter touches upon future prospects of the anti-globalisation movement. It is pointed out that anti-globalisation sentiments are not restricted to the

mostly raucous protesters on the streets, but are in many cases embodied and represented by a large variety of often more "respected" or conventional institutions and individuals. This may cause the anti-globalisation movement to gain greater credibility and support, and possibly ensuring its continued survival by helping it attain a more formal structure. Tentative recommendations for future research are also included in the final chapter.

Chapter 2

Groups and Organisations Involved in the Protest

2.1   Issues, strategies, structures

The conveniently vague umbrella term "anti-globalisation protesters" that is most often used to describe those present on the street (and not in the plenary sessions) at high-level meetings of international institutions tends to disguise the fact that a large number of different and diverse groups are involved in the protest. This corresponds with the typical characteristics of a social movement, a phenomenon that consists of various different individuals, groups and organisations interacting with one another on the one hand, and with political elites on the other. Closer scrutiny reveals that the individual groups involved can be classified and categorised according to their function in the larger organism that is the social movement.

This chapter aims to explore a number of different groups that are represented on occasions of protest, briefly describing them and attempting to classify them according to their organisational type. The programmes of these organisations will be investigated, as will be their stated activities. Elements of strategy, concerning primarily the significance of the internet as a tool, are also included in the analysis.

The material in this chapter was compiled mainly from information provided in internet-based home pages which was, where possible, complemented with mainstream media reports. As mentioned previously, the dearth of objective, descriptive information and the lack of academic attention paid to the subject matter have necessitated a primarily exploratory and descriptive research approach.

2.2   Organisational Components

It is important to realise that neither the act of protesting, nor even recurring large-scale protests embody a social movement as such. They are only one aspect, one component, of what constitutes a social movement. They are the manifestation or

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the result of the work of different groups and organisations, and networks between them.

Different structures can be identified within a social movement. These structures may be informal, such as the networks consisting of family or friendship groups, and some networks among activists. More formal structures also exist and Kriesi suggests distinguishing between four main types of formal structures, namely "social movement organizations", "supportive organizations", "movement associations", and "parties and interest groups" (Kriesi, 1996:152).

According to Kriesi, in this matrix the social movement organisations are those which, envisaging a political goal, "mobilize their constituency for collective action" (1996:152). While protest events are often regarded as spontaneous and disorganised, the perspective provided by the naming and acknowledgement of the existence of social movement organisations reveals that this is not so. Social movement organisations are complex organisations which have similar goals as those of the social movement in general (Della Porta & Diani, 1999:140). They "possess the means and organizational mechanisms to mobilize resources for protest in order to further the movement's objectives" (Rucht 1996:186).

The social movement organisations can be distinguished from parties and interest groups if one considers that while the latter occasionally mobilise their constituency, they do not normally rely on the direct participation of their constituents in order to function, since they have chosen representatives that carry out the necessary tasks. Parties and other interest groups - in this context notably NGO's - possess resources such as "institutionalized access, authority and expertise" that enable them to function (Kriesi, 1996:153).

Other groupings that form part of a social movement are not directly involved in mobilising persons for protest, but fulfil a supportive role. Such support can range from providing logistical support such as maps and route explanations for those attending protest events, or it may be a group providing news coverage of protest events of interest to the protesters and the social movement organisations.

Examples of possible classifications of such auxiliary groups are "supportive organizations" and "movement associations" (Kriesi, 1996:152). These associations play a role in creating consensus among adherents to the movement and provide for the organisational logistics of the social movement.

Because of the sometimes unclear, often overlapping relationship between movements and organisations, Della Porta and Diani consider social movements to be "fluid phenomena" (1999:17). Despite this difficulty, they can be distinguished in theoretical analysis, because differences exist in their activities, their access to resources and their general structure. Owing to the overlapping of functions and activities between these two further categories suggested by Kriesi, it is not always possible or useful to distinguish rigidly between them, and they will therefore be considered as one further category, namely supportive organisations.

The main feature that distinguishes a supportive organisation from a social movement organisation is that the former does not mobilise people for protest. Supportive organisations are formed to address specific needs or requirements of a movement's adherents. For the women's movement, for example, such associations included therapy groups and rape crisis centres (Della Porta & Diani, 1999:146). Supportive organisations may also be part of the larger social movement structure. They are often existing organisations or businesses that are movement-friendly and contribute to the movement's aims by creating the possibility of a counter-culture lifestyle that is concurrent with the world-view of the social movement (Della Porta & Diani, 1999:146).

The two main categories of groups forming part of a social movement, namely social movement organisations and supportive organisations, shall now be utilised to provide a framework for not so much the categorisation, but rather the structured description of a number of groups involved in anti-globalisation protest and those who support and encourage such activities.

2.3 Social Movement Organisations

These are the dominant organisations that can be identified as belonging to and constituting the social movement as such. They are groups that mobilise their constituency and other sympathisers of the movement for collective action. Their existence and impact depends on the number of protesters who attend specific events – the greater the turnout, the more prominent an organisation is perceived to be. The movements have the primary political goal of raising awareness of issues and demanding the attention of authorities, ideally to obtain a "collective good" from them (Kriesi, 1996:152). A variety of different organisations exist, and only a small number is included in this analysis, for reasons specified above and in the introductory chapter.

2.3.1 People's Global Action

The Peoples' Global Action (PGA) states that it is "against 'Free' Trade and the World Trade Organisation". The PGA declines to be describes as an organisation, and prefers to be considered a "platform" or an "instrument for co-ordination". Its ambitious goal is to "serve as a global instrument for communication and co-ordination for all those fighting against the destruction of humanity and the planet by the global market, building up local alternatives and peoples' power". The PGA was established in 1998 on the occasion the WTO's second Ministerial conference, which was held in Geneva in May of that year. The PGA appears to be an international alliance of people's movements, as it subsumes organisations from all continents.

The PGA objects to the practices of the emerging global trade regime under the WTO because it alleges that the trade liberalisation advocated by the WTO leads to the destruction of rural societies, loss of dignity in labour, exploitation of the environment, cultural diversity and self-determination. It claims to have a "confrontational attitude, since we do not think that lobbying can have a major impact in such biased and undemocratic organisations, in which transnational capital is the only real policy-maker". However, it calls for "non-violent civil disobedience" and the

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construction of "local alternatives by local people", as answers to the action of governments and corporations.

The PGA declines to have a juridical personality, and its organisational philosophy is based on decentralisation and autonomy: "No organisation or person represents the PGA, nor does the PGA represent any organisation or person. The PGA has no membership". Operations are overseen by a Convenors' Committee which is newly elected every two years. Through a regular bulletin, a web page and other publications, which are produced voluntarily by organisations and individuals supportive of the aims of the PGA, the grouping intends to "inspire the greatest possible number of persons and organisations to act against 'free' trade through non- violent civil disobedience and people-oriented constructive actions" (www.nadir.org, www.agp.org)

2.3.2 Attac

Attac was formed in 1998, and describes itself as an international movement for democratic control of financial markets. Its name is a French acronym, which translates as "Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens". The formation of such a group was suggested in an editorial of the French Journal Monde diplomatique in 1997 in the wake of the Asian financial crisis of 1997/98. The original organisation was French, it has however branched out internationally since then throughout Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia. The network claims to have more than 55 000 members in 30 countries, and it describes itself as an important part of the globalisation critical movement.

