UNITY ALONGSIDE DIVERSITY: THE

QUALITATIVE ASSESSMENT

OF THE MOVEMENT OF

MOVEMENTS'

CAPACITY

TO UNITE

By

JOHN R. WOOD

Bachelor of Science in Journalism
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma
1994

Masters of Arts in Political Science
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma
1998

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
May 2007

UNITY ALONGSIDE DIVERSITY: THE

QUALITATIVE ASSESSMENT

OF THE MOVEMENT OF

MOVEMENTS'

CAPACITY

TO UNITE

Dissertation Approved:

<u>Patricia Hipsher</u>
Chair, Dissertation Adviser
Dr. Patricia Hipsher

Beth Caniglia
Dissertation Co-Adviser
Dr. Beth Caniglia

Will Focht
Dr. Will Focht

Hongyu Wang
Dr. Hongyu Wang

A. Gordon Emslie
A. Gordon Emslie, Dean of the Graduate College

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In any study of this nature, it is not a project conducted solely by the author. I would like to thank many people over time who have facilitated my ability to accomplish the writing of this dissertation. First, I would like to thank my parents – Kathy & Dad; Don & Mom – who allowed and encouraged me to intellectually explore the world around me. They took care of me during the early part of my life and still support me today with abundant love and kindness. I wish my dad could have lived long enough to see me finally accomplish this long-awaited goal. I want to thank my best friend Tyson for all his friendship, fun times, and his help in reading this dissertation and giving me grammatical and philosophical advice. I also want to thank my colleagues at Rose State College for giving me the opportunity to finish up my doctorate as well as give me the chance to practice my dream of teaching. I want to specifically thank Dr. John Carl for his helpful advice, too. I would furthermore like to thank my committee for their support and advice through out this process: Dr. Hipsher, Dr. Caniglia, Dr. Wang, and Dr. Focht. Additionally, Dr. Focht also served as a mentor and gave me financial assistance during the early part of my pursuit of this doctoral process. Dr. Hipsher provided a lot of editing advice during the process – few pages in this dissertation, if any, bypassed her careful eye.

Finally, I want to acknowledge my beautiful and sweet wife who is always there to pick me up when I fall and for loving me, even when I'm all too human.

I am grateful for everyone else who has helped me obtain my dreams.

PREFACE

"Some men see things as they are and say why–I dream things that never were and say why not." –George Bernard Shaw

I am attracted by the question of whether a large-scale movement of people can change the world. As an Environmental Science doctoral student at Oklahoma State University, I have become more and more aware of the emergence of environmental problems globally. Scientists today continue to recognize that human activities are altering the ecosystems on which our existence—and that of all other living species—are dependent. Along with this awareness is a growing acknowledgment of the necessity of achieving more sustainable forms of development, which give credence to suggestions that we are in the midst of a fundamental re-evaluation of the underlying worldview that has guided our relationship to the physical environment (Milbrath 1984). Specifically, early scholarship such as Pirages and Ehrlich's (1974) work on society's dominant social paradigm (DSP) and Dunlap and Van Liere's (1978) conceptualization of the New Environmental Paradigm (NEP) incorporate the implicit argument that the more we know the more it challenges our fundamental views about nature and humans' relationship to it. More recently, Raskin *et al.* (2002) similarly describe a New Sustainability Paradigm (NSP), which they argue is the most desirable of their six conceptualized possible future pathways toward societal change and environmental sustainability.

iv

In 1986, Albert and six other activist-scholars wrote *Liberating Theory*. These individuals collaborated from several different groups deliberating about the need to unite fragmented social movements. During the outcome of their round-table discussions, "complementary holism" was crafted. Their intent was to situate this theory so it could maintain relevancy in practice.[1] In their view, "each domination generates highly interconnected but irreducible social forces" (p. 19). This means that activists cannot fundamentally challenge global warming, for example, without also considering classism, racism, sexism, and other oppressions that typically reinforce society's view of social problems. This is why, Albert *et al.* (1986) argued that fundamental change, or a paradigm shift, had not taken place in dealing with global environmental and societal problems even with the existence of many social movements challenging the system over time. The problem for activists, they argue, is that they view their oppression as primary and other oppressions as either secondary or non-existent, which leads to fragmentation.

Sustainability and its complex relationship with humanity, has guided my search for new ways to grapple with environmental policy problems. However, to challenge an interconnected system, activists must seek interaction among the many diverse social movement organizations (SMOs). In their fighting for scarce fiscal resources, leads them to narrowly focus on their own oppressions and thus, preventing coordinated organizing on a large scale. This dissertation is relevant to activists because it theorizes how activists can reconceptualize empowerment. This is a fascinating and important topic that few in academia have explored.

---

[1] According to Albert *et al.* (1986), these scholar-activists abandoned efforts to write another book that would bring them together a second time to deliberate on how to implement their theory because of internal disagreements.

Although I take this social constructionist approach, my research perspective frames it in a more critical stance. I do so for two reasons. First, I make recommendations, critique and even praise these SMOs that are the constituent parts of the Movement of movements. Second, because of the subject matter under study, this research is a critique of society itself. This critique of society evolves because "social movements" themselves are action-oriented and interrelated, yet opposed to the current status quo, they are by nature progressive and regressive.

Epistemologically speaking, while positivist objectivity calls for a dispassionate and distant researcher/researched relationship, this research utilizes a combination of critical theory and an interpretive-constructivist (social construction) paradigm (Mertens 2001). I am a scholar who, in many ways, identifies with the social movements being studied. Therefore, from this perspective, objectivity is "valued in the sense of providing a balanced and complete view" of these movements themselves (Mertens 2001:141). Even activist–scholars acknowledge the need for unbiased information in social movement scholarship. Bevington and Dixon (2003:11), for example, take the view that a "researcher's connection to any of these movements provides important incentives to produce more 'objective' research to ensure that the research is providing those movements with the best possible information."

Additionally, some activist-scholars, such as Bevington and Dixon (2003) and Flacks (2003) challenge social movement researchers to make social movement scholarship more relevant. Flacks (2003) argues that current social movement scholarship, such as the political process approach, is too abstract and not practical.

Flacks (2003) further reasons that activists are not reading scholarly work much at all

because of its lack of usefulness.

> Organizers already know about the need for 'frame alignment,' the value of 'informal networks' and the importance of 'opportunity structures.' They would benefit from studies that provide clues about how to accomplish such alignment, how to tap into such networks and how to identify such opportunities (Flacks 2003:8).

I would like to see this research be relevant and useful to activists in the

Movement of movements itself. What is more, I believe that a dispassionate stance is not

ethical. Stanfield (1999:429) asks: "How ethical is it to view oneself as an authority in the

study of the oppressed, when one has had marginal or no contact with or real interest in

the lives of the people involved?" While I have had limited contact with the individuals

whom I interviewed in this study, I am interested in improving what these individuals do.

Furthermore, I am both an insider and an outsider. I am an insider in that my progressive

experience and activities allow me to have some compassion for those I am studying.

According to Collins (1991), this compatibility enhances my ability to gain empathy,

trust, and rapport with those I am interviewing. Yet, I am an outsider, as I am neither an

active participant nor do I have a working relationship with any of those I have

interviewed. I am interested in giving these activists and scholars an unbiased account of

their participation within this Movement of movements.

> It is not only by shooting bullets in the battle fields that tyranny is overthrown, but also by hurling ideas of redemption, works of freedom and terrible anathemas against the hangmen that people bring down dictators and empires… – Emiliano Zapata, Mexican revolutionary, 1914 in Notes from Nowhere 2003.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

NOMENCLATURE

Coalitions – Primarily refers to groups or individuals that have come together around a specific issue to achieve a specific goal (Albrecht and Brewer 1990).

Collective Action Frames – Gamson (1992:7) argues that a collective action frame is a "set of action-oriented beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate social movement activities and campaigns." The core framing tasks – diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational – are fundamental to the creation of collective action frames.

Empowerment – This refers to the increasing strength of individuals in their own capacity to challenge those in power. There are three empowerment strategies, each of which is in opposition to a type of power (Gaventa 1999). I define empowerment as a multilevel, open-ended process of continuous interaction over time. It engages a significant diversity of citizens and the relationships they form to solve public problems through embracing the power of their own collective voice in decision making processes through various venues. Empowerment is about recognizing and building relationships across difference and learning from inevitable conflict through deliberation. It is about resisting oppressive power and building autonomy of political spaces, but not about taking over power, but embracing power with.

Fragmented – A term to describe movements in a state of disunity. New Social Movements, because they do not have a common focus among different movements are often described as fragmented.

Frame – A term whose meaning is in much debate. Erving Goffman's (1974) use of frame is the most popular originator of the term, even though he borrowed it from Gregory Bateson's (1972) notion of psychological frame. Goffman uses the term to analyze how actors negotiate meaning and commit themselves to a social situation, i.e., social movements. Scholars use the term to supplement Resource Mobilization Theory to provide it with the tools to understand how individuals make choices that are difficult to account for from a rational choice perspective and to understand the "meaning-work" implemented by social movements. It is through frames that social actors define grievances, forge collective identities, and create, interpret, and transform opportunities in order to bring about social movements. A "frame" works because "it simplifies 'the world out there" by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions in one's present or past environment (Snow and Benford 1992:137).

This dissertation treats frames not as "process" as much as it does "content," much like an ideological construct. I utilize Snow and Benford's (1992) "core framing" tasks in that they function together to systematize beliefs and justify action.

Free Trade – David Morris (1996) spells out the tenets of free trade:

- Competition spurs innovation, raises productivity, and lowers prices.

- The division of labor allows specialization, which raises productivity and lowers prices.

- The larger the production unit, the greater the division of labor and specialization, and thus the greater the benefits.

There are two perspectives on free trade. Global skeptics, argue free trade favors elites (multinationals) over people. Globalists though view free trade as inevitable.

Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) – The FTAA is an expansion of NAFTA. It is the opening of free trade markets between Canada, Mexico, and the United States.

Globalization – This term denotes a process in which social relations are increasingly borderless and distanceless, qualities by which the events of human life in the world are seen in one place (Scholte 2000). However, there is not a consensus among scholars on this definition. The working definition in this dissertation illustrates a simultaneous division in interpretation between the globalists and the skeptics. The first views globalization as a uniting force while the second views globalization as one that benefits some, but not all. This second type of response to globalization is described as capitalist or economic globalization based on the philosophy of neoliberalism, or free markets and privatization.

Hegemony – Hegemony, according to Gramsci (1971) is the "common sense" sense of reality, making it unquestionable for most. Hegemony is created through culture and, in turn created and supported by education, history, and economic relationships. To oppose

this hegemony, it is important to create a hegemonic-bloc of the working class and other

sections of the population who need to adhere to another social order to oppose the

capitalist relations that bind them.

Heterarchy – Noted in the Indicator of a paradigm shift of unity section later in the

dissertation. It is a move from hierarchical to heterarchical, or side-by-side relations

(Swartz and Oglivy 1976). This concept is a middle path that eschews hierarchy or

"natural" orders and autocratic rule instead prefers a balance between the two,

emphasizing a rule by the many. However, it also is critical of a fragmented form of

unity.

Identity – Burr (1995) explains that identity emerges from the interactions of individuals

through language. Our identities, according to Burr (1995), are constructed out of the

discourses, or frames of reference, culturally available to us. Stryker (2000) similarly

argues that identity is equivalent to the ideas, beliefs, and practices of a society. He

further maintains that only a limited number of frames of references, or ways of

comprehending the world, are available to individuals.

Identity Politics – A political practice that emerged during the 1980s that organized in

response to the decline in nation-states' abilities to represent a plurality of interests.

Often, New Social Movements are involved in identity politics. Identity politics

challenge universalistic notions of truth, instead preferring the postmodern stance of

multiple truths (Larana, Johnston, and Gusfield 1994). This is important for the flourishing of a diversity of movements, but also creates fragmentation.

Ideology – This term denotes a set of interrelated, basically coherent, ideas with out need of proof (Harrison and Boyd 2003). Ideologies help sustain group solidarity through creating a coherent explanation of a people's past, present, and a vision for the future.

Ideological Frames – A comprehensive utilization of frames parallel to Brulle's (2000) notion of the discursive frame, which treats the four core-framing tasks as interdependent. The discursive frame both creates and maintains common beliefs that define reality in which a social movement is imbedded. It is an ideology because framing tasks taken together constitute a cohesive way of describing the world, a way that Oliver and Johnston (2000) would describe as an ideology.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) – "The IMF is an international organization of 184 member countries. It was established to promote international monetary cooperation, exchange stability, and orderly exchange arrangements; to foster economic growth and high levels of employment; and to provide temporary financial assistance to countries to help ease balance of payments adjustment." (http://www.imf.org/external/about.htm).

Keynesian paradigm – Keynesian economics is a theory of spending in the economy (called aggregate demand) and its effects on output and inflation. Keynes argues that government policies could promote demand at a "macro" level to fight high

unemployment of the sort seen during the 1930s. A central conclusion of Keynesian economics is that there is no strong automatic tendency for output and employment to move toward full employment levels. This counters neoliberal assumptions that price adjustments in the free market can achieve this goal.

Kuhn, Thomas. – Kuhn is a professor emeritus of linguistics and philosophy at MIT. He is best known for his book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. In it, he describes how scientists move from disdain through doubt to acceptance of a new theory, finding facts that agree or fit in with the preexisting paradigm. A Paradigm is where scientists solve problems under an established world view. Once the world view changes, the problems no longer present themselves in the same way. Paradigms change when too many anomalies or grievances become apparent, there are those that devise articulations and ad hoc modifications to eliminate conflict; however, when this no longer suffices, then a crisis occurs which leads to a scientific revolution that destroys the dominant paradigm and creates another in its place. All crises begin with the blurring of a paradigm and the consequent loosening of the rules for normal science.

Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI) – Is an agreement drafted by the International Chamber of Commerce. MAI is an agreement that gives private corporations legal status equal to nation-states. In May 1998 due to public opposition that the MAI was not passed (Ellwood 2003).

Multinational Corporations (MNC) – Also known as transnational corporations, their power crosses nation boundaries; these corporations are often quite large. They often have a centralized head office in which they coordinate global management (Neilsen 2003). Often, MNCs are the focus of protests. MNCs often make use of subcontractors to produce goods for them. These subcontractors often employ what many critics charge is sweat shop labor, which often pays poorly and ignores environmental harms that their factories produce.

Neoliberalism – Neoliberals, frame globalization as beneficial to people and the environment, because it encourages competition, which increases efficiency and the benefits of growth through the "trickle-down effect" to the poor. However, globalization's economic characteristics are matters of great contention (Guidry, Kennedy, and Zald 2000)

New Social Movements (NSM) – New Social Movement Theory initially developed in Europe to explain a host of new movements that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s that did not fit a model of Marxian class conflict. The "newness" of the putatively new social movements consists of a greater emphasis on group or collective identity, shared values and lifestyles rather than addition to developed ideologies and a tendency to emerge from middle than working class constituencies. Scholars often describe these social movements as fragmented and inward-looking (see Melucci 1989; 1996).

New Left – A movement of the 1960s, credited with fighting racism, ending the conflict in Vietnam, reforming universities, and politicizing students (O'Neill 2001). Many charge that factionalism, violence, and revolutionary posturing brought not only an early end to this movement, but even compromised the causes it wanted to serve. However, the New Left may be a precursor to a multidimensional, multi-issue approach to activism.

New Sustainability Paradigm – Adherents to this paradigm, i.e. Raskin *et al*. (2002) argue that not only is this the best possible future world, but it is a scenario that will take considerable adjustment and reflexivity to do so. They argue further that for a Great Transition toward this new paradigm, civil society must unify "into a coherent voice for redirecting global development" in what they call a Global Citizens' Movement (p. 53).

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) – Is a Neoliberal approach to the regionalization of free trade between Canada, the U.S., and Mexico. Labor and environmental side agreements where dropped from this agreement, which could have made it a more positive approach to trade. However, some even charge that such an agreement does little to really protect the environment and make sure labor is not left in sweatshop conditions.

Paradigm – A paradigm is the rubric in which we solve puzzles. It is more than a mental map; it is how we, as people, collectively see the world – it is our worldview (See Kuhn 1996).

Paradigm shift – Kuhn (1996) argues that scientific advancement is not evolutionary, but rather a "series of peaceful interludes punctuated by intellectually violent revolutions," and in those revolutions "one conceptual world view is replaced by another" (p. 7). It is a revolution, a transformation, metamorphosis of sorts. It does not just happen, but rather agents of change drive it. In scientific revolutions, there is a growing sense, often restricted to a narrow sub-division of the scientific community in which the existing paradigm has ceased to function adequately in the exploration of the nature to which that paradigm itself was preeminent. Similarly, he notes that political revolutions parallel his theory of science as they emerge with a growing sense, often restricted to a segment of the political community, in which the existing institutions have not been able to fix the problems posed by an environment that they have in part created.

People's Global Action (PGA) – "So far, PGA's major activity has been coordinating decentralized Global Action Days around the world to highlight the global resistance of popular movements to capitalist globalisation. The first Global Action Days, during the 2nd WTO ministerial conference in Geneva in May 1998 involved tens of thousands in more than 60 demonstrations and street parties on five continents. Subsequent Global Action Days have included those against the G8 (June 18/1999), the 3rd WTO summit in Seattle (November 30/1999), the World Bank meeting in Prague (September 26/2000), and the 4th WTO summit in Qatar (November 2001)." Decentralized mobilizations have in turn inspired ever stronger central demonstrations. From the first mobilization in Geneva, direct action was taken to block the summits, as this was considered the only form of action that could adequately express the necessity, not to reform, but to destroy

the instruments of capitalist domination. (PGA webpage:

http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/en/pgainfos/history.htm).

Prefigurative politics – Prefigurative politics emerged from 1960s protests with their rejection of traditional, centralized movement organizations because of activists' belief that this style too closely resembled the system that these movements hoped to challenge. Although a prefigurative politics is often characterized as anti-organizational, Breines (1980) argues, however, it should be understood as more of a wariness of centralized organization and hierarchy. It is a politics that emphasizes a practice in the movement, such as political forms and relationships that prefigure the desired society.

Political Space – SMOs create "safe spaces" wherein people can both speak and act together without fear of repression (Tilley 2000). The exchange of ideas and debate in these safe spaces are challenged through sites, such as email discussions, listservs, online essays, public talks, study groups, zines, magazine articles, social forums, conferences, and consultas. Kohn (2003) contends that these aforementioned "sites" are not spatial in the physical sense or structural. Instead, she argues that this is a political space, one in which people act together and speak to one another, but not in a static location with physical attributes.

Postmodernism – An often used term used by individuals who find that the modern project is largely over with and are in opposition to modernism. French poststructuralist Lyotard describes postmodernism as one that is a fading modernity with the end of

"grand narratives" or totalistic explanations. Often NSMs are considered postmodern in their pluralistic, often nihilistic, and uncoordinated response to modernity.

Power – Power is derived from the Latin *Potere,* which means "to be able," according to the *Webster's Desk Dictionary* (1996). Power is a concept that at its root also means a general capacity to shape one's own life or to "control, influence or authority over others."

There are three faces of power. I argue in this dissertation that there is a fourth.

First Face - "Who, if anyone, is exercising power?"

a.   Dahl (1957: 202-203) defines power as "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do."

Second Face - "What issues have been mobilized off the agenda and by whom?"

a.   Bachrach and Baratz (1962) "power is not solely a matter of getting B to do something that she does not want to do, but can also be a matter of preventing B from doing what she wants to do" (Digeser 1992: 978).

Third Face - "Whose objective interests are being harmed?"

 a. Steven Lukes (1974) "power could be exerted even if B consciously wants to do what A desires" (Digeser 1992: 979). Therefore, if B acts against his/her interests, then power is being exercised.

Fourth Face - "What kind of subject is being produced?"

a.   No As and Bs. Power is everywhere

b.   Liberation is not an escaping of power, because one cannot get outside of it.

c.   Instead, opposition grounds "construction, justification, and criticism of authority." Questions the background conditions created by power.

d.   All of our political, economic, legal and religious practices are planted in a social context governed by various rules and discourses forged by relations of power."

e.   Power is not possessed, but relational power is conveyed by our practices and interactions.

Progressive – Is a term widely used in America in the late 19th Century. It is a political philosophy, which emerged in response to the immense changes bring about by industrialization, and as an alternative to the conservative and traditional answer to social and economic issues.

Today, the term "progressive" is often used interchangeably with the word "liberal." Although the two concepts are related, they are also distinct political ideologies. John Halpin (2004), "At its core, progressivism is a non-ideological, pragmatic system of thought grounded in solving problems and maintaining strong values within society." Progressives, he argues, view progressivism as an attitude toward the world and politics that is wider than the false dichotomy that is liberalism versus conservativism. In this dissertation, I find that 34% of the SMOs studied take the "progressive" title.

Recognition – This is what Folger and Bush (1994:2) call recognition, meaning considering the perspective, views, and experiences of the other.

Reflexivity – The way in which activists rethink and subsequently reframe the world around them with corrective potential. Reflexivity is the "doubly-wise" notion that builds and learns from current contexts and new ways of looking at these contexts. Reflexivity is found imbedded in political space where questioning the world around them is a safe and nourished by like minds. Reflexivity carries the activist-scholars' hope that this movement may be able to extend itself beyond its current paradigm of unity.

Reform – a vision of incremental change. According to American Heritage Dictionary definition, to reform is to "improve by alteration, correction of error, or removal of defects; put into a better form or condition."

Resource Mobilization – is a social theory related to the study of social movements. It focuses on the ability for movement actors' mobilization and allocation of resources through constraints, but also acknowledges opportunities created in the process of achieving specific goals (Mueller 1994). It is a strategic approach to social movement research and, she argues, it is often criticized for taking grievances for granted in this theory.

Revolution – A drastic change that usually occurs relatively quickly. This vision is a large-scale change in a physical sense. It is the taking over of power. There is debate in the movement whether taking over the government will be by force or by nonviolent civil disobedience. Anarchists often advocate a social revolution to break down governmental structures and replace them with non-hierarchal institutions. South End Press Collective (1998) edited a book called Talking About A Revolution, stating in the introduction that "the lessons of the last 30 years have led these movement leaders to see 'revolution' and that ephemeral promised land of justice, less as an immediate aim and more as a gradual project" (p. xi).

Seattle Protest – The protest in Seattle, Washington between November 30th and December 3rd, brought more than 700 organizations and approximately 40,000 to 60,000 protestors and 700 groups to one place to oppose and shut down the WTO's meeting

(Hawkin 2000). This protest, also called the "Battle of Seattle," was the first time that such a diversity of groups such as environmentalists, labor, human rights, and many others, fought a common enemy and met their objectives.

Social Movement – There are many social movement definitions to choose from. Here is one I find is the most comprehensive. "A social movement is a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (Diani 1992:13).

Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) – Minkoff (2002:263) describes SMOs as the "carriers of movement strategies, resources, goals, and collective identities."

Transnational Social Movement Organizations – Like SMOs, but those which are located in more than one nation and have linkages with one another.

Washington Consensus – It is often seen as synonymous with "neoliberalism" and "globalization." The phrase's originator, John Williamson (2002), states: "Audiences the world over seem to believe that this signifies a set of neoliberal policies that have been imposed on hapless countries by the Washington-based international financial institutions and have led them to crisis and misery. There are people who cannot utter the term without foaming at the mouth."

World Bank – The World Bank is a collection of international organizations to aid countries in their process of economic development with loans, advice, and research. It was founded in1945 to aid Western European countries after World War II with capital (Stiglitz 2002). Furthermore, it is a group of five international organizations, which are responsible for providing advice and finance to countries. The purposes of this institution are, more specifically, to increase economic development and reduce poverty as well as encouraging and safeguarding international investment. The World Bank is located in Washington, D. C., with local offices in 124 member countries.

World Trade Organization (WTO) – Since 1995, this organization is empowered to enforce trade rules previously under government oversight (Wallach and Sforza 1999). These rules include agreements on intellectual property rights and preference of corporate trademarks over other national priorities. The WTO's tribunals in Switzerland have created a new system of global governance under which countries can challenge another country's laws. Policies that violate trade rules have to be either eliminated or changed, or the country, enforcing these policies has to pay higher tariffs to the winning country. The Seattle protest in 1999, was focused on shutting down the WTO meeting between Nov. 30th and Dec. 3rd.

Zapatistas – An indigenous tribe from Chiapas, Mexico. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) had the impact of privatizing their commonly-held and indigenously-owned land in Chiapas. Cleaver (1994) argues that they launched their movement the day the NAFTA took effect, January 1st, 1994. This group's spokes person

is Subcomandante Marcos. They sparked sentiment around the world with the frame that Third World peoples are losing ground to economic forms of globalization. The Zapatista actively utilized the Internet to broadcast their message.

ACRONYMS

FTAA – Free Trade Area of the Americas

GDM – Global Democracy Movement

IMF – International Monetary Fund

MAI – Multilateral Agreement on Investments

MNC – Multinational Corporations

NSM – New Social Movements

NAFTA – North American Free Trade Agreement

NSM – New Social Movement

PGA – People's Global Action

RM – Resource Mobilization

RMT – Resource Mobilization Theory

SMO – Social Movement Organization

TSMO – Transnational Social Movement Organizations

WTO – World Trade Organization

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

After many decades of division among single-issue social movements, the

emergence of a series of large-scale protests[1] recently has led many scholars and activists

to wonder whether a progressive politics can finally carve out a single unified social

movement. In this dissertation, I explore the possible convergence of thousands of social

movement organizations (SMOs). The "Battle of Seattle" in 1999 is just the most notable

example of this convergence at demonstrations across the United States in the last seven

years. In Seattle, a watershed moment seemed to emerge as a cluster of separate SMOs

representing various social movements momentarily appeared to unite. Many social

movement actors reached out their hands to each other like never before. This is

surprising because previous SMOs were better known for their inter-movement fighting

than their reputation for coalition-building.

Some scholars argue that this large-scale protest emerged from a breakdown of

the dominant social paradigm, also known as the philosophy of economic (neoliberal)

globalization. This paradigm, in many people's view, has shown signs of multiple

failures to adequately deal with the day-to-day problems people face today. These

multiple failures are what Kuhn (1996) call anomalies, or contradictions, to the

---

[1] See Appendix IV for a listing of large-scale demonstrations. This list does not include thousands of small-scale demonstrations.

unfulfilled promises of government economic policy, fully informed by neoliberalism to fix what ails them. For example, scholars note so far that these failures include but are not limited to increasing poverty, human rights violations, environmental degradation, imperialism, and labor problems. Most often the philosophy of economic globalization is blamed as the culprit in bringing such a variety of movement activists to Seattle and subsequent protests in the last several years, however, this dissertation reveals that whether this was the case, activists' frame the "common enemy" in actually more diverse ways than simply a narrow focus on economics.

Neoliberalism is a powerful exemplar in defense of the status quo, one currently pitted against many progressive movements that challenge those who uphold this dominant paradigm as the legitimate view of reality. Outsiders might find it rather strange that such a diversity of movements came together at a singular place and time. To illustrate, environmental SMOs and labor unions are illustrations of past competitors that had often bitterly fought each other, and such juxtaposition might have seemed odd; however, such odd bedfellows' uniting is argued by many as the very strength of the phenomenon under study.

Although these SMOs unite against a common enemy, conflicts often arise among allies over the alternative perspectives on how these failures of globalization differently oppress or create problems for SMOs and what to do about them.[2] In an early study, Albert *et al.* (1986) explored why SMOs from various social movements enter into conflict with each other even though they might have much common ground. They do so, these authors argue, because each adopts different perspectives, or "ideal types," reducing

---

[2] Kuhn (1996) might call this a "paradigm war" and Benford (1993) would call such conficts "frame disputes."

all their particular social relations to specifically one of either movement sphere:

anarchist, Marxist, nationalist, feminist, or environmentalist as the predominant

relations.[3] Each of these movement spheres develop a different strategy to resolve

problems associated with each's respective oppression. In this way, inter-movement

conflict among SMOs largely concentrates myopically on a specific social tension, or

problem, which correspondingly narrows strategic and tactical options to resolve their

respective oppression. For example, environmental movement SMOs tend to emphasize

the environment over the role of class or sexuality in social relations and vice versa.

Although the Seattle demonstration and subsequent protests were the sites of some

alliance-building, the "Movement of movements," thus far, has failed to create a more

cohesive and unified force. This is because different SMOs often exhibit a lack of trust

over ideology and single-focus issues, undermining a long-sought paradigm shift needed

to manifest social change. The SMOs examined in this study only encompass constituent

parts of the U.S. wing of the Movement of movements,[4] which I argue, currently lack the

full capacity to unite because the different movement constituents – feminists,

environmentalists, peace, anarchists, and civil rights, etc. – are embroiled in their own

inter-movement ideological conflicts.

---

[3] Albert *et al.* (1986) argue that movement actors prescribe these perspectives, as the "motor horse of history." (p. 6).

[4] I have found that in my initial calls to activists, they have had strong reactions against the name "antiglobalization" (also see Milstein 2001); therefore, by listening to those in the field, it might be more accurate to call it the "Movement of movements." This moniker for the movement is useful. However, it is not necessarily a name any one group I am studying, or person otherwise participating in the movement, would find consensus on. Other names include the "Global Justice Movement," "The Progressive Movement," and the "Social Justice Movement" to name a few. Furthermore, also for simplicity, I treat the Movement of movements as a collective unit, albeit made of many different movements. In other words, for simplicity sake, but at the same time, not assume that this social movement phenomenon as one entity, I will refer to this "movement of movements," or this movement, or the Movement of movements, as Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) associated or relevant to the Movement of movements. In this way, I try to avoid imposing an official name. Additionally, I make the assumption that SMOs are at the center of this set of movements.

Why Unity?

The question of unity is important for societal change. It is hypothesized by

activist-scholars, such as Elgin (2000), Marx Hubbard (1998), Ray and Anderson (2000),

and Raskin *et al.* (2002),[5] that a massive social movement is needed to effectively

transition society toward a new conceptual paradigm. In order for a paradigm to shift in

society, these scholar-activists argue, a new large-scale movement will provide the

mobilization needed to successfully counter the neoliberal view of reality and provide a

collective force to find alternatives to the current dominant form of globalization, one that

seems to narrowly value profit over that of people. Scholar-activists Barbara Epstein

(1991), Carroll and Ratner (1996), and Brecher, Costello, and J. Smith (2001) argue that

the only way to achieve a large-scale social change is to somehow unify progressive

social movements. Zald and McCarthy (1987) find that large-scale organizing in the past

has helped social change during mobilizations, such as the civil rights, women's rights,

and the peace movements. Paul Ray's (2002:60) "In the New Political Compass," makes

the case that this Movement of movements has been "converging for 20 years or more,

and it has been preparing the ground for a new political constituency to 'suddenly'

emerge." He says further:

---

[5] The Stockholm Environment Institute and the Tellus Institute in Boston, Mass. have predicted six possible future world scenarios. The current world, they argue, could follow any number of pathways to get to these various possible worlds. However, since some possible scenarios are better than others, they argue, this knowledge will lead scholars toward their "New Sustainability Paradigm" scenario. This paradigm, they argue, is not only the best possible future world, but it is a scenario that will take considerable adjustment and reflexivity to do so. They argue further that for a *Great Transition* toward this new paradigm, civil society must unify "into a coherent voice for redirecting global development" in what they call Global Citizens' Movement (Raskin *et al.* 2002: 53). Similarly, Danaher and Burbach (2000) call the dominant paradigm the "money paradigm" and these SMOs, in their view, are pushing toward a "life paradigm" with an emphasis on saving the environment and human rights.

We are now at the stage of needing to link together thousands of small groups who have had an unfortunate tendency to stay narrowly focused — because that's what Modern culture teaches you: to succeed, you gotta focus on the task at hand. And we're all children of Modernism. As all the diverse, fragmented constituencies start to emphasize all the values they have in common, then they can let go of their tendency only to pay attention to surface differences of opinion.

If there is any indication of the potential mobilization of this progressive movement, it may have been on February 15th, 2003, the eve of the U.S. invasion of Iraq. *Guinness Book of World Records* (2004) even lists the February fifteenth protests, which took place in more than 800 cities, drawing approximately ten million people around the world, as the largest mass protest movement in world history.[6] *New York Times* reporter Patrick Tyler (2003) describes the record protests as a not-so-subtle reminder that "there may still be two superpowers on the planet: the United States and world public opinion." Activists have high hopes for the emergence of a potent challenge to the powers that be for positive social change. For example, at a recent World Social Forum, where activists were in open dialogue over the course of several days, this sentiment of an emergence of something new is resonant as Activist Arundathi Roy whispers to a hushed crowd: "The World Social Forum is coming alive – listen – and on a quiet day you can hear her begin to breathe" (Mulvany 2003: 1).

---

[6] Not unlike Michael Albert's (2002) assertion, in *The Trajectory of Change: Activist Strategies for Social Transformation*, that the movement has not drastically changed after the terrorist activities that occurred on Sept. 11th, 2001. More specifically, the basic institutions of our society are the same now as they were before this infamous date. The movement itself seems to have accommodated changes by adding war and imperialism into their repertoire. For example, Leslie Cagan, national coordinator of United for Peace and Justice, the national anti-war coalition organized 500,000 people who marched past Madison Square Garden during the Republican National Convention on August 29th, 2004, said: "This march brought together people from every sector of society and every possible background, because we all understood that we had to shine a spotlight on the issues that the Republicans won't bring to the stage at their convention - the ongoing chaos and violence in Iraq, the unprecedented roll-back of environmental protections, the assault on a woman's right to choose and so many other issues that Americans deeply care about" (Dobbs 2004).