With slogans such as "WTO: the world is not for sale!" and "A different world is possible", Attac aims to act for greater social and environmental justice to form part of the process of globalisation. According to Attac, financial globalisation erodes economic security and creates greater social inequality because it bypasses democratic institutions and sovereign nations who are responsible for "the common good". It believes that alternatives to this increasingly unjust and destructive process

of financial and economic globalisation are possible, and that democracy can be recaptured (www.attac.org).

2.3.3 Public Citizen

Founded by consumer advocate Ralph Nader in 1971, Public Citizen is a public interest group that lobbies the U.S. Congress on consumer protection issues and organises protests on various occasions. The organisation claims to have approximately 150,000 members (Foreign Policy, Spring 2000:39). Main issues of concern to the organisation are safer drugs and medical devices, cleaner and safer energy sources, a cleaner environment, fair trade, and a more open and democratic government. These interests are pursued through various subsidiary groups, namely Congress Watch, The Health Research Group, The Litigation Group, The Critical Mass Energy Project, Buyers Up and Global Trade Watch (www.indymedia.org). The last-mentioned is the main organ concerned with raising awareness concerning the WTO, and reforming the rules and institutions of world trade in general.

The organisation claims to be responsible for making public (by posting it on the internet) the secret draft text of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment that was being negotiated among OECD member countries in 1998. A public campaign was launched against the MAI which eroded government support for the proposed agreement. The negotiations eventually failed, and this is considered a great success for the organisation because the MIA would have greatly increased the power of investors at the expense of individual countries and their inhabitants (Foreign Policy, Spring 2000:35).

The head of Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch organisation, Lori Wallach, a consumer rights lawyer, is reputed to be one of the main organisers of the large-scale protest against the WTO in Seattle in December 1999 (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 2000).

2.3.4 50 years is enough

This group also refers to itself as the "U.S. Network for Global Economic Justice". It is a United States based network of a variety of different organisations, "including grassroots, women's, solidarity, faith-based, policy, social - and economic- justice, youth, labour and development organisations". Their overall objective is the "profound transformation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund".

Besides the approximately 200 affiliate organisations in the United States, this group claims to be co-operating with over 185 international partner organisations in more than 65 countries. Through basic training in economic principles, public mobilisation, and policy advocacy, the group intends to achieve transformation of the international financial institutions' policies and practices, to end what it describes as the outside imposition of neo-liberal economic programs, and to making the development process democratic and accountable. The name of this grouping refers to the occasion of its establishment, which coincided with the 50th anniversary of the founding of the World Bank and the IMF (www.50years.org).

2.3.5 Friends of the Earth

Friends of the Earth is an international environmental advocacy organisation that states its primary objective as ensuring the "preservation of the health and diversity of the planet for future generations". It is a sizeable network with affiliates in 63 countries. The organisation aims to train and equip citizens to have an influential voice in decisions affecting their environment. Its international projects deal specifically with the effects on the environment of international trade and finance, as promoted by the IMF, the WB and large multinationals. Friends of the Earth aims to transform these institutions' policies and practices to promote sustainable development rather than impede it. They seek promote trade and investment rules that protect the environment, and promote corporate accountability.

Friends of the Earth works with locally affected communities, environmental and human rights organisations, shareholders, and even stockbrokers on Wall Street to

challenge corporations to become better global citizens. Their website contains information on a variety of protest forms, ranging from guidelines writing letters to newspapers, to samples of petitions, and even basic instructions for shareholder activism (www.foe.org).

2.3.6 Ya Basta!

Ya Basta! is based primarily in Italy and active mostly in Europe, and was very prominent at the Prague World Bank meeting of September 2000, as well as the Genoa G-8 summit of July 2001. The association is a network of groups across a number of Italian cities. It proclaims itself as a form of support network of the Mexican Zapatista movement, a group that lead an indigenous peoples' revolt, considered by some to be the first display of anti-globalisation protest. The association has contacts to similar organisations in other European countries, such as Spain, France, Belgium, Germany, Finland. In the United Kingdom, Ya Basta! is represented by the Wombles, the "White Overalls Movement Building Libertarian Effective Struggles" (*The Economist,* 19 April 2001).

Founder members of Ya Basta! have very diverse backgrounds, ranging from members of the old Italian Communist Party, to Catholic activists, anarchists and members the Italian *centri sociali* (*The Economist,* 14 May 1998). Actions include "fighting the effects of neoliberalism" in Italy (and Europe in general) by protesting against the privatisation of public transport, for example, concern for the rights of immigrants, opposing the destruction of the environment by protesting against transgenetic crops (www.yabasta.it).

In 1998, most Ya Basta! militants also joined the emerging movement called the Tute Bianche (white overalls). This comprises young people from social centres, unemployed and casual workers, people searching for their first job, all "united against the pressure of neo-liberalism", "asking for a universal basic income, but also asking for better conditions of life for everybody". White overalls were chosen as "a strong image to symbolise the condition of invisibility imposed upon all those people forced to live without guarantees, without social security, on the margins of a 'normal'

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life". The demonstrators question globalisation in the name of millions of persons who are suffering its consequences, which the organisation summarises as being:hunger, poverty and death. They promote "creative" forms of protest, and claim to practice "active civil disobedience", which includes targeting multinational franchise operations such as McDonald's, where peaceful protest directed against their genetically modified food is held (www.tutebianche.org).

2.3.7 Black Bloc

In Seattle, this group became notorious for its vandalism of various shops and instigating violence during the WTO protests. Many other protest groups were upset by these black-clad youths who were alleged to have right-wing inflections. The Black Bloc were also present at the July 2001 G-8 summit in Genoa, apparently active under the name "Tute Negre", and were also largely observed and/or claimed to be responsible for much of the violence that occurred there. While the extent of "good" intended to be obtained by these groupings from authorities appears doubtful, they do possess certain political goals, and should in analysis not be excluded from the larger social movement.

The Bloc as such is an "anarchist collective" with apparently several groupings of followers, who do not claim to have a leader. They do not have a main website as such, yet different postings of affiliates or collectives describing themselves as "participants of the Bloc" can be found on the internet. In such postings, reasons for the use of violence are given, and both claims that they have a specific leader and that they are disorganised, are refuted. Interesting points made include a response to the criticism voiced by many other protesters that anarchists wear masks and thereby are acting in a secretive and anti-democratic way. The counter-argument made by black bloc representatives is that the society or system against which they are protesting is not democratic, and therefore it is not necessary for them to protect or uphold democracy (flag.blackened.net; "Statement by Black Bloc Activists", 21 July 2001).

Concerning the use of violence, they argue that "day by day, the capitalist world order produces a diversity of violence. Poverty, hunger, exclusion, the death of millions of people and the destruction of living spaces is part of their policy". Because multinational corporations are such shameful exploiters in various parts of the world, the anarchists claim that smashing windows of such companies and banks are "symbolic actions". They distinguish between personal property – based on use and personal needs – and private property – based on trade and what other people need. Such property, they claim, is becoming increasingly concentrated in the hands of a small number of corporations, who thus obtain far too much power to influence choices and become repressive (flag.blackened.net).

2.4   Supportive Organisations

These are service organisations that assist the movement's constituency or its supporters in some way, yet generally do not directly take part in mobilisation (Kriesi, 1996:152). They include self-help orgs, voluntary associations or clubs created by the movement to help its members. Businesses, non-governmental organisations and publications also in some instances perform the functions of a supportive organisation.

2.4.1 Bretton Woods Project

The Bretton Woods Project was established in 1995 as an independent initiative by a network of UK-based NGO's, to facilitate monitoring of the social and environmental impacts of World Bank and IMF policies and projects. The Bretton Woods Project works as "a networker, information-provider, media informant and watchdog to scrutinise and influence the World Bank and International Monetary Fund". Their extensive network includes over 4000 non-governmental organisations, policy-makers, journalists, researchers and parliamentarians worldwide.

Through various publications it monitors projects, policy reforms and the overall management of the Bretton Woods institutions with special emphasis on environmental and social concerns. By encouraging information exchange and

debate, it seeks to move the Bretton Woods institutions (World Bank and IMF) away from simplistic approaches to development. Priority areas include:World Bank and IMF roles, structural adjustment & poverty reduction strategies (PRS), the environment, social issues, the World Bank as a knowledge bank, governance and accountability, country operations.

The Project facilitates contacts between NGO's, academics, parliamentarians, journalists and activists worldwide who are interested in the World Bank and IMF, and the staff of the Bretton Woods institutions and decision-makers in bilateral aid ministries. It often performs an advisory service to NGO's in Europe, USA and the South to assist in planning meetings, reports and campaigns (www.brettonwoodsproject.org).

2.4.2 Indymedia

Indymedia can be described as an independent news service. It is the combined project of a collective of independent media organisations and a number of journalists offering "grassroots, non-corporate coverage". It furthermore describes itself as "a democratic media outlet for the creation of radical, accurate, and passionate tellings of the truth" - the truth that is to be told apparently refers to facts and events that are distorted by the corporate media (www.indymedia.org).

The collective was established by various independent and alternative media organisations and activists for the purpose of providing coverage of the WTO protests in Seattle. The centre acted as a clearinghouse of information for journalists, and provided up-to-the-minute reports, photos, audio and video footage through its website. The centre also produced its own newspaper that was distributed throughout Seattle and to other cities via the internet.

The indymedia site is still maintained and it receives regular updates on news and current events. This is facilitated by the "democratic open-publishing system", which means that anyone with a news story or an opinion can post these on the website for other visitors to read. Indymedia seems to be a popular site where information and

opinions are posted. Much of the discussion centres around criticism of the elements of misinformation as detected in news reports of CNN and other international news agencies.

Since its inception, indymedia claims to have logged more than 2 million hits, and was featured on America Online, Yahoo, CNN, BBC Online, and numerous other sites. A number of independent media centres have also been set up in London, Canada, Mexico City, Prague, Belgium, France, and Italy (www.indymedia.org).

2.4.3 Genoa Social Forum

The Genoa Social Forum is an umbrella organisation representing about 1187 different protest groups, ranging from the Brazilian "A Sinistra" to the Zambian Consumers Association (www.genoa-g8.org). Their main themes are anti-globalisation, world trade, debt relief, and the environment.

The homepage of the Genoa Social Forum demonstrates clearly that it is a support organisation. Information provided includes directions to Genoa as well as the map of the city featuring the different protest zones, advice on which trains to take to be on time for the action, and meeting places for the protesters. The organisation provided a support base to protesters during the G-8, offering accommodation in school and community halls. Office facilities and food were also supplied, and protesters met to discuss their plans of action. Independent media coverage of the G-8 also took place from these bases (genoa-g8.org).

2.4.4 Adbusters

This is a "global" network of artists, writers, students, educators and entrepreneurs who intend to launch the new social activist movement of the information age. Their goal is "to galvanize resistance against those who would destroy the environment, pollute our minds and diminish our lives". To this end, the Adbusters Media Foundation publishes Adbusters magazine and website; and offers its creative services through Power Shift, their advocacy advertising agency. Published in

Canada, Adbusters is a not-for-profit, reader-supported, 40,000-circulation magazine "concerned about the erosion of our physical and cultural environments by commercial forces".

The main message of Adbusters is "anti-advertising", and this is carried out by means of "culture jamming". This involves the making of parodies or twisting the message of advertisements, sometimes even on large outdoor advertisement boards, to include controversy about certain brands, but also sometimes about consumerism in general (Klein, 2001:281, 286).

2.4.5 The Ruckus Society

Ruckus is a non-profit organisation that has been in existence since 1995, and trains activists "in the use of non-violent civil disobedience", specifically focusing on environmental and human rights organisations. The main vehicle for this is the Action Camp, where intending activists are taught the skills they need to "practice civil disobedience safely and effectively". The training contains "cerebral elements as well as physical, like classroom-style instruction for action planning, communicating with the media and non-violent philosophy and practice". Safety and non-violence are claimed to be important aspects of every subject taught. On its website, Ruckus emphasises its condemnation of techniques that will destroy property or harm any being.

According to the Ruckus Society, effective protest does not happen spontaneously: it requires careful planning and preparations, and the participation of experienced activists. In addition to providing training and support, Ruckus also assists a number of organisations in action planning, logistics and tactics, as well as preparing staff and volunteers for high-profile direct actions. Ruckus "helps to create actions and images that penetrate the fog of media blackouts, draw public attention and get a positive reaction". Ruckus-organised actions for organised labour, human rights and environmental battles are covered by media world wide and have been featured on NBC World News Tonight, CNN, the Washington Post, Mademoiselle and the Times of London (www.ruckus.org).

2.5   World Social Forum

The anti-globalisers are organised, they work together and they are well-co-ordinated. This was evident from the World Social Forum held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in February 2001 as a counterweight conference to the annual Davos World Economic Forum that is despised among activists as the place where the global economic elite gather. The WSF conference hosted representatives from various protest groups and intellectuals, the main topic on the agenda being the creation and exchange of ideas and experiences concerning social and economic projects that promote human rights, social justice and sustainable development, all in response to globalisation (www.worldsocialforum.org).

However, even at the WSF it once again became clear that within the movement, many conflicts exist and many of the same criticisms raised against international organisations and their meetings are valid also for the movement. Just as most of the groups in the anti-globalisation movement are excluded fro meetings of international institutions, women's rights groups, as well as gay rights groups felt underrepresented and excluded from the proceedings of the WSF (*The Economist*, 3 February 2001:59)

2.6   The Significance of the Internet

Most of the groups featured above are networks of a number of organisations, which in many instances span different countries and even continents. Efficient co-ordination on such a large scale is hardly imaginable without the speed and cost-effectiveness provided by internet-based communications.