Activists on search for a way to unite these diverse and largely fragmented social movements raise the compelling question of how to balance unity with diversity?[7] For example, Sociologist Mario Diani (1992:18-19) asks the question: "How do actors, who are broadly interested in similar issues, yet from different perspectives, come to think of themselves as part of a broader movement, while preserving their peculiarity?" Four years later, another Sociologist Alberto Melucci (1996:187) more succinctly asks: "How it is possible to affirm both unity and difference simultaneously?" Additionally, media scholar Nancy Snow (2002:97) states, it is her hope that:

> progressive organizations will move beyond single-issue priorities, turf wars, or internal struggles to build one strong and unified movement that casts a wide social safety net to stop our political and economic decline and realize a global civic society that values genuine democracy.

Although these aforementioned scholars find that a massive social movement is needed, little research has been devoted to this, beyond merely justifying the need for this paradigm shift. This study goes further by qualitatively gathering data from SMs and quantitatively describing them to see whether, in the midst of their own ideological conflict, they can complete a shift to a new type of unity. An exploration of the literature on globalization, social movements, and the intersection of frames, ideology, and identity provides this author three potential indicators for a budding transition toward a new kind of unity within the movements.

This research focuses on three major indicators of a potential shift in the category of unity experienced among SMOs. These indicators include:

1) SMOs ability to view grievances (oppressions) as interrelated

---

[7] Of course, this is not to glean over Zald and McCarthy's (1987) "Social Movement Industries: Competition and Cooperation among Movement Organizations" in which SMO's compete for resources and legitimacy. The focus on this paper is the fragmentation by the ideologies and frames which would justify differences in both resources and legitimacy.

2) SMOs ability to view themselves interrelated to other organizations on the same side of their respective struggles, and

3) SMO ability to organize in correspondence to how they relate to their vision for another possible world.

Currently, a common enemy is cited as the reason for such a diversified convergence at protests. Because of this unexpected common ground, I argue that there has been increased inter-movement interaction through email, phone calls, and social forums, informing goals, strategies, and tactics, prompted by a common enemy. This increased inter-movement interaction opens up possibilities for a shift in a focus on a common enemy to building agendas for societal change. However, because of globalization's complexity, multiple perspectives and different modes of organization have divided social movements as much as they have guided them. In response to this division among movements continues to persist, based on different perspectives, twenty years ago, scholar-activists called for activists to the view the world as interdependent and oppressions interlinked (Albert *et al.* 1986). The movement can follow one of three paths; it can remain in alignment against a common enemy, such as the WTO or corporations, form a new sense of unity in balance with diversity, or even possibly fragment again.[8] Or, the movement could follow a combination of paths simultaneously.

Although some scholars and activists find such a task daunting, I think the optimism of those in the movement makes the prospect of a large unified force an exciting one. For example, scholar-activists Hardt and Negri (2001) argue that these

---

[8] Underlying the assumption that a new unity can happen is bell hooks query as to whether one can reach "across the boundaries of class, gender, and race" to construct mutual understanding? (Barlas 2001).

SMOs show promise in their ability to work on, or at least manage, their tensions and unite. These authors predict the emergence of a new sense of unity among these movements, as they are "not defined by a single identity, but can discover commonality in its multiplicity" (p. 103).

This research is significant, as it allows scholars and activists' insight onto the current state of unity and whether these contemporary movements have the capacity to evolve into new sense of unity. It is a unity whose possibility, as Starr (2000) argues, is currently being explored by those in the movement themselves. Although there are instances of unity, such as those experienced at protests, Adams (2003) argues that this unity is seldom experienced outside of them.

Because activists need to conceive the world in a more complex way, and their enhanced communication have increased their prospect for uniting, I argue here that there must be a new strategy to approach empowerment in response to the Digeser's (1992) Fourth Face of Power. My new Relational Empowerment strategy fills the theoretical gap created in response to the yet unanswered Fourth Face of Power, which engages Foucault. This new strategy straddles between two social theorists – Foucault and Gramsci in order to transform the Movement of movement's capacity to unite to new unprecedented level. This strategy is a more balanced and comprehensive approach than the previous three strategies of empowerment. This new strategy is also a multilevel, open-ended process of continuous interaction among SMOs over time.

Research Purpose

The purpose of this study is to diagnose these SMOs' current organizational mode

of unity as well as their cognitive capacity to further unite with a diagnosis of the

movements' internal and external framing processes and strategies.[9]

Assumptions

> • Interaction due to a common enemy provides potential for uniting.
> • Large-scale movement is needed for a large-scale societal change.
> • A thin unity was marked by the unity experienced in the "Battle of Seattle" in
> 1999.
> • A strong unity is needed to denote a conceptual shift in relations among activists
> from short-term to long-term alliances.

Therefore, in this study, I also respond to Diani (1992) and Melucci's (1996)

question of how to have a unity that also affirms diversity, which begs the question, what

is the current state of unity?[10] In the process, this study explores activists' views of

reality to enable scholars to extend and revise current theory (Buraway *et al*. 1991). The

emergent data has given me a better understanding of the Movement of movement's

current state of unity as well as where it might be headed.

---

[9] Mildred Patten's (2000) *Proposing Empirical Research*, argues that in order to understand participants
from their perspective, the researcher must have an open mind. Therefore, the utilization of a hypothesis is
"usually [an] inappropriate bases for qualitative research" (p. 29). She reminds researchers that a hypothesis
is a particular outcome's prediction, therefore implying prejudgment. She argues that a research purpose,
which is broad, is more appropriate to gain insight on participants' points of view.
[10] This study is not focused exclusively on the protest arena because framing processes and dynamics are
ongoing constructs that take place between protests as well as during them.

Signposts

Beyond the first chapter, Chapter II will discuss background of these SMOs. Following this, I review the literature in Chapter III, and then discuss the Methodology in Chapter IV. In Chapter V through VIII, I discuss the three themes of my findings: Identity, Frame Conflicts, and Barriers and Bridges. After this, I present my discussion and then conclusions.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

Movement of Movements in Context

In this chapter, I want to provide a brief background of what many call the

"Antiglobalization" Movement; however, I argue later in the findings that it is not

necessarily an accurate name for what I call the Movement of movements today.

Furthermore, I discuss in this chapter two rather elusive subjects of concern in regard to

both the unity and diversity's relationship – globalization and the enemies.

What happened on the streets of Seattle in 1999, shutting down the World Trade

Organization (WTO) talks, revealed a hotbed of grievances with deep roots. These

grievances surface in the conscience of the U.S. news media, even though precursors of

this contemporary movement were evidenced by Gerhards and Rucht's (1992) research

on the anti-WTO protests in Germany. Additionally, SMOs associated with the

Movement of movements were inspired by the new organizational and philosophical

social movement phenomenon of the Zapatista uprising in 1994 (Dixon 2003). This

contemporary movement, I argue, may also have even deeper roots, at least

philosophically, than the Zapatista uprising against their perception of injustice by the Mexican government's neoliberal policies in Chiapas.[1]

Much like the protest in Seattle, the civil rights movement, more than 30 years prior, focused public awareness on the plight of blacks in the South. Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. said that protesting was a realization of justice, or the lack thereof, in human social relations. He forcefully spoke, "Injustice must be exposed, with all of the tension its exposure creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured" (Oates 1982: 226). In other words, inequities and injustice thrive in the darkness of ignorance and inattention. The light of injustice can penetrate the conscience of the public with the help of various forms of both traditional and alternative mass media focused squarely on issues and protests. Activists protest to get their point of view to the world on mass scale. When activists feel people around the world are watching, they hope this light of conscience will lead to both a healing as well as a revealing process with corrective potential. This corrective potential is guided by their respective SMOs' views of the problems and how to correct them. Change is enabled through a reflexivity, or societal self-awareness, enabled by a reframing or a rethinking of our human relations.

The mass media had mixed reviews over what happened on those Seattle streets between the dates November 30th to December 3rd, 1999. For example, ABC News correspondent Deborah Wang in Seattle addressed the activists' concerns with platitudes:

> They are fighting for essentially the same issues they campaigned against in the '60s. Corporations, which they say are still exploiting workers in the Third World. Agribusiness is still putting small farmers out of work. Mining companies, still displacing peasants from the land…. But what is different is that, for these protesters, this single

---

[1] I describe the Zapatista uprising in the "The organizing structures for a thin unity: Zapatista Inspiration" section of the literature review.

organization, the WTO has come to symbolize about all that is wrong in the modern world (Ackerman 2000).

However, Prokosch and Raymond (2002:5) find in the *Global Activist's Manual* that outsiders were mystified by the "cacophony of seemingly disjointed slogans, a laundry list of grievances without clear goals." This confusion, they argue, is fueled by the decentralized and nonhierarchical decision-making structure of SMOs, which often makes for a negative portrayal by the press. For example, Ackerman (2000) finds in his analysis three further examples of the news media's reaction to the Seattle protest. First of all, *U.S. News* described those who attended the Seattle protest as "all-purpose agitators." On the other hand, *The Philadelphia Inquirer's* William R. Macklin describes them as "the terminally aggrieved" with "a stew of grievances so confusing that they drowned any hope of broad public support." And, finally, even ABC's Peter Jennings seemed similarly perplexed at the complex outcome of the Seattle protests, as he commented: "It seems as though every group with every complaint from every corner of the world is represented in Seattle this week." When the conference ended, he remarked that "the thousands of demonstrators will go home, or on to some other venue where they'll try to generate attention for whatever cause moves them."

Although the mainstream media criticized this protest widely, alternative voices were fragmented, but had grievances with substance, especially as evidenced with alternative presses, printing books focused on empowering activists before the "Battle of Seattle." An example is activist-scholar Brian Murphy's (1999) *Transforming Ourselves, Transforming the World*, a book in which he describes a widespread sense of change in the air. He charges that because of a new awareness of globalization from many separate sectors of society, we are about to enter a new era with a powerful revolutionary spirit

against the hegemony of transnational global capital. After a few large-scale protests, other empowering books were published, such as Welton and Wolf's (2001) *Global Uprising: Confronting the Tyrannies of the 21ˢᵗ Century*, which is described by these authors as a protest with a hopeful voice, a "soul force" with revolutionary intentions, and a hope-filled turning point "uniting" rejuvenated activists over the entire globe against a common enemy. The Seattle protest of 1999 was a step forward for identity movements and labor unions struggling together against a common enemy.

The watershed moment, described by some activists as a "soul force" experienced in Seattle, is likely one of the first of its category (Welton *et al.* 2001). It uniquely opened up a political space, enabling a diversity of individuals, many representing a variety of SMOs – such as Global Exchange, Direct Action Network, Rainforest Action Network, and the Ruckus Society – to autonomously coordinate against an enemy they all had in common. This nonviolent direct action protest facilitated not only the face-to-face networking of protestors, but the collapse of the WTO meetings (Beck 2003). A large number of coalitions of a diversity seldom seen before were constructed in this most unusual of protests. "On the field there were clusters of members, and the folks dressed as sea turtles stood by the Teamsters and unions that would usually never be in the same room as environmentalists" (Berg 2003: 3). The Seattle event was important not only for its unique diversity, but for its ability to spark a resurgence of large, high-profile, protests around the world.[2]

However, Berg (2003: 1) suggests that as exciting and hope-filled Seattle was for activists, the "unity of progressive political movements remains a goal, not an

---

[2] Again, see Appendix IV for a listing of large-scale demonstrations. This list does not include thousands of small-scale demonstrations, as well as mobilization numbers.

accomplishment." Although this opposition to a common enemy is a relatively new way of unifying, as I discuss later, it still falls short of a new sense of unity, to which scholar-activists, such as Albert *et al.* (1986: 144), and his six activist-scholar coauthors, have long aspired. They describe a new sense of unity as one in which all those involved qualitatively "recognize that they themselves are essentially different facets of one still larger movement" (ibid).

These scholar-activists describe this new, higher sense of unity as one with the goal of seeking to achieve "interdependent aims" in order to create "a new liberatory society" (ibid). Basically, the goal here is for a large-scale movement to work together in a deep coalition to fight the grievances they currently find themselves imbedded. Social movement literature supports the idea that large coalitions of activists and SMOs facilitate successful achievement of their goals (Rochon 1988; Rucht 1989). Coalitions, furthermore, are important in facilitating the exchange of intelligence, pooling human and material resources, and interpersonal networks (Zald and McCarthy 1987). This dissertation seeks to see whether such a unity of interdependence exists or can even exist among these contemporary social movements, which I choose to call the Movement of movements, a coalition of independent SMOs from previously separate and often distinct movements working together, managing their conflicts in some fashion not yet determined, so as to facilitate long-term social change.

Despite some successes in shutting down the WTO in Seattle and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) talks in Cancun 2003, activist Jason Adams (2003), like Berg, like Albert *et al.* (1986) 20 years ago, finds that the promise of the "Battle of Seattle" thus far, has fallen short of a sense of a powerful and sustaining unity outside the

protest arena. Adams (2003) argues that, although efforts to unite outside protests are prevalent among many activists, ideological differences still hamper working relationships to organize along side each other into a single movement.[3] He also finds that these activists eschew theory-building and instead emphasize action informed by their respective ideologies.

Another barrier to unity in the Movement of movements is Brooks (2004) finding that the movements' overarching master frame of "democratization" is coupled with their decentralized organizational form. Such a master frame allows for an amazing diversity of groups to oppose a common enemy – neoliberalism. He contends, though, that the downside to Movement of movement's democracy master frame is that groups that advocate violence often obscure the messages presented by nonviolent forms of protest and more importantly invite increased police crackdowns of these protests. This follows Bernstein's (1997) contention that during the emergence of social movements, activists tend to lack deep bonds with other activists of other SMOs; therefore, they tend to lack a collective identity, subsequently accepting and even emphasizing difference. Therefore, the acceptance of difference without clear intra-movement agreements on tactics may be a function of an emergent movement lacking a collective identity. Thus, I argue, the emergence of these SMOs have allowed a diversity of NSMs, labor unions, and others to tag onto bridge-building, pluralist SMOs incorporating multiple foci, reaching out to other SMOs around the common opposition of the philosophy of neoliberalism to cooperate. As those SMOs advocating violence, enter into action though, they demand recognition, guided by what Brooks (2004) calls the master frame of democratization,

---

[3] The goal is an assumption made by scholar-activists that a large enough social movement will create a change in society's paradigms.

16

and coordination becomes a tough project. It then becomes a major task for the Movement of movements to police these violent groups, Brooks finds, during protests or ban them. Therefore, Brooks maintains further, the government justifies the escalating number of police and military action at each subsequent large-scale protest around the world by framing the threat posed by these violent anarchist organizations as ominous, even potentially terroristic. He contends further that the government points the finger specifically at the mass protests, evidenced by broken store-fronts and other property destroyed as a terrorist threat, evoking 9/11.

Anarchist Chris Dixon (2003), who helped organize the Direct Action Network, which lead several hundred SMOs in organizing the famous "Battle of Seattle" 1999, agrees with Brooks (2004). He argues that the anarchist targets were not pure lawfulness, but were specifically violent civil disobedience toward the most powerful multinational corporations in the world, noted for their non-sustainable environmental policies and human rights concerns, such as Fortune-500 giants Nike, McDonalds, and Wal-mart. In other words, the violence was a rational, even if misunderstood, protest against corporations. He argues that police repression, or their strong-armed response, with night sticks, gas, and rubber bullets, is the successful tactic of the neoliberals to reduce the mobilization potential of the social movement itself. In other words, this movement's master frame of democratization, while allowing for maximum diversity, undermines itself without a check on violent groups, which in turn, stutters its mobilization capacity. In this way, it is not only important to study SMOs' discursive nature, but also their current and potential organizational forms. Therefore, in this study I will endeavor to

diagnose this movement's ideological frames, sense of movement identity, and what divides and unites it.[4]

I think it is important to study this movement in terms of its capacity to gain an interdependent way to align in the struggle for an alternative pathway to the future. Partly, this is because, activists themselves have pragmatically asked how to unite an effective force for social change, while respecting difference among an ideologically broad array of SMOs and movement actors. This would be a new sense of unity, one not yet experienced among social movements either theoretically or in practice. This is certainly the time to study this phenomenon because activist Michael Albert (2002) pragmatically predicts that these contemporary social movements are currently at a crossroads in that they can follow either one of two paths: 1) demobilize and largely vanish, or 2) work on their internal tensions and contradictions to garner a larger mobilization beyond fragmentation.[5] Albert (2002) advocates for the second possibility with a mid-course correction for a unity of "autonomy in solidarity" (p. 63).

"TINA," the acronym for Margaret Thatcher's infamous "There Is No Alternative," adopted by free trade advocates, refers to neoliberalism (Kaufman 2003). TINA is a unity mantra, but it homogenizes, glaring over differences, contrary to the Movement of movement's celebration of diverse voices. SMOs, at first glance, seemingly are united, as seen in the "Battle of Seattle" 1999, naming corporations and the neoliberal philosophy that under girds these corporations the "enemy." These contemporary social movements exhibit an astonishing array of tactics, goals, and political beliefs, all giving

---

[4] Ideological frames are a term that will be explained in the methodological section, denoting a mix between ideology and frames.
[5] Of course, it can be argued that a social movement does not merely vanish but changes its form as in abeyance.

18

notice that alternative points of view do exist. However, beyond protests, these movements have only seen small victories. Some activists and scholars argue that since there are multiple oppressions or grievances in society, facing the same "enemy" may not be enough to create a large-scale social change. This review of the literature will review scholars understanding of globalization, what activists call the "enemy."

<div style="text-align:center">Economic Globalization</div>

Globalization engenders complexity. Giddens (2000: 30) emphasizes the complexity of globalization processes, which influence the "intimate and personal aspects of our lives" no less than the "big systems." The increasingly globalized world is what Melucci (1993) characterizes as a complex one, as it becomes ever more complex through the process of globalization itself. The term globalization represents a multifaceted array of economic, technological, social, and political changes seen as increasing interdependence and interaction between people in disparate and far away locations.

Probably because of this increasing complexity, globalization is a rather elusive concept. And yet, the concept of globalization is important to observe how scholars engage in debate over this theoretical construct in order to understand the context of how unity and diversity relate. Held and McGrew (2002), for example, offer a simplification of this elusive concept by categorizing two different ways in which people view globalization – Globalists and Skeptics. Globalists, they argue, see the phenomenon of globalization as good for everyone – a uniting force. The Skeptics alternatively argue that globalization is far from a uniting force, but a mere Americanization or Westernization of

the rules, one that benefits people differently – only some are actually helped, but most are largely left out – a divisive force.

Many activists point to powerful interests behind global institutions – the World Trade Organization (WTO) and World Bank – as failures in their approach and direction (Korten 1996). The focus on globalization is largely with its economic dimensions.[6]

Skeptics fall on the side of diversity and view globalization with fear and skepticism of its homogenization, suppressing activist voices. To illustrate, former World Bank executive Joseph Stiglitz (2002) argues, Globalists, such as those at the World Bank, WTO, and IMF, view globalization simply as "progress." He further maintains that Third World countries, in the view of these intergovernmental institutions, should accept it in order to grow and fight poverty. However, Stiglitz points out, many people in these Third World nations, were promised economic benefits, which have not yet materialized.

James Rosenau (1988: 43) explains that skepticism abounds with people who do not agree with how globalization is currently viewed by the Globalists. He claims this is why social movements have emerged in response to global governance, and are, therefore, "constituent parts of the globalization process." Globalization is the mantra of change by the Globalists, who repeat its benefit as a positive for everyone again and again on Wall Street as well as in the world's financial centers (Pauly 1997). Dollar and Kraay (2000) proclaim that neoliberals, or Globalists, including most economists, conservative parties, and the main financial institutions, such as the World Bank, IMF, and the WTO, adopt a positive stance toward globalization. These scholars note that, according to this neoliberal approach, globalization is considered inevitable and the result

---

[6] Authors such as Starr (2000), Prokosch and Raymond (2002), Beck (2003), Klien (1999); Tormey (2004), are examples of a focus largely on the economic dimensions of globalization.

of technological and economic changes that create a need to open up markets, movement capital, trade, flexible labor, privatization, as well as a reduction of both economic state intervention and the welfare state. Neoliberals, they argue, frame globalization as beneficial to everyone, including the environment, as it allows for the creation of competition, subsequently increasing efficiency, and the benefits of growth through the "trickle-down effect" to the poor. However, globalization's characteristics, dimensions, and effects are all matters of great contention (Guidry, Kennedy, and Zald 2000). The diversity of studies indicate globalization's great complexity, which might indicate why there is little consensus as to what it is.[7]

These SMOs comprising the Movement of movements, or largely the Skeptics, can be argued to behave somewhat like a collective voice – a feedback mechanism, albeit reflexively criticizing, in a fragmented way, the direction globalization is marching (Wilson 2003). This feedback mechanism was first noticed by the mass media with the "Battle of Seattle."

Even though critics of globalization tend to focus on its economic dimensions, there are also historical, sociological, and technical aspects to consider (Reich 1998). For example, Spence (1993: xiii) declares that the free market has created a tyrannical force he calls the New King, "a nonliving power center composed as its core of monolithic corporate entities encased and protected by endless layers of governmental bureaucracies." Many scholars and activists focus on a global project, which

---

[7] Many topics involving globalization abound, for example, the inability to control order within borders (Sassen 1996); the creation of global communications for activist community-building (Appadurai 1996); increasing communication technologies have collapsed our sense of time and space (Harvey 1989; Giddens 1990; 1994); also, the demise of nation-state sovereignty (Bauman 1998); even the exponential growth and power of multinational corporations and intergovernmental institutions (Keck and Sikkink 1998); and the fact that multinational corporations are more wealthy than many nation-states moving from one country to the next in search solely to cut costs and increase profit margins (Anderson and Cavanagh 2000).

mechanically avoids discussion of troubled aspects of our world, such as human rights, global poverty, and the fact that the environment is considered by many to be in jeopardy.[8]

Clark and Scholte (1999) and Ray and Anderson (2000) go so far as to argue that globalization gives impetus to changes currently taking place in the form of a paradigm shift. Clarke and Scholte (1999) pronounce, "The case that globalism warrants a paradigm shift would seem to be incontrovertible" (p. 22). Scholars call for a paradigm shift similar to Albert Einstein's sentiment: "No problem can be solved from the same category of consciousness that created it" (Elgin 2000: 47). Roseneau (1997: 80) similarly argues that globalization itself refers to a changing process that "unfolds either in the mind or in behavior" as people attempt to struggle toward their goals. Giddens (2000: 37) contends further that the cumulative result of all the changes occurring worldwide add up to a new "global cosmopolitan society" (p. 37). Like so much else in the runaway world, this society too seems out of control to us because we have not yet reconstructed our institutions to deal with it. In the case of these SMOs, I focus not on the international dimensions, but on the United States not only because of material limitations, but because Skeptics seem to narrowly focus on economics and international dimensions in the literature. However, I find that the "Think Globally, Act Locally" frame often rings true within the data. This phrase is coined by Rene Dubos, the UN Conference on the Human Environment advisor in 1972 (Eblen and Eblen 1994). Dubos believed that an ecological consciousness should begin at home. In this way, this dissertation explores the Movement of Movements in its local context with a focus on the

---

[8] See Appendix V for a sample of various issues concerning globalization.

United States, in which its concerns are richer and more complex than only an economic rubric allows.

Globalization's complexity makes itself apparent and resonant with Albert *et al's*. (1986) notion that activists should take a more in-depth analysis of the world, and its interconnected oppressions in order to more effectively contest those in power.

<center>Enemies</center>

In the literature, scholars and activists make an assumption that an enemy is a unified entity, but the findings suggest otherwise. Although more than two-thirds of activists identify a "common" enemy as what is bringing the Movement of movements together, the data suggest there are actually many enemies and grievances that activists identify in this dissertation. In this regard, the "common enemy" seems to work as a frame. The common enemy frame is useful because it has brought the Movement of movements without a shared set of coherent goals, activists work together even if they do not share exactly the same political vision.

The singular enemy is persistent throughout the literature. Benford and Hunt (1992) find that when an SMO defines an enemy as an opponent, it then attempts to justify how these opponents' beliefs and practices conflict with its own. For example, Hunt, Benford, and Snow (1994) find that Mobilization for Survival (MFS) blamed "unscrupulous capitalists," or multinational corporations for third world poverty, environmental degradation, and for a potential nuclear holocaust. Furthermore, according to these authors, the advantage of pointing out a common enemy as a threat is that it stimulates the generation of collective action frames in which participation in collective

<center>23</center>

action seems like a meaningful accomplishment as well as increasing cooperation among groups. Similarly, Staggenborg (1986) argues that SMOs temporarily tend to put aside differences to cooperate in response to urgent threats or enemies.

A common enemy was the focus at the Seattle protest, where activists framed the WTO as the main target of their opposition. Benjamin (2000: 72) argues: "The violence of the World Trade Organization and its corporate beneficiaries are our true opponents." Starr (2000) argues that this is a new movement, which exhibits an astonishing array of tactics, goals, and political beliefs all united by naming the same enemy.[9] Her book is a broad and cursory assessment of web sites to understand how they frame their enemy and envision a new world.

Although the enemy for many in these contemporary social movements has been framed as the WTO, the international institution that governs "free trade," the enemy also often includes multinational corporations, which take advantage of these rules of "free trade." The philosophy that underlies corporations' ability to prosper is neoliberalism, which emphasizes the economic aspects of globalization. In a complex world, the economic aspects of globalization affect a diversity of groups. This characterization of only fighting a common enemy might not be totally accurate, and this, in fact, may be important in seeking a new sense of unity. Prokosch and Raymond (2002), for example, argue that these movements frame their opposition as corporate focused, and activists are able to show how many issues, or anomalies, have accumulated in an interconnected way.

Kuhn (1996) said that an accumulation of anomalies, or breakdowns in the system, create disagreement to how to move forward and what is to blame. Therefore, I

---

[9] Starr (2000), who examines the "anti-corporate movement," via content analysis of Internet web pages, in her book *Naming the Enemy: Anti-Corporate Movements Confront Globalization.* .

contend, the enemy is a matter of perspective. This is why that many activists have found it tough to identify their adversaries (Sklair 1997).

In the findings and discussion, I discuss how the enemy, while considered "common" and singular is actually more diverse than the literature specifies. Kingsnorth (2003) contends that a common enemy is actually an oppositional concept, to counter-hegemonic resistance, not a matter of issue politics against those with power over them, blaming them for their respective grievances. Therefore, it makes sense that many activists concentrate on activist empowerment to overcome a power differential between activists and power holders. For example, a Hybrid Community activist describes broadly, "I think in terms of our enemies, those who have the power, those who can call the shots and wealth, and can enforce these kinds of policies." As Kingsnorth (2003: 318) declares, it is the age-old battle over "who runs the show; who wields that power and how, and by what authority do they do so?" It is a contest of power. This is probably why, according to Sklair (1997), enemies are often hard to identify.

For Gramsci (1972), it is essential for elites to use cultural institutions to stabilize their political order and hegemony through the production of meanings and values. In this way, opposition to the enemy is commonly a power struggle to maintain or, as in the case of these movement actors, to disrupt cultural meanings and realities. Therefore, the common enemy is not capitalism itself, but how capitalists and others use power to hegemonically maintain discourse taken as "common sense."

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

For many years, the notions of "unity" and "diversity" as well as their role in organizing often have been mired in debate, especially among those who study social movements and/or are involved in them. However, in my investigation, both concepts often take more than one form. In fact, I have found at least four ways in which both these concepts have taken shape in the social movement literature. First, I borrow from Albert *et al's* (1986) discussion of alignment strategies, or what I call organizational forms of social movement unification. Second, I will describe the opposing philosophical stances of two important scholars – Gramsci and Foucault. These authors are central to the debate, providing two extreme forms of unity and diversity as concepts or forms of social movement organization focused on social change. Subsequently, I will turn to tensions within social movement scholarship, and, finally, I will explore indications for a capacity to shift to a new category of unity.

Organizational Forms of Unity

Although there is none of the organizational forms are more significant than others presented below, Albert *et al.* (1986) provide a useful typology (also See Table 3-1). Since these authors do not name these forms, except for the final form of unity, I find

it helpful to give the other organizational forms of social movement unification with the names: Homogenous, Particularized, Thin Unity, and Strong Unity. These organizational forms are the ways in which movement actors decide to unite in order to solve problems they find oppressing. I also borrow from Elisabeth Clemens' (1996: 206) idea of an organizational form in which groups are "people who act together in a particular way" and portray social problems as fixable with a specific type of action. Her article finds that organizational forms are central producers of both identity and frames action. This is the opposite to Goffman (1974) who suggests that both form and action are the outcomes of framed interaction. Most framing scholars follow Goffman. For example, B. Epstein (1991) provides an example of how frames influence structures. She contends that the anarchist's rejection of hierarchical structures and preference for spokes councils and affinity groups[1] is prefigurative of the world that they frame as their vision for a better world. Clemens (1996: 213) supports B. Epstein's statement, as she articulates: "Movements, like individuals, may try to remake the world in their own image." What is more, McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald (1996) denote that the cognitive and structural aspects of mobilization are actually interactive, but sovereign parts of the whole. They argue that what mediates between the structures of political opportunities and resources are the cognitive aspects of frames of meanings shared by those in the movement itself.

I will briefly put in perspective the following notions of unity. The Homogenous form of unity, I argue, emphasizes empowerment, much like Gramsci's monolithic theory of the "hegemonic bloc." Whereas, the Particularized form of unity was adopted by the

---

[1] B. Epstein (1991) contends that a spokescouncil is a formation in which a "spoke" or person who would meet as a representative. Spokescouncils meetings are conducted by consensus. B. Epstein also defines an affinity group it is made up of 10 to 15 people, which is the basic unit of a nonviolent direct action movement.

NSMs in their emphasis on a politics of recognition, or identity politics over a unified and empowering force. With the advent of the Internet, the emergence of the Zapatista and SMOs in the 1990s, however, a new sense of unity brought a diversity of SMOs and other groups with a decentralized organization powered by a new type of technology and opposed to a common enemy. While this thin form of unity balances both Gramsci's empowering force and Michel Foucault's[2] emphasis on recognition, it mainly has surfaced at protests; however, outside these visible actions, the coalition-building of these SMOs has been stalled partly because violent factions within their ranks. The final form of unity is a search and struggle for a long-term balance between the empowerment of unity and respecting of group differences. Although these levels do not necessarily escalate in importance, they may more or less build on each other. For example, the feminist and women's movements found information and resources from the homogeneous civil rights movement (Minkoff 1993). Similarly, Meyer and Whittier (1994) point to the emergence of the peace movement from the work done by feminists before it. Similarly, I argue that if it were not for the protest in Seattle 1999 and these subsequent large-scale protests organized through the Internet, no deeper sense of a strong unity could evolve.

Homogenous Form of Unity

   The first form of unity is simply characterized by its singular organizing style. Albert *et al.* (1986) describe the lowest form of unity, what might be called the homogenous form of unity where movements work to unify with "no purpose other than to siphon off activists from one movement" (p. 143). This is an example in which a

---

[2] Michel Foucault's theory will be further explained in the next two sections.

narrow economic rationale alone defines action, fulfilling only relatively immediate needs for a single group, a community group, even a labor union.

This is most evident in early social movement scholarship where alliances and coalitions were narrowly based on class struggle. Karl Marx, for example, envisioned 19th Century social movements as largely class-based (Tarrow 1998). Seidman (1994) theorizes that Marxism failed to produce social change because of an ideology that reduced society too narrowly to simply labor, an instrument of economic growth and productivity. Furthermore, these alliances were considered ephemeral and largely homogeneous, claiming universal truths while marginalizing those who were different.[3] Additionally, Marwell and Oliver (1993) find that in broad coalitions, class homogeneity is a barrier to solidarity and is actually a rare occurrence. Although few scholars acknowledge Gramsci's (1971) theories, he does account for additional factors, such as culture to help oppressed people cut through the hegemony, or the "common sense" nature of society to promote social change. However, Seidman (1994) argues that Foucault became critical of Marxism (Communism) because of the party's compromise with the French government at the May 1968 student revolt, which in retrospect marked a shift from Marxian class politics to movements organizing around other issues, such as education, gender, sexuality, prisons, labor, professionals, etc. Thus, he contends, Marxism could not longer claim its central place in leftist culture. As scholars note, this type of unity actually is rarely if ever really experienced outside of theory.

---

[3] However, there is not a consensus on this fact; as Tarrow (1998) contends, other historical social movements, such as the American and French Revolutions as well as the British abolitionists – were powerful, yet not as homogeneous. He further finds that these ties were loosely created with pamphlets, newspapers, and informal social networks when "strong" social class ties were absent.