The internet has afforded the protest of anti-globalisers a dimension previously unimagined, and has widened the possible scope of activity of these organisations. Information technologies are playing an increasingly important role not only in the dissemination of information, but as tools in different and new kinds of protest, such as the creation of "fake" or "shadow" websites which divert intended visitors of a particular website, such as the WTO homepage http://www.wto.org, to one that

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appears similar, yet has different content, in this case, http://www.gatt.org. Diversion is undertaken by hackers (sometimes referred to as "hactivists") for the duration of a protest event.

Other cyber-strategies include "virtual sit-ins", where a large number of persons are encouraged to repeatedly access certain websites in order to cause technical problems for the server and prevents access to the particular site. Cyber-activists also attempt to flood the computer networks of large companies or international organisations with e-mails that contain large attachments. Discussion boards where ideas and opinions may be exchanged are also popular and widely used, and the internet is also used to broadcast demonstrations and provide up-to-date news (Baldi, hostings.diplomacy.edu).

Thus, not only does the internet enable groups with negligible funding and resources to reach a large audience, but it is also a mobilising tool that enables individuals who would or could not necessarily attend protest events physically, to become armchair activists who participate in virtual sit-ins, have heated exchanges with fellow (h)activists via chat rooms or discussion boards, and flood servers of target organisations with massive attachments in order to stir up, irritate, inconvenience, incapacitate.

2.7   Contradictions and Problems

"May our resistance be as transnational as capital". This slogan, often used on occasions of protest against the WB, IMF or WTO, alludes to the necessity of embracing an agent of globalisation, the internet, in the strategy and actions of a movement that is generally portrayed and describes itself to be critical of certain of the processes or aspects of globalisation. However, objections against globalisation are seldom couched in absolutist, extreme terms. Nuances are accepted, and it is at least implied by some that if correctly harnessed, globalisation may have certain beneficial effects.

There are far greater contradictions observable in the anti-globalisation movement than the seemingly paradoxical embrace of the internet. The main problem perhaps lies in the unlikely marriage of often diverse groups, sometimes of groups with unlikely or hypocritical concerns, which may cause some blurring of the agenda, and this is certainly responsible for confusion, uncertainty and misconceptions about the movement that seem widespread.

In attempting to sort through this confusion, it is perhaps useful to note that the anti-globalisation movement is in reality a network of several collateral movements linked together - a "movement family" (McCarthy, 1996:144). Many previously existing groups have joined in this movement: labour, environmental, women's and minority rights groups. This should not necessarily be disregarded as mere opportunism though, since one must concede that the multi-faceted impact and effects of globalisation lend themselves to at least as many responses to it.

The World Social Forum held during February 2001 in Porto Alegre, Brazil, was the site of a poignant display of one of the contradictions present in the movement. French farmer and activist José Bové, notorious for destroying branches of McDonald's fast-food outlets in France in protest against their agricultural practices and assault on the French gastronomic culture as a result of globalisation, was given a hero's welcome. The fact that an activist who is in support of continued European agricultural protectionism is not necessarily on the side of protesters from the developing world who are seeking greater access to the markets of the developed world, specifically in agricultural products, was apparently not realised (*The Economist*, 3 February 2001:59).

An even greater problem lies with the involvement of ring-wing and/or violent groups, who generally are a disruptive presence on occasions of protest. The actions of such minority groupings often detract from the overall message or, in the case of the right wing, confuse the message. Some groups, such as Friends of the Earth, decided not to be present at the protests in the Genoa, and chose instead to protest at the Bonn World Climate Conference, citing fear of violence as the reason for their decision (*Sunday Independent*, 22 July 2001:2).

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Anti-globalisation protesters have indeed become increasingly violent, yet the extreme measures taken by Italian authorities ahead of the G-8 summit were noted with concern by intending protesters and observers alike. Italy temporarily reneged on the Schengen agreement in order to restrict entry at its borders, and the city of Genoa was cordoned off and divided into zones with access only to residents and delegates to the summit, the most strictly controlled area having been the "red zone". It is an open question whether these measures may not have provoked those protesters prone to violence to act more violently than usual, the red zone creating a most tempting target for them to storm.

Violence outrages authorities, yet violence or, in this case, the perceived threat of violence, serves as a justification for violence used against the protesters, and it has the potential for delegitimising the movement as a whole, as noted by Tarrow: "Movements that employ violence, or can be depicted as if they did, allow repression to be employed against them.(...) Movements not only create opportunities for themselves and their allies; they also create opportunities for opponents and elites" (1996:59).

The death of a protester at the G-8 in Genoa in July 2001, as well as the outraged reaction of G-8 leaders to the protesters, is indicative of great chinks in the armour, both physically and in terms of the reputation of the movement. It seems unfortunate that while most groups involved in the movement explicitly condemn violence, protest is increasingly marred by incidents of violence that appears to be caused by fringe elements.

As alluded to throughout this chapter, "anti-globalisation" is not an accurate description of the protest movement featured in this paper. Most concerns are related to this overarching topic, yet they are separately articulated, although, as will be discussed in the next chapter, the suggestion of alternatives is in most cases either absent, very vague, too simplistic or unrealistic. However, it deserves also to be pointed out that the function of a social movement is not necessarily to be the provider of alternatives, but merely to raise awareness of certain issues.

Groups selected for this analysis cite a major concern to be the neo-liberal trade regime propagated by the WTO in particular, and the increased dominance (hegemony) of transnational capital in general. Thus read, from the vantage point of self-description, the so-called anti-globalisation movement may be a 21st century incarnation of the Polanyian double movement, that arises in reaction to market capitalism and its effect on society (Mittelman & Chin, 2000:170-172).

This view may possibly be able to provide an explanation of why the protesters currently are predominantly citizens of industrialized nations. While they have undoubtedly experienced many of the benefits of globalisation so far, these are also the nations in which capitalist system originated and is thus currently in its most advanced and extreme forms, particularly in the US, Japan, Canada, Europe – social welfare experiments and tendencies aside. It has been alleged that the activists are often criticised for selfishly and unreasonably trying to protect the developing world "from development", and such voices are often and increasingly heard from the developing world (Zedillo, 2001:49). The argument, at least its inference of menacing and patronising intentions on behalf of the developed world, can be rebutted from the Polanyian perspective. It makes sense that a resistance movement to capital(ism) should originate in the developed world.

Chapter 3

Moving Beyond the Protest

3.1   From Opposition to Proposition

The organisations described briefly in the previous chapter consist almost exclusively of a network of different groups from a number of countries, active on a local, grassroots level. Countless such community organisations exist, a well-known example is certainly the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni people, based in Nigeria, who campaigned locally and internationally against Shell and the Nigerian government in defence of their rights to self-determination and against the exploitation of their land (Obi, 2000:280-289).

The focus on what is "local" rather than "global" is in many respects perhaps one of the most instinctive, self-evident and popular solutions or escape routes offered by the anti-globalisation standpoint. In many instances, however, such a retreat would necessitate a form of "island" politics, becoming cut off from a variety of developments in the rest of the world, many of which are not necessarily detrimental (Pieterse, 2000:192).