Particularized Form of Unity

      In the *particularized form of unity*, Albert and his colleagues describe a situation in which grievance/injustice is often prioritized over that of others. In this organizational mode, activists work on one campaign, then another to build enough coalitional strength to work on a single campaign at a time. The authors provide an example of how the civil rights and women's movements pushed first for voting rights and then for the Equal Rights Amendment. Seidman (1984) notes, however, that black men in the civil rights movement kept black women from leadership roles. Similarly, black women were shut out of women's groups. Therefore, black women were not only doubly oppressed; their oppression was additionally considered secondary. NSMs are in this category because, as Albert (2002) suggests, fragmentation, or uncoordinated autonomy is natural, as individuals' differing life experiences tend to sensitize them their perspective over others. Each movement found pride in its individual differences, telling its own stories, and fighting its own oppressions in its own way, building its identity. This is because some people experience oppressions more acutely than others, and some individuals pursue some agendas more aggressively than others.

      Additionally, scholars such as Zald and McCarthy (1987) find that because movements are seldom unified, they compete over resources as well as legitimacy, thus, often creating conflict. Finally, Albert suggests people even dissent differently as there are multiple activists as well as intellectual foci. However, Albert (2002) laments that such fragmentation leads to ineffectiveness because the opposition is too powerful and

pervasive to succumb to only partial criticisms and protests. Describing movement fragmentation is another way of saying uncoordinated autonomy.[4]

During the decline of labor union movement activity, NSMs manifested this form of unity because each movement in autonomous single-issue movements, each separately emphasizes the struggle for each movement's particular politics of identity.

Within this form of unity, cross-movement coalitions are rare because differences are not overcome, nor are similarities examined because of their inward focus directed toward creating a space of acceptance and recognition. In this second mode of unity, truth is multiple, opposed to the overarching truths found in the previous organizational mode. Although this mode of unity does allow for a multiplicity of truths, the fragmented nature of these NSMs is often characterized as a self-serving Foucaultian postmodern nihilism. Berg (2003) notes that, much like during the particularized form of unity, the division between inward and outward looking foci largely is handled through the notion of primary and secondary contradictions. Basically, the strategy is to organize around the primary contradiction, historically, between workers and capitalists. Simultaneously, the secondary contradictions, or the inward looking focus, had to wait for the sake of the "larger" struggle. Identity politics, he explains further, emerged to challenge such notions in the 1980s. Today, there are many calls to gain a sense of unity amongst these divergent identity movements.

---

[4] Kant would describe autonomy as the independence of individual subjectivity (Katsiaficas 1997).

<u>Thin Form of Unity</u>

Coalitions[5] of diverse groups are important to social change, McAdam (1982) contends, as they can exert pressure on many political fronts and give activists several political strategies to choose from. This *thin form of unity*, I argue, is the organizational form on which the protests from around the time of the "Battle of Seattle" were based. This form of unity, I argue, is the struggle against a common enemy facilitated by the technological advance of the Internet. This type of unity is one in which it is possible to develop deep motivational ties; however, in practice, often "only the most blatant sorts of connections are accounted for" (Albert *et al.* 1986: 144). Emails, Internet websites, phone calls, and only brief personal interaction at protests and social forums are shallow forms of interaction. Even with short-term forms of interaction, collective identity can develop by pointing toward an enemy. Authors, such as Tarrow (1998) and Zald and McCarthy (1987), find that the recognition of a common enemy and a shared frustration or anger are necessary but not always sufficient conditions for collective action. This third form of unity comes together because the common force of globalization forces NSMs to reflexively find that the complexity of globalization is too much for any one movement to fight by itself.

Smith (2001) additionally finds that the protests challenge traditional social movement theories in their transcendence of local and national identities, forging a formidable opposition to powerful corporate and state elites. She notes that "anti-corporate movements" do acknowledge multiple grievances, but make the enemy

---

[5] Coalitions are primarily referred to as groups or individuals who have come together around a specific issue to achieve a specific goal (Albrecht and Brewer 1990).

(corporations) the center of their attack in re-envisioning the world, and that these groups have moved toward a common anti-corporate frame. These movements, she argues, are identity based and do not abandon their respective identities, while reaching outside their own identity and ideology to others who are on the same side of a common struggle against an enemy. Similarly, Gerhards and Rucht (1992) suggest that for a successful mobilization to occur, the mesomobilization of actors, or one-on-one contact with them, must not only be used to coordinate as set of a diversity of groups, but also somehow integrate them ideologically. Albert *et al.* (1986) argue that with the thin form of unity, many of the interlinkings of various grievances are first acknowledged. Feminists, as one example, confront not only the oppression of patriarchy, but also how this oppression relates to the economy, the nation-state, the environment, and racism. Berg (2003) makes the case that these SMOs are not only united against a specific enemy in the name of "corporations," "capitalism," the "power structure," or even "imperialism," but have similar outward social forces in mind. Others, though, still struggle like the NSMs against forces that are more inwardly focused, such as "patriarchy," "heterosexuality," and "racism." B. Epstein (1991), for one, contends that labor unions must combine their respective struggles with that of identity politics in a strong coalition to make for long lasting relationships to foment revolutionary change. However, Albert *et al.* (1986) argue that on this level of unity, only the most blatant interconnections are made between movements. This is because of their focus on protests and forums, which only allows for short-term relationships with little planning or coherent long-term relationships in agenda-building.[6] However, the interconnections made during these events, I argue, are

---

[6] At the Boston Social Forum I attended in July 2004, the organizers said that the social forum's purpose was not to build agendas, but merely network and learn from each other.

important for creating a movement collective identity, influencing movement collective action frames and reflexivity, which in turn affect these SMOs' organizational mode's transitional capability.

<u>Strong Form of Unity</u>

The Strong Form of Unity, like the second form, is a form of unity in which activists reject a universalistic project that might marginalize them. It finds though that a Gramscian unity, emphasizing solidarity is necessary in some fashion. Likewise, activists on this form of unity also are likely to push for a Foucaultian sense of recognition of identity found in the second form of unity, while balancing it with some form of uniting force – a middle way. This sense of unity is reminiscent of Barber's (2003) theory of "Strong Democracy." This view of democracy places key importance on open discussion and dialogue among citizens on political issues. The deliberation and consensus building are seen as critical to the legitimacy of democracy. Strong democracy relies on an active citizenry to constructively participate in these discussions.

Albert *et al.* (1986) similarly hypothesize the possibility of a fourth and final form of unity in which movements unify because they sense that they themselves are basically one of many facets of a larger movement. This fourth form is a new type of unity, one not yet experienced, in which movement actors define their particular success by the successes of everyone. It is an organizational form beyond uniting because of a common enemy, as evidenced in Seattle of 1999. It is instead a form of unity that unifies because of difference, not in spite of it. Furthermore, it is a unity that moves beyond its opposition against a common enemy to one that builds relationships with the goal of creating a

34

movement for something greater than they themselves could ever achieve individually. Starr (2000) argues that this new sense of unity is one that still remains largely a goal, one that exhibits a unity alongside diversity.

Albert *et al's*. (1986) conception of these forms of unity is an early diagnosis of movement dynamics by scholar-activists during the era of identity politics in the mid-1980s. These authors were charged with offering a shared vision of a new society and a strategy to get there. Visions can "make possible the previously unimaginable" is one of the predominate tasks social movements undertake (Keck and Sikkink in Guidry *et al*. 2003: 52).This form of unity has movement actors seeing grievances interlinked and mutually defining. In other words, while movement actors have their own focus and priority, they should acknowledge that to struggle against patriarchy, one must also understand that both class and race mutually reinforce sexism. For example, a woman of color fighting for her rights might have to do so both in the workplace and in her community because of both class and race issues.

Because grievances, tactics, and visions often clash, Rothman (1996) suggests that for transformation to occur, individuals' conflicts must be reflexive. He argues that there are actually two levels of reflexivity. One is a "knee-jerk" reflexivity that results in blaming; Second is a deeper reflexivity in which encounters, in this case, protests, are social forms, and the Internet itself is reflexive, in which questions arise and choosing to proceed possibly in a different way. In this way, the fourth form of unity goes beyond blaming and division of the particularized form of unity. Therefore, Albert *et al.'s* (1986) fourth and final form of unity, "complementary holism," is similar to Albert's (2002) perspective calling for a promotion of autonomy in solidarity. While movements maintain

their respective integrity and manage their own goals vis-à-vis their specific oppression, they may also aid others who have different priorities whenever possible – a unity alongside diversity. For example, labor unions and environmentalists could unite, not only by protesting side-by-side, but through environmentalists helping in labor walkouts, and labor unions protesting the cutting down of old-growth forests, even sharing ultimate goals. This is seemingly now an impossible, but a worthwhile goal, a direction of evolutionary growth for these progressive movements. Although such unity is most often brushed with only broad strokes, such unity in practice is still waiting to be seen.

These four organizational forms of unity are sequentially different levels of unity. Although the homogenous form is probably the most brute powerful and efficient, it often marginalizes dissidents and others who are different. The particularized form of unity is a step back, as it promotes a decentralized set of simultaneous movements, largely eschewing an empowering solidarity, in place of a politics searching for recognizing identity or otherwise respecting and even celebrating difference. Although this particularized form of movement action sought particularized recognition, it likewise found fragmentation of uncoordinated, relatively isolated, and seldom communicating movements. It was not until the mid-1990s that these fragmented movements started finding each other through the Internet. It was the Internet that facilitated intercommunication about the Zapatistas' plight in Chiapas, as well as the protests in Seattle that set off the intense, yet brief interaction between activists in different movements, each with different goals, strategies, and visions. The increased interaction of activists through the Internet, protests, and social forums has intensified both intercommunications as well as the potential capacity to influence future social and

environmental policy. Intensified intercommunication among these SMO activists could possibly produce Rothman's (1996) deeper reflexivity, diverging from the status quo in order to collectively solve policy problems -- a more sustainable paradigm. However, to understand whether a new paradigm is even possible for these SMOs, it is important to understand the current state of the unity these current SMOs find themselves involved in. This is an important problem to explore because technology has influenced the reflexivity of these SMOs as seen in the large-scale protest in Seattle. While an examination of this phenomenon will tell scholars much about these SMOs' unity, it is still important to understand whether this new reflexivity enhanced by technology, certainly a cognitive enhancement, will influence the relationship between SMOs who commonly fight their enemy. Will the thin form of unity characterized by an anti-hierarchy, or anarchist view of organizing, resistant to centralized organizing transition into one that resembles the fourth level of unity, the Strong Form?

Conflict Negotiation

In any form of unity, conflict is a way of life. Lederach (1995) advocates conflict transformation, what I refer her as Conflict Negotiation over either conflict resolution or conflict management because it is a method of dealing with conflict with a greater understanding of conflict in itself. He maintains that "conflict resolution" assumes that conflict is bad, so it should be ended. It also assumes it is a short-term concern and can be "resolved" at some point. "Conflict management," he argues, assumes that conflict can often be long term. The "management" term suggests that people can be controlled as if

they were material objects. The term "management," he suggests, also assumes that the goal is to control, but not necessarily deal with the deeper problems involved.

Rothman and Friedman (2001) argue that as a conflict strategy, their notion of conflict transformation incorporates the logic of empowerment. These authors argue that this conflict strategy model recognizes that most intractable conflicts are really about the articulation and confrontation of individual as well as collective identities. The sources of many conflicts are in dignity, recognition, safety, purpose, control, and efficacy (Burton 1990). Lederach (1995) suggests that these conflicts should not be managed or resolved, but instead actually offer opportunities to learn from those who are in dispute.

In this section, I have clarified the four basic organizational forms of unity, increasing with each higher form of unity. In practice, it would make sense to increase the strength capacity of unity; however, in theory, the conceptual pendulum tends to swing wide toward extremes between the need for a powerful unity, promised in Marxism and a diversity that is like the NSMs, fragmented and weak. This fourth form, not yet realized, is again, a search for a middle ground. Even in the best of worlds, conflict is a part of life. Conflict Negotiation can help the Movement of Movements maintain sustainability in a strong form of unity.

Forms of Unity			
Homogenous	**Particularized**	**Thin**	**Strong**
• Gramsci's monolithic theory of the "hegemonic bloc." •Marx's class struggle •Powerful, but assimilates difference • Narrow economic rationale	• NSMs in their emphasis on the politics of recognition, or identity politics • Appreciates difference, but lacks a collective identity and mobilization power •SMOs compete over resources •Uncoordinated autonomy	•Decentralized organization powered by a new type of technology and opposed to a common enemy • Respects difference, but lacks coordination •Brings groups together in deliberation •Short-term alliances of convenience •SMOs compete over resources	•Searches and struggles for a long-term balance between the empowerment of unity and respect of group differences •Utilizes Conflict Negotiation •Long-term alliances •Collectively deliberates about agenda building • Interlocking grievances (oppressions) utilized in strategy • Many facets of a large-scale movement

Table 3-1 – The Four Forms of Unity

Foucault and Gramsci – Theoretical Debate Over Unity and Diversity

I argue that there is a problematic tension between two extreme themes of unity and diversity among these SMOs. This debate is over how diverse social movements on a global scale can work together in solidarity. Scholars have concerns over whether activists will align in unity or remain diverse. Horn (2000) argues that many scholars fear that extreme forms of diversity can lead to cultural relativism, conversely, embracing a hegemonic system, which is an extreme form of unity, which often leads to dictatorships, blind spots, and marginalization of the minority.

These theoretical tensions, I argue, are based primarily on two renowned social theorists – Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci. In his *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci (1971) borrowed from Marxism. Marxism is an ideology grounded in class structure – the basis for a "hegemonic bloc," or a powerful but form of monolithic movement as reflected earlier in the Homogenous form of unity. This "hegemonic bloc" struggle for a

revolution overturns the current hegemony where societal groups maintain their

dominance through what Gramsci calls the "spontaneous consent" of subordinate groups

through a negotiated construction of a political and ideological consensus. He argues that

such a sense of dominance is unquestioned as it is considered "common sense," and

marginalizes those who are different.[7]

On the other hand, Foucault (1984) conceptualizes a different notion of

hegemony. Hegemony for Foucault is a set of practices that construct human subjects and

truth claims, creating specific forms of social cohesion in society. For Foucault, while

resistance is expected, unity is suspect. Karst (1986), for example, suggests that many

oppressed social movements have questioned assimilationist or universal ideals and have

rejected the "path of belonging," and have instead followed another path – cultural

identity, which is much like Albert *et al's* (1986) Particularized form of unity. This

means that, for Gramsci, unity is more universal and strong, while for Foucault, unity is

more fragmented and weak in response. Foucault's theory is opposed to a perceived

suffocating Gramscian unity, one that disregards difference. While Gramsci's unity might

be powerful and efficient in creating social change, Foucault's sense of unity respects

difference, but internal conflicts among fragmented movements flourish, meaning that

SMOs acting by themselves weakens social movement's capacity to unite.

The two extremes of unity also dovetail in their respective understandings of

power. For Foucault (1984), power is a loosely configured structure, like a "web" of

subjectifying thought in which all people are caught. Yet, Gramsci (1971) sees power as

something exercised in a direct, overt manner. Therefore, while Gramsci would support

---

[7] This sense of unification follows the *Webster's Desk Dictionary's* (1996) definition in which everyone is
assimilated into "the state of being combined with others into a whole."

direct confrontation, Foucault (1984) appreciates that everyone has power over someone else and direct confrontation is sometimes duplicitious.[8] Gramsci (1971), however, proposes an emancipatory struggle, or monolithic historic bloc, against the hegemonic bourgeois. Gramsci (1971) empowers activists through their work toward unmasking the false consciousness of those who have power. However, Foucault (1984) argues that one cannot fight a false consciousness because no one solely holds truth; therefore, nothing is necessarily truly false. Instead, Foucault focuses on the concept of oppression and its natural consequence – resistance in the expression of identity. For Gramsci, a large mass engaged in direct action is important for activists, but alternatively, Foucault would criticize such a protest because differences would be lost among the mass, and Gramsci's purpose of direct action's is to seize power, not necessarily to erase oppression.

Gramsci's (1971) theory is rather limited in that, according to Laclau and Mouffe (1985), his model is grounded only in a class struggle, without sufficient weight given to concerns for the multiplicity of issues involving sex, race, or the environment. Because Foucault (1984) argues that everyone has some sort of power, a subjectifying force which we are all a part of, the notion of unification for him is ludicrous and he most likely would describe Gramsci's view as self-serving and naive. Although such unification is denounced by Foucault (1980), he is not totally against struggling against oppressive forces. However, he does condemn a unified struggle for transformation with a centralized command structure. His critique is centered on a fear of tyranny of the majority and on oppressive hierarchies, thus, an emphasis on egalitarianism. This is evident of his fear of too much control in a group situation in which one group might try

---

[8] Foucault (1984) does not necessarily say confrontation is wrong, but that such confrontation is often contradictory.

to impose on another group. Foucault (1980: 95) contends that "there is no locus of great refusal, no soul of revolt, source of all rebellions, or pure law of the revolutionary. Instead there is a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case."

Foucault, therefore, is hesitant to proscribe any organizing efforts that might seem oppressive in themselves. NSM activists similarly find themselves mired in this philosophy, because of their activist organizing goals through prefigurative organizing and tactics, their organizing has lacked effectiveness. Foucault's hesitancy, though, has led many NSMs toward a postmodern nihilism that undermines the efficacy of social change. However, Gramsci neglects today's reality with a powerfully militaristic response, where difference is often lost through assimilation. The lingering reality is that the Gramscian philosophy is still alluring as it is a philosophy that can provide the capacity to justify and build a powerful fighting force for change. On the other extreme, Foucault's sense of unity is rather diffuse, giving space for respecting difference. Nevertheless, his conceptualization is a comparatively weaker type of unity and likely mired in conflict because of differences over objectives and tactics (Zald and McCarthy 1987).

After the May 1968 revolts in France and the fall of the New Left thereafter, Foucault's notion of organizing took center stage with the NSM's fragmented identity politics. Identity politics surfaced after the failure of the Marxists to win in their class struggle on the Paris college campuses, representing the metamorphosis from a homogenous and stifling form of unity toward ineffective celebration of difference in a Particularized Unity.

<u>Foucault's Theory Wins out with the NSMs</u>

Diversity appeared in full swing with the NSMs in the 1970s and 1980s, taking Foucault's lead – the Foucaultian notion of decentered identities, or identity politics, striving for recognition.[9] Either way, Seidman (1994) argues that postmodern social discourse has itself emerged thanks partly to New Social Movements (NSMs). These NSMs are described by Melucci (1989) as social movements that tend to contest dominant codes and create new discourses that avoid coherent and universalized alternative visions. Giddens (1990) argues that these movements thrive on "life politics," which critique a modernist search for economic justice, much like past social movements; instead these movements seek to have a fulfilling life for everyone and a respect for "others." Likewise, Best and Kellner (1991) argue that constituent social movements, such as the women's and the gay and lesbian movements, as well as the ecological social movements are constituent parts of the NSMs, which, they argue, embrace micropolitics as the legitimate way in which to struggle. NSMs, Best and Kellner (1991) argue, shied away from Marxism, as they found such a theory oppressive and hegemonic. Instead, these movements embraced a Foucaultian-decentered political alliance, which these authors argue presupposed postmodern principles of decentering and difference, resembling the Particularized form of unity.

A decentered politics makes sense because, as Zald and McCarthy (1987) find, some groups resist working in coalition, fearing a loss of autonomy, recognition, or even control over a campaign. Additionally, these scholars note that SMOs may lose credit for

---

[9] Identity politics are based on either essentializations or social constructions – social scientists often emphasize the importance and relevance of the latter and activists the former more often, according to Fuller (1999).

their accomplishments and niche among donors and supporters. Rose (2000) claims that between labor and environmentalists, their incompatible interests and ideology have kept them divided and in conflict. Not surprising then that Carroll and Ratner (1996) find that these decentered movements are so fragmented that they cannot make change on a broader scale. B. Epstein (2001) similarly fears that these SMOs might decline much like their predecessors, who experienced multiple tensions and clashes because of structural and ideological rigidities. These clashes and the subsequent fragmentation of efforts were a result of a lack of trust a shared interpretative framework. These SMOs lacked a framework for either conceptualizing what injustice means to them or envisioning alternatives together. As a result, a plurality of incommensurable and particularistic frames emerged, each with narrow and monistic conceptualizations. These narrow or monistic frames placed high barriers toward any sort of common ground, affirming identity, difference, and the self over the mutual empowerment and recognition of others who might also share their common plight. I will later argue that the Zapatistas and subsequently the Movement of movements still embrace the Foucaultian political philosophical-bases of NSMs, in some sense, but have found empowering aspirations with the advent of technical advances, most notably the Internet with the hope of Gramscian potential.

<u>Aspirations in Gramsci</u>

On January 1st, 1994, the Zapatista Army for National Liberation challenged Foucault's assertion that there is no great refusal when they publicly challenged the North American Trade Agreement (NAFTA). This revolutionary notion called the Zapatismo,

declared "Ya Basta!," or "Enough" (Callahan 2004). Their political strategy called the Zapatismo, opposed the neoliberal project. Unlike Foucault's (1980: 95) declaration that there would be "no great refusal, no soul of a revolt," the "Ya Basta!" was a clarion call for a refusal.

However, even with this call for resistance, Carroll and Ratner (1996) argue that what they contend were the NSMs were fragmented and uncoordinated, and therefore, weak and incapable of creating sufficient social change. This is important because, B. Epstein (1991) argues, that for an effective strategy, social movements must actually have a coordinated strategy, something that both NSMs and the postmodern theory that informs it, lack. B. Epstein maintains that the political Right has a hegemonic project that resonates with American prosperity, international standing, and "traditional" values. She contends that the postmodern celebration of fragmentation is not a proper response: "The Left needs to define its own hegemonic project" (p. 256). B. Epstein reiterates Gramsci's notion of hegemony with the construction of a historic bloc with a counter-hegemonic response. Therefore, they argue, activists should search for ways for this Movement of movements to work toward common goals in coordination for the sake of their mutual empowerment. In this dissertation's discussion, I articulate a new empowerment strategy that incorporates many movements.

Social movement literature supports the idea that coalitions are empowering. To illustrate, Ganz (2000) argues that coalition building increases group resources and this will improve their strategic capacity. Zald and McCarthy (1987) add that more resources mean more SMO cooperation. Additionally, Gerhards and Rucht (1992) find that coalition-building improves political support for groups' particular demands. Gramsci

still has an influence on these SMOs today. Cox (1997) elaborates that Gramsci also felt the change still had to be centered cognitively with his emphasis on a cultural revolution, not necessarily to seize power, but to challenge the domination of the ruling class in the ideological sphere, and expand people's sense of the "limits of the possible," busting the myth that "there is no alternative," through legitimizing alternative intellectual resources and institutions, while delegitimizing other conceptions of how life could be organized (p. 53). Additionally, the Marxian notion of "Revolution," even a modified one is not lost on this contemporary movement of movements. For example, the South End Press Collective (1998) edited a book called *Talking About A Revolution*, stating in the introduction that "the lessons of the last 30 years have led these movement leaders to see 'revolution' and that ephemeral promised land of justice, less as an immediate aim and more as a gradual project" (p. xi). Gramsci argues that a counter-hegemony would involve building bridges to other movements and social groups. However, would a counter-hegemony really respect difference? The NSMs fragmented precisely because of hegemony of the homogenous form of unity in the 1980s. The indigenous people of Mexican provide a powerful example of a movement that has found a formidable, unique, and inspirational organizational framework via the Internet, opposing their enemy without a hegemonic project.

The Organizing Structure for Thin Unity: Zapatista Inspiration

Between the two extremes of Foucault's diverse fragmentation with its emphasis on recognition and Gramsci's empowering and unifying hegemonic bloc, an indigenous movement has found some wiggle-room between the two conceptions. Although there is

a diversity of skeptical responses to oppression in the Movement of movements, activists possess a common inspirational story. Activist-scholar Chris Dixon (2003), who helped coordinate the Seattle protest through the Anarchist Direct Action Network, stated that he was inspired by the Zapatistas' philosophies of social movement diversity. He declares that it all started more than ten years ago, at that time, collective voices percolated and then subsequently bubbled over in the little-known Chiapas, Mexico. Hayduk (2003) argues that the Zapatista and the anti-apartheid campaign before it were important precursors to the Movement of movements. The Zapatistas articulated a sharp critique of the impact of both the "globalist" philosophy of "neoliberalism" and exclusive international meetings, such as those for the WTO, World Bank, IMF, NAFTA, the FTAA, etc. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) had the impact of privatizing commonly-held and indigenously-owned land in Chiapas. He notes that they launched their movement the day NAFTA took effect, January First, 1994. John Sellers, Ruckus Society director, described the Zapatista uprising as a watershed moment for this movement against corporate globalization (Manilov and Sellers 2001). Callahan (2004) finds that prior to the Seattle protest, the Zapatistas hosted a series of encuentros, or encounters, in the Chiapas Mountains. These encuentros were political spaces in which the Zapatistas hosted many SMOs and other activists. Callahan (2004: 220) further maintains that this gathering of civil society was not one of dogmas and competition, but an "International of Hope." He argues that the gathering was "constituted by numerous autonomies, without a center or hierarchy, within which various coalitions of discontents can express themselves, in order to dismantle the forces and regimes oppression all of them."

Subcomandante Marcos, the masked leader of Mexico's Zapatista National

Liberation Army, uniquely laid out his vision for an "intercontinental network of

resistance" at the Second Declaration of La Realidad (Graeber 2002). The Zapatistas

resistance struggled against neoliberalism, with a network "that covers the five continents

and helps to resist the death that Power promises us" (Ponce de Leon 1996). This

Declaration eschewed an organizing structure, which was once invisible save for the

Internet. She notes further that the Zapatistas are "the voice that arms itself to be heard.

The face that hides itself to be seen" (p. 212). The Zapatistas, who stopped the Mexican

army from taking their land, utilized the Internet to get their words out. She quotes

Marcos who boasts: "What other guerilla force has struggled to achieve a democratic

space and not taken power? What other guerrilla force has relied more on words than on

bullets?" (p. 212). Amazingly, the Zapatistas found a political space and a voice all their

own even as they were denied legitimacy by the Mexican government, and yet after

struggling, they did not seek to take power, only recognition. This new way of looking at

social movement struggle is reminiscent of Esteva's (1992) resistance to capitalism that

says "One No," responds with "Many Yeses," or diverse alternatives to the current

system. This declaration of resistance is not to seek power over others, but to construct

political space for everyone who is oppressed to resist in their own autonomous way

(Martinez and Garcia 2004).

The Zapatistas have popularized these ideas and, along with their philosophy of

power, have influenced this Movement of movements and their apparent fragmented

approach to struggle with anarchist undertones (Dixon 2003). For example, Hayduk

(2003) finds that movements in the southern hemisphere convened meetings with the

Zapatistas and created the People's Global Action (PGA) in 1998, which is a network, including a PGA listserv, to facilitate organizing. Little did Subcomandante Marcos and the Zapatistas know what they had started and what they would later influence both philosophically as well as organizationally. This network was the outcome of a 1998 Geneva meeting among SMOs in more than 70 countries, and 400 NGO activists to begin "a world-wide co-ordination of resistance against the global market" (Hayduk 2003: 25). The PGA was further set up to have a "confrontational attitude," and "a clear rejection of the WTO and other trade liberalizing agreements" (p. 25). Strategically, the PGA called for an autonomous and decentralized "non-violent civil disobedience and the construction of local alternatives by local peoples as answers to the action of governments and corporations" (p. 25). Finally, the PGA opposes more than just the WTO, but also NSM grievances, "patriarchy, racism, religious fundamentalism and all forms of discrimination and domination."

It is evident that the Movement of movements has borrowed the Zapatistas' successful philosophy of a networked decentralization opposing neoliberalism. Dixon (2003), who helped organize the Direct Action Network, a diversity of SMOs with an anarchist sensibility, borrowed from the successful Zapatista strategy – a new thin form of unity against a "common enemy" in the WTO. Starhawk (2000) further describes the model of power among the protesters as decentralized, a "leaderless" movement, in which the leadership is treated as a part of the whole. She further describes that the activists at Seattle were empowered in making their own decisions, while the structure was based on coordination – not control. This lent to flexibility and to a sense of resilience "and many people were inspired to acts of courage they could never otherwise

have been ordered to do. Here are some of the key aspects of our model of our organizing" (p. 36).

Klein (2000) argues that protests in Seattle and, later, in Washington mirrored the decentralized and inter-linked structure of the Internet, which facilitated a mass protest capable of getting protestors to specific street corners, but with little to no ability to coordinate an agreed upon set of demands while there or thereafter. At the protest, Beck (2001) finds that activities such as street theatre and protest training, as well as consensus decision making, affinity group formation, and mass action skills helped create trust among a vast set of groups and other people who "had not previously seen themselves as part of a unified 'movement.'" (p. 6).

Communication and coordination over the Internet created a decentralized network, or web of communication, with the goal of unifying people with a common vision, or purpose, while at the same time participating in differing activities. Beck's (2001) emphasis was for a common vision to unify versus the typical Foucaultian inward-oriented goals. "The act of pulling resources to work together for a common purpose beyond organizational goals and campaigns was critical in putting globalization on the social agenda" (Beck 2001: 6). Castells (2003) contends this communication network among identity groups has blurred the lines separating them, a line of thought that does not fall in line with Gramsci's extreme notion of unity. This is because Castells follows a Foucaultian criticized notion of fuzziness of reality. Even tough reality is often portrayed as cloudy, Gramsci alternatively answers, in the clarity of a forceful response to oppression. The Foucaultian response, regardless, sides with finding the hidden value in differences, whether it is sex, race, or class. However, for Gramsci and Marx before him,

50

optimism for a consistent and steady epistemology of Truth guides activists toward social change, not difference, which impedes effectiveness of a strategic force.

The tension is evidenced by Starhawk (2000: 39-40) who envisions the possibility of "building a global movement to overthrow corporate control and create a new economy based on fairness and justice, on a sound ecology and a healthy environment, one that protects human rights and serves freedom." Starhawk's vision is one of accepting and building from difference. Although Jobs for Justice Organizer Russ Davis (2002) agrees with Starhawk for social change, he instead takes the more cautious stance for reform, as he suggests that it will take a long-term commitment to movement-building on the ground to create this vision of "Another World Is Possible." Davis' Gramscian sentiment for the need for movement building refers to the tensions deep within the idyllic notions of a new unity. Although such a unity seems like it is deep, it really falls closer to the third form of a thin unity, one mired with fragmented tension.

Ideologically-Fragmented Tension

This search for a unity or diversity played itself out in the streets. Although the Zapatista-like response in Seattle was formidable in facing a common enemy with activists utilizing their "swarm tactics," their efforts fell short as a long-term coalition model for the utilization of forces across difference. With the use of the Internet as a tool, activists from many stripes were able to meet on the streets of Seattle; however, a diversity of social movements made long-standing tensions surface.

Scholars, such as Starhawk (2000) are excited to describe the model of power among these SMOs as an empowering decentralization, a "leaderless" movement. This

celebration of a "leaderless" movement, however, runs counter to the finding of Voss and Sherman (2000) that alliances are built with strong leadership. Therefore, a lack of clear authority might hamper coalition building. The Zapatistas are considered leaderless, which is a Foucaultian notion, whereas, Sherman's sentiment is Gramscian.

In a study paid for by the National Defense Research Institute, analysts Arquilla and Ronfeldt (2001) argue that activists are finding unity beyond what was found at Seattle difficult because of ideological differences. Movement activists, they find, experience conflicts among themselves, often from their strong commitments to ideological purity as a response to threats to personal well-being. Groups are further divided over how far to change the world. The more radical groups are most likely to call for revolution, while the more moderate groups are likely to call for reform.

Although the Zapatista Movement and subsequently these SMOs have found a thin unity, only short-term connections have been established, creating tensions among various movement factions and actors, which need to be worked out in order to seek a strong unity in practice. Additionally, movement actors tend to prioritize their notions of what are the primary grievances worth fighting. SMOs tend to prioritize some grievances over others. For example, environmental movements prioritize environmental degradation over employee wages for middle-class Americans. Environmental groups tend to look through monist, or single-issue lenses. More specifically, environmentalists tend to have ecologically-focused glasses, while labor movements look through class-colored glasses.

Divergent goals and other differences have caused tensions within social movements in years past, facilitating a move from the first form of unity by assimilation

to a second form of uncoordinated difference without much unity at all. The first example is that of the early 1960's Civil Rights movement. Even after some of this movement's victories, such as the Civil Rights Acts, the radical Black Power movement emerged (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967). These two scholar-activists contend that the Black Power movement severely criticized the Civil Rights commitment to integrate and its over-reliance on liberal whites. They tried to separate from all whites and push for their own goals, organization, and culture. Cornell (1988) argues that Red Power soon followed the Black Power movement. The assimilation of Native Americans, he notes, had been in existence for more than 60 years by this time. Groups such as the American Indian Movement (AIM) claimed the right to govern their own lands, as well as to have some voice in Bureau of Indian Affair decisions in Washington D.C. (Cornell 1988). Cornell also declares that American Indians have fought to preserve and recover tradition – language, customs, and rituals – in an often fierce separatist-inclined movement. A decade later, the gay and lesbian social movement sought a sexual identity that did not seem to fit societal norms (Steven Epstein[10] 1987). In the 1970s, Steven Epstein argues, there was a clear shift in the movement from assimilation to a goal of removing the homosexual stigma and creating a positive identity. Even women's movements had shifted from assimilationist ideals by the 1970s, because many women found that assimilation seemed to just legitimate and perpetuate exclusion from many social and political activities (Young 1990). Women at this time began to create women-only institutions and safe places to talk and trade stories.