Pieterse argues that responses to globalisation are most often framed in the dialectic of people or groups of people *versus* what are perceived to be the particularly malevolent forces of globalisation, such as corporate globalisation, financial markets or prominent international institutions. This conflict portrays people as "passive bystanders" of globalisation, and not as the agents that they are in many cases. "What about people as consumers, producers, distributors of transnational commodities and services, as travellers, migrants, participants in international organisations, social movements? If one first has taken people out of globalisation, it may be a little difficult and somewhat of a detour to put them back in" (Pieterse, 2000:191).

In making this point, however, he does not dispute that globalisation has produced or perpetuated great inequality in the world. Instead, he urges for greater participation and engagement. The step must be made from resistance to "emancipation", "from local empowerment to wider engagement", "from opposition to proposition" (Pieterse, 2000:192-193).

Eyerman and Jamison aver that social movements deserve a high status in society since they are responsible for its evolution. They are the source of new "ideas, identities, even ideals" for society (1991:4). If this is so, one would expect that among the anti-globalisation protesters it must be possible to find, besides the articulation of their concerns, their vision of an alternative world. The argument that anti-globalisation protesters are not a credible entity because they offer no viable alternatives to the current order is indeed one that is not entirely well-founded.

Many of the activists are not able to suggest alternatives that would be preferable over the processes and events to which they object, and they do not feel responsible for providing them. As a social movement, whether this is realised by the protesters or not, their function is to raise awareness, to call to attention and question what is accepted as the norm, and confront authorities and elites concerning these issues of concern. This is generally not done through high-powered lobbying, or participation in high-level meetings. Methods are unorthodox and confrontational.

As a social movement's main mode of operation is its protest actions, strength lies in the number of persons mobilised for a protest event. Extensive financial resources, access to or participation in formal institutions are not sought. The protesters mostly do not have the skills or resources to participate in official deliberations, they merely want to raise awareness of the various issues that are of concern to them. Even if some protest groups were to be included in negotiations or consulted in some way, such a project would be fraught with complications, because the groups are generally non-hierarchical and lack appointed leaders that may be willing or able to negotiate. This is ridiculed by the media, and the protesters are portrayed as a disorganised group that has no real leaders and would rather shout slogans than contribute to a rational debate - yet these are all very typical features of a

"movement". The main resources of the social movement are its committed adherents active in different networks of groups and organisations who are willing to sacrifice time and money in order for the organisation to function (Rucht, 1996:187).

Some activist groups make suggestions that are either vague, overly simplistic or unrealistic. The Black Bloc anarchists, for example, who advocate destruction of property because "ownership is destruction" cannot earnestly be construed to be proffering a viable alternative to the current "capitalist regime". Anarchist author John Zerzan, whose writings have influenced many participants of the Black Bloc, has abandoned modern means of telecommunication, and quintessential symbols and necessities of today's everyday life in the developed world, such as cars and computers (Campbell, 2001:20).

This does not appear to be a viable solution, especially not in those industrialised nations where these ideas are originating and apparently enjoy support. Do "island politics", such as artificially reverting to a lifestyle or conditions that precede the present-day situation, not create the opportunity for those developments that are being avoided now, to occur in the future instead? It seems more plausible and certainly more far-sighted to evaluate the process of globalisation and its main drivers or forces of change, consider where the main problems lie or what ill effects are occurring, and attempt to address these.

There are instances of groups whose concerns are clearly expressed and who propose alternatives, amongst which certainly some viable options may be found. This chapter contains an overview of the different issue areas in which concerns and suggestions for alternatives are proffered by protest groups. These issue areas span the functioning of the IMF and the World Bank, the operation of the world's financial markets, and world trade under the guise of the WTO. The latter subsumes a number of issues, among which the environment and corporate responsibility seem prominent and are included in the analysis.

3.2   Functioning of the IMF and the World Bank

The manifesto of the "50 years is enough" coalition contains a mix of very broad demands and recommendations for the reform of specifically the IMF and the World Bank in order to improve transparency and ensure compliance with environmental standards, such as those agreed upon at the 1992 UN Rio "Earth Summit" (World Summit on Sustainable Development). This is to be achieved by consultation with the "affected populations", which is presumably a reference to citizens of those countries who are to be assisted by policy reforms, programs and projects initiated or supported by the WB and the IMF. This demand implies that consultation with "affected" populations currently does not occur at all or, at most, to a dissatisfactory extent.

The call is made for a halt to World Bank and IMF structural adjustment programmes in their present form "so as to limit further damage to poor and working people and the environment". Furthermore, they suggest a "reorientation" of World Bank and IMF lending for economic-policy reform to support development that is equitable and sustainable and that addresses the root causes of poverty. This would require "substantial shifts" in World Bank lending towards "alternative, cost-effective, resource-conserving energy, water-supply, transportation and sanitation projects", as well as turning away from agricultural export production and operations which directly or indirectly accelerate forest destruction (www.50years.org).

These suggested measures allude to the viewpoint that suggests fundamental changes, yet the termination of the World Bank or IMF as such is not mentioned. However, other demands are made which go much further by requesting the scaling back of the financing, operations, role and, hence, the "power" of the World Bank and the IMF. Redirecting the financial resources made available by reduced financing of these institutions could fund a variety of development assistance alternatives.

Furthermore, a call is made for a narrowing of the policy-making roles of the IMF and the World Bank. The establishment of an independent "Independent Development

Agency" that would be "operationally and financially independent" of the World Bank. Another item on the wish list is the establishment of a fully independent Global Environmental Facility that should be "legally, operationally and financially" separate from the World Bank.

They call for a reduction of multilateral debt so as to free up additional capital for sustainable development. Also, it is recommended that 100 percent of the outstanding debt owed the IBRD and IMF by the Severely Indebted Low-Income Countries and 50 percent of that owed by Severely Indebted Lower-Middle Income Countries should be cancelled. World Bank loans made for projects and programs that have failed "in economic terms, particularly those which have had severe adverse impact on local populations and the environment" should be written off. An international agreement must be entered into in future in order to ensure that future borrowing by governments from the IMF and the World Bank is based on the informed consent of its citizens to accept and repay the debt (www.50years.org).

While these concerns are certainly more articulated than the common slogans of "break the bank", "dump the debt" and "de-fund the fund", they remain rather broad and relatively vague, even conflicting. On the one hand, it is suggested that the operations and/or budget of the World Bank and the IMF should be reduced and downscaled, yet on the other hand, and in the same breath, it is recommended that these agencies should be replaced. Owing to the vagueness of these suggestions, even on further scrutiny they cannot be regarded as providing substantially more than mere criticism of the operations of the World Bank and the IMF.

3.3   Financial Markets

During the 1990s, the world saw more than one financial crisis, although the Mexican crisis of 1994 and the Asian crisis of 1997 were arguably the most serious because of the detrimental repercussions they had on many developing countries. Many of these economies are still struggling to recover (Reisen, 1998). The Asian financial crisis of 1997 can be summed up as a collapse of domestic currencies, entailing

stock market crashes and balance of payments crises that seriously damaged the economies of South East Asian countries.

Within a few months South Korea, Thailand and Indonesia were severely affected and the economic progress that had been made by these and other south-east Asian nations which earned them the name "Asian Tigers" during the decade or so preceding the crash, was severely undermined (Bullard et al, 1998:513). Analysts were quick to place much of the blame for the crisis and its detrimental economic effects at the door of the Asian Tigers, citing flawed business practices ("cronyism"), inflated business confidence and the interconnectedness of south-east Asian economies as having facilitated the contagion, and perhaps even making it inevitable (Bello, 1998:433).

Nevertheless, the crash served as a warning of the perils – or at the very least a demonstration – of the effects of uncontrolled financial markets, which was conceded by even the staunchest advocates and profiteers of the liberalisation of financial markets and the benefits of globalisation. George Soros, whose fund management company admitted to have played a part in the unleashing of the Asian crisis and benefited financially from it, wrote soon after the crisis that international financial markets are flawed and largely to blame for the occurrence of the crisis (Soros, 1998:56). He urges reforms to the highly unstable nature of the unregulated movement of private financial capital to be made. He argues that the analogy of the market as a pendulum, one which acknowledges that the market is unstable but which presumes that equilibrium is always restored naturally, is inappropriate. Instead, it acts like a "wrecking ball" because it has the potential to destroy an economy to such an extent that its fundamentals are altered, which makes restoration very difficult (Soros, 1998:55-58).

"Attac", the Association for Taxation to Aid the Citizen, was established in 1998 in the wake of the Asian financial crisis. Disconcerted by the unfettered operation of financial markets as a "gear" in a "machine of inequality", the organisation Attac proposes the imposition of a Tobin tax, named after the Nobel-prize winning South American economist James Tobin, that is aimed at collecting revenue from

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speculative transactions on the exchange market. The organisation asserts that such a tax would, even if fixed at a low rate such as 0,1 per cent of speculative transactions, raise between 100 and 200 billion US dollars per year. This would discourage short-term currency trading, which is mostly speculative, yet leave long-term productive investments intact. The currency market would thus shrink in volume, helping to restore national economic autonomy, and the revenue collected could be used to finance a variety of projects in the developing world (Ramonet, 1997).

In summary, the objective of Attac is to gain what they refer to as "democratic control" over financial markets and their institutions. The supranational sphere into which financial market transactions seem to have moved means that they often evade the taxes normally imposed on income, earned and unearned (Ramonet, 1997).

The revenue of the Tobin tax could be redirected to international organisations for their work of promoting education, public health services, food security and sustainable development. According to Attac, the reason why this tax has not yet been imposed is not because it is not viable, but because information concerning it and other suggested solutions or improvements to the current level of global inequality are censored by those who benefit from the current status quo (www.attac.org).

Although the possibility of imposing a Tobin Tax has been mentioned on occasion by a number of heads of state, general consensus seems to be that it would not be effective as it would drive speculators and their capital to unregulated markets. If the Tax is not levied uniformly in all countries or markets, it would not be possible to collect any money (*The Economist*, 6 September 2001).

3.4 Trade

Summing up the history of anti-trade groups in the United States, Susan Aaronson notes that a long history of efforts to influence trade exists. She draws a parallel between the Boston Tea Party of 1773, at which colonists in the then "New World" of North America protested against taxes imposed by the British on tea, and the 1999 Seattle anti-WTO protests. In these actions against trade, efforts were often launched by a variety of groups who often have different concerns related to trade. While acknowledging that contradictions exist among activists in trade-related issues, Aaronson asserts that their goals are mostly the same, namely to "hamper" the trade agreements, while the difference usually lies in the nature of their constituencies, implying that a large variety of different concerns regarding trade issues exists, and these cannot be easily summarised (Aaronson, 2001:3-5).

"It's a false dichotomy to say that it's either this way or no trade". Public Citizen's main organiser, Lori Wallach maintains that she is not against trade per se, but that the current trade system is flawed and unsuccessful, and should (and could) be transformed into something more viable (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 2000:31). According to Wallach, the first step to achieving an improved trade regime would be to "prune back the WTO". This would entail removing many of the issue areas that were added to the WTO's functioning and/or competence during the lengthy Uruguay round, from the agenda of the WTO. She is in favour of empowering other international organisations that could provide a counterbalance to the activities of the WTO, organisations such as the International Labour Organisation, and the World Intellectual Property Organisation. However, the apparent inflexibility of the WTO seems to preclude such changes from occurring.

While she does not dispute the need for international rules regarding trade, she objects very strongly to the increased clout of the WTO, particularly where the WTO's Dispute Settlement Body is concerned. Because the WTO is supposed to promote trade, issues such as food safety or political issues are not taken into account. This has the effect of undermining the domestic regulatory efforts of the WTO member countries (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 2000:34).

Many other organisations base their concerns on the notion that the WTO is concerned merely with trade rules, and therefore places profit before concern for "people", meaning labour laws, health standards, as well as the environment.

3.5   Dual Democratic Deficit

Involvement of NGO's in international institutions (such as the UN and the WTO) has increased in recent years. However, in most cases it is as yet impossible to speak of participation. NGO's are, at most, consulted or allowed to participate in public meetings and working groups, without voting rights. Sometimes NGO "involvement" merely means that representatives of registered NGO's may attend a daily press conference concerning the proceedings of a conference. The list of thousands of NGO's "attending" the WTO' Seattle Ministerial Meeting that can be found on the WTO website is merely a list of NGO's allowed to attend press briefings, nothing more.

Their status is considered difficult to recognise, since states have traditionally been considered the primary unit of analysis in international relations. This view is being challenged by various contending world-views, as well as current developments in the international arena. The presence of international organisations whose decisions are binding on member states, such as those reached by the WTO's Dispute Settlement Body, the increasing prowess of multinational corporations whose annual revenues exceed the GDP of a number of countries, as well as the ever-prominent presence of NGO's and even transnational social movements, calls this "order" into question.

This seems to form a dominant part of the concern of the anti-globalisers, who perceive the growing influence of non-state entities to represent an erosion of democracy, because profit and other interests will (and have already) become dominant in platforms, organisations or institutions on levels where there is no accountability, no transparency and not, as there would be in a functioning democracy, the possibility of an election that may replace the government that is not functioning to the satisfaction of the populace governed by it.

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According to prominent anti-globalisation political organiser (and member of the US consumer protection group Public Citizen), Lori Wallach, international institutions reduce the autonomy of governments. WTO membership is ratified in the parliament of the respective member countries. Decisions reached by the WTO, including dispute settlement decisions, are binding on the members. This reduces the accountability of the member states to their populace – because they are bound to the WTO decisions, they may no longer be able to serve the interest of their citizens in a way that is required of them. This "democratic deficit" is lamented by Wallach (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 2000:34, 47).