---

[10] This paragraph is the only reference to Steven Epstein, all other Epstein references are for Barbara Epstein or B. Epstein.

Recently, the possibilities for a new sense of unity have not been as clear-cut as previous protests indicate. For example, in the summer of 2002, student groups and activists at Evergreen State College hosted a conference called the *Total Liberation Project.*[11] According to their website, their goal was to explore a wide range of alternative expressions of resistance and liberation; these alternatives would not privilege any particular type of oppression over any other, but would successfully respect and further the autonomy of all movements within a greater context of solidarity. Adams (2003) argues that although the conference had promise, the diverse groups could not agree, favoring instead particularization. Adams (2003) explains: "Most of these denunciations [of the conference] sought to valorize the purity of ideology over the eclecticism of theory on the one hand, or to valorize the primacy of action over the 'intellectualism' of theory on the other." This outcome is reminiscent of Albert *et al'*s (1986) effort after their book *Liberating Theory* in which their collaboration broke down and no future book was created. A second book would have had the goal of furthering their concept of a "complementary holism" and possibly and pragmatically creating strategies to implement it. Although there is a "vague consciousness" among these movements of an interlinked set of grievances, Albert (2003) in a personal correspondence, finds that there are little to no constructive outcomes so far in terms of uniting disparate groups.

SMOs' Diversity in Tension

Not unlike the NSMs, Hardt and Negri (2000) argue that probably the most interesting characteristic of the SMOs that are the constituent parts of the Movement of

---

[11] The Total Liberation Project website is: http://www.geocities.com/ringfingers/totality2.html.

movements is their diversity. Diversity by itself can create conflicting perspectives. I use

the Movement of movement's name, as an illustration, to describe the association of

SMOs that have visibly emerged since Seattle 1999 and the large-scale protests

thereafter. However, this Movement of movements have been reframed using a great

number of other names as well, i.e. Global Democracy, Progressive, Global Justice,

Global Democracy, and even simply, the Movement. As evidenced by the name, the

Movement of movements has a diverse nature. For example, former Global Exchange

activist Juliette Beck (2001) claims this Movement of movements is actually composed

of many groups associated with the NSM literature, such as the ecological, womens,' and

gay movements, but also peace, human rights, labor, anti-capitalists, democracy, civil

rights, and even various umbrella groups. This assortment of entities includes a wide

range of divergent organizational structures, from radical grass-roots groups to NGOs to

students all the way to adherents of traditional politics, such as labor and third world

movements all assembled against a common enemy in international institutions, such as

the WTO, IMF, and World Bank. However, I would argue that even at this third form of

alignment-making, each movement within the Movement of movements tends to fall

back on prioritizing its particular social contradiction as if it were primary.

    <u>Strategy and Tactical Philosophies Collide</u>

    Some activists practice violence against property, but the majority practice

nonviolence. A common refrain of activists is that the police are violent, not the

protesters. For example, Medea Benjamin (2000: 69) argues, "It was the police who

engaged in the real violence, and we rigorously condemn their unjustified use of force

against peaceful protesters." Some activists locate violence within the system itself.[12]

According to the ACME communiqué, this sentiment is reflected in their collective

targeting, such mega-corporations as Old Navy, Banana Republic, GAP, NikeTown,

Levi's, McDonald's, Starbucks, Warner Brothers, and Planet Hollywood. The ACME

Collective, a segment of the Anarchist Black Bloc, also wrote soon after the Seattle

protests their distain for property in private hands. In an essay, activists from this

Collective claim that, "private property – and capitalism, by extension – is intrinsically

violent and repressive and cannot be reformed or mitigated" (ACME Collective 1999).

Their sentiment is backed by the fact of the great disparity of ownership in the world is in

the hands of the few. For example, in the 1990s, the poorest 20% of the world's

population controlled only 1% of the world's wealth versus the richest 20% with 86% of

the wealth (George 1998)

Conversely, Starhawk (2001: 1-2) proposes that there is a prefigurative ethic of

nonviolence that one should adhere to:

> that violence begets violence, that if we resort to violence we become what we're fighting
> against, that a nonviolent movement will win us more popular support, gain us
> legitimacy, heighten the contrast between our movement and what we oppose, and
> perhaps even win over our opponents.

Direct Action Network (DAN) coordinated the utilization of direct nonviolent civil

disobedience. Those with DAN disobey the law when they feel the law is wrong and they

also feel truth is on their side (B. Epstein 1991). B. Epstein contends that nonviolence for

Gandhi meant acting according to an individual's own beliefs. Beyond this, she

---

[12] Frantz Fanon's (1986) *Wretched of the Earth* argues that independence can only come after the
uneducated masses throw off the yoke of superstition and find liberation through violence. "At the
paradigm of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and
from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect" (p. 94).

describes, "nonviolence as a way of advancing toward a never fully attainable truth, and conflict as the field within which such advances can be made" (p. 271).

These SMOs reflexively have worked on common ground, albeit with mixed success. In Quebec City in the spring of 2001, for example, activists almost did not agree on whether to favor the Black Bloc's[13] penchant for violence against property or those who adhered to non-violent civil disobedience. However, there was a compromise; at the protest's Anti-Capitalist Convergence. Activists agreed on a "diversity of tactics, an open space for an 'anything-goes' strategy" (Chang *et al*. 2001). These authors note that the Convergence plan entailed three flexible spaces – red, yellow, and green – in which certain types of actions were designated. The red zone was sanctioned as a space for direct action as well as other tactics, such as the toppling of fences, with a high chance of arrest. The yellow zone involved a moderate form of risk of arrest for civil disobedience, while the green zone involved virtually little to no risk of arrest and was characterized by actions of a festive nature, such as puppet making and/or marching.[14] As the fence that surrounded the "Old City" of Quebec City where the FTAA's meetings were being conducted, fell and the tear gas filled the air, Chang *et al.* (2001) attest that the three zones simply bled into one color, namely red. Therefore, Engler (2001) contends that a "diversity of tactics" actually limited the real diversity of protest. Since the three zones were ignored by police from the Black Bloc's tactics, it caused other protestors who opted for either the green or yellow zones to unwillingly be exposed to tear gas and possible arrests. Similarly, activist Brian Burch (2001) declares that violence

---

[13] Black Bloc protesters are anarchists who find violence against property fine, but against people is wrong. They tend to be at the forefront of activist protests confronting police. They are an example of protesters who were in the original "red zone" in Quebec City's protest.

[14] At the Quebec City protest, union activists marched away from the fence and toward a festival area on the other side of town, this action was an example of an activity taking place in the green zone.

marginalizes non-violent activists: "Accepting diversity of tactics in protest has come to be close to identical to accepting the use of violence against people and the use of force against property in ways not consented to in an informed fashion by the participants." Although the Quebec City compromise fell apart, it is an example of the movement working on its tensions among its various alliances. However, this strategic debate is related to the prognostic nature of the protest, or the direction in which change is stressed – either reform or revolution.

Conflict of Visions

Currently, a major strategic debate is over how to go about change – either by revolution or reform. At the World Social Forum in Port Alegre, Brazil, some participants wanted to reform capitalism (Lewis 2001). Lewis (2001) claims that this is especially the case with representatives of small-business and liberal organizations, which clearly defined their aim as one of giving capitalism "a human face." Yet most participants support the idea that socialism is the desirable alternative to neoliberalism. Lewis quotes Kjeld Jakobsen, Secretary for International Relations of Brazil's Central Unica dos Trabalhadores (CUT), who explains that "rules to defend workers' rights and human rights don't do much good unless you eliminate the causes of the violation of these rights, which is precisely the unjust and unequal development that exists in the world today" (p. 1). Another revolutionary voice is Narmada Bachao Andolan organizer Medha Patkar, who proclaims, "The ultimate goal is to say no to the WTO. We're against the whole capitalist system" (Singh 2002: 48). A divisive tension at the World Social Forum in 2002 was "Reform vs. Resist" (Interhemispheric Resource Center 2002). Such debates partly revolve around whether the WTO, IMF, and World Bank merely should be

reformed or totally dismantled. Tensions abound in these contemporary social movements; however, this, in itself, is an indication of reflexivity among these movements.

Power and Exclusion

Movement tensions also include those involving power and exclusion within these movements. In the influential essay, "Where Was the Color in Seattle?" Martinez (2000: 74) wrote soon after the 1999 Seattle protests that "it is almost impossible to find anyone wondering why the 40-50,000 demonstrators were overwhelmingly Anglo." She further noted that those among these movements could learn a lot about themselves if they were to understand why people of color were not there; this, she declares, is "absolutely crucial if we are to make Seattle's promise of a new, international movement against imperialist globalization come true" (ibid). Rajah (2000) noted similar problems at the Washington D.C. protest the following April. He claims: "The whiteness of the movement remained a thorny issue at A 16 (April 16th protest). Hwang (2001: 175) argues that "few activists challenged and continued to challenge subtle, internal racism within ourselves and our groups beyond openly noting the lack of 'diversity.'" Additionally, the role of women is also in question within protest circles. Hewitt-White (2001: 159) suggests that "[traditionally] female-dominated work is overwhelmingly performed by women in the movement." Therefore, she prescribes: "We ought to seriously look at how the systems we want to fight are reproduced in ourselves, in our relationships and in our communities." Finally in debates over power and exclusion, there is a clear North-South division with movement activists from the Southern hemisphere feeling excluded from Northern dialogue and decision making. To illustrate, Jaggi Singh (2002), quotes Sanjay

Mangala Gopal, the co-coordinator of the National Alliance of People's Movements. Gopal asserts that voices from the South represent the majority of the Earth's peoples, and therefore should provide the global resistance leadership. Gopal argues, "We will define our own way of development and we are capable of doing it. Who are you to teach us about child labour or anything else?" (Singh 2002: 48). However, Brecher, Costello, and J. Smith (2000) argue that people can effectively oppose the destructive implications of globalization, but only through solidarity across "boundaries of nations, identities, and narrow interests" (p. x).

Although these SMOs are known for demonstrations in places like Seattle, Washington D.C., Genoa, Italy, etc., many activists are questioning the logic of protest hopping. A year after the "Battle of Seattle," Protest Coordinator Chris Dixon (2000) of the Direct Action Network declared the following:

> A key problem, then, with the focus on mass mobilizations is the underlying idea that we, as people who seek radical social change, must each take great risks and make huge commitments in very prescribed ways — and that all of us can afford to do that. Yet this doesn't face reality.

<u>Indications of a Transition from Thin to Strong Unity</u>

There are indications, I argue, the Movement of movements can move toward the direction of a strong unity. These SMOs currently may comprise constituent parts of a larger movement struggling together with a new grammar, punctuating and syntactically articulating connections between the global and local patterns of their daily life – a unity that is qualitatively more than the sum of its parts. Although these SMOs may be moving toward this new sense of unity, I argue that it is more likely that there is a greater capacity today to build a large-scale movement with the technologically enhanced

political space, i.e., with the Internet, protests, and with the many World Social Forums.[15] These SMOs' form of unity currently is in transition between Albert *et al*'s (1986) third toward a possible fourth form of unity. The third form of unity is where many claim the protests from around the time of the "Battle of Seattle," took place. This form, the authors contend, is where a diversity of groups struggle against a common enemy. This strategic form, I call "thin unity," on the surface involves deep motivational ties; however, in practice, often "only the most blatant sorts of connections are accounted for" (p. 144). Although this new way of organizing is powerful and surprising, authors such as Starr (2000) and Berg (2003) argue these movements have not yet attained what I described earlier as the fourth type of unity, or Strong form of unity. This type of unity envisions a robust unity among different social movements, which most effectively may advance change. Albert *et al.* (1986) call this the "complementary holist" approach, where social movement actors see themselves as different facets of the same progressive front. The three lower organizational forms are less effective and often fragmented with rather shallow connections and relationships. It still remains to be seen whether these SMOs' current form of unity is one that fully respects difference. I argue that what movement activists experienced in protests in Seattle and in the five years following – opposing a common enemy – has brought them together in dialogue away from their respective safe political spaces and may potentially create networks and bonds that may last a long time with a potential to move to a strong sense of unity.

A shift to a strong unity will not be immediate, as Kuhn (1996: 86) notes that "considerable time elapses between the first consciousness of breakdown and the

---

[15] There are an increasing number of social forums across the world (Bello 2003). There are also several planned regional social forums across the United States (North American Social forum webpage 2004).

emergence of a new paradigm." This sentiment is noted by Global Exchange Activist

Juliette Beck claims that when it comes to uniting, "Right now it's just been a process of

getting to know one another, building trust, and when that happens, anything is possible

in terms of connecting people and building a huge movement" (Straus 2001: 162). Much

like Beck, Klein (2002: 7) challenges these movements to invent "new democratic

mechanisms for developing a true agenda and collective vision for these movements,

while still respecting the principles of decentralization and radical democracy that have

formed its foundations." Beck, Straus, Klein, as well as others, predict that a paradigm

shift is needed within currently fragmented social movements to effectively mobilize and

collectively create an alternative agenda to face the multiple problems associated with the

ever-changing and often overwhelming complexity of today's multi-faceted-globalization

processes. Therefore, I explore this potential transition.

<div align="center">

Toward a New Kind of Unity?: Three Indications of the Movement's
Transition from Thin to Strong Unity

</div>

I argue that these SMOs may have the potential to transition into a new sense of

unity with paradigmatic dimensions. In other words, the Movement of movements shows

potential to shift into a new way of unifying both structurally and cognitively. This is an

important exploration because it still premature to say whether these contemporary

movements can achieve a new sense of unity. This is particularly important as scholars,

such as Raskin *et al.* (2002), say a unity of civil society is needed to redirect global

development toward a "New Sustainability Paradigm"[16] in the world. In spite of the

---

[16] Raskin *et al.* (2002: x) describe this paradigm as one that "would challenge both the viability and desirability of conventional values, economic structures and social arrangements." They argue that this can only happen if leaders from the world society revise their respective agendas.

ambiguity of the future, I want to focus on this movement's current state of unity and its potential to move forward to a new form of unity. Of course, with further stagnation and fragmentation, these movements could also vanish, much like social movements that peaked during the 1960s.

I have found in the literature three indicators of these movements' growth and potential capacity for unity: (1) a shift from simple to complex realities; (2) a shift from objective to perspectival views of reality; and (3) a shift from relations that are based on hierarchy to those based on heterarchy, prefiguratively within political space. Therefore, the transformative potential of these movements, first, likely would be characterized by movement actors viewing globalization as an interdependent process, a web of oppression, and subsequently define themselves as beyond *opposing* a common enemy, and instead struggling *for* a certain shared agenda or common agendas. Second, actors among these SMOs would see themselves as less essentialized, separate and more interdependent themselves. That is, they would see common ground. Subsequently, as their perceptions change, they would then likely organize prefiguratively, helping each other out where there is a need, reflecting the popular slogan common among many in these movements: "Another World is Possible." Finally, this occurs but simultaneously in the context of a reflexive response, which monitors and learns from individual activism and institutional organizing in their respective and side-by-side political spaces. Despite the fact that none of these paradigm shift indicators are yet or may ever be fully recognized, a qualitative diagnosis will tap into these movements' progress and potential. Therefore, an exploration of this phenomenon is worthwhile, as such an investigation will

fill in the gap as to whether these SMOs will influence a future societal pathway, one in which societal change may just be in the hands of these movements' activists.

It remains to be seen whether these SMOs can find within themselves a prefigurative way to create a new paradigm, or whether their ideas will be largely lost in the dustbins of history. Whatever the outcome, with persistent large-scale demonstrations, often with world-record setting potentials as well as activist organizing behind the scenes, it makes sense to explore this possibility. I will now proceed to describe in greater detail the three indicators, which suggest that this paradigm shift may occur, or may currently be underway. This possible transition to a new form of unity will reveal signs from the old paradigm with glimmers of something new. These three indicators additionally hint at this transition, a reflexive creativity, I argue, a phenomenon not quite ever seen before in either social movement scholarship or in practice itself.

First Indicator – Framing a Complicated World

The first indicator is what Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979) call the shift from simple to complex realities. It is common for movement actors to attribute a single "enemy" or domination that creates all-important grievances. Various sectors — Marxists, nationalists, feminists, environmentalists, or anarchists – have tended to reduce social relations and categories to simply a focus on either class, the state, patriarchy, ecology, or the state. Albert *et al*. (1986) suggest that these "ideal types" have reductionist or monist foundations. Each reductionist theory targets a specific domination. Since there are different foci in our complex world, activists of different foundations tend to criticize each other. For example, a Marxist would see the world through class oppression-colored

64

lenses and criticize anarchists for not recognizing their oppression as primary. Although these monist foundations pervade NSMs, nevertheless, they were forced to interact with each other as they challenged a common enemy at the WTO meetings in Seattle. This sentiment is noted in the works of Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979), Albert *et al.* (1986) and others, who find that both interactivity and diversity are more and more apparent constituent parts of a complex reality. Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979) add that in this reality it is basically "impossible to separate a thing from its interactive environment" (p. 10). This notion dovetails with Albert *et al's* (1986) notion that systems are not merely the sums of their individual parts, but that their interaction creates something greater. Similarly, Elgin and LeDrew (1997) argue that to transition toward a new paradigm, one must see the Earth as an interconnected and living system. Therefore, the interdependence of reality is important to understand and acknowledge to effectively function within it.

A new form of unity would find that globalization's complexity corresponds with a need to both deepen and strengthen activists own analysis of the forces of their respective dominations and specifically their corresponding grievances as being both interlinked and mutually reinforcing. This is because an increasingly globalized world is what Melucci (1993) describes as a complex one, becoming even more complex through the process of globalization itself. He finds a subsequent response on the behalf of civil society as the numbers of Transnational Social Movement Organizations (TSMO) are flourishing as a response to the large increase in problems, or anomalies, that pervade nation-state boundaries and overwhelm the nation-state itself. For example, Canadian rivers and lakes are the victims of American pollution. Another example is United

Students Against Sweatshop Labor's monitoring of corporate competition worldwide for foreign direct investment, a process also known as the "race to the bottom" (George 1998). Those critical of globalization have found this new form of globalization falls short of fixing these problems. For example, United Nation Secretary General Kofi Annan's message to the World Social Forum in 2003 notes many of these interrelated issues.

> . . . you have also gathered out of profound concern about a plethora of other issues that are at the heart of the world's search for security, prosperity and peace. The plight of the world's poorest people and weakest countries; the merciless spread of AIDS; the relentless despoliation of the environment; the unequal distribution of globalization's benefits; the trade barriers and subsidies that deny developing countries a fair chance to compete in the global economy or make it harder for some to meet their public health crises - these phenomena and threats have an equal claim on the world's conscience, resources and will. Yet like you, I am worried that they will be neglected, will fall victim to short attention spans or narrow notions of national interest, or simply have a hard time staying in the international spotlight when so much else is, and may be, happening in the weeks and months ahead (Desai 2003).

The understanding that the world is complex place is actually not all that new. In the 1963, for example, Martin Luther King Jr. wrote in his "Letter from Birmingham Jail" that "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly." Four years later, King, stated in his "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence"[17] speech to clergy at Riverside Church in New York City, that he had been chastised for going beyond the issue of civil rights. King, however, saw beyond a single set of grievances as he previously alluded to in Birmingham Jail. In his "Beyond Vietnam" speech, he further called for a "true revolution of values," challenging the "giant triplets of racism, materialism, and militarism."

---

[17] Martin Luther King's least well known speech can be found at www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/45a/058.html

Although King had pointed out multiple grievances, little cross-movement collaboration was noted until the high profile 1999 Seattle protest. At since Seattle, Jackie Smith (2000) finds that "anti-corporate movements" do acknowledge multiple grievances, and make the enemy (corporations) the center of their attack. On the surface this may be true as SMOs often cooperate and are commonly critical of the current form of globalization. They have conflicting perspectives on globalization's problems though. Albert *et al.* (1986) contend, however, that in their search for bringing some sense of unity to these fragmented movements, each separate movement within the larger set of movements still have monist orientations, with reductionist foundations, narrowing their perspectives. Each movement subsequently creates a myopic view that "my oppression is worse than your oppression," which impedes coalition building. This is reminiscent of the John Godfrey Sax poem "The Blind Man and the Elephant" (Fabun 1968). This poem relates the experience of six blind men, each of which describe the elephant from a partial perspective, only seeing a part of the whole. One man feels the side of the elephant and thinks it is a wall, another feels a tusk and it feels like it is a spear, another describes the elephant's trunk as a snake, etc. The poem finishes with the phrase: "each was partly in the right; and all were in the wrong!" (Fabun 1968: 13). Such a fractured and partial approach is not effective, many activists say. Although a partial approach to oppression is still a dominant way of uniting, change may be in the air as activists in these contemporary social movements may be following Melucci's notion in so far as they are reflexively aware of the world around them, reinterpreting the contradictions written among the patchwork of modern societies.

The world's interrelated problems and issues, such as poverty, human rights violations, sexism, homophobia, environmental degradation, nation-state corruption, and declining labor unions, are affecting people everywhere. Many movement actors tie their fate to that of others around the world, opposing what scholar-activists Welton and Wolf (2001) call a "web of oppression." Although some scholars acknowledge multiple grievances, Starhawk (2002) goes a step further, arguing that heterosexism, sexism, racism and all related systems of oppression and prejudice need to be recognized by SMOs activists as both intertwined and interlocked. She further argues that these grievances reinforce each other; therefore, they all need to be addressed. Starhawk's sentiments reflect Albert *et al.'s (*1986: 10) claims that since oppressions (grievances) are interlinked and reinforce each other, a theory of unity must reflect the notion that oppression has "multi-faceted defining influences." Albert, as well as his six co-authors (1986), argue that activists ordinarily over-simplify causal factors. They further maintain that it is important for movement activists to move beyond the form of organization of only aligning against a common enemy because oppressions "co-reproduce," where the dynamics of one oppressive sphere reproduces the other sphere's defining relations. For example, they declare that an activist fighting racism cannot necessarily down-play sexism or even classism. Another example is that an environmentalist cannot avoid class oppression or the nation-state when dealing with free trade. Free traders, for example, tend to support the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which has governments from Canada, Mexico and the United States allowing corporations to bypass both environmental and labor laws (Radford and Brown 2001). Although much of this understanding of the interlinking and mutually reinforcing dimensions are acknowledged

by scholars, this sentiment is often only superficial in tone in the struggle for a common enemy, according to Albert *et al.* (1986). However, I argue, that in practice the struggle against a common enemy creates interactivity not seen before in previous paradigms of unity. This one-on-one interactivity is a deepening of connections with each protest or meeting, but also often tension filled. Welton and Wolf (2001) find this is the case as, out of quite different experiences and concerns, protesters commonly confront each other with their respective, and yet interrelated, oppressions and strategies for struggle. Issues of many –isms, such as nationalism, sexism, ageism, heterosexism and homophobia, and racism were found at protests by these scholar-activists brought these groups together in the same streets and on the same day. The engagement of these activists with each other, I argue, allowed these activists to see others also struggling against a common enemy in the context of their own concerns.

The implications of this understanding of their unique opposition(s) in the context of their distinctive oppression are profound. Therefore, in such a transition, when movement actors realize that they are fighting oppressions that are interlinked and mutually reinforcing, I expect that they will see their agenda closer to a "proglobalization" frame than merely an "antiglobalization" frame. This is because they will see that the oppressions they focus on are not really separate, but interdependent. They thereby see globalization as a complex process, creating multiple anomalies, in turn, enhancing and interlinking multiple oppressions. To move to a stronger unity, these movements must transition beyond merely collectively opposing a common enemy, which is a type of negative power – one that Weeks (1992) might call a "power over" instead a of "power with" relationship. Covey (1990) similarly might call this "negative

69

power" a win/lose type of proposition. He advocates instead a win/win relationship, in which a person emphasizes what he or she is "for" instead of what he or she is "against" – a sign of maturity.[18]

In the case of the Seattle and Cancun protests, the collapse of these meetings was declared "wins" for protestors, and "losses" for neoliberalism. Although this type of strategy makes a statement, it does not build long-lasting relationships; it is a negative category of power, as these sorts of meetings will occur again – as was the case in isolated Qatar, for example, and the remote Sea Island chosen for the G-8 meetings in the summer 2004.[19]

I argue that positive power emphasizes what these movements are "for" versus what they are "against," and this type of power will help in promoting change. There are indications of a change in this stance. Although it is easy to see these contemporary movements as only against an enemy, many activists do describe themselves as largely pro-globalization in that they proscribe to a positive alternative to neoliberal globalization. For example, at the 2001 World Social Forum, scholar-activist Susan George concluded that activists are not just against economic globalization, but "are in favour of sharing friendship, culture, cooking, solidarity, wealth and resources" (Callinicos 2003: 133).[20] Similarly, I have found a certain positive outlook in how these SMOs portray themselves, evidenced by the fact that there are many names within the Movement of movements itself. For example, Callinicos (2003) claims that

---

[18] Morton Duetsch (1973) similarly notes a type of cooperative process in which a conflict's outcome is a win/win situation.

[19] In addition to isolation, my experience at the 2004 Democratic National Convention says that police and National Guard power will only increase at these demonstrations.

[20] This sentiment was noticed at both the Boston Social Forum and the Democratic National Convention in which many progressives were upset at John Kerry's "pro-war" stance, but support him anyway because he's an alternative to the current President George W. Bush.

"antiglobalization" is not a proper name for movements that is actually pro-globalization. Although the most popular name for this phenomenon is "Anti-globalization movement," other names maintain a positive tone. Examples of this include the "Global Justice Movement," "Global Democracy Movement", "Global Solidarity Movement" (Milstein 2001), and the "Progressive Movement" (Berg 2003).

Since the tragic events of September 11th, 2001, these movements have had to retool, and have moved toward a more positive stance. For example, activist DeWitt (2000) contends that although anarchists are known for symbolic acts like breaking windows, the coalitions in Seattle were more importantly a possible springboard to move toward expressing what activists are for rather than what they are against. She further notes, "Turning the anarchist ideal into a counter-ideal is very different from letting anarchism languish as an admirable yet prohibitive moral imperative or simplistic practices: it is an idea and a political movement" (p. 12). Before the events of 9/11, these SMOs have been portrayed as narrowly against only capital and corporations. However, Benjamin (2001: 67) declares that this protest was not only a protest against capital, but "for all progressive social movements in the United States." This indicator paves the way for following Albert's (2002) prescription for building a large-scale movement by working on unifying goals and shared long-term commitment. Albert *et al.* (1986), additionally make the case that for a set of movements to unify, they must first see the complexity of oppressions as an interlinked web in which all oppressions need to be simultaneously dealt with. These authors note that interactivity and diversity are both characteristics more and more apparent today. These authors note that "in principle [it is] impossible to separate a thing from its interactive environment" (p. 10). Furthermore,

they maintain that no longer can we have the full story of the whole globalization by only looking at its individual parts, which square with a thin sense of unity, or against a common enemy. Although these movements have instances of positive stances, their organizing at protests is primarily focused against a common enemy. Current rhetoric is focused toward the presidential election, called "Anybody but Bush."[21] However, other organizations, such as environmental organizations are focused on the environment, whereas still other groups, such as Amnesty International are specifically focused on human rights abuses. Another example is Public Citizen's focus on consumer rights.

By assessing where this "Movement of movements" is currently framing how globalization ails them, this study will move us forward in understanding how it might unite. If SMOs view globalization with only a monist orientation, this is telling as to the potential barriers to unite. An assessment of the Framing a Complicated World will help us understand whether these SMOs have grounds for the creation either conflict or common ground, respectively. Therefore, it is important to ask movement activists how they see their opposition. Do they see their opposition as interlinked? Or, do they tend to rank oppressions?

Second Indicator – Framing Their Interdependence

The second indicator is activists basically seeing themselves as moving from separate movements to a single multifaceted movement. This second indicator is what Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979) argue is the shift from objective to perspectival views. Such a views dovetail with the aforementioned move from the simple to complex realities.

---

[21] A slogan framed to say that any candidate is acceptable other than G.W. Bush should be in office beyond 2004.

However, the shift from simple to complex realities reflects how movement activists view what they are "against" to one that because of its intercommunication that finds what they are also for progressive change. A move to a more perspectival view is a move to respect multiple and differing ways of viewing themselves, as well as their opposition. In this way, not only is globalization complex, but it also is only partially comprehensible, unless seen through the lens of multiple perspectives because reality can be appreciated only through particular and partial vantage points. Historically, however, an emphasis on identity has created barriers to understanding others across difference.

In the past, social theorists often have essentialized identity;[22] subsequently movement actors create conflict in response to their respective differences. Even with constructed identities, Taylor and Whittier (1992) argue that as collective identities within a movement emerge; boundaries are created that reinforce an "us" vs. "them" distinction. Basically, factions develop among SMOs. Those that have developed a collective identity develop what Melucci (1989) would call the "we," while other SMOs that fall out side this collective identity, are "them."

A current turn, though, among SMOs is the move beyond identity politics and their respective identity-based conflicts. Likewise, this second indicator is the transition from identity conflict to one in which movement actors see they have something in common. It is a move from only seeing a common enemy to seeing that they, the movement activists themselves, share something in common struggling against interlocked and mutually-

---

[22] An essentialized identity is based on the structural approach opposed to a cultural or social constructionist approach (Stryker 2000). Scholars of the social constructionist's approach study identities in regard to their construction and maintenance through joint action, negotiation, and interpretative work. Stryker (2000) notes that NSM scholars argue that a collective search for identity is a fundamental social movement activity.

reinforced oppressions. This second indicator, or a Framing of Their Interdependence, not only relates to the Framing a Complicated World, but actually builds on it.

Albert (2002) suggests that with multiply acknowledged perspectives, fragmentation and intermovement conflict are often natural outcomes.[23] The implication of such multiple perspectives, he claims, is that some people's experiences of oppressions are felt more acutely than others; therefore, some individuals pursue some agendas more aggressively than others. Furthermore, differing viewpoints, he maintains, mean that people even dissent differently as there are multiple activist and intellectual foci. Although differing viewpoints are important, the resulting fragmentation often leads to ineffectiveness because the opposition is too powerful and pervasive to succumb to only partial criticisms and protests. In the context of different perspectives being pulled together to protest a common enemy, the reflexivity of movement actors, however, has made fragmentation, while not necessarily more effective, but more analytically focused. This critical reflection has made identity fragmentation more fluid by bringing activists together against a common enemy. It is also a move beyond NSMs in that each movement does not only maintain its constituent activist identity, but often reframes its issues as shared. These movements are collectively revealing the contradictions and pitfalls of the current political economy, likely brought together by a sense of "we," in coalition building, or an enhanced understanding of a collective identity that interprets patterns or happenings in the world often antagonistic and unhealthy to its multiple worldviews.

---

[23] This is because people have different life experiences, which are not only a response to a rather complex world, but also because different people will have different viewpoints, or perspectives, they value over others.

The subjective exploration of frames processes in this study is also important because, as Eyerman and Jamison (1991) argue, social movements are not only made up of SMOs, but a dynamic interaction between these different groups, creating a social movement identity. When it comes to coalitions, Rose (2000) argues that coalitions present opportunities to bring to the fore a stronger sense of democracy through learning from deliberations. Through coalitions, he further maintains, relationships, such as those between labor and environmentalists are created through reframing single group issues as shared issues. Rose finds that social learning occurs in which a "more inclusive conception of the common good" develops (p. 215).[24]

Although the emergence of a thin unity in Seattle seemed to only emerge there, in all actuality the transition from the particularized mode of unity was a slow accumulation of coalition building within the movements themselves. This fluidity, I argue, relates to the transition from objectivity to perspectival relations. Like the blind men and the elephant, only one perspective will have someone holding an elephant's tusk thinking it is a spear. Using partial perspectives, one cannot totally wrap one's hands around the complexity of globalization, at least not without interactivity and engagement with those who see the world differently, piecing together different aspects of the same set of problems economic globalization pose. The fluidity of identity may transition movement actors into seeing themselves in a common struggle. The perspectival transition may be evidenced in how the tensions relating to power and exclusion – i.e., people of color,

---

[24] Seidman (1994) provides an example of the feminist movement, in the 1980s, which had searched for a new essential unity at that time, and through coalitions, this unity has grown in its recognition of people of color and sexual orientation, resulting from the concomitant dwindling of its emphasis on identities. Seidman continues further that authors such as Haraway, Nicholson, and Fraser hope to foster a more open feminism with a plurality of voices in a complexity of concepts of social identity, treating gender as only one of many other aspects such as race, class, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation. These "postmodern feminists," Seidman (1994) argues, encourage alliances with other movements, by breaking down the insularity of identity-based communities.

women, and southern voices – are addressed within these movements. Is there a middle path forged in common agendas? Or, are their voices still largely dismissed within these movements?

Because Snow and Benford (1992) argue that frames are interpretative devices that help individuals gain a perspective from a specific point of view. Therefore, Goffman's (1974) notion of framing is relevant here, because he views reality from the individual point of view. Goffman's (1974) understanding of frames is related to perspectives as he notes that when individuals' positions "in an activity are differentiated – a common circumstance – the view that one person has of what is going on is likely to be quite different from that of another" (p. 8). Goffman further notes that individuals who bring different perspectives, or "motivational relevancies," to the "same" events are most likely to bring different ways of dealing with such events. Goffman's description of frames is important in that Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979: 15) find that "any one focus of observation is only a partial result; no single discipline ever gives us a complete picture. A whole picture is an image created morphogenetically from multiple perspectives." This is much like the aforementioned blind men's partial assessment as noted in the Complicated World section, where each individual sees only part of the whole.