The problem of a democratic deficit is not a new dilemma in the study of international relations. Historically, foreign policy matters were regarded as remote and often too sensitive for the normal democratic procedures to apply, and thus the making of foreign policy as well as the workings of diplomacy occurred at a level where little or no participation by the citizens and voters occurred. On occasions where the public had formulated an opinion regarding foreign affairs, such an opinion was considered erratic, simplistic and not conducive to beneficial, strategic foreign relations of a particular state. Variations of this "incompatibility hypothesis" had been expounded by political theorists such as Locke, de Tocqueville and Rosenau (Goldmann, 1986:1-4). However, these are certainly views that can and have been challenged, such as the conclusions arrived at by Nincic which indicate that public participation in foreign politics, i.e. a greater democratisation of foreign policy-making, can be beneficial and that the public's opinion is not as erratic and emotive as previously believed (Nincic, 1992:772-780).

The dimensions of this already complicated and controversial debate are challenged even further by the changes occurring in the international political arena, not least because of the effects of globalisation. The multiple changes and challenges posed by these developments are expressed by Rosow when he claims that "we know as little about democracy in the context of globalisation as we do about globalisation" (2000:29). The problems concerning democracy that were previously associated with foreign policy issues centred around state-state relations are exacerbated or at least complicated further by new actors and institutions in the international arena.

In recognising the concerns of civil society and possibly including it– be it in the form of NGO's or citizens' groups - in a decision making process, there exists a problem that is analogous to the "democratic deficit". This is because it is often unclear who is represented by civil society groupings, and this holds true for the protest groups of "anti-globalisation activists" in particular. One suspicious feature of the protests is that they occur predominantly in the industrialised North, and is conducted by those who have benefited from globalisation – typically young, white and middle class.

NGO's and social movements are just as much a part of the developments that appear to be undermining state sovereignty as are the WTO, the WB, the IMF, and multinational corporations. The dilemma of the dual democratic deficit is present not only in the institutions that are criticised but also possibly in the groups that are raising the critique. Questions of representativeness, transparency and accountability should also be asked of the civil society groupings of the protest movement. If this is not considered, protest groups are confronted with the "significant danger that global civic activism can reproduce the exclusions of neo-liberal globalisation" (Scholte, 2000:119).

The movement is eliciting responses from the authorities that have become its targets. At the G-8 in Genoa, the final communiqué expressed discontent that people are attempting to disrupt the work of democratically elected leaders. The leaders and organisations who are being criticised by the protesters respond with a counter-argument, namely that they, as democratically elected leaders, should be allowed to do their jobs at the important high-level negotiations and summits (Text of the Genoa G-8 Summit, 22 July 2001).

Another response of sorts is the scheduling of future meetings in remote locations, which is inciting much anger from the protest groups. However, it must suit their agenda to some extent because it further emphasises some of their points of protest. Instead of lending an ear to the protest groups and their grievances, the meetings are closed off even more decisively to public participation or input. The exclusivity of these international institutions, their lack of transparency, and their remoteness from the people, which is connected to the "democratic deficit" that is perceived to be

perpetuated by the functioning of the remaining Bretton Woods institutions is now highlighted by their choice of location in remote places (such as the WTO's choice of Qatar), or with an army of police and anti-riot squads.

Whether the movement, with all its contradictions, is reconcilable with its own professed objectives, is a question that requires further consideration. Additionally, it needs to be seen whether or how the opposing forces, namely, in simplistic terms, those in favour and those against globalisation, will be able to find common ground in order to address various issues of concern in constructive ways.

Chapter 4

Conclusion

4.1   Revisiting the Research Design

The objective of this study was to "explore" the anti-globalisation movement, an attempt to move past the chaos and propaganda surrounding protest manifestations, in order to gain some clarity as to the agenda and the functioning of the protesters. The insights gained from social movement studies were most useful because they provided a historical and comparative perspective on the anti-globalisation movement, as well as providing several analytical tools for the structuring of the study. These sources, providing generic conceptualisations of social movements, were incorporated due to the scant material available describing the anti-globalisation movement.

It is conceded that information concerning the protest groups was obtained from a subjective and possibly questionable source, namely the groups themselves. However, according to Eyerman and Jamison, in the field of social movement studies this form of "self-observation", using the vantage point of the movement's adherents, is regarded as a valid source of information. This was combined with a consideration of the movement in "operational terms", which entailed investigating the particular organisations involved and the recruitment strategies applied (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991:45).

The categories according to which a number of groups involved in protest were described were obtained from an eclectic combination of various researchers' approaches, notably Kriesi (1996), Della Porta and Diani (1999), and Rucht (1996). The distinctions that can be made between "social movement organisations" and "supportive organisations" proved helpful in clarifying the different functions and strategies of the organisations that constitute the anti-globalisation movement.

The so-called anti-globalisation movement can be considered to be of the "new" social movement *genus*, the name given to social movements as they have been studied since the 1960s. It is alleged that researchers regard these "new" movements with a more positive attitude, in contrast with the fascist stigma that social movements had in the early 20th century (Jenkins & Wallace, 1995:96). Despite the alleged improved attitude of researchers toward social movements, it is interesting to note that this was not found to apply to the protesters involved in the anti-globalisation movement.

The negative attitude toward protesters that pervades the media, as well as the lack of academic attention that has so far been paid to this phenomenon both seem to indicate a general disregard for the movement, its adherents and their predominant concerns. The result of this is the marginalisation of those voices which challenge the "TINA" approach to neo-liberal economic globalisation and its institutions. This attitude ignores the fact that anti-globalisation sentiments are not restricted to the typical protester ridiculed by the media. Many diverse, in most cases already institutionalised voices appear as a more substantial and credible version of the anti-globalisation stance. One of the main stumbling blocks to the greater acceptance of the movement must certainly be that it is widely misunderstood. It bears a name which it was not given, and which further engenders misperceptions.

The conceptualisation taken from Keohane and Nye presents globalisation as a multidimensional process, the interlinked dimensions of which may change at different speeds or at different times. This points to the fact that the anti-globalisation movement is a product of globalisation in the sense that it is a reaction to certain developments connected with globalisation (2000:106-7). At the same time, and effectively because it revolves around reactions to globalisation, the movement could, in Keohane and Nye's conceptualisation, be construed to be a part of globalisation itself. It is a part of the socio-cultural "globalism" which is preceded, affected and influenced by "economic and military globalism" (2000:107).

If the anti-globalisation movement is a product of, and possibly even a part of globalisation, this already supports the findings of the study which suggest that the

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movement can not be said to be strictly "anti" globalisation. Many of the features of globalisation are a great benefit to the movement, notably the internet. It serves as a low-cost, innovative mobilising and networking tool for almost all of the groups that are involved under the given (not chosen) banner of "anti-globalisation protesters". Thus, the use of the internet and the existence of global networks does not thwart the objectives of the activists, and is insufficient ammunition to discredit them.

There appear to exist a number of other misperceptions concerning the movement, and in categorising some of the structures of the movement in its present form the study has attempted to take at least one step in shedding some light onto this phenomenon which evokes so much scepticism and scorn. However, the analysis was not intended to follow the approach criticised by Eyerman and Jamison, one that attempts to analyse and rationalise social movements in order to understand them and thereby exert a form of political control (1991:3). Support is given to Eyerman and Jamison's view which affords social movements a high status as the fountainhead of unconventional, even revolutionary ideas that enable society to progress (1991:4). Nevertheless, this idealistic view neglects practical problems typically faced by social movements.

4.2   The Short-Lived Nature of Social Movements

Social movements are informal, non-hierarchical entities whose functioning and survival depends on three fragile elements: "rights to protest, dramatic and highly visible events that offer themselves as reasons for protest, and the spontaneous motivation of relevant segments of the population to engage in protest in response to these events" (Offe, 1990:238).

Several developments may reduce or eliminate one or more of these three resources. Rights to protest may be modified or restricted, reducing the options available for protest. What are now highly visible events may in future be scaled down to attract less attention, a trend that is already beginning to surface – the WTO ministerial meeting held in Qatar, and plans to hold the G-8 on a small scale and in a secluded nature reserve in Canada's Rocky mountains. Reduced willingness to

protest may occur as a result of the death of a protester at the Genoa G-8 summit in July 2001, as well as the general trend of increasing levels of violence present at protests. These developments do not bode well for the future of the anti-globalisation movement in its present form.

This may necessitate greater institutionalisation of the movement, a maturation process that means moving away from the initial spontaneity and informality to the establishment of a more institutionalised form. This may entail self-transformation into an organisational form which would necessitate the formalisation of membership, the quest for resources (such as financial or legal resources) in order to pursue protest action in more conventional, rationally organised ways, and holding conferences and meetings in order to debate and clarify ideological and tactical matters (Offe, 1990:239-240).

In many cases, formalisation arises out of one or more of the organisations already existing within the anti-globalisation movement (Offe, 1990:242). Some of the movement organisations are already clearly more organised than others. Certainly, determining a level of organisation is a very subjective exercise, yet indicators could be the quality of information made available by the organisation – its constitution, information relating to its membership, affiliate groups, funding, and information concerning its activities.

As discussed in Chapter 3, a protest group, association, organisation or platform gains credibility and possibly longevity if it has, besides its programme of protest, articulated suggestions for viable alternatives that are preferable to the destructive forms and effects of globalisation as they are currently perceived to be occurring. Furthermore, the frequency with which a group is cited in the media could also be regarded as an indicator of a credible, protest group with a comparatively more formalised structure. One example of such a group is the organisation Attac. It has charters, a constitution, policy proposals and articulate suggestions of alternatives (www.attac.org).

Such groups may provide rough drafts for more formalised, and thereby recognised, groups and organisations that could be established in the future. These organisations would be better equipped to participate in a dialogue within the framework of existing international forums, attempting to address various problems related to globalisation. However, it is not just the protest groups that may provide personnel, resources, expertise and passion in the ongoing protest against neo-liberal globalisation. The diversity of the anti-globalisation movement will in all likelihood be the key to its future survival.

4.3   Diversity of the Movement

Concerns about the detrimental effects of globalisation, in particular the expansion of merciless markets under the guise of neo-liberal economic globalisation, are shared not just by reckless, multi-pierced, tattooed, black-clad activists - referred to as "spikies" - and their more peace-loving fellows, the "fluffies" (*The Economist*, 19 April 2001). The movement is not only diverse because of the large number of groups with a variety of concerns that it encompasses. It is also diverse because the concerns embodied by it are not restricted to the movement as such. Globalisation critics include many more groups and individuals, ranging from academics, arch-capitalists such as George Soros, heads of state of developed and developing nations alike, to labour union groups such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), which could certainly also be considered an anti-globalisation protest group.

Insofar as George Soros has been predicting the collapse of the capitalist system should sweeping reforms not be instituted, he can surely also be considered to share some of the views of the anti-globalisation protesters, who criticise many of the same flaws of the present system, although not always for the same reasons (Soros, 1998:55-58). This is an indication that there is support, outside the movement, for reforms and a re-consideration of the current capitalist order.

In an open letter to the anti-globalisation protesters, written in the aftermath of the July 2001 G-8 summit in Genoa, the Belgian president Verhofstadt (writing in his

capacity as the European Union President) ostensibly criticises the protesters, yet effectively echoes many of their concerns. The letter shows that the protesters are still vastly misunderstood, and that the concerns of the protesters do not differ substantially from those of a number of heads of state. Many of the suggestions made by Verhofstadt concerning institutions that should replace the World Bank or the IMF hardly differ from the changes suggested by groups such as 50 years is enough, Friends of the Earth and Attac. He focuses on a need for the establishment of an "ethical foundation" of globalisation, which entails more emphasis on democracy, greater concern for human rights and the provision of more development assistance. These are necessary to minimalise the harmful effects of globalisation so as to bring greater benefits to all (Verhofstadt, 2001:11).

In South Africa, examples of anti-globalisation sentiments are abundant. Prominent political forces such as COSATU and the South African Communist Party (SACP) have been consistently and unequivocally condemning the effects of succumbing to neo-liberal economic policies. Increased unemployment rates are usually cited as the most pressing problem. This certainly runs along the same lines of many anti-globalisation groups that actively in protest against international institutions. Blade Nzimande, chairman of the SACP, expresses his support for the "struggles" of those demonstrating "in Seattle, Prague, London and in many localities in the developing world", alluding to protest against the World Bank, the World Trade Organisation and other institutions or occasions (Nzimande, 2001:23).

Mittelman and Chin cite the coming to power of the African National Congress (ANC) as "one of the foremost examples of a mobilization against globalization from above", because it was "an organized opposition to institutionalized economic and military power". They argue that the *Apartheid* regime relied heavily on its "racial monopoly of the means of production" and foreign investment, thus exerting "globalization from above" on the people of South Africa (2000:165). Many South Africans may doubt whether the ANC could still be considered as harbouring anti-globalisation sentiments. Nevertheless, the example serves as an illustration of one possible route for the formalisation of an anti-globalisation protest group, namely through the attaining of political power.

4.4   Future prospects

The crucial requirement for the continued survival of the anti-globalisation movement, in whatever guise, will be the adoption of a programme that moves "from opposition to proposition", as suggested by Pieterse (2000:192-193). This is certainly an evolutionary step that will need to be taken by the protest groups, as the suggestion of viable alternatives to the current state of the world is in most cases still lacking.

Pieterse considers it necessary for resistance to become transformation. He urges for the creation of a "global politics of inclusion in which the language of the market meets with the aims of human and social development" (2000:203-204). This could take the form of greater co-operation between and a strengthening of international civil society organisations, such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), in order to balance and complement the work of such institutions as the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF (Pieterse, 2000:204; *Foreign Policy*, Spring 2000:35).

Basic research, which explores the anti-globalisation movement further, needs to be conducted in order to provide a greater understanding of the phenomenon. Because of the novelty of the movement, many different aspects present themselves for analysis. These include the movement in terms of its social movement status, in the sense that while it is opposed to globalisation, it is simultaneously a product of the process. Furthermore, the socio-political context of the formation of protest groups, investigating the motivation of persons to establish and join so-called anti-globalisation organisations, should also provide an interesting research topic.

It is likely that the movement will continue in a more formalised version, probably linked to, merged with or supported by entities who are presently not part of the movement, yet who bear similar concerns as the protesters. Therefore, to explore the possibilities for the evolution of the anti-globalisation movement, and to consider opportunities for its more formal institutionalisation appear to be a viable subject for future research.

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