Furthermore, Schwartz and Oglivy (1979) argue that there must be multiple perspectives involved through engagement. Today, these concentrations of knowledge and alliances have been facilitated by revolutionary breakthroughs in communications technology, global television networks, and transportation facilities, empowering people all over the world to be more conscious of other places and of the Earth as a whole. For example, in regards to the environment, Ronald Robertson (1992) asserts,

"Notwithstanding their commercial and political manipulation, environmental concerns have enhanced this sense of shared fate" (p. 184). Globalization's complexity has allowed multiple social movement actors to alternatively emphasize their views of reality in unique ways. For example, a common theme among SMOs is the acknowledgement of the Zapatista slogan of "One no and many yeses." This slogan acknowledges the perspectival view of many individual subjectivities, but without harmonizing, or ignoring important differences. This slogan is an approach that resembles the advice of scholars Carroll and Ratner (1996) that social movement scholars should search for common ground among social movements. These scholars noted three years before the Seattle protests that fragmented social movements were unlikely to fight effectively against the forces of hegemony if they cannot find common ground. And, although this contemporary movement's "multi-facetedness," Albert (2002) contends, they only superficially tap into resources in which each effort autonomously focuses on what it does best – a division of labor.

In a coalition, activists can learn from each other. For example, Rose (2000) argues that workers and environmentalists who hold opposing views of the "right" policy over old-growth forests in the Pacific Northwest can gain something from each other. Rose (2000: 195) contends that coalitions "provide a particularly rich opportunity to learn how to speak" to "different communities." Although, Rose (2000: 195) argues, these activists bring to the table a desire to change society, they share different cultural perspectives, "expressing qualitatively different kinds of goals." In the case of the Pacific Northwest, jobs are framed as opposed to forest protection. However, Rose (2000) finds that reframing each side's goals in a common language, they find common ground. He

further maintains that movements align with single issues in mind, bringing them together, and then later evolve broader common goals. To illustrate, "Conversion" of former nuclear facilities into factories briefly provided a useful framework, allowing both peace activists and labor unionists to find a common orientation. While Conversion brought both peace and labor movements together, it was only brief relationship. Other frameworks, Rose finds, like "Diversity" and "Sustainability," helped build mutual links. They, like "Conversion" before it, last only for a short time. These constantly shifting frameworks are sought after by activists, Rose finds, to cope with the challenges they face. This opportunist or active agency Rose notes is like Clemens (1996) notion of *bricoleurs*, which place framing as strategic. Both scholars argue that activists bring with them individual perspectives and are influenced by framed discourse. This means, I argue, that a diagnosis of these ideological frames can help scholars and activists find out these SMOs current state or form of unity.

The success or failure of such ideological frames can either help or hinder this movement of movement's state or mode of unity. The success of these SMOs 'multi-faceted and progressive alliances is based on their respect of differences, and Albert suggests that these can choose one of two paths. First, these groups can fight each other for resources, including members. Or, secondly, they could come together by combining agendas and efforts while retaining their individual ideas and identities? Also, this section begs the question: do these movements see themselves as a multifaceted movement, or an alliance of convenience? Does it have long-range goals of agenda-building together, or only superficial and short-sighted partnerships?

<u>Third Indicator – Framing Hierarchy</u>

This third indicator might be the hardest for SMOs and movements themselves to find progress. This indicator is what Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979) describe as a shift from hierarchy to heterarchy, or equal and side-by-side relations. While the first two indicators are cognitive, or that which is subjectively perspectival, these movement actors also need to either transform existing organizational structures or build new ones to create a stronger form of unity. This is an organizational mode of unity with the potential to merge movements in solidarity while respecting differences among them. Although the Internet has facilitated a decentralized coordination that both empowered activists, it still lacked both staying power and effectiveness. An example is when the Direct Action Network (DAN) tried not only to coordinate hundreds of SMOs, but to tolerate difference at the Seattle protest. Coordination is a structural matter, whereas toleration is a cognitive acceptance of difference. Both of which are needed. While a homogenous mode of organization overemphasizes hierarchy and effective coordination, an anarchist approach emphasizes recognition of others over coordination against any form of hierarchy, like that found in the homogenous form of unity. While the Internet is a structural tool to empower these protesters, it disregards a centralized authority; it promotes a decentralization in which everyone is accepted. A heterarchial authority, though, is one in which power and authority is neither centralized nor decentralized, but rather shared. Therefore, authority rests upon each SMO pooling its power to share an execution of

governance. The movement toward shared governance is an organizational mode in which each movement works side-by-side.

The anarchist emphasis on a decentralized mode harkens back to the fragmented identity politics of NSMs. However, unlike the NSMs, these SMOs have become relativity empowered through technology: email, cell phones, web pages, and search engines. While taking advantage of technology to surprise Seattle police, for example, activists still lacked an ability to coordinate collective action at the protest (Danaher and Burbach 2000). The activist response in Seattle was a decentralized organizational inter-movement action, borrowing largely from the philosophy of anarchy, among their more radical branches' struggle against any form of hierarchy (Dixon 2003). Although scholars, such as writer Naomi Klein and Seattle protest organizer and anarchist Chris Dixon find that a total lack of hierarchy is the preferred organizational form, Freeman (1970) disagrees. Freeman's (1970) experience of the women's movement found that such decentralization may have encouraged discussion and a supportive atmosphere, but such organizational form has its limits. She contends that a "structurelessness" form of organizing can mask power as well as become ineffective because of a chaotic mix of uncoordinated group efforts among individualistic projects. Freeman (1970) also finds that a decentralized movement lacks control of its political action and directions. This is backed by Carroll and Ratner's (1996: 431) findings. In their study of multiple movements in Canada, these authors find that although a non-hierarchical organization might appeal to academics, activists find that they have to organize around the "concrete and intertwined realities of capitalism, heterosexism, racism, sexism, and an ever-deepening ecological crisis." These authors note that the NSMs, with an emphasis on

decentralized and non-hierarchical structures, were an extreme reaction to what I have called the homogenous organizational form of unity, which activists found nearly as oppressive as the societal oppressions they struggled against.

The move from the Gramscian organizational emphasis on hierarchy to the Foucaultian notion of decentralization and back again is like the pendulum of a clock, moving between hierarchy and anarchy (or, no hierarchy). The thin unity experienced in Seattle was a Foucaultian form of politics with an empowering technology. However, it was short of something deeper. The empowering aspect of technology was important, but there was not an accompanying cognitive empowerment, because these SMOs were still wary of homogenization. While Gramsican politics is often oppressive, the Foucaultian politics is ineffective. A heterarchical organizational form, however, is a median point between these two extreme concepts. This stronger form of unity is a heterarchical relation, or a middle path between the two extremes of Gramsci's hegemonic bloc and the Foucaultian postmodern nihilism.

Like Clemens (1996) and McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald (1996), I find that it is important to understand that cognitive practices and organizational structures mutually influence each other.[25] It can be argued that a new organizational structure, specifically the Internet, is used as a tool to communicate in a tolerant way and that this has helped organize movement actors in coordination with other movements' actors. Following this technological advance, movement activists produced, or at least allowed for, multiple cognitive frameworks representing different ways of viewing policy issues.

---

[25] Clemens (1996) finds that frames influence organizational structures, and conversely, McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald (1996) find that organizational structures affect framings.

From the groundbreaking "Battle of Seattle" protest at the end of the 20th Century to the Republican National Convention in 2004, activists interacted. The interconnection between activists has created opportunities to transition from that of a decentralized organizational from of unity against a common enemy to one that organizes toward a more heterarchical organizational form. Transformation by deep interaction is a key for a transition into a deeper unity, I argue, but something not possible without the initial personal interaction found in these aforementioned protests.[26]

As stated earlier, a majority of SMOs in this "Movement of movements" are monist in orientation, with reductionist foundations, subsequently creating a myopic view that "my oppression is worse than your oppression." and impeding coalition building. By emphasizing their respective oppressions at the expense of others, SMOs will organize accordingly. If activists are critical of hierarchy in society, they are likely to organize with less hierarchy themselves. By reducing their rhetoric of absolutism, SMOs may be more open to other critiques before concentrating on their own. In this way, these SMOs have seen some progress toward a more heterarchical type of stance. For example, Callinicos (2003) argues that the collective strength of these movements may be their "productive ambiguity." Such ambiguity is expressed through movement activists not giving precise critiques to change the system, subsequently allowing an inclusive environment, and therefore, giving space to a wide variety of organizing forms and political approaches. However, he cautions this ambiguity does not come without

---

[26] This notion is found in Dorothy Smith's (1990) description of the interactive processes between structure and cognition. These structures, she argues are either the practices and procedures or patterns of relations encoded in organizations and groups' daily lives. She argues that these structures, which she calls "relations of ruling," are usually taken for granted and exposed only when marginalized groups question these practices from a perspectival role. Through building movements, she argues further, individual life experiences of oppression as well as privilege are shared, creating new relations of empathy and respect or better ways to get along.

problems. Callinicos (2003: 147) further argues that these contemporary movements are

"going to have to argue through differences that exist and will probably develop around

such issues without undermining the very powerful sense of unity that has been one of

the movements' most attractive qualities." Since identity politics is often divisive, some

scholars have looked for ways to effectively unite while still maintaining and celebrating

differences (Harding 1998). At the protests in Seattle, instances of such unity were well

noted,

> At the WTO protests in Seattle, we had a collective vision. We saw beyond the borders
> that divided us. We saw people come together across every category of political and
> cultural difference and stand up in a way that we have not seen in this country for
> decades. We saw peaceful protests shut down one of the most powerful institutions in the
> world and we saw a system dazed and frightened by the sound of our voices. – *This is
> What Democracy Looks Like*, Independent Media Center Film Production.

Although the Internet and World Social Forum and a shared sense of fate have

helped in this transition from hierarchical organizing to working side-by-side as equals,

this technology still has not answered problems regarding the proper role of activists. As

one activist Andrew X (1999) notes, to be an activist separates experts from the

everyman and that is problematic when the "revolution" must come from everyone. This

question of role in the Movement of movements relates to the second indicator, Framing

Their Interdependence, because it reflexively allows political space for individual

identities. Additionally, a year after the "Battle of Seattle," protest coordinator Chris

Dixon (2000) of the Direct Action Network declares the following:

> A key problem, then, with the focus on mass mobilizations is the underlying idea that we,
> as people who seek radical social change, must each take great risks and make huge
> commitments in very prescribed ways—and that all of us can afford to do that. Yet this
> doesn't face reality.

Dixon (2000) acknowledges that not all individuals can participate effectively in protests because of the expense of travel. Also, in his article, he recognizes that poor individuals, especially people of color may be targets for arrest, further requiring court costs, time from their jobs at home, and creating arrest records. From the findings, I will later discuss how the unequal ability to protest is problem for many Radical activists.

The Internet has facilitated the transition from a hierarchic to decentralized organizational form, allowing movement actors to temporarily organize in coalitions to oppose a common enemy. The Internet allows activists to organize autonomously, without strict centralized control. However, both my experience and the literature indicate that protests on the ground run on only spokes councils and affinity groups and, therefore, lack any coordination and control.[27] Hierarchic principles, according to Swartz and Oglivy (1976: 13), furthermore, are based on the idea that there is an inherent order in nature. They argue, conversely, that the emergent paradigm moves from a "rule by one" to "a system of mutual constraints and influence." Therefore, to explore the possible transition to heterarchy, it will be important to understand how activists currently describe their alliances with others. [28]

Prefigurative Outlook

Many activists organize in a way that they would like to envision a just world. Albert (2002: 144) claims that "we struggle to make the world less oppressive and more liberating. Doing the same for our movements is part of the same project." Melucci

---

[27] Freeman (1970) in the women's movement found the same thing with their movement strategies and goals.
[28] Although these contemporary movements are said to have an anarchist sensibility, it is possible that it also has some hierarchical structure on the organizational level (See Brulle 2000) as well as heterarchical organizational relationships between movements.

(1995: 113-114) similarly argues that reflexivity of movement actors is prefigurative in terms of how they interrelate in both decision-making processes and personal relationships because "actors consciously practice in the present the objective they pursue."[29] However, according to Brulle (2000), SMOs are not living up to their decentralized ideal because of their centralized, bureaucratic nature. Conversely, I argue that the Internet's decentralized networks recently have facilitated movement activists' ability to prefiguratively strive toward lining up both their organizing capability with other SMOs along with their respective notions of how they see another possible world.

A prefigurative outlook is related to framing. Gusfield (1994) argues that social movements' prefigurative character is a matter of framing. "The very existence of a movement is itself a model of framing: It presents an area of life at issue where it had previously been accepted as the norm" (Gusfield 1994: 69). Social movements, he suggests, are prefigurative in that they bring up alternative ways of looking at issues that were once considered natural, or "common sense." Since frames are applied to how people define both situations and objects differently, social movement activists, he argues further, imagine a future that is an alternative to today's social relations and work toward ways to realize this alternative future. For activists to act in accordance to this alternative future is what Breines (1989) calls prefigurative politics. Therefore, it is important to ask whether movement activists are prefiguratively practicing what they preach? And, how difficult is it, or not? Prefigurative politics will tell us much in the way activists grapple with these internal issues and how these issues, in turn, influence how they frame themselves to others.

---

[29] Prefigurative politics emerged from 1960s protests with their rejection of traditional, centralized movement organizations because they too closely resemble the system that these movements hope to challenge.

In the findings, I find that Radicals and Hybrid SMOs tend to follow a more prefigurative outlook, while Reformer SMOs tend to reflect Brulle's findings.

Heterarchically Speaking

In this section, I want to go over the literature in the search for heterarchical relations, or a middle way. It is a middle way, I argue, that holds the key to understanding the potential for a capacity for a Movement of movements to organize with a unity alongside diversity. In terms of decision making, heterarchical organization avoids the downsides of both extremes of decision making. It allows for activist voice in consensus decision making, and yet allows for the efficiency of majority-rules making.

Although it is hard to imagine heterarchic structures pictorially, theoretically such approaches are numerous. These structures inform the interaction between the concepts of unity and diversity, in search for a deeper sense of unity – a middle way. To illustrate, one tension involving unity and diversity is between "the one and the many" in our early American history (Parker 2003). Parker contends that the debate is rather skewed toward unity and away from plurality, trying to avoid instability by bounding difference into a narrow range. He provides the example of both the American seal and American currency inscribed with the Latin phrase *e pluribus unum*, "from manyness, oneness," which refers to the welding of a single federal state from a group of individual political units – originally colonies and now states. Parker (2003) makes a distinction between the phrase of "*from* manyness," and the phrase "*alongside* manyness." He argues that the former is a reluctant tolerance and the latter encompasses a transcending of difference, an anarchist sensibility. Parker (2003) declares that the *e pluribus unum* conception allows for

political diversity of opinion, but neglects social and cultural diversity. This neglect has given rise to progressive critique of the system, he claims, that emphasizes participation as not a reflection of "citizenship" but merely "consumption." On this line of thought, Karl Hess (1979: 10) critically states, "People who simply drop scraps of paper in a box or pull a lever are not citizens; they are acting like consumers, picking between prepackaged political items."

Although the debate regarding unity and diversity tends to wax between the extremes of each, other scholars and activists have noted a middle path of heterarchical relations, nestled between solidarity and difference – a new sense of unity – theoretically speaking. Adams (2003) points to the Foucaultian notion that power is both creative as well as repressive, in other words, multidimensional; therefore, resistance is always interconnected and irreducible. He further argues that resistance can involve protesting in the street, whether violently or peacefully, or even include atomistic "lifestyle politics." Although Agamben's (1993) book *The Coming Community*, is a fairly theoretical book, he does describe, I think importantly, the "whatever-being," which embodies this multidimensional approach as he notes, this "being" is not reducible to either a universal or a particular, but is beyond identity, a fluid sensibility, neither individual nor generic. Therefore, the "whatever-being" is one that moves beyond identity politics to embody both unity and diversity as a place to achieve somewhere in between the two extremes. An adoption of a "whatever-being" stance by activists can help them move toward the 2nd Indicator of a shift in thinking, beyond exclusive identities. Alternatively, Zohar and Marshall (1994), utilizing Quantum Physics, propose a middle path using a microscopic simile "I" in which particles resemble individuals, or identities, locally embedded, while

waves are "nonlocal" meanings spread throughout time as well as space. They describe

the particle as the self, while the wave is basically meaning we attach to others. They

maintain, as well, that these waves extend themselves, overlapping with other waves to

create something new. Zohar and Marshall (1994) call this interrelation "relational

holism." Adams (2003) offers another theory called "complementary holism," which

basically means that we cannot really understand, say, the economy without a diversity of

critiques integrated into a whole, which gives the first indicator a sense of plausibility.

Activists can, therefore, strive for a middle kind of organizing structure through

complexifying their view of globalization.

On the macroscale, Albert (2002) offers the idea of Autonomy in Solidarity in

which social movements are autonomously searching for self-determination, while

maintaining different perspectives that, like relational or complementary holism or even

the particle/wave, integrate into something greater than the sum of their parts. In the past,

Albert (2002) claims, a coalition meant working together, each hoping that it would

entice others from groups outside its own and possibly subsuming the other after the

conflict is over. More pragmatically, Albert (2002) envisions groups merging their

respective agendas into a new whole in order to struggle toward mutual efforts, while

respecting and keeping intact their own agendas and identities. Albert (2002) argues here

for an active coming together of different activist groups, each working toward a

common agenda. For activists within these movements to embrace either a "whatever-

being" or "autonomy in solidarity," it will take a complementary balance between

individualized identities, and ideologies, in which their respective waves, or meanings

overlap and intermingle in dialogue. And the dialogue must move beyond merely

allowing outsiders into the discussion toward real recognition of difference between how oppressions affect them and how they relate between one another.

Recognizing difference is important because it is a resource. Bohman and Rehg (1997: xxv) argue that difference can be a resource for communication across groups, "the outcome of which is [a] more comprehensive and effective form of social knowledge." Therefore, are SMO movement activists treating oppressions equally, or are they prioritizing some over others? Why? How are SMOs movement activists aligning with others SMOs? Are these alignments working together strategically? Is there are clear division of labor among groups? Are groups looking long-term strategically?

These indicators provide a framework to determine whether the SMOs in question are in transition from a thin unity, through technology and often brief interconnections between movements at protests and social forums, toward something more powerful. Although the three indicators described above seem to be in transition, they are not evolving in a vacuum. Instead, movement activists are evolving and changing, and therefore, creating transitions through a reflexive knowledge. Such critical posture of the status quo has corrective potential. This reflexive knowledge is created behind the scenes in private spaces. However, in recent years, this reflexive potential has been exhibited at large-scale protests and social forums. These protests are the most visible arena in which activists with various identities and political philosophies gather. Protests and social forums are also places in which activists from different movements can utilize their reflexive knowledge nurtured in their respective private spaces. Public spaces allow for a higher level of intermovement reflexivity gathering collectively and publicly to protest a common enemy. Therefore, it is important to further explore and understand both

concepts of reflexivity and political space, which provide the cognitive and structural

housing for these three aforementioned indicators possibly transitioning into a new form

of unity.

In The Context of Reflexivity in Political Space

All three indicators are, in the context of movement actors' reflexivity, imbedded

in political spaces organized by their specific organizational mode. In this section, I will

separately explore these two contextual concepts as they provide context for the previous

three indicators of a possible transition, or not, through movement actors creatively

learning in spaces in which they can interact without outside criticism. However, because

of the intensification in communication, associated with globalization, even activists in

isolated spaces have become more self aware of different ways of thinking, living, and

behaving. In the methodological chapter, the themes that come from this section will be

laid out under the Internal Framing Processes: Reflexivity in Political Space.

Reflexivity

As humans, we are classified as *Homo sapiens sapiens* (Campbell 1988: 22). To

be "sapiens" is to know, or be wise. But to be "sapiens sapiens" means to have the ability

to be "doubly wise" or "doubly knowing." In other words, humans are more highly

evolved than other mammals in that we "know that we know." In this way, humans differ

from other mammals, as humans have a reflexive consciousness.

This research will explore the processes of reflexivity,[30] which flow from diagnostic framing (describing the problem),[31] through decision-making processes that influence prognostic framing (broad vision). While reflexivity in the NSMs was in the form of blaming, a transition in unity is a deeper reflexivity. When questions arise from questioning foundations, and choosing new ways to proceed in a different way, this is reflexivity with potential to change and grow social movements.

Both of these core-framing tasks are micro-framing processes that accumulate and give an SMO it identity (Brulle 2000). Both these framing processes are rooted in political spaces such as the Internet and conferences; the series of World Social Forums serves as the most notable example, which represented a large convergence space for conversation and debate. Such reflexivity is a self-awareness upon which a rethinking or reframing of human relations can have corrective potential, specifically in the context of globalization's accumulation of anomalies.[32]

Chesters and Welsh (2002) suggest that reflexivity is an open and repetitive negotiation of identity and meaning in justification of social action in pursuit of goals. Therefore, reflexivity engages both identity and framing processes, but not in a static sense. Instead, both identity construction and framing process are ever engaging.

---

[30] This reflexivity is similar to Paulo Freire's (1990) "authentic praxis" in which both reflecting and acting upon the world are utilized to radically transform it.

[31] Framing and identity fields are explained in great detail in chapter IV – Methodology under External framing processes.

[32] Elgin and LeDrew (1997) claim that for a paradigm to shift, it must occur in a reflexive way, one in which people question where they come from and where they are going, therefore, creating new healing pathways, correcting the ailing world. Rothman (1996) in his exploration of the Middle East crisis backs up Elgin and LeDrew as he notes that reflexivity actually is of two kinds. The first is a knee-jerk reflexivity that merely blames others, while the second type of reflexivity is to question assumptions, "anticipating our actions prior to enacting them" (p. 348), which is similar to the aforementioned notion of prefigurative politics.

Although we may find growth through dialoguing the possibilities among movement activists, reflexivity might also expose contradictions and dilemmas.[33]

SMO activists are often widely reading, as well as writing and conversing, or in other words, self-consciously analyzing their movement by both exchanging ideas and debating these movements' directions. Much of this exchange of ideas and debate occurs outside of traditional social movement scholarship, in email discussions, listservs, personal discussions, online essays, public talks, study groups, zines, magazine articles, social forums, and conferences. For example, when it comes to dialogue on strategy, Katsiafica (1997: 202) argues that the German Autonomen,[34] popular among SMO activists, are reflexive in nature. He contends, moreover, that protest activity is reflexive in that activists and their "inevitable (and often prolonged) soul-searching afterwards" has influenced subsequent preparations for actions and the actions themselves. Therefore, it is important to ask the following questions of activists on behalf of their respective SMOs: Are activists in the field reading, writing, and debating about organizing and tactical questions as well as methods of mobilization? How are they debating about power and exclusion within these movements? Are they inquiring as to the proper role of the activist? Are they learning from successful and failed strategies and tactical coordination? However, it is also important to understand the prefigurative nature of this

---

[33] Heidegger (1966) makes a distinction between "calculative thinking" and "meditative thinking." While calculative thinking (reflection) strives toward closure in terms of understanding objects, meditative thinking (reflexivity) opens us up to hidden possibilities. In this way, the former accepts reality while the latter questions the basis of reality; such questioning resembles the way in which discursive frames are utilized by social movements.

[34] Katsiafica (1997) notes that because of their wearing heavy black clothing, ski masks, and helmets, they the "Autonome," the German media called them *der schwarze Block*. The tactics themselves were similar to today's black bloc. During the late 1970s, the Autonome were the most radical of the political left, supporting anarchist as well as more anarcho-communist ideas. The Autonome were particularly active in demonstrations against nuclear power plants and later focusing on anti-fascism.

reflexivity. How do these movement actors reflexively debate these questions because they are searching in themselves for what they want to see in the world itself?

Reflexivity is not created, maintained, or communicated in a vacuum. Reflexivity is nurtured in private spaces and, then, communicated in public spaces. In the literature, Habermas (1987) makes the distinction between the public and the private. Habermas (1987) makes the distinction between the system, consisting of administration and economics, and the lifeworld, which consists of both a private and public sphere. The private sphere is the space for the nuclear family, while the public sphere is the space for debate, political opinion, and political participation. The public sphere is the space in which social movements can define issues in less formal settings, outside traditional politics. It is a place where movement actors can deliberate over differences, potentially come to a consensus, and create agendas. However, Lyotard (1984) argues that a movement toward consensus is violent to the heterogeneity of language and interpretations, as consensus tends to homogenize differences and marginalize them. The idea of a "diversity of tactics" at the Quebec City protest may have been an example of this. Similarly, Fraser (1989; 1992) suggests that the public sphere often ignores differences in sex and race. She further maintains that in both spheres, public and private, women are subordinated to men. Therefore, some voices may get lost in such a dialogue in the public sphere.[35]

To understand indications of reflexivity, it will be important to explore themes involving whether movement actors are thinking about power and exclusion within these movements, reading and debating about strategies and tactics, and whether they feel they

---

[35] See the Internal Framing Processes: Reflexivity section of the methodology to see the categories I will focus on for the semi-structured interviews.

are learning from both success and failure in their reflexive responses. While movement actors exercise their reflexive abilities, it is always in the context of structures or political spaces. It is interesting that Seattle's protest brought many activists, once separated by private space nurturing reflexive knowledge, are together against a common enemy. Protests like Seattle and those thereafter were important in bringing activists together to share space, experiences of oppression, and share themselves. This rich dialogue and network building created a great kinetic force, but with the costs of tensions between movement actors and the often painful and uncomfortable dialogue that follows from confronting differences among actors who come from their own respective political spaces.

Political Space

SMOs are key actors in producing social change.[36] As mentioned in the previous section, SMOs create "safe spaces" wherein people can both speak and act together without fear of repression (Tilly 2003). These safe spaces are important, as they allow individuals an opportunity to reflect.[37] Arendt (1958: 194) writes that "before men begin to act, a definite space had to be secured and structure built where all subsequent actions could take place." Additionally, Lederach and Maiese (2003: 11) argue that their notion of conflict transformation requires the creation of spaces "were people feel safe enough to be deeply honest with themselves and others about their fears, hopes, hurts and responsibilities. Honesty reflects parties' sense of safety and builds trust." The Zaptistas

---

[36] Zald and McCarthy (1987: 179) argue "inter-SMO relations are a central dynamic of any social movement."

[37] Kohn (2003) contends that these "sites" are not spatial in the physical sense or structural. Instead, she suggests that this is a political space, one in which people act together and speak to one another, but not in a static location with physical attributes.

utilized two main political spaces – encounters and Internet – that allowed them to get their ideas out to a greater audience. Encounters created a consensus and trust building and the Internet enabled the Zapatista to get their voice heard.

Much of this exchange of ideas and debate is challenged through the aforementioned venues: email discussions, listservs, online essays, public talks, study groups, zines, magazine articles, social forums, conferences, and consultas. Therefore, do these movements see their political space as separate or part of a much larger sense of political space beyond a "movement of movements" to one "movement?"

Chesters and Welsh (2004: 23) argue that these SMOs' strategies emphasize accepting difference and "tension without trying to reconcile any one faction to another;" this is only "possible through the creation of spaces and opportunities for expression of difference that are themselves relatively homogenized." Melucci (1993: 188) further maintains that political spaces are needed for "self-reflexive identity," which "requires social spaces free from control or repression. These spaces, he reasons, enable activists to make visible the collective questions they have regarding their society. Social spaces fairly free from control and repression have been found with these SMOs on the Internet with an anarchist sensibility. However, Harvey (1996: 34) makes the case that spaces, such as these on the Internet, are so narrow in participation that they frequently articulate a "militant particularism." Militant particularism forms out of movement actors forging out affirmative experiences of identity in a particular "safe space," creating a fragmented struggle mired in conflict. However, building bridges among these identities has the potential to universalise this experience as a working model in creating solidarity across particularities.

The same conflict is found in Diani's (1992: 8) definition of social movements, in that they are a "network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and organizations." For RM theorists, networks or interactions, much like grievances, are preconditions for mobilization, so unity is imperative for a social movement to get started in the first place. But, for NSM theory, networks are spaces to act, contest identities, and manifest new meanings. Where RM theory embraces unity, NSM theorists fear its glaring potential to obscure differences, instead embracing the ability to create, contest, and question – a reflexivity of political space. However, since both see that informal interactions are important, whether they are "submerged networks" or "micromobilizations," the difference is really a matter of emphasis. A middle ground here might be for movement actors to both embrace strategic unity, but also respect and contest difference along the way – a unity alongside diversity.

In the context of these SMOs, communication and coordination over the Internet have created a decentralized network of communication to bring together people with a common vision, or purpose, and facilitated their participation in differing activities. Beck (2001: 6) argues: "The act of pulling resources to work together for a common purpose beyond organizational goals and campaigns was critical to putting globalization on the social agenda." Not only is the Internet important for getting recognition and awareness, it is important for getting people to the protests themselves. A *Canadian Security Intelligence Service Publication* (2000) noted that the Internet is the key in the easy planning of a demonstration. The Internet, the publication points out, gives the anarchist philosophy new life, allowing communication and coordination without the need for command and control, yet successfully recruiting, filing e-mail reports, and creating

bonds. Such bonds have the potential, as Goffman (1974) argues, to constitute a "central element of its culture," especially as common understandings emerge. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) describe that social movements are similar to how social movement actors organize on the Internet. They act, in Deleuze and Guttari's words, as a rhizome, which is an underground, horizontally placed plant growth, fitting well with the decentralized organizational structure of these SMOs. The multiplicity of plant growths of underground roots is placed in contrast to the centralized plant growth, they contend, in other words, an egalitarian system placed coordinating a struggle versus a command and control hierarchical organization.

What Global Exchange activist Juliette Beck (2003) calls a movement of movements, or what Klein (2000) calls hubs and spokes with more emphasis on information over ideology, again reflects the Internet. Another pictorial example is Berthold Brecht's (1947 in Cleaver 1994) notion of a shark surrounded by a multitude of small fish swarming. This form of organization is also one that is flexible, much like "flexible capitalism," in which boundaries mean little. Meyer and Staggenborg (1996) support this mirrored interaction as they find that movements and counter movements converge organizationally. In this case, it seems that the "anti-globalization movement" has been able to frame the enemy and organize appropriately. Cleaver (1994) calls the Zapatista movement a "prototype," as the uprising in Chiapas, Mexico inspired many activists to utilize the Internet both to pull together movements and to circulate alternative approaches to social action and organization. L.A. Kauffman's (2000) article in the activist online journal article that the Internet is "an agitator's dream: fast, cheap,

and far-reaching. And with the planetary reach of the World Wide Web, activist networks are globalizing at nearly the pace of the corporate order they oppose."

The Internet and global forums create spaces for alternative frames and worldviews. Dugger (1995: 163) notes that millions of people hunger for serious public debate on daily issues, but major corporations control so much of what Americans see, and what Herman and Chomsky (2002) might call the "manufacture of consent" that the Internet has created an alternative public space. Fisher (1994: 217) suggests that the anarchist nature of the Internet is the organizational form of NSMs in that they are "small, loose, and open . . able to tap into local knowledge and resources." Through both the Internet and global forums, progressive intellectuals from around the world are able to communicate in political spaces. Not only is the Internet important, but so are global forums.[38] For example, the Second World Social Forum in February 2002 at Porte Alegre, Brazil adopted a statement: "We are building a large alliance from our struggles and resistance against a system based on sexism, racism, and violence, which privileges the interests of capital and patriarchy over the needs and aspirations of people" (World Social Forum Website 2003).[39]

Although Habermas (1987) argues that the members of a new class may want and demand that the world become more rationally accountable, I argue that since many people frame the world differently, albeit, in a fragmented or uncoordinated way, it may be important to ask whether these many autonomous perspectives can evolve if their organizational mode of unity changes to meet the long-term struggle from oppression.

---

[38] Kearney (2001) finds that there is still a "digital divide" between those who have computers and those who do not, such as people of color and the poor.

[39] Milstein (2001) doubts that the World Social Forum can make a difference because many radical voices are left out of the discussions because they lack travel expenses. Petras (2003) argues that there was a polarization between both insiders and outsiders at the World Social Forum in 2002.

Therefore, I argue that these SMOs are largely opposing a McWorld, or the free market neoliberal mentality that tends to say that there is only one way of seeing the world and approaching society's problems. Or, as Hardt and Negri (2000: 101) assert, "The ruling ideology about the present form of globalization is that there is no alternative." Carlos Tiburcio of the Action for a Financial Transaction in Supporting Citizens (ATTAC) spoke to an organization committee press conference a day before the official opening ceremony. Tiburcio, in a similar light, told an auditorium that the war on terrorism was "an attempt to impose a single line of thought throughout the world." He further maintains "that line of thought, one that criminalizes anyone who opposes neo- liberal globalization, will not stand" (Sullivan 2002). I argue that these SMOs are moving toward "better" world through political spaces – like the World Social Forums and on the Internet – maintaining unique identities while working toward common meanings in dialogue over the acceptance of their mutual difference, asserting that there are indeed alternatives. Perhaps, through this new understanding of the relationship between unity and diversity, the current impulse to simultaneously align and maintain respective group identities will give these SMOs a new sense of what it means to create another world.

The growth of Transnational Social Movement Organizations (TSMOs) themselves has provided movement actors political space for gaining knowledge (teach-ins), skills, and experience in organizing work (J. Smith 2001). These organizations have created opportunities for dialogues to coordinate their agendas and negotiate identities and important activities for long-term mobilization. J. Smith (2001) suggests, along with McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly (2001), that organizations push for protests in order to dramatize the movement's numbers and unity. Smith argues that bringing these

movement actors together in the protest environment; whether it be for teach-ins, organizing for the protest, or the protest itself, promotes dialogue across difference. Furthermore, activists' identities are often reinforced through police brutality, teach-ins, or the media portrayals of "us" vs. "them."

What is interesting about these contemporary movements is not only their diversity, but the fact that they are building bridges toward a sense of solidarity. Another place where these SMOs are building bridges is the World Social Forum. Anuradha Vittachi, Director of the One World International Foundation (OneWorld.net 2003), says:

> The World Social Forum has become an incredible celebration of alternative views on democracy, global governance and development. Its value is not just in opposing the forms of globalisation that are undermining social justice but also in bringing together so many people and organisations that are providing the ideas and concrete actions to make another world possible.

Bello (2003a) commends the World Social Forum for providing a space where social movements can explore ways to work together despite their differences. He further maintains that the World Social Forum process "may be the main expression of the coming together of a movement that has been wandering for a long time in the wilderness of fragmentation and competition. The pendulum, in other words, may now be swinging to the side of unity" (ibid). The World Social Forum is an example of the movements' reflexivity, as movement actors open up to empathetic communication before pushing to be heard.

However, these movements' push toward a strong unity is precarious. Chris Strohm (2002: 1) describes the second WSF: "Imagine the social forum as being a giant, colorful jigsaw puzzle for global justice. Multiple decrees, strategies and alternatives are emerging here that still have yet to yield a larger, organized picture. The issues and

agendas being discussed and dissected here are as broad and intricate as the world itself."

Obviously, from these authors' descriptions, these SMOs are more divided than it seems on the surface. Additionally, the WSF format is not to push agendas or necessarily move these movements forward, but instead to neutrally provide a political space. The WSF Charter of Principles states that it is not a united platform or organization, but, specifically:

> an open meeting place for reflective thinking, democratic debate of ideas, formulation of proposals, free exchange of experiences and inter-linking for effective action, by groups and movements of civil society that are opposed to neo- liberalism and to domination of the world by capital and any form of imperialism, and are committed to building a society-centered on the human person (WSF 2004).

This means that the WSF is a political space, but it either must change its format to build agendas or these movements must find a new venue to move toward a new form of unity, one that considers unity alongside diversity. It seems to me that bringing together a variety of activists beyond protests is paramount if for these movements to achieve a new unity; it must go beyond a meeting place toward a place to build bridges and agendas. An agenda-building WSF can help move these indicators along in both representing respective voices and also transforming those voices into something that is greater than its individual parts while still respecting difference.

These three indicators of an emergent paradigm are noticed in this Movement of movements but, only partially so. Activists continue to have monist foundations, or simplified orientations or lenses that inform them that their oppressions are more important and have more immediate needs than others. To move to a higher form of unity, movement activists need to see oppressions as interlinking and mutually reinforcing. Second, as Adams (2003) notes, since movement activists still tend to fight

101

ideologically, or objectively, they still often fail to see that their views may be only partial. Activists need to acknowledge their only partial viewpoints. This acknowledgement may lead activists to the fact that they are themselves interrelated and in a mutual interaction – therein lays an immense potential power within them. Third, with the advent of the Internet, and social forums, movement actors not only have been able to protest, but to increase their interactions and capacity to organize and learn together while maintaining a sense of autonomy in their respective political spaces. These relations are maintained in accordance with their values to gain power to shift in accord with their hopes for a new world. Finally, these three indicators are set in the context of their reflexive response to not only the world around them, but with other movement actors and whether they themselves are learning from their actions, all of which are through the productive, or not so productive, dialogue with movement activists.

Despite these aforementioned indicators of a paradigmatic transition, the reason for such a diagnosis is that tension within these contemporary social movements still persists. Although Internet dialogue helps movement actors to get to protests and align together, there is still a tendency among SMOs, according to Albert (2002) and Martinez (2000), to exclude others in decision making within these movements. Additionally, the Internet does not guarantee that movement actors act prefiguratively, or that they see oppressions interlocked, or that they themselves are necessarily on the same side. From the literature, it seems that the fourth form of unity is not a paradigm arrived at easily. Instead, this new form is a paradigm under which movement actors must grow over time, learn and mature within the third notion of unity. This third form of unity is one that converge movement actors of different perspectives by virtue of being pitted together

against a common enemy. It is through dialogue, often uncomfortable, but necessary and in safe spaces that a new form of movement phenomenon can arise.

How these movements emerge and what they might look like as well as whether they will make this paradigm transition at all is still an open question, but an important one. Not only is this exploration relevant to social movement scholars, but to members of these movements themselves, as a reflexive tool for social change. In this way, I will focus this study on grounded theory, allowing answers to emerge from the data itself. However, I utilize theory to place in context what I am searching for and to inform scholars, activists, and scholar-activists about how to understand, from the activists' point of view this Movement of movements. What is the current state of the movement's unity, and do the constituent movements have the capacity to move toward a new stronger, richer unity, not yet experienced?

Since many activists have called for a new sense of unity, as well as a need to study this possibility by scholars and activist-scholars, it is important to conduct research to gain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon. It is important to study these movements qualitatively and describe quantitatively through a content analysis to maintain trust and legitimacy with those who are to be interviewed. Therefore, this literature review section begs the question: are movement actors transforming toward a new type of unification through their interaction at protests, conferences, and the Internet?

<u>Frames and Framing</u>

Before I get into the internal and external framing process, I want first to discuss frames. A "frame" works because "it simplifies 'the world out there" by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions in one's present or past environment (Snow and Benford 1992: 137). The framing literature identifies two different types of frame processes. The first framing process is called "frame alignment" and the second is "counter-framing." Frame alignment processes attempt to link the interpretive orientations of the SMO with those of a target group (Snow *et al*. 1986). The second type of framing is called, "counter-framing," in which antagonist organizations fight one another –e.g., neoliberals, or other enemies, and these SMOs themselves.[40] If left unchallenged, the SMO's opponents' frames will eventually carry away even the targets in the SMO's alliance system (Klandermans 1992). In the multi-organizational field context then, the alliance and neutral systems of an SMO are targeted through "frame alignment processes, and their enemies are targeted through "counter-framing" (Benford 1987: 75). For most SMOs these framing efforts are toward multiple targets and are not sequential, but simultaneous (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1988: 726).

Beyond frame alignment and counter framing, I borrow Brulle's concept of the discursive frame, which both creates and maintains common beliefs that define reality in which a social movement finds itself imbedded. Frame alignment and counter framing are basically "processes," but also these concepts also denote "content," which according to Oliver and Johnston (2000: 43), both of which are in people's heads motivating and justifying action. These authors also contend that ideologies are a cultural resource,

---

[40] In this case, the SMO attempts to undermine its opponents' attempts at frame alignment with contested targets through "counter-framing" – an attempt to "rebut, undermine, or neutralize a person's or group's myths, versions of reality, or interpretive framework" (Benford 1987:75).

which can be tapped into in order to construct collective action frames, which set up a state of mind that makes collective participation seem worthwhile to activists. This argument follows Swidler's (1986) argument that culture is basically a "tool kit." And, methodologically, Oliver and Johnston (2000) contend that framing is an empirically observable activity, while ideology is not. Oliver and Johnston (2000) provide more clarity on the difference between framing and ideology by noting that an ideology is a complex set of ideas, and a frame is its particular invocation in a specific time and place. They further make the distinction that ideology is basically a system of ideas created through socialization, education, and debate, whereas frames are orienting principles. Additionally, ideologies are defined by Martin Seliger as "a set of ideas by which men posit, explain and justify the ends and means of organized social action, irrespective of whether such action aims to preserve, amend, uproot or rebuild a given social order" (Heywood 1992: 6). Ideologies, then, are interrelated and basically coherent ideas. Frames bring in an interactive nature and one of action and change, while ideology brings in a cohesive set of interrelated ideas that play off each other. Taken together, the core framing tasks as an interactive unit, I argue, are best described as both ideology and frame.

In order for movement actors to unite and network, they must be brought together through common forms of collective action and ideas (Tarrow and McAdam 2005). This is done strategically by connecting experiences and events of "reality" together in a fairly compelling and unified way (Snow and Benford 2000: 623).[41] However, as Klandermans (1997) points out, since reality is too complex for only a single perspective on an issue, debates over controversies develop. The collective action frame is the strategic

---

[41] In what Keck and Sikkink (1998:27) call a "casual story."

interpretative process that condenses and simplifies the often ambiguous and complex

world with the purpose of mobilizing support and organizing action thorough linking

their grievances with discourses that can facilitate the leveraging of material and political

support through articulating demands (Klandermans 1997; Tarrow 1998). Snow and

Benford (1992: 137) elaborate that collective action frames "underscore and embellish

the seriousness and injustice of a social condition or redefine as unjust and immoral what

was previously seen as unfortunate but perhaps tolerable." These authors explain that

social movement actors do this by constructing grievances, connecting them to other

grievances, creating even more encompassing frames of meaning that speak to their allies

and communicate these grievances to power holders. However, this strategic framing is

most successful if it is not viewed as a strategy (Adamson 2005).

Collective action framings are strategically implemented through Snow and

Benford's (1988) core framing tasks, which seek to mobilize consensus. These core

framing tasks, taken together, act as if they were an ideology, or what I call an

ideological frame. I utilize two main "core framing" tasks for this ideological framing.

First, *diagnostic framing* defines a problem and assigns blame for the problem to others.

Second, *prognostic framing,* which offers solutions, proposes specific strategies, tactics,

and objectives by which these solutions may be achieved (Snow and Benford 1988: 199 -

202).[42] A third, core framing task is that of motivational framing. I utilize this core

framing task in the discussion, specifically on reframing. This motivational framing is the

construction of expressions to motivate support, or encode an array of events into

---

[42] Brulle (2000) argues that these core framing tasks create a narrative that gives an organization its identity
as well as guiding its collective actions. Discursive frames serve in two basic ways: (1) delegitimize the
dominant worldview and (2) legitimize the movement itself to gain an identity by creating narratives
justifying the need for a new social order.

meaningful "packages" for the targets of mobilization. Reframing compel activist toward action mobilization.

Framing shared values is also important may be important because for an emergence a new social movement. Ray (2005) argues that there are nearly 50 million people in the U.S. and at least as many in Europe, who are Cultural Creatives and are at the center of this Movement of movements. He argues that social movement activists need to emphasize shared values and shared frames. So, the locus of change is within movements because, according to Ray and Anderson (2000 & Ray 2002), social movements "reframe," changing the order of facts and events in a way that reorients what people once thought natural.

Benford and Snow (2000) argue that if SMO activists follow a narrow repertoire of general cognitive scripts, provided by the SMO itself, these core framing tasks can act as a central set of propositions, or ideas, which actors can collectively organize around. Since these core framing tasks are related to the worldview in which a social movement basis its identity, movement activists interaction constitutes an SMO (Brulle 2000). In this way, with a frame SMOs exclude other realities, limiting the possible collective action options considered (Brulle 2000). Therefore, it can be argued that the building and maintenance of a discursive frame will, on the one hand, limit alliances to other SMOs, yet on the other hand, build alliances to others who are like-minded. In this dissertation, I will also utilize and borrow from Hunt *et al.'s* (1994) notion of identity fields to examine SMO framing processes. Frame processes impute characteristics to other actors, what Hunt *et al.* (1994: 192) call three different identity fields: allies (allies), antagonists (enemies), and audiences. These authors argue that each identity field "typically consists

of a multiplicity of imputes and avowed identities" (p. 192). SMO activists position themselves according to a "constellation of identity attributions," about another sphere or ideological SMO (p. 192). SMO actors, therefore, "locate their organization and its views within a collective action field or context" (p. 193). In this methodological section, I will discuss how I have broken up the analysis of these SMOs, first, with External Framing Processes and, second, Internal Framing Processes.

<u>Empowerment</u>

Before I delve into empowerment, it is important to lay down some brief ground work on what is power. Power is often defined as the ability to influence others' behavior. However, the literature has defined multiple dimensions of power. Dahl (1957: 202-203) defines power as "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do." In the second face of power, Bachrach and Baratz (1962 in Digeser 1992: 978) contend that "power is not solely a matter of getting B to do something that she does not want to do, but can also be a matter of preventing B from doing what she wants to do." In the third face of power, Steven Lukes (1974) states that "power could be exerted even if B consciously wants to do what A desires" (Digeser 1992: 979). Therefore, if B acts against his/her interests, then power is being exercised. Digeser (1992: 980) argues that the fourth face of power asks: "What kind of subject is being produced?"

First	Second	Third	Fourth
Dahl (1957: 202-203) defines power as "A has power over B to the	Bachrach and Baratz (1962) "power is not solely a matter of	Steven Lukes (1974) "power could be exerted	If B acts against his/her interests, then power is

extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do."	getting B to do something that she does not want to do, but can also be a matter of preventing B from doing what she wants to do" (Digeser 1992: 978).	even if B consciously wants to do what A desires" (Digeser 1992: 979).	being exercised. Digeser (1992: 980) argues that the fourth face of power asks: "What kind of subject is being produced?"

Table 3-2 Four faces of power.

Empowerment is an important counterweight to power, however, argues that this observation of power is external; power can come from within, too (Dugan 2003). Dugan (2003) makes the case that power from within opens up the possibility of strategies that can combat injustice and create social change. "Activists need to realize what the power holders already know – that political and societal power ultimately lies with the people, not the power holders" (Moyer 2001: 63). Empowerment is important because as it is the inversion of the powerful, it is how people can obtain control over their lives and agendas. It is a way to challenge, to poke at, provoke, and even possibly defeat the powerful opposition. Empowerment is also important because a new sense of efficacy must emerge and develop for people to become involved in collective action (Kieffer 1984). Empowerment is a "long-term process of adult learning," one that may take many years for activists to steadily build up the capacity to flex their "political muscles and potential for external impact" (Kieffer 1984: 19). However, different SMOs vary in their view of how to empower activists.

Zimmerman (1995: 582) articulates empowerment as a process:

People create or are given opportunities to control their own destiny and influence the decisions that affect their lives... individuals learn to see a closer correspondence between their goals and a sense of how to achieve them, gain greater access to and control over resources, and where people, organizations, and communities gain mastery over their lives.

Empowerment, though, has several dimensions. Gaventa (1999) develops a three-dimensional view of power, and proposes three strategies to oppose such power. He suggests that empowerment is a strategy to oppose those who have power. In this case, I want to know how these SMOs perceive empowerment differently. I describe the three empowerment strategies below:

- The first empowerment strategy emphasizes advocacy, is issue based, and has an emphasis on professional leaders. Activists organize, or advocate, <u>on behalf</u> of people.
- The second empowerment strategy emphasizes mobilization and organizing on key issues and organizer leadership. Activists train leaders, work on funding, membership, and tactics. The activist role is to create leaders over followers. This is activism <u>with </u>the people.
- The third emphasizes an emancipatory education or awareness, a critical consciousness with an indigenous leadership. The third emancipatory strategy says that activists should come from those who are oppressed. This is Gramscian activism <u>by the people</u> themselves.

Therefore, I argue that empowerment, as applied to social movements under examination, is where SMOs representatives across each notion of empowerment, respectively:

1. Control or influence other oppressed groups so as to produce outcomes that redistribute resources or power *outside* the process from stronger to weaker parties;
2. Redistribute power by training leaders within oppressed groups to partner in social change; and
3. Restore individuals' awareness of their own value and strength and their own capacity to handle life's problems.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

This methodology chiefly utilizes frame analysis of the Movement of movements

to understand its current state of unity and its capacity to achieve a stronger unity. In this

section, I examine the dissertation's key thematic questions, discuss how the data were

collected, describe the sample itself, and finally describe the process I employ to

qualitatively analyzing the data.

In examining the key questions of this dissertation, I want to discuss briefly how

the qualitative examination of frames is an attempt to know what is in people's heads.

Since, researchers unfortunately cannot read minds, we instead have theoretical tools to

help in such an exploration. Frame theory is important because, for example, Lippmann

(1921: 16) argues that "the way in which the world is imagined determines at any

particular moment what men will do." The modern extension of Lippmann's observation

is based on the concept of "frames" as explained in the literature review. People use

mental shortcuts to make sense of the world (Snow and Benford 1992). Since most

people are looking to process incoming information quickly and efficiently, they rely

upon cues within that new information to signal to them how to connect it with their

stored images of the world. Lippmann's "pictures in our heads," might better be thought

of as storage boxes - filled with pictures, images, and stories from our past encounters

with the world and labeled with everything from our youth, marriage, equality, fairness, and injustice, etc. The incoming information provides cues about which is the right container for that idea or experience. The mind makes the connection; a process called "indexing," and moves on. The aforementioned core framing tasks index grievances, tactics, and visions for the future to create a coherent set of ideas or ideologies. Therefore, I utilize the core framing tasks as to help facilitate my examination of the Movement of movements to understand how these SMOs are similar or different from each other and whether they can achieve a strong unity, or remain relatively fragmented and united against an enemy, or somewhere in between. I also examine whether the Movement of movements have a collective identity as well as what barriers and bridges to uniting it exhibits. In the following subsection in this chapter, I outline my guiding thematic questions, which helped me in creating systematic survey instruments that enabled me to gain data that related to my desire to understand the Movement of movement's capacity to unite.

<div align="center">External Framing Processes-Identity Fields</div>

In this section, I identify themes largely from the collective action frame's core framing tasks. This framework facilitates my ability to find themes that relate to this dissertation's research purpose. This analysis focuses on whether SMOs can unify beyond seeing a common enemy, possibly even collectively act as the singular facets within a larger movement.

Key themes examined are the following:[1]

- How do SMOs diagnose problems?

---

[1] See these themes reflected in the interview questionnaire in the Appendix I, and see codes in Appendix II.

- How do SMOs fix oppressions, injustices, or grievances?
- How do SMOs utilize tactics to challenging power?
- How do SMOs envision alternatives?
- Are SMOs in competition, in coalition: Do these SMOs see a common enemy, or see themselves as different facets of a larger movement?

Internal Framing Processes: Reflexivity in Political Space

Although the external framing process focuses on the core framing tasks, the internal framing processes largely focus on identity and bridges and barriers to uniting. From these three tensions rooted in political space, I specifically explore examples in which contradictions come into play. To understand more about these this Movement of movement's reflexivity rooted in political space it is important to explore themes in which SMO activists may see themselves among or separate from this movement phenomenon: [2]

- Who do SMOs view as their allies and enemies?
- Do SMOs debate issues concerning power and exclusion within these movements?
- How do SMOs view deliberation at conferences and protests?
- Are movement activists prefiguratively practicing what they preach?
- Do SMOs view political spaces as part of a larger social movement, or one that is only particular to their immediate goals?
- What are the Barriers and Bridges to unification for the Movement of movements?
- Are the Movements of Movements in either a reactionary or agenda-building mode?
- What are the shared values, if any, among SMOs?

---

[2] For relating these themes to the interview questionnaire, see Appendix I, and see Appendix II for codes.

Data Gathering

Surveys

For this section, I describe the process by which I gathered data with the two interview guides I developed (See Appendix I; II). I conducted the first survey via the Internet and then a telephone follow-up. Anderson and Kanuka (2003) find that researchers need to feel comfortable that those who they are interviewing are Internet savvy. Therefore, I utilize an Internet survey is appropriate because activists in these movements have done a great deal of SMO organizing activity over the Internet. I also decided to conduct interviews with this format because of limited resources. Anderson and Kanuka (2003) cite studies that have found that Internet surveys and face-to-face interviews are comparative in the quality of findings. To help with rapport, I first called the SMO to find the appropriate person to interview. Subsequently, I telephoned the interviewee to see if he or she was interested in filling out my questionnaire. If the interviewee agreed, I subsequently emailed him or her a link to my Internet web page questionnaire interface. I started the interview web page-interface questionnaire process with an electronic version of the Internal Review Board approved consent form. When the participant pushed the "I agree, continue" button, he or she then was allowed to fill out the questionnaire.

After the interviewee completed the web-based questionnaire, I emailed the

interviewee to confirm that I had received the survey and to thank him or her. I, then,

studied the interviewee's answers, creating follow-up questions to complete the survey. I

adjusted which questions I asked to ensure to get information that was missing because

the interviewee either decided he or she did not have time to finish the survey, or I

needed to fill in the information gaps found after conducting the web-based survey that

were either ambiguous or incomplete. After a study of the questionnaire, I, then,

requested a follow-up telephone interview. These semi-structured, telephone interviews

lasted approximately an hour or more. I tape recorded the conversations with their

permission. In these semi-structured interviews, I worked from an interview schedule

with preplanned and sequenced questions.[3]

Sample

I gathered fifty-five interviews from SMO representatives for this study to

specifically explore whether SMOs can gain a capacity to unite.[4] I obtained names of

SMOs associated with organizing, protesting, and activism through scanning Internet

websites for those who attended the Seattle protest in 1999 and Washington D.C. in 2000.

I also made personal contacts in Quebec City in 2001, San Francisco in 2003, the Boston

---

[3] These questions were open-ended and allowed for follow-up questions. Social movement scholars Blee and Taylor (2002:93) describe semi-structured interviews as "a guided conversation," but one that elicits particular categories of information from the movement actor's perspective. This type of interviewing procedure, they make the case, is also a streamlined way of gaining rich data from field research without a long-term involvement in the activities and lives of those involved in movements themselves.

[4] McCarthy and Zald (1977:18) define a social movement organization as a "complex, or formal organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement. . . and attempts to implement these goals."

Social Forum, and Democratic National Convention in 2004. From these sources, I was

able to "snowball," interviewees to gain names of other potential contacts. I also gained a

number of contacts, initially cold-calling more than one hundred and fifty organizational

representatives.[5] Over the course of five months, I obtained a total of fifty-five surveys

and/or telephone interviews in order to gain a wide variety of groups in this study's

sample.[6] I later transcribed the interviews over the course of three months in the summer

of 2005.

Within each SMO, I interviewed a "key informant," who represented that SMO

(Lofland and Lofland 1995). Key informants are individuals who possess special status or

knowledge, who are willing to share their knowledge with the researcher. These key

informants also have access to perspectives or observations often denied to the

researcher. Each key informant gave me information from the viewpoint of his or her

organization specific organization, not his or her opinion. In my initial contact, if the

person was not the person who could speak for the organization, I asked for names of

others to speak with. In order to make sure I had a good sampling of the different types of

SMOs, I purposively have sampled[7] SMOs from a variety of perspectives. For a

---

[5] More than one hundred organizations accepted the survey after my initial contact, only fifty five though filled out the survey/interview.

[6] Mertens (1998:271) advocates interviewing 30-35 people for semi-structured interviews that represent social movement organizations (SMOs).

[7] Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, and Allen (1993) contend that purposive sampling is a type of sampling in which the selected units are chosen not by chance but deliberately – in order to include units with particular characteristics, in this case unique perspectives. Furthermore, they argue that random sampling is not preferred because the researcher's major concern is not to generalize findings to broad population, but instead to "maximize discovery of the heterogeneous patterns and problems that occur in the particular context under study" (p. 82).

representative cross section of groups, I have sampled SMOs from five major, ideal

types, or spheres:[8]

- Communal (nationalistic),
- Kinship (feminism, homosexuality),
- Economic (sweatshops, labor, and Marxist),
- Political (anarchism), and
- Ecological (Environmental).

I also added Research & Media and Spiritual spheres as categories to encompass

SMOs because of their great influence within the Left itself. Additionally, I added the

Pluralistic sphere because some SMOs do not fit neatly within other spheres and portray a

unique sense of what the Movement of movements is about. I have endeavored to contact

groups that are of different ideologies as well, ranging from those who aspire to minor

reform to those who promote radical social change; however, all SMOs sampled fall on

the left side of the political spectrum.[9] The purpose of this analysis is to examine and

describe the many discourses from the lens of the activists themselves. For the most part,

the categories mentioned under each of them are the most salient categories in the mind

of the activist key informants themselves. My goal is to embrace and engage a large

diversity of perspectives, paralleling Laclau and Mouffe's (1985: 140) notion that

"plurality is not the phenomena to be explained, but the starting point of the analysis."

---

[8] Each sphere is largely borrowed from Albert *et als.'* 1986 book *Liberating Theory*. Each sphere, I argue, is equivalent to a s*ocial movement industry* made up of all of the social movement organizations with relatively similar goals (Zald and McCarthy 1987: 2).
[9] Bagguley (1992) and Pichardo (1997) criticize NSM theory for its over reliance on left-wing movements.
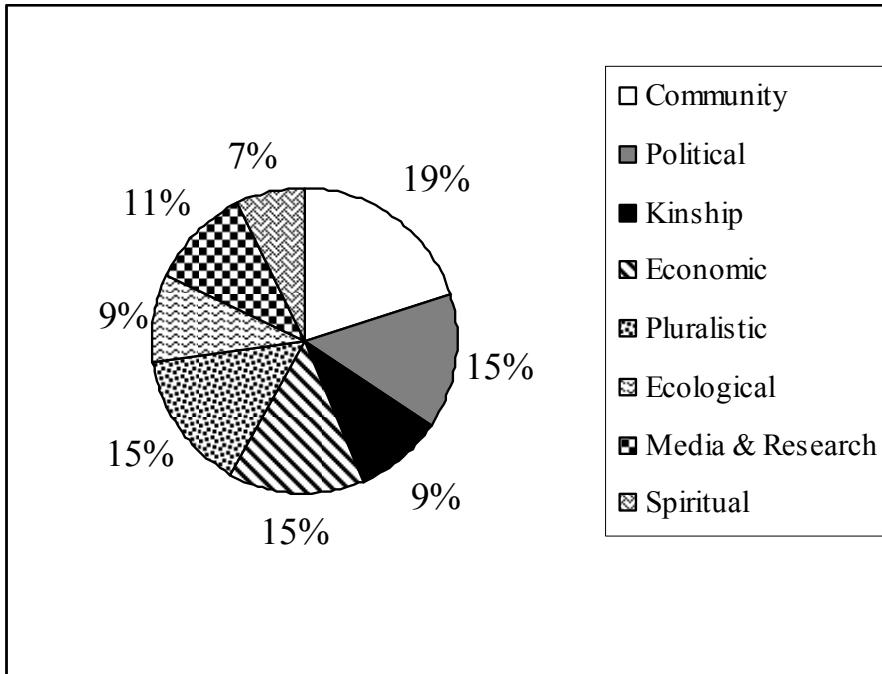
Figure 4-1
Sample Percentage and Number

The largest sphere sampled is the Community (19%) with eleven SMOs interviewed. This sphere covers most SMOs concerned with anti-racism and specifically works with indigenous or is an indigenous group. In the Community sphere, I sampled from Latino, American-Indian, Afro-American, Human Rights, Community centered diversity groups, and Third World Indigenous groups, for example. Three other spheres I sampled each constituted 15% of the total sample, or eight SMOs each: Political, Economic, and Pluralistic SMOs. Political groups include peace, justice, and antiwar SMOs and groups that focus on political oppression.[10] Economic groups are economically based, such as Marxists, as noted in Albert *et al.* (1986), as well as other labor and Socialist SMOs. Pluralistic SMOs center on a multiple oppression approach not addressed by other spheres. Media & Research support organizations constitute eleven

---

[10] The political sphere is collapsed with nationalistic SMOs elaborated in Albert *et al.* (1986).

percent of the sample, or six SMOs. This sphere includes a radio station, movie studio, a

communications consulting firm, and some think tank/research organizations. Tied for

the sixth largest sphere sampled are the Environmental and Kinship spheres at nine

percent each. Environmental SMOs are those that concentrate on an aspect of

environmental degradation or saving the planet's environment. Kinship SMOs are

composed of sexual orientation and feminist organizations.[11] The final sphere is

spiritually based SMOs, representing various religious affiliations in support of activism

similar to other SMOs in this study. I placed SMOs into spheres by either asking the key

informant where they think their SMO fits and/or researched their mission statement on

the Internet.[12]
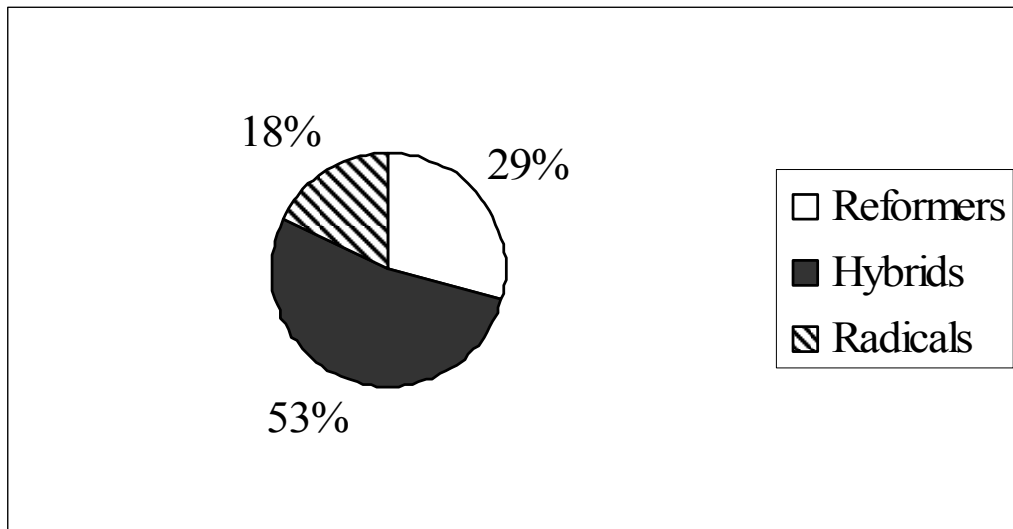
Figure 4-2
Sample Percentage and Numbers by Ideology

---

[11] I found that I had a hard time obtaining these groups. I think it is because I am male and possibly
threatening because of this characteristic.
[12] Also, because I have each key informant's confidentiality in mind, I do not include organizational or key
informant names in this study.

As previously mentioned, during the course of research, I have also found that the different SMO representatives interviewed fell along an ideological spectrum from Reformer to Radical SMOs (See Figure 4-2). Sixteen (29%) of the fifty-five the SMOs are Reformers while ten (18%) of the fifty are clearly Radical. Twenty-nine of the fifty-five SMOs are Hybrids, which comprise mixed ideological characteristics. Although representatives of these particular SMOs only sometimes refer to themselves by these specific labels, they often use these terms to refer to other SMOs, especially those ideologies different from their own.

Radical SMOs advocate, among other things, revolutionary change[13] and utilize consensus decision-making strategies.[14] Reformers are those SMOs that utilize majority-rules, top-down decision-making strategies, and advocate incremental change as their vision for the future. Hybrids, meanwhile, are all groups in between with a mix of decision-making strategies and visions for the future.

Ideology is a way to diagnose specifically the differences and conflicts that may or may not erupt between Radical and Reformer SMOs. Benford (1993) finds that SMOs associated with Radicals and Reformers (what he calls liberals) have the greatest disputes. We shall see in Chapters V – VII, my findings concur with Benford's study. Other scholars, such as Zald & McCarthy (1980) find that disputes are not that unusual among factions and schisms, or identifiable subgroups, and often develop within a movement. Zald (2000: 5) proposes that when describing specific movements, it is

---

[13] As I define in the Nomenclature, revolution is a large-scale change in a physical sense. It is the taking over of power. There is debate in the movement whether taking over the government will be by force or by nonviolent civil disobedience.

[14] It is possible that many activists downplay their radical ideas. As one Hybrid Media & Research Activist notes, "We don't want to be seen as being radical. …If we were seen as radical, we couldn't work with trade ministers or World Bank officials."

important to "take into account the ideological diagnoses and prognoses that shape

movement adherents' world view and programs of action." Therefore, in this paper, I

examine not only spheres, but also ideologies, utilizing a quantitative content analysis of

surveys and interviews administered to representatives from fifty-five SMOs.
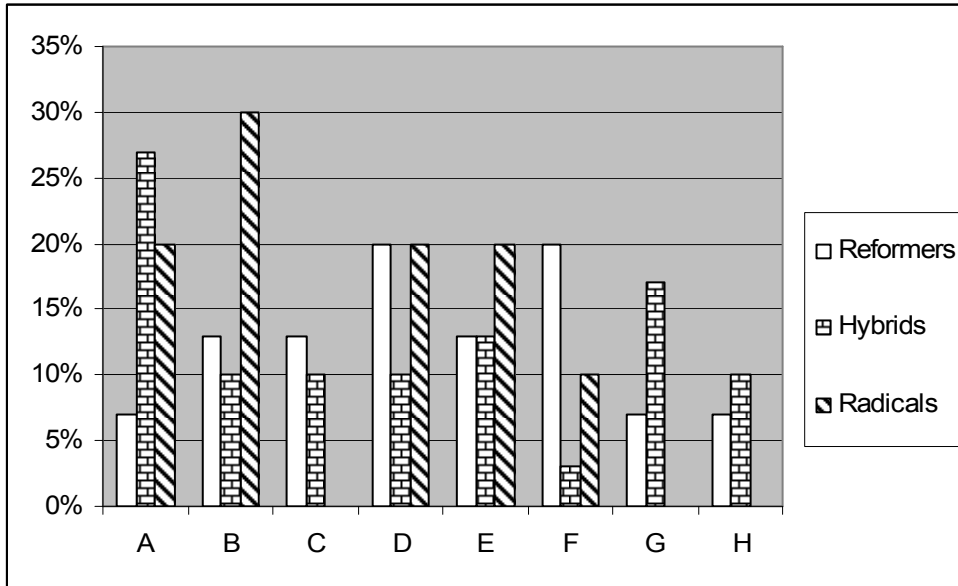
Figure 4-3
Spheres by Ideology

A= Community Sphere	**D**= Economic Sphere	**G**= Media & Research Sphere
B= Political Sphere	**E**= Pluralistic Sphere	**H**= Spiritual Sphere
C= Kinship Sphere	**F**= Ecological Sphere	

Each sphere has different ideologies represented (See Figure 4-3). The SMOs

categorized as Reformer and Hybrid SMOs have all eight spheres represented while the

Radical SMOs have only five spheres; the Kinship, Media & Research, and the Spiritual

sphere SMOs were not included.[15] Forty percent of SMOs associated with Reformers are

either equally from the Economic (n=3, 20%) or Ecological (n=3, 20%) spheres. The

---

[15] I could not obtain interviews in the Media & Research, Kinship, and Spiritual spheres with Radical SMO
activists.

Community and Media & Research Spheres are the top two SMO spheres for Hybrids with eight SMOs (27%) and five SMOs (17%), respectively. The Political sphere comes out as the number one sphere for the Radicals SMOs (n=3; 30%).

An analysis of SMO frame dynamics tells us much about the current state of SMOs unity. Since Adams (2003) claims that ideological differences have hampered relationship-building among these SMOs themselves, it makes sense to analyze the frames of each sphere and ideology to understand where common ground exists or cleavages persist. I cannot find a study in the social movement literature quite like this before.

External processes, for the purposes of this study, are the core framing constructs of each SMO, while the internal processes are the reflexive framing processes that reveal the possible capacity of these movements to move from a thin notion of unity to a strong notion of unity.

Survey and Interview Analysis

I employed computer software to help discover possible themes and topics. I utilized the qualitative software package called Qualrus to quantitatively manage coding of the survey and interview data.[16] I surveyed and/or interviewed a key informant from each of fifty-five SMOs (See Figure 4-1 & 4-2). This is a qualitative study essentially because the sense of "we," of movement identity in coalition building, is purely qualitative as it is a label designated by movement actors themselves, subjectively

---

[16] Qualrus is a qualitative analysis computer program helpful in marking segments of text with codes, then retrieving and analyzing them.

(Melucci 1992). However, it is also quantitative because I utilize a quantitative content analysis to describe the data.

Qualrus is a qualitative content analysis program that does not find themes for the researcher; instead it saves time and ensures accuracy in locating themes and organizing topics. I utilized the external framing process and internal framing process themes as mentioned under each respective section. I coded transcripts seventeen from purposely-selected SMO actors and relevant documents, searching for emergent themes. I employed an open coding technique in which a series of initial categories are identified through the creation of the aforementioned themes (Strauss 2001). I then read the printed transcripts and noted codes in the margins (See Richards 2002), which emerged from the data (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

I also employed an axial-coding technique, one that Strauss (2001) describes as an intense analysis around each category selected by the open coding technique. In this type of coding, I searched line-by-line for concepts that fit the themes developed under the internal and external frame process section within the first part of this chapter. The coding employed was open, forcing me to analytically fracture or break down the data. For example, I initially created the code "Ppf," symbolizing the theme of tactics derived from this question: "How do you go about fixing what you view as problems?" Each theme question was coded and as variations on questions and multiple answers emerged, I subsequently created sub-codes for of them. By adding a letter at the end of the code designating a new code, these sub-codes emerged. For example, here are five sub codes that emerged from answers under the aforementioned theme – tactics.

- Ppf e – Education
- Ppf i – Inside Tactics

- Ppf o – Outside Tactics
- Ppfc – change
- Ppfco – coalition work

From this data, Qualrus enables me to keep an immense amount of data straight. After coding the data, I was able to make code inquiries and easily scan codes across interviews.

From this methodological content analysis, I endeavor to find what themes arise from the findings and then offer an empowerment strategy that can enable activists to build working relationships across movements. In the following findings chapters V-VII, I break down the analysis into three main themes: 1) Identity, 2) Frame Disputes, and 3) Barriers and Bridges to uniting. Each of these three areas is the focus of subsequent chapters beginning with issues that concern identity.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS IN MOVEMENT IDENTITY

Chapter five is the first of three chapters to present the research findings. I begin

the examination of this Movement of movement's capacity to unite with identity as a

launching point. Identity is important because while identity is a prime mover of

movement activity, it also is an impediment to trusting relationships and unification.[1]

Diani (1992) argues only those groups that share beliefs and have a sense of belonging

possess the necessary ingredients to form collective identity. Melucci (1989) argues that

the creation of a collective identity is a fundamental challenge movement actor's face to

startup in the first place. However, identity may be a barrier to unification, as an SMO's

collective identity often reinforces systematic ideas, which flourish through activist

interaction and framing processes (Brulle 2000). When a system of ideas, basically an

ideology, reinforces itself, it creates an identity, or a "we," which presupposes an "other."

Diani (1992) contends this separation between themselves and other groups are

boundaries a social movement's collective identity defines. In other words, through

interaction, activists frame issues, reinforcing a system of beliefs, sometimes creating

boundaries demarcation between themselves and other groups. So, while identity can

give purpose to SMO activists, it also may define other potential allies as allies or foes.

---

[1] Stryker (2000) argues that identity itself is a paradox.

Through a quantitative content analysis, I examine the extent to which these SMOs identify with a larger social movement that encompasses several movements.[2] Such an exploration answers a great deal about whether these movements will unite or remain fragmented. In this chapter, I specifically examine my findings concerning names given by the sample of SMOs studied, their allies and enemies, their decision making, and empowerment strategies, and finally, how they deal with reflexive issues regarding the utilization of both power and exclusion as it relates to issues of diversity.

Names Given by Sample

In this first section, I explore the names activists give for SMOs associated with this Movement of movements. Naming oneself is a way a movement can gain an identity. Zald and McCarthy (1987) argue that by creating a distinct and independent identity, distinguishing themselves from others, groups enhance their own survival. Therefore, in this section, I examine what the fifty-five SMO actors I have interviewed call this movement to see the extent to which SMOs view themselves as part of a larger common movement, and if so, what name do they give it?

Milstein (2001) claims that what is at stake in naming this Movement of movements is its identity. She further maintains that movement activists may not have much of a choice "in what we want to be called—BBC news regularly labels protestors anti-capitalist even as U.S. news organs stick with anti-global." She explains, finally, that the movement must seek and embrace a "self-definition that propels us toward the world we want to see—like the aptly named Students for a Democratic Society in the 1960s—

---

[2] A "Movement of movements" is used in this dissertation as a fairly neutral, but descriptive term to denote a movement larger than any single SMO or social movement previously described.

this is preferable to a descriptor of what we despise, or one that misrepresents what we are demanding and envisioning altogether." Therefore, finding a name is important because it signifies a collective identity.[3] In addition, the name is important to outsiders, as Fraser (2000) suggests that because of politics engaging identity, groups reify themselves through the elaboration of an "authentic, self-affirming and self-generated collective identity." Therefore, do these movements under study have a shared sense of whom or what the movement itself is?

To understand how SMO activists see themselves related to the Movement of movements under study, I asked them what their name is for the movement (See Figure 5-1).[4] When it comes to the name, I initially called this "Movement of movements," the "Global Democracy Movement." However, I found that SMO representatives, often during the interview itself, either say they were uncomfortable with the name or did not understand what it meant. Some found that the name "Global Democracy Movement" specifically did not resonate with them. Although in some of the initial interviews, I specifically asked the question, "What would you call this 'Movement of movements,' if not the 'Global Democracy Movement?'" In a follow-up email, I asked: "I called these 'movement of movements,' the 'Global Democracy Movement,' so people might know what I am talking about, but since some people were confused as to what I was talking about. What would people in your organization call it?"

---

[3] Naming, Melucci (1989) argues, is "an active and shared definition."
[4] Respondents seemed to find that the name I gave, Global Democracy Movement, was not what they would call it, so I asked what their name was for it. Some could not, or would not give a name.

Spheres
Table 5-1
Names of Movement(s) by Sphere

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Community	22%	11%	11%	11%	0	44%
Political	51%	10%	5%	0	5%	24%
Kinship	20%	0	0	20%	0	60%
Economic	30%	40%	0	0	0	30%
Pluralistic	74%	13%	13%	0	0	0
Ecological	60%	20%	0	0	20%	0
Media & Research	16%	16%	17%	17%	0	34%
Spiritual	20%	0	0	40%	20%	20%

A=Progressive   D=No name given/no name could be given
B=Global Justice Movement   E=Social Justice Movement
C=Anti-Globalization Movement   F=Other

Certainly, there is no consensus on the appropriate name for this "Movement of movements" (See Table 5-1). However, the name "Progressive" does come out on top among SMOs on four of the spheres examined: Community, Political, Pluralistic, and Ecological. A Hybrid activist in the Political Sphere indicates that his organization uses the term "Progressive," but expresses that, "I understand how it can be vague and confusing to outsiders."

The name "Global Justice Movement" is the most prevalent among SMOs in the Economic Sphere, but the "Progressive" name is still prominent and a close second. The "Anti-globalization" name given to many activists after the Seattle protest of 1999 is still used among SMOs in the Community, Political, Pluralistic, and Media & Research spheres, but not much. "Anti-globalization" is number one only among Media & Research sphere SMOs, most of which admit they only play a supporting role in the "Movement of movements." When asked to name the Movement of movements, activists from the Spiritual sphere were the most likely to say they could not come up with a name for the Movement of movements at all. The Media & Research, Kinship, and Community

sphere SMOs did not name the Movement of movements at all.[5] The gay & lesbian

groups within the Kinship sphere were least likely to name the movement. As one

Kinship sphere activist says, "We don't really have a name for it. I haven't really thought

about it in that way, really." The women's SMOs within the Kinship sphere did give the

name "Progressive." The "Social Justice" movement name registered only twenty

percent for both the Ecological and Spiritual spheres. Kinship groups, mainly gay &

lesbian groups, were the most apt to have names that fell in the "other" category, because

they least identified with the movement.

Ideology
Table 5-2
Names of the Movement(s) by Ideology

	A	B	C	D	E	F
Reformers	38%	0	0	15%	0	47%
Hybrids	44%	10%	0	13%	10%	23%
Radicals	0	30%	40%	10%	10%	10%

A=Progressive   D=No name given/no name could be given
B=Global Justice Movement   E=Social Justice Movement
C=Anti-Globalization Movement   F=Other

---

[5] The "other" category in regard to a name seems fairly random. Other names offered: Democracy, Left, Globalization, Human Rights, Social Justice, the movement, Populist, Our Fight for Justice, Classless Society, Global Democracy, Anti-capitalist, and the Labor Movement.
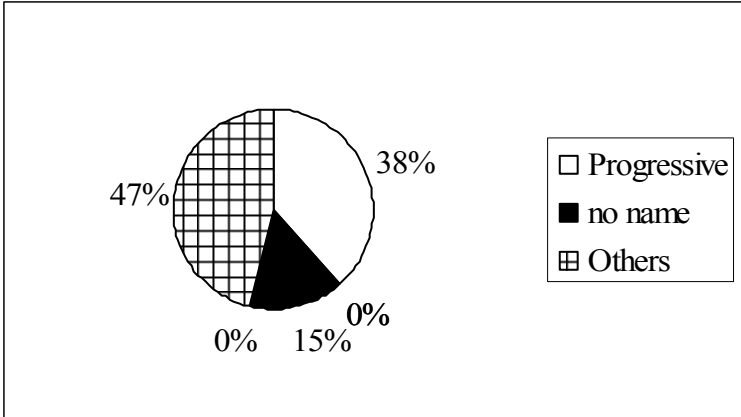
Figure 5-1
Reformers-Name Preference
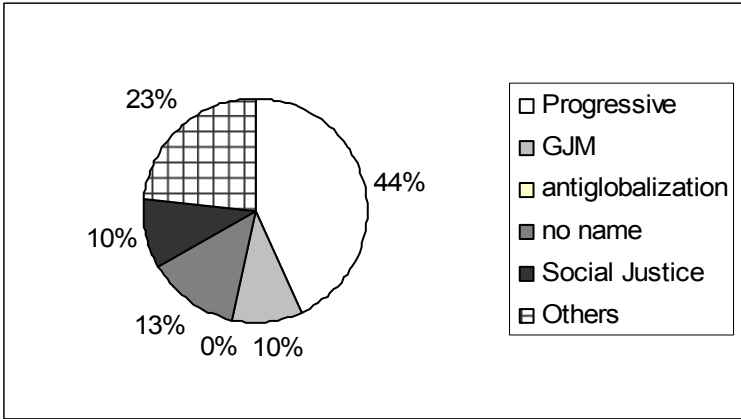
Figure 5-2
Hybrids-Name Preference
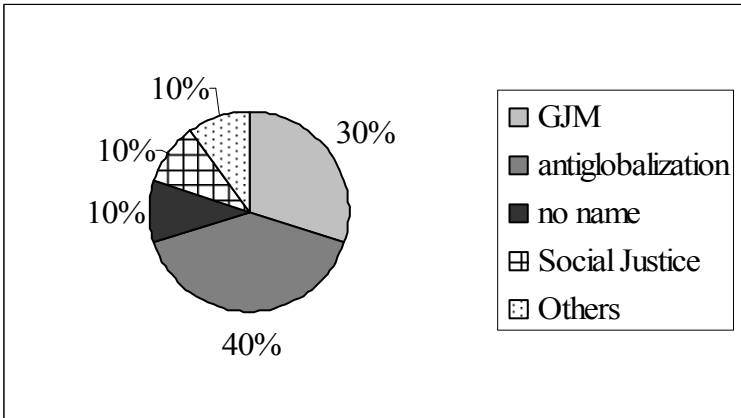
Figure 5-3
Radicals-Name Preference

Reformers are most apt to call the Movement of movements, the "Progressives" (38%), while there is no consensus as to another proper name, and some are even reluctant to provide a name at all (15%) (See Figures 5-1 through 5-3 & Table 5-2). Hybrids are even more likely to call themselves "Progressive" (n=13; 43%). Following "no name" given (13%), "Pro-democracy" is the next most popular (10%) name. In stark contrast, forty percent of Radicals call themselves part of the "Antiglobalization Movement," and thirty percent call the movement, the "Global Justice Movement." Some activists dislike the term "Antiglobalization" because it mischaracterizes the movement, as one Political Hybrid activist describes:

> When our side talks about globalization and when the other side accuses us of antiglobalization, we would say we are against corporate globalization where private entities, corporations are writing the trade rules, protecting themselves in the trade agreements that provide a private justice system and private legal system over and above the interest of the public. So, were not against globalization, [and] all the things, the interconnectedness globalization can bring us, but corporate domination of corporate practices, global politics, that's what we are against.

Other activists embrace the "Antiglobalization" moniker, though. One economic radical activist states, wishing to differentiate himself from the "Progressives," that they do not go far enough.

> We are part of the 'Antiglobalization Movement' and not 'Progressive,' because the whole problem with the liberal democrats is that the reformists versus revolutionary people's visions still exist. While their positions are good, they are limited and not about really transforming society.

Reformers do not associate themselves with the "Social Justice Movement" at all, while ten percent of those from other ideologies choose that name.
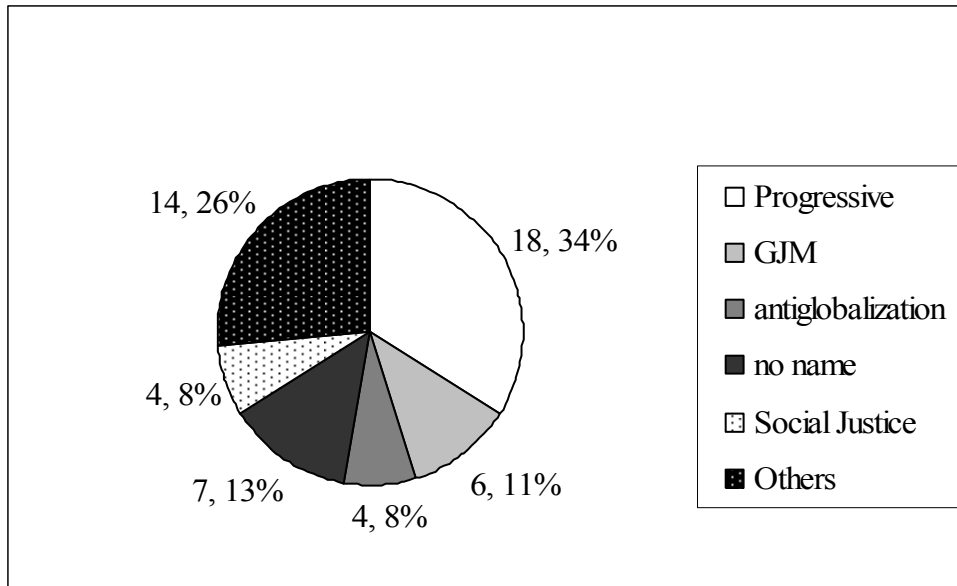
Figure 5-4
Overall Names

According to Figure 5-4, the name "Progressive" is by far the most common name, at thirty-four percentage of those interviewed. However, there is little common ground beyond that. Although the "Progressive" label is by far the most popular, there remains no consensus among SMOs as to what this "Movement of movements" should be called. The Radicals as well as those on the Economic sphere are the most likely to balk if the "Progressive" name is placed on them. In addition, the SMOs from the Kinship sphere and Reformers are the most likely to have various names in the "other" category.

SMOs associated with the "Movements of movements" do not indicate a shared collective identity, at least not when it comes to its collective name. If a name is indicative of a movement's public identity,[6] there might be multiple social movements, such as the "Progressive," "Global Justice/Antiglobalization," "Social Justice," and a

---

[6] "Social action that implicitly conveys an ideology also communicates a public identity" (Downey 1986: 360 in Hunt *et al*. 1994: 193).

132

fragmented array of others. Since Reformers are most apt to embrace the Progressive

name and Radicals either the "Antiglobalization" or "Global Justice Movement" name,

there may be at least two distinct wings of the movements, one Reformist and the other

Radical. Whether there are two to three movements, as defined by the names activists

give themselves, the more positive names "Progressive," "Global Justice," and "Social

Justice" suggest an optimistic sense of what propels these activists toward a world they

want to see, reflecting Gandhi's famous words: "You must be the change you want to see

in the world."

<center>Allies</center>

Allies are similar to Held *et al's.* (1994), protagonists, which are important to

theory, as collective action frames, in addition to the punctuation of "reality," are also

modes of attribution and articulation.[7] An SMO performs its core framing functions of

diagnosing the problem, assigning blame, and identifying a solution.[8] In this way, SMO

activists collectively make distinctions, and/or set boundaries between friends and foes.

In practical terms, it is important to analyze the SMO friends and associates to understand

their diversity. Hunt *et al.* (1994) describe three identity fields – the protagonist,

antagonist, and audience. This section's focus is on the protagonist identity field, those

---

[7] Frame processes impute characteristics to other actors, what Hunt *et al.* (1994: 192) call three different identity fields: protagonists, antagonists, or audiences. These authors argue that each identity field "typically consists of a multiplicity of imputes and avowed identities." Allies, here, are protagonists, which are a "constellation of identity attributions," about another sphere or ideological SMO (p. 192). SMO actors, therefore, "locate their organization and its views within a collective action field or context" (p. 193).

[8] Gamson (1992; 1995) calls those who define the "us" as an agency frame, those who can resolve the problem.

<center>133</center>

identified as advocates for the movement's causes.[9] Do SMOs mainly associate with groups like themselves or with groups unlike them?

Spheres
Table 5-3
How Each Sphere Sees Allies

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Community	32%	28%	4%	4%	4%	4%	0	20%	4%	0	0
Political	22%	17%	17%	0	0	9%	0	9%	0	9%	13%
Kinship	0	34%	0	33%	11%	0	0	11%	0	11%	0
Economic	37%	19%	10%	5%	5%	14%	0	10%	0	0	0
Pluralistic	27%	31%	5%	5%	9%	23%	0	6%	0	0	0
Ecological	25%	33%	0	0	0	42%	0	0	0	0	0
Media & Research	14%	30%	14%	7%	0	14%	14%	7%	0	0	0
Spiritual	8%	8%	17%	8%	34%	8%	0	0	0	17%	0

A=Economic Allies   **E**=Spiritual Allies   **I**=Nationality Allies
B=Political Allies   **F**=Ecological Allies   **J**=Civil Liberty Allies
C=Racial Allies   **G**=Media & Research Allies   **K**=Anti-Hierarchy Allies
D=Kinship Allies   **H**=Ethnic Allies

In the survey, I ask: "What organizations or actors (organizations, or types of organizations) would your organization consider friends or allies? Please explain as best you can."

I find that SMOs in a given sphere have alliances with other SMOs in a broad range of spheres (See Table 5-3). However, the SMOs associated with the Ecological sphere are the least likely to have allies across spheres. The data suggests that they ally only with Economic, Political, and other Environmental SMOs within their respective spheres. Part of the reason why the Ecological sphere SMOs do not have a wide variety of SMO allies is because their most preferred allies are by far ecological SMOs like themselves, representing 42% of that sphere's total allies. The Community and Media &

---

[9] Protagonist identity fields are "constellations of identity attributions about individuals and collectivities taken to be advocates of movement causes" (Hunt *et al*. 1994: 193).

Research sphere activists, on the other hand, have the largest variety of allies with eight spheres represented each. The Political, Economic, and Pluralistic sphere activists have the second most alliances across spheres with seven each. The Spiritual sphere activists have the third most ally spheres with six. Political allies are the most popular among the SMOs in Kinship and Pluralistic spheres, and second most popular among those SMOs in Community, Political, Economic, Ecological, and Media & Research spheres. Economic and Ecological SMOs are the second most common alliance partner behind Political allies with seven spheres represented. The Economic sphere is most popular ally for SMOs associated with Community, Political, and Economic spheres. Few spheres make allies with nationalist, media, civil liberties, or groups very concerned with hierarchical oppression. The most popular allies across these spheres are the Economic, Environmental, and Political SMOs.

There is also a tendency among SMOs to favor allies from their own spheres. To illustrate, five of eight sphere activists – Political, Kinship, Economic, Ecological, and Spiritual – tend to have as their preferred ally SMOs within their own sphere. So, while there is a diversity of allies shown here, there is still a concentration of like-minded organizations. There are also some differences among SMOs. When comparing the NSM SMOs within the Community, Kinship, and Ecological spheres, none of these sphere categories have the same priorities for alliances. All three spheres have political SMOs within their top three. Only the Kinship sphere has political SMOs and not Kinship sphere activists as their preferred allies. The Community sphere points to economic SMOs, and Ecological sphere groups work most with other Ecological SMOs. Conversely, Political and Economic SMOs have similar tastes in allies. Among the

Spiritual, Media & Research, and Pluralistic spheres, the first two work mostly with

Political SMOs, but Spiritual Sphere activists instead most work with other Religious

SMOs.

Ideology
Table 5-4
Allies by Ideology

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Reformers	21%	34%	3%	6%	12%	15%	0	3%	0	6%	0
Hybrids	23%	24%	12%	8%	5%	12%	3%	8%	1%	4%	0
Radicals	28%	14%	7%	4%	4%	18%	0	14%	0	0	11%

A=Economic Allies   **E**=Spiritual Allies   **I**=Nationality Allies
B=Political Allies   **F**=Ecological Allies   **J**=Civil Liberty Allies
C=Racial Allies   **G**=Media & Research Allies   **K**=Anti-Hierarchy Allies[10]
D=Kinship Allies   **H**=Ethnic Allies

The Allies data (See Table 5-4) suggests that the SMOs have similar results by

ideology, as they do by spheres from the previous table. Likewise, the data here suggest

that SMOs work across different groups of allies. Twenty-one percent of Reformers

prefer economic allies, 34% political allies, and only 15% environmental SMOs. All of

these aforementioned allies account for 70% of their total. Hybrid SMOs also find allies

among those SMOs in the economic groups (23%), political groups (24%),

environmental SMOs (12%). For Hybrid SMOs, these three spheres account for 59% of

the total number of protagonist groups. Finally, Radical SMO's number one ally is

economically-oriented SMOs (28%). Radical SMOs also have more environmental allies

(18%), either their Reformer or Hybrid counterparts. Radical SMOs prefer economic

allies much less, at only 14%. Their total on all three, though, is similar to the Hybrids,

---

[10] Each of these ally category names are based how each protagonist core function. For example, the Rain Forest Action Network is categorized as an Ecological ally. CorpWatch is considered a Media & Research ally.

with 60% of their total. While economic, political, and ecological allies are important, the

Hybrid SMOs also find race-related SMOs are important allies. However, overall the

ideological groups are similar in that Economic, Political, and Environmental SMOs are

their most popular allies.
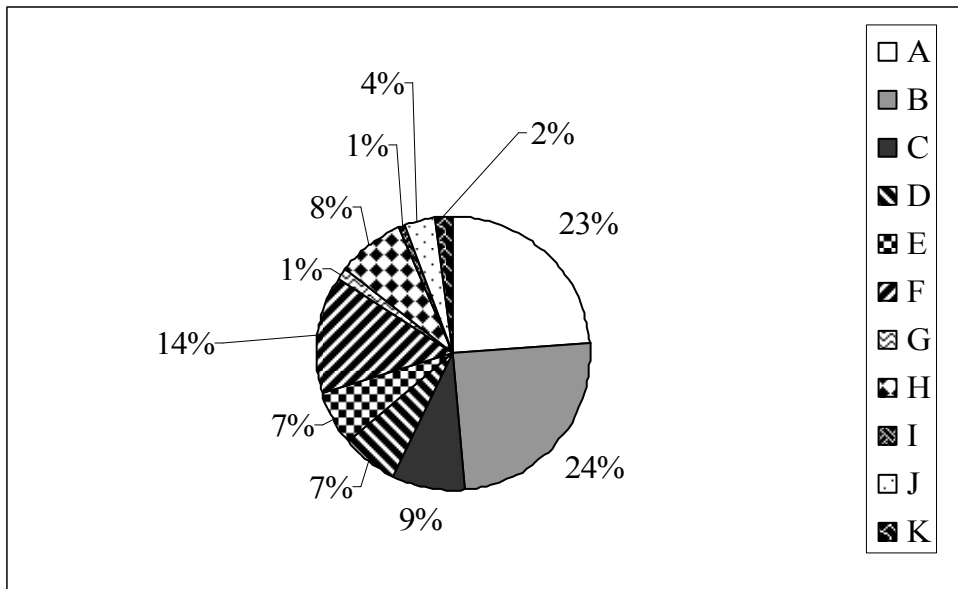
Figure 5-5
Allies Overall

A=Economic Allies	**E**=Spiritual Allies	**I**=Nationality Allies
B=Political Allies	**F**=Ecological Allies	**J**=Civil Liberty Allies
C=Racial Allies	**G**=Media & Research Allies	**K**=Anti-Hierarchy Allies
D=Kinship Allies	**H**=Ethnic Allies	

Overall, Political SMOs are the preferred allies (n=34; 24%), with Economic

SMOs a close second (23%) (See Figure 5-5). The third most preferred protagonist is

Environmental SMOs, with 14% of the total. All three categories account for 61% of total

allies. Add Communal (9%), Kinship (7%), and Spiritual (7%) SMO allies, the top six

allies are 84% of the total attributed as allies, creating a multidimensional alliance.

A potential bridge to unification here is that several spheres and all the ideologies

possess a diversity of allies, which can facilitate dialogue and coalition-building over

time and enhance partnerships and capacity-building within the Movement of movements. McAdam (1982) would contend that this is a positive, as a diverse coalition can apply pressure on the opposition from many fronts. This diversity of allies also indicates a potentially nurturing place to learn and engage with others who are different (Warkentin 2001).[11] However, barriers are often the inverse of bridges. In this case, the diversity of allies among many spheres does not necessarily mean that, while allies are diverse and spread across the spectrum, they all are in coalition with each other. It also does not necessarily mean that these relationships are strong or ongoing. Only some SMOs within these spheres are considered allies, which could signify a shallow or deep partnership. Therefore, the fact that SMOs align mainly with those like themselves is mixed in this case.[12]

<div align="center">Enemies</div>

Schmitt (1996) argues that to achieve unification, one must define an enemy, or "other." This reflects the Arab Proverb: "An enemy of my enemy is my friend." In other words, a common enemy may actually unify SMOs by defining the enemy as "other." Similarly, Hunt *et al*. (1994) name the enemy as an antagonist identity field, which are an SMO's attributions of "otherness" toward outgroups.[13] Hunt *et al*. (1994: 197) specifically define these antagonist identity fields as the "constellations of identity

---

[11] In other words, this learning space, is provides a positive moment of reflexivity through inclusiveness (See Warkentin 2001).
[12] While it would have been useful to denote what ideological groups associated with what types of other ideological groups, the immense variation of allies prohibited an analysis of each SMO outside this study to determine their ideology.
[13] Gamson (1992; 1995) calls the enemy or those agents responsible for the problem, the identity frame.

attributions about individuals and collectivities imputed to be opponents of movement causes."

Along these lines, Starr's (2000) *Naming the Enemy* contends that groups come together to fight a common enemy. My research supports Starr's (2000) contention. However, SMOs by sphere, in this study, still point to enemies outside those that are narrowly economically oriented.[14]

Spheres
Table 5-5
Activists from Different Spheres Specification of Type of Enemy

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Community	10%	28%	37%	5%	5%	0	0	0	5%	0	10%
Political	0	30%	14%	7%	0	14%	0	14%	7%	0	14%
Kinship	9%	18%	28%	18%	9%	0	0	0	0	0	18%
Economic	0	57%	29%	7%	0	0	0	0	0	7%	0
Pluralistic	10%	32%	33%	5%	10%	0	5%	0	0	0	5%
Ecological	0	43%	29%	0	14%	0	0	0	0	14%	0
Media & Research	0	24%	37%	13%	0	0	0	0	0	0	13%
Spiritual	0	0	57%	0	14%	0	0	0	0	0	29%

A= Military
B=Economic
C=Political
D=Sexism and Homo-Phobism

E=Racism
F=Hierarchy
G=Media bias
H=Ethnocentrism

I=Nationalism
J=Anti-Environmentalism
K=Religious Right

In the survey, I asked, "What organizations or actors (organizations, or types of organizations) would your organization consider the enemy or opposition? Please explain as best you can." This question relates to Hunt *et al's* (1994) antagonist identity fields, which are constellations of identity attributions about other SMOs considered opponents or enemies in which blame and opposition is focused.

When it comes to enemies, many SMOs specify who their enemy is across several spheres, not unlike their choice of allies (See Table 5-5). SMOs in the Pluralistic, Media

---

[14] However, Starr's (2001) sample is largely from a narrow political-economic perspective.

& Research, Community and most of all the Spiritual spheres define the enemy in

Political terms. The Pluralistic, Ecological, and the Economic spheres define the enemy

mainly in terms of Economics. However, SMOs in all three spheres also define their

enemy in Political terms. Economic and Political enemies are important, as six of the

eight spheres' say that Political and Economic enemies are the majority of those enemies

they mentioned. The Political sphere activists define their enemies across eight different

spheres and is the most likely to find groups that are very hierarchical and ethno-centered

as its enemies. The Kinship sphere, not surprisingly, is the most likely to say that sexist

enemies are its focus, yet also identify their enemies in economic and political terms. The

religiously intolerant are a focus among SMOs in the Spiritual sphere. However, the

Ecological and Economic spheres do not point to religious groups as enemies. Overall, by

far both Political and Economic enemies (62%) are the focus of all the different spheres,

which, on balance, also means that 38% of the enemies are something else – a substantial

chunk. When comparing the New Social Movement SMOs in this study, SMOs from the

Community and Kinship see Political entities as the primary enemy, while the Ecological

sphere sees Environmental degradation as the primary culprit. Although political and

economic enemies are the most noted as primary enemies, there is little consensus as to

which is more important. SMOs within the Political and Economic spheres are more apt

to point to economic actors than political actors as the primary culprits. However, among

the SMOs associated with Community, Kinship, Pluralistic, Media & Research, and

Spiritual spheres, there is a consensus that political actors are more important than

economic actors as the enemy. However, the Spiritual sphere finds the Religious Right as

a close second to political groups as the primary enemy.

Ideology
Table 5-6
Enemy by Ideology

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	
Reformers	0	26%	40%	9%	4%	0	4%	0	0	4%	13%	
Hybrids	9%	28%	22%	7%	3%	0	0	5%	4%	7%	14%	
Radicals	0	25%	21%	11%	11%	0	0	11%	0	16%	0	

A= Military
B=Economic
C=Political
D=Sexism and Homo-Phobia

E=Racism
F=Hierarchy
G=Media bias
H=Ethnocentrism

I=Nationalism
J=Anti-Environmentalism
K=Religious Right

That such a variety of groups mobilized in Seattle in 1999 has invigorated not only the social movements, but their study. Scholars say that many SMOs mobilized in the first place against a "common enemy," such as neoliberalism (Brooks 2004; Starr 2001; Prokosch and Raymond 2002; Beck 2003). This largely holds true according to this data. Economic enemies, such as those representing capitalism or neoliberalism comprise 26% of Reformer SMO's; 28% of Hybrid SMO's; and 25% of Radical SMO's primary enemies (See Table 5-6). Political enemies also factor highly, especially among key informants of Reformer SMOs (40%), but lesser so with Hybrid (22%), and Radical (21%) SMOs. Taken together, these numbers support Starr and other scholars' declaration that economic groups are the primary enemies. Political actors often reinforce or keep economic factors as prominent whether it is the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization, or neoliberalism as a philosophy itself – all are politically and economically oriented. However, I find that while economic considerations are prominent among most of the SMOs I have studied, these SMOs also point to other enemies as well – religious right, corporate media, sexism, racism, ethnocentrism, militarism, nationalism, and those who destroy the environment. Excluding both the economic and political enemy variables, 44% of Reformers, 50% of

Hybrids, and 54% of Radicals say that other types of enemies exist and also persist. A

barrier to uniting is that there really is no common enemy on which to focus. This means

that while some SMOs may participate in protests against the WTO and other economic

and political elites, not all groups go to these protests, for they have other enemies on

which to focus. For example, only 5% of the sample named militarism as the enemy. A

Hybrid Kinship activist claims that the enemy is "U.S. led imperialism. I mean the ways

that the US has been developing as an Empire, in terms of Manifest Destiny."
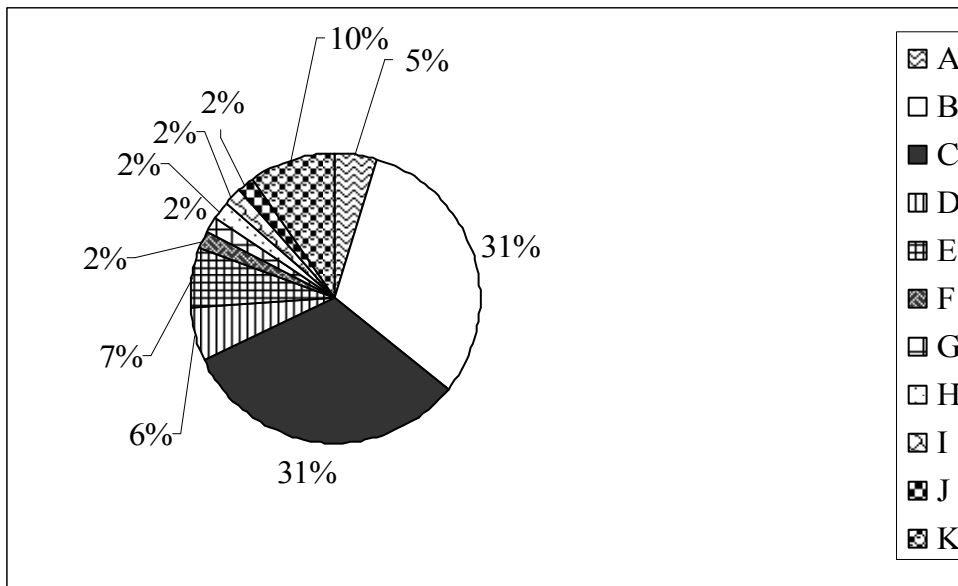
Figure 5-6
Enemies Overall

 A= Military

 B=Economics

 C=Political

 D=Sexism and Homo-
 phobia

 E=Racism

 F=Hierarchy

 G=Media bias

 H=Ethnocentrism

 I=Nationalism

 J=Anti-Environmentalism

 K=Religious Right

Nearly two-thirds (n=65) of the enemies these SMOs identify as an enemy are

politically or economically oriented. Since some SMOs pointed to more than one enemy,

there are more enemies than SMO representatives interviewed. This leaves eight other

enemy categories covering the other 28% (n=38) of the total. This means that the

"common enemy" is not necessarily a unitary phenomenon. In the analysis of enemies, it

is clear that this Movement of movements is in the state of a thin unity.

<div align="center">Decision Making</div>

SMOs operate in various organizational environments (Taylor 2002). Some

SMOs choose a centralized approach, while others prefer a more decentralized approach

to internal organizing. Hatch (1997) refers to these two decision-making responses to

pressure as: mechanistic and organic. The mechanistic responses are a centralized[15] or

hierarchical line of authority, which is more formalized and standardized with specialized

tasks than the organic decision-making response. Conversely, the organic response[16] is

more decentralized and more flexible, with more informal relationships, and open

systems for the distribution of information, and the encouragement of innovation. Hatch

(1997), like Weber, finds that mechanistic systems, while rigid and often disempowering,

are more efficient than organic systems of organization. However, both decision-making

strategies have their strengths and weaknesses, and there is not necessarily a superior

organizational type (Young *et al*. 1999).

---

[15] Weberian centralization. Many public administration theories of organization go back to Max Weber, especially the hierarchically organized notion of civil service, often called "Weberian civil service" (See Dye 2005). The mechanistic organizational structure resembles Zald and McCarthy's (1987) formal hierarchical organization.
[16] The organic organizational response resembles Tarrow's (1998) description of the "Anarchist Counter model," which abhors authority, therefore, lacking an organizational template like their opponents.

Table 5-7
Decision Making by Spheres

	Consensus	Majority Rules	Mixed
Community	27%	27%	46%
Political	37%	38%	25%
Kinship	0	60%	40%
Economic	13%	49%	38%
Pluralistic	33%	50%	17%
Ecological	20%	60%	20%
Media & Research	0	40%	60%
Spiritual	50%	25%	25%

In the survey, I asked the question: "What kind of decision-making process(es) does your organization employ internally?"

When dividing decision making by spheres, consensus as an exclusive decision-making strategy dominates within the Spiritual sphere (50%) and figures significantly among SMOs in the Political (37%), Pluralistic (33%), and Community spheres (27%). A Political Radical states that his SMO is conscious in prefiguratively prioritizing the consensus model of decision making: "I think if you are truly trying to move toward a different world and truly opposed to hierarchy, you need to be doing that as a group. I think in many ways it works better." However, in none of these three aforementioned spheres is consensus-based decision making the primary way of making decisions (See Table 5-7). In both the Ecological and Kinship spheres, majority rules is an exclusive decision-making strategy and is by far the most used form (60%). In the Pluralistic and Economic spheres, majority rules decision making is the most commonly used method for decision making. To illustrate, a Hybrid Community activist is critical of consensus and instead turns to a majority rules decision-making format, "I might be in charge of one line or project over someone who might be over me in another project. But, I think that the nonhierarchical forms of organizing aren't very honest and accountable. So, we don't

say: 'hierarchy is bad and it replicates the system.' We have to get away from that. It's the master's tools in the master's house."

The Media & Research sphere stresses majority rules decision making with 40% of their total decision-making strategies mentioned – fifth on the list of SMO spheres stressing that strategy. The Political sphere is the sixth on the list of those spheres stressing majority rules with (38%) of their total. The Spiritual and Community Spheres are the least likely to stress a majority-rules approach. Some groups within each sphere mix their decision-making approaches.

Sometimes SMOs within spheres ideally approach decision making in a certain way, mostly by consensus, but find pragmatically that a majority-rules approach can also be appropriate. This is most evident in the Media & Research sphere, where a mixed decision-making approach constitutes 60% of their decision-making strategies. The next is the Community sphere, where the majority-rules approach makes up 46% of their decision-making strategies. Interestingly, the Pluralistic sphere is the least likely to combine approaches (17%). The Ecological sphere is the second least likely to use the combined decision-making approach (20%). When comparing the New Social Movement spheres, two of three overall prefer a majority rules approach to decision making. The Community Sphere is the lone exception, with a mixed decision-making approach. The Political and Economic spheres also agree to a majority-rules approach, but the Political sphere is just as likely to prefer a consensus approach as well. Among the Pluralistic, Media & Research, and Spiritual spheres, only the Media & Research sphere prefers a mixed approach while the other two prefer majority rules. The Media & Research and the

Political spheres might be the best spheres to approach decision making among coalitions because of their middle-way decision-making approaches.

Ideology
Table 5-8
Decision Making by Ideology

	Consensus	**Majority Rules**	**Mixed**
Reformers	0	100%	0
Hybrids	19%	24%	66%
Radicals	90%	0	10%

When it comes to decision making, ideologically there are clear differences among Reformers, Hybrids, and Radical groups (See Table 5-8). Reformist SMOs overwhelmingly prefer majority rules (100%), while Radical groups prefer a consensus-based approach (90%) and Hybrid groups adopt mixed decision-making approaches (66%) (See Figure 5-12). A Hybrid Pluralistic activist says he chooses a mixed approach depending on the circumstances: "We use a top-down when it's something logistical and conceptual consensus whenever possible."

Decision making can be a divisive issue among groups of different ideologies. It may be hard to align when ideologically distinct groups have different ways of internally organizing. It is possible that Hybrids, because of their emphasis on a mixed approach, might act as ambassadors between the two more extreme ideologies.

146
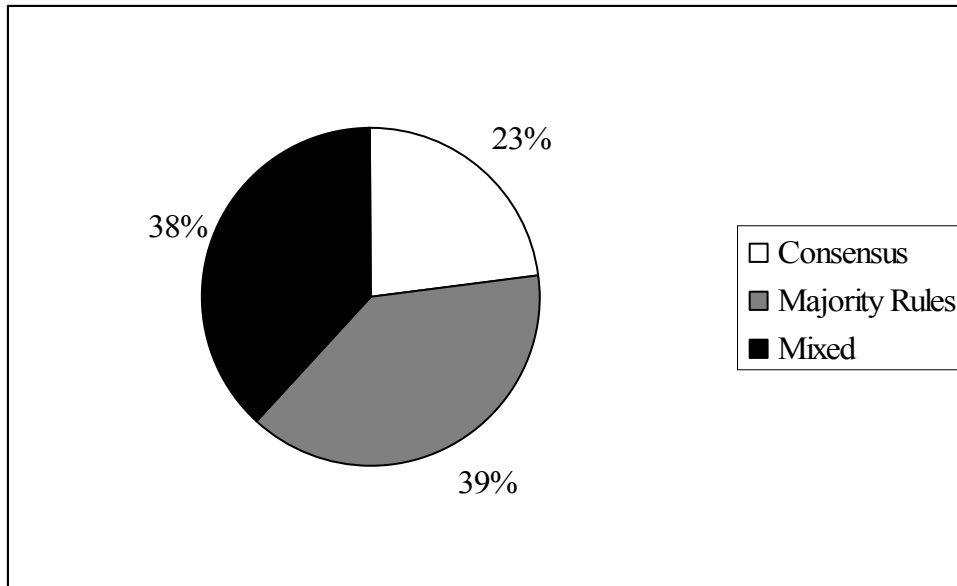
Figure 5-7
Decision Making Overall

Overall, decision making is evenly divided by Majority Rules (39%, n=20) and

mixing both Majority Rules and Consensus (38%, n=20) (See Figure 5-7). Consensus

decision making, while used by a dozen SMOs is the least popular way of making

decisions (23%, n=12). The findings here somewhat support Brulle's (2000) finding of a

dominance of centralized decision-making structures in the environmental movement.

However, a decentralized, consensus decision-making approach also accounts for a large

portion of the total. For those SMOs that primarily have a consensus-based approach, it is

a question of equality, while for those with a majority-rules perspective, it is a matter of

efficiency. These results confirm Taylor's (2004) findings that some SMOs are breaking

from the typical top-down decision-making structures, and instead are using what he calls

"flat" organizational structures, as favored by many SMOs at the 1999 Seattle protest.[17]

B. Epstein (1991) claims that the consensus decision-making model is a prefigurative

---

[17] Taylor (2004) argues further that horizontal forms of social organization have proven themselves
effective in de-centering power relations. Some call this flat organizational structure, a "flat hierarchy."

model in that SMO activists who promote equality are reflexively practicing what they advocate. A Hybrid Pluralist activist explains, "Actually, the emphasis on consensus is more on the lines on which organizations are more focused on anti-oppression."[18]

However, I also find that 38% of these SMOs are in between the horizontal and vertical organizational decision-making structures – heterarchical. Heterarchical structures are a middle way approach that mixes horizontal and vertical organizational structures (Swartz and Oglivy 1976). This finding is contrary to both Brulle's (2000) findings on centralized structures and Taylor's organizational structures findings. This middle ground, taken mainly by Hybrids, can be important for building common ground. However, Radical and Reformer SMOs may still conflict over tactics, as 62% of the SMO representatives in this study preferred either mechanistic (majority rules) or organic decision-making structures (consensus), exclusively. This difference in decision-making styles can create conflict in alliance building. For example, a Hybrid activist in the Economic sphere contends that in his experience, a top-down SMO hinders its working relationships "in collaboration with a lot of other organizations, but it refuses to let other organizations be part of decision-making processes that might affect it." In order for two different SMOs with different decision-making styles to effectively work together, maybe a Hybrid SMO could utilize their decision-making flexibility in mediation, or SMOs could defer to a consensus based coalition to respect working relationships.

---

[18] Anti-oppression work is an organic structure in which all oppressions are equal and must be focused on (Prokasch and Raymond 2002).

Spheres
Table 5-9
Empowerment by Spheres

	A	B	C	D	E
Community	9%	0	27%	0	64%
Political	25%	0	37%	0	38%
Kinship	0	0	40%	0	60%
Economic	25%	13%	25%	0	37%
Pluralistic	14%	14%	0	0	72%
Ecological	0	20%	40%	20%	20%
Media & Research	14%	0	17%	17%	40%
Spiritual	0	50%	25%	25%	25%

A= First type of Empowerment
B= First and Second type of Empowerment mixed
C= Second type of Empowerment
D= Second and Third type of Empowerment mixed
E= Third type of Empowerment

During the phone interview, I asked: "How does your organization see empowerment in these movements? What do you do to empower activists?"

Working on behalf of activists stressed by the first type of empowerment[19] is embraced by Political and Economic SMOs the most, with one-fourth of these SMOs adopting this strategy. This first type of strategy is not quite as popular with SMOs associated with Pluralistic and Media & Research spheres at 14% each (See Table 5-9). The second type of empowerment, in which activists work alongside those they are working with to empower them, is most commonly described by the Ecological and Kinship sphere SMOs with 40% of their total and the Political sphere SMOs are not far behind with 37%. Both the Pluralistic and the Community spheres primarily see

---

[19] See the Chapter III (Literature Review) under Empowerment section, which discusses the types of empowerment.

149

empowerment as a way to have people empower themselves, reflecting a resonance with

the third type of empowerment at 72% and 64%, respectively. The Kinship sphere is also

fairly close at 60% of their total. When comparing the New Social Movement spheres,

there may be a conflict between the Ecological sphere, with its emphasis on a second

level of empowerment, on the one hand, and the Community and Kinship spheres that

prefer a third dimension of empowerment. Similarly, among the Spiritual sphere, which

prefer a first and second type strategy, versus the Media & Research and Pluralistic

spheres, which prefers a third strategy of empowerment. However, the Political and

Economic sphere both prefer the third dimension, too.

Ideology
Table 5-10
Empowerment by Ideology

	A	B	C	D	E
Reformers	29%	14%	43%	7%	7%
Hybrids	7%	0	29%	7%	57%
Radicals	0	0	11%	0	89%

A= First type of Empowerment
B= First and Second type of Empowerment mixed
C= Second type of Empowerment
D= Second and third type of Empowerment mixed
E= Third type of Empowerment

Reformer SMOs view empowerment in terms of the first two strategies of

empowerment (86%), with an emphasis exclusively on the second level (43%) (See Table

5-10). The opposite is true for Radical SMOs, which view empowerment in terms of the

third strategy (89%). Additionally, I find a stark difference between Reformer and the

Radical SMOs. While only 7% of Reformer SMOs utilize the third type of

empowerment, 89% of Radical SMOs utilize this strategy. The second type of

empowerment, working with people to create leaders within the movement, is probably

the greatest source of common ground among SMOs with distinct ideologies. This empowerment strategy, which is in the middle, might act as uniting force, as there are different types of activists who will take on various levels of risk. In this way, more activists can be trained at any one time. It could also represent a barrier because activists may fight over activists and empowerment philosophies. A Hybrid Community activist explains some middle ground this way, "For us, [it] is to work in a way that is supporting the leadership of the immigrants in the community, it's not us just coming in and we're going to do what we want, but it's through building trust and relationships with people over the years."
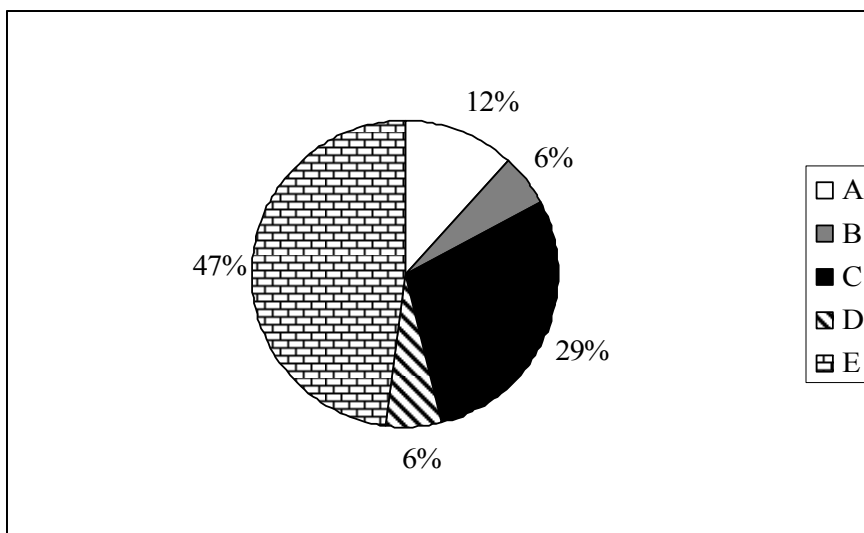
Figure 5-8
Overall Empowerment
A= First Type of Empowerment
B= First and Second Type of Empowerment mixed
C= Second Type of Empowerment
D= Second and Third Type of Empowerment mixed
E= Third Type of Empowerment

Overall, the third empowerment strategy is predominant with nearly half of all the SMOs interviewed (49%, n=25). However, it is predominant only with Hybrid and

Radical SMOs, which prefer to build community conscience awareness with leaders from those oppressed communities. This finding is contrary to Adams' (2003) finding that activists emphasize action over theory-building. Reformer SMOs, though do support Adams' (2003) finding as they are the most apt to concentrate their energies on the first and second empowerment strategies by either doing the work for oppressed groups, or training leaders to do so. This also reflects the decision-making structure of SMOs. The top-down, majority-rules SMOs are also more apt to take charge out in the field, while those groups run by consensus are more apt to empower activists through the nurturing of a critical consciousness. While the first and second strategies are the most efficient, the third empowerment strategy is inefficient and slow. This is important, as an aspect of movement success is changing policy (Gamson 1990). The first strategy is most likely to see policy reforms, but the third strategy is less likely to do so. However, the third strategy may be longer lasting because the oppressed take charge themselves, and in doing so, learn to do it for themselves the next time. Breton (1994) maintains furthermore that while empowerment can be a powerful tool for consciousness-raising, as seen in the focus for the third level, it is not empowerment unless subsequent action takes place. This is a criticism of the third level's ineffectiveness and inefficiency. While the first and second empowerment strategies are more efficient and effective, they are criticized by Radical SMOs for not helping poor and non-skilled activists help themselves and participate.

There may be divisions between SMOs in the Community, Pluralistic, and Kinship spheres that respect the third strategy and those in the Political, Economic, and Ecological spheres that prefer the first two strategies. The largest struggle is between

Hybrids and Radicals, who prefer the third strategy and the Reformers, who largely prefer the first two. This battle likely will be ideological.[20] Gaventa (1999) suggests that both notions of empowerment may fall short. This means that the Movement of movements overall is mostly focused on conscious-raising, but not enough work is being done to obtain concrete victories. In balance, this may also mean that nearly half of the SMOs studied here, mainly Radical and many Hybrid SMOs, need to work more on effective participation, while others, especially the Reformers SMOs, need to work more on consciousness-raising.

<p align="center">Power and Exclusion – Diversity</p>

Within the Movement of movements itself, there is a tension between homogeneity and diversity. For activist Soren Ambrose (2005), this tension is a paradox. He finds in his study that internationally, the concept of diversity is considered the "global movement's strength." However, in the U.S., he argues, "the lack of diversity, specifically the failure to attract 'minority' communities is its most persistent weakness" (p. 37).

The question of diversity is what I characterize as "power and exclusion," which resonates with the debate started by activist-scholar Elizabeth Martinez's famous essay: "Where is the Color in Seattle?" written soon after the Seattle protests in late 1999. This essay has sparked debate over questions of power and exclusion within these SMOs associated with the Movement of movements, and the debate is reflexive as it allows

---

[20] Gaventa (1999) makes a distinction between the two major empowerment strategies, one by Saul Alinsky and the other by Myles Horton. Alinsky's approach was to teach people to organize and, as a result, they would learn how to think. The opposite approach by Horton says that you empower by getting people to think, and then they will figure out how to organize.

SMO actors to adapt and learn (Warkentin 2001). Debates of this nature may also reflect

Rothmans' (1997) deeper reflexivity, where SMO actors encounter, in this case,

contested space at protests, social forms, as well as in the Internet itself. In other words,

instead of knee-jerk reactions to how different people approach problems and oppose

those who hold power in society, a deeper reflexivity is where people talk with one

another, engage in dialogue, and learn from each other.

Spheres
Table 5-11
Power and Exclusion by Sphere

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Community	25%	6%	13%	6%	19%	0	6%	6%	19%	0
Political	19%	18%	18%	0	9%	9%	9	0	18%	0
Kinship	49%	17%	17%	0	0	0	0	0	0	17%
Economic	20%	20%	10%	10%	10%	0	10%	10%	0	10%
Pluralistic	0	17%	0	17%	17%	0	8%	8%	17%	16%
Ecological	9%	0	16%	0	18%	18%	18%	0	18%	0
Media & Research	29%	0	29%	0	0	14%	14%	14%	0	0
Spiritual	25%	0	25%	25%	0	0	0	0	25%	0

A=Voice in Decision Making
B=Reflexivity
C=Including Others
D=Work with Other Groups on what they are Already Doing
E=Protest is an Unequal Activity
F=Not Sure What to Do
G=Debate is Going On
H=Often Unacknowledged Attitudes of Either Racism, Sexism, or Other Isms.
I=Anti-Oppression Work
J=Others

For this question, I asked in the telephone interview: "Many authors, such as

Martinez (2000), write of power and exclusion in the movement. In her article "Where

Was the Color in Seattle?" she stresses the need to understand the lack of diversity in the

1999 Seattle protest and what can be learned from it. There are other instances in which

power and exclusion are debated in the movement. Can you provide examples of this

debate?" This question elicited more than a dozen responses, but only nine with more

than one duplicate response**.** For example, a Hybrid Environmentalist finds power and

exclusion are a matter of race, "Like if you look at the environmental movement, it's primarily a white movement. And, it suffers because of that, some of the things they, the middle class, don't look at are race."

Nearly half of the SMOs associated with the Kinship sphere are concerned over not having a voice in decision making among other SMOs[21] (See Table 5-11). This emphasis on wanting a voice in decision making may relate to the Kinship sphere's emphasis on the third dimension of empowerment. This third empowerment dimension acknowledges the need for voice, awareness, and identity, all of which play prominent roles in how these activists go about training fellow activists. The need to be heard is important for activists in other spheres as well. To illustrate, the Media & Research, Community, and Spiritual spheres at 29%, 25%, and 25%, respectively, say they worry about a lack of voice.

Reflexivity is a concern for the Political, Kinship, Economic, and Pluralistic spheres, each of which had at least 17% of their concerns focused on the need for reflexivity.

The Spiritual sphere is the most likely to reach out to other groups on what they are doing already (25%), however, the Media & Research sphere does not emphasize this aspect of power and exclusion at all. Following the Spiritual sphere SMOs, Pluralistic (17%), and Economic (10%) spheres reach out to other groups.

Protest is considered an unequal activity among Community, Pluralistic, and Ecological SMOs the most with at least 17% of their concern each. And, anti-oppression work is mostly emphasized by the Community, Political, Ecological, and Pluralistic

---

[21] This is even though they prefer majority rules 60% and mixed decision making 40%. See Organizational Decision making.

SMOs, each of which has at least 17% saying this is their concern over power and exclusion issues.

Ideology
Table 5-12
Power and Exclusion by Ideology

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Reformers	22%	0	22%	0	7%	14%	14%	0	0	21%
Hybrids	25%	12%	16%	7%	5%	5%	7%	5%	16%	2%
Radicals	5%	15%	5%	10%	30%	0	10%	5%	20%	0

A=Voice in Decision Making
B=Reflexivity
C=Including Others
D=Work with Other Groups on what they are Already Doing
E=Protest is an Unequal Activity

F=Not Sure What to Do
G=Debate is Going On
H=Often Unacknowledged Attitudes of Either Racism, Sexism, or Other Isms.
I=Anti-Oppression Work
J=Others

Radical SMOs[22] are the most likely to say that protests are an unequal activity and constitute 30% of their total concern (See Table 5-12). This sentiment is supported by the Radical anarchist Chris Dixon (2003), who, a year after he helped coordinate the "Battle of Seattle" with the Direct Action Network, contends the following in an email correspondence:

> A key problem, then, with the focus on mass mobilizations is the underlying idea that we, as people who seek radical social change, must each take great risks and make huge commitments in very prescribed ways — and that all of us can afford to do that. Yet this doesn't face reality.

This sentiment corresponds to the fact that Radicals (20%) are slightly more likely than Hybrid SMOs (16%) to do anti-oppression work, something Reformers do not mention at all. A Hybrid Pluralist activist explains how anti-oppression work is important for including others:

> It's one way to be sure that everyone's welcome at the table. The Weather underground broke up partially because the women of the group felt it too hierarchical and the

---

[22] Yet Radicals prefer Protests 100% of the time (See Chapter VI).

leadership didn't really appreciate women's input. A huge schism between like white liberal student groups working on civil rights and the black panthers. Based on race and racial oppression, they were raised as two different cultures – a black world and a white world. They had a hard time agreeing because of their different cultural up-bringing. So, I don't see how you bring groups together unless you first getting rid of all of those things as they impede each other interpersonally.

Reformer SMOs (22%) look at power and exclusion remedies by including others, Hybrid SMOs (16%) slightly less so, but much more than Radical SMOs do. But, Radicals (10%) are also more likely to go beyond inclusion by reaching out to other groups to facilitate what they are already doing. This relates to the Radical preference for the third Empowerment strategy. One Radical Political activist points out that white privilege is something activists must grapple with.

By calling you a progressive and by being a part of the antiwar movement or of a social justice group doesn't mean that you are not necessarily, if you are white, pushing your white privilege. Are we giving space to these groups, are we giving them leadership? Are we trying to figure out how not to be imposing our dominate culture on the movement? Are we open to hear them? Not by just inviting them to the table. Are we allowing the power and space to be comfortable? Are we making ourselves available to them? Do they even want us?

Hybrid SMOs (7%) are only slightly less likely to be supportive of reaching out to groups unlike themselves, and Reformer SMOs do not mention this at all. This finding relates to empowerment, as Reformer SMOs are much more apt to work on behalf of activists, while Radical SMOs are most apt to help activists do the work themselves. It is interesting to find that both Reformer and Hybrid SMOs view having a voice are important in decision making, at 22% and 25%, respectively, and Radical SMOs (5%) do not emphasize this much at all. I argue that Reformer and Hybrid SMOs are more likely to negotiate, and work on winnable issues and policies according to the rules of the game. This is because they are more apt to have the goal of being at the table. Conversely, Radical SMOs tend to emphasize a third type of empowerment strategy, which bypasses working within the system to instead work on tougher underlying issues. This is why they

157

protest. Engaging in protest, with high levels of empowerment, and having a

deemphasized need for voice in decision making compared to other ideologies, parallel

each other because Radical SMOs do not feel they would be listened to even if they were

at the table to negotiate policy with the powers-that-be. Radical SMOs emphasize anti-

oppression work, protest, reflexivity, need for revolution, and the higher levels of

empowerment. These are important sentiments for Radicals because they are more likely,

according to authors like Gaventa, Steven Lukes, and Gramsci, to feel society's power

holders have a hegemonic control over society's institutions. This means that negotiation

is often considered fruitless with power holders who have all the power and speak a

different language. An activist in the Community sphere says:

> People in Mexico have a voice, not just U.S centric. If I say it's just a voice, then I can
> say anything I want, but if that voice actually respected and grabbed on by an
> organization that pushes for change in that way, that's different.
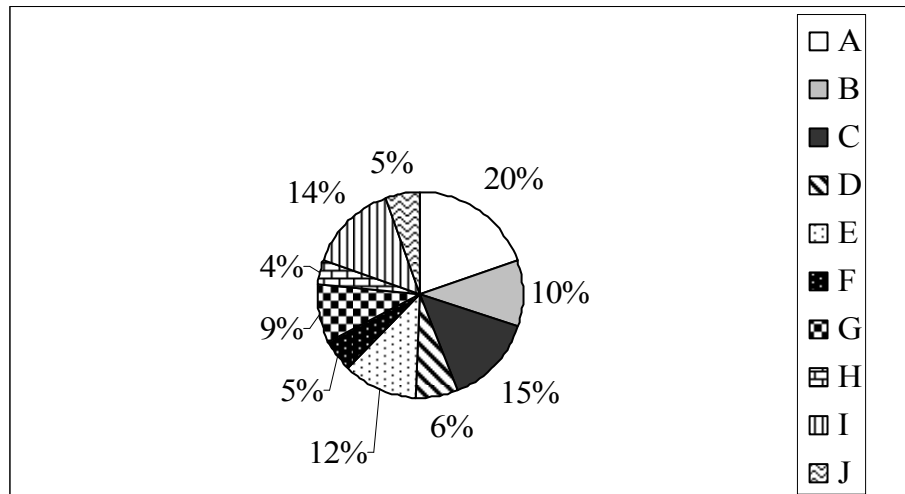
Figure 5-9
Power and Exclusion Overall

A=Voice in Decision Making
B=Reflexivity
C=Including Others
D=Work with Other Groups on what they are
Already Doing
E=Protest is an Unequal Activity

F=Not Sure What to Do
G=Debate is Going On
H=Often Unacknowledged Attitudes of Either
Racism, Sexism, or Other Isms.
I=Anti-Oppression Work
J=Others

Beyond Martinez's (2000) and Ambrose's (2005) findings that race and class are

the main problems associated with power and exclusion, I find that inclusion, unequal

activity in protest events, sexism, debates on how to align and/or include others are

barriers as well.

Overall, 20% (n=15) of the SMO representatives interviewed say they want a

voice in decision making with the powerful (See Figure 5-9). Secondly, they prefer to

include others into their group (15%, n=11). However, anti-oppression work is most

preferred by Radicals (14%, n=11). The next largest concern is that of protest as an

unequal activity, which is a concern primarily among Radical SMOs. Ideological

preferences for dealing with issues involving power and exclusion can and do create

tension among SMOs, especially Radicals and Reformers. Martinez (2000) speaks to the

need for diversity in the movement, which was lacking in the 1999 Seattle protest. This is important because Schlosberg (1998: 87-101 in Brulle 2000: 62) reasons that "political unity does not require that a political agreement be reached based on identical reasons. Rather, unity can be achieved through recognition and inclusion of multiplicity and particularity."

This follows then with Jackobsen's (1998) contention that marginal voices "challenge and reconfigure" their relationship to the dominant discourse, much like Melucci's (1989) exploration of New Social Movements challenging of dominant codes. Jackobsen (1980) suggests that this challenge opens up multiple marginalized discourses. She parallels Foucault's (1980: 95) logic that these discourses make emergent a "multiplicity of points of resistance." This means that the powers-that-be, or the hegemony, which seeks to control discourses with only a narrow view of what is acceptable and important, is challenged, not by a singular counter-hegemony, but by multiple groups with their own privileged view of what is important and correct for them. Jackobsen, for example, cites King (1994) who argues that women of color organize as if their oppression is central and they consider white women's organizing as only peripheral. Therefore, Jackobsen (1998) argues that complexity makes these marginalized voices centers of coherence both interrelated and yet distinct. Especially among the more Radical activists, who value consensus, this has allowed voices to both challenge and reconfigure their own organizations, in addition to dominant allies.

Ten percent of the SMOs, exclusively Radicals and Hybrids, mentioned a need for reflexivity to overcome problems of power and exclusion.[23] When is comes to reflexivity

---

[23] This relates to Rothman's (1996) notion of reflexivity, which is of two kinds: 1) "knee-jerk" reflexivity, resulting in blaming; and 2) a deeper reflexivity in which questions arise to proceed in a different way.

in the area of power and exclusion, activists try not to blame others, but to open up

dialogue on how to improve the movement. For example, a Radical Anarchist said that

Martinez's article, created a reflexive moment to deal with activists' previous inability or

unwillingness to do any thing about diversity:

> . . .for us, those questions of those failures and events were really instrumental, I think those are what kind of sparked us. Many of us had those lingering questions already, but it gave us space to really begin to engage them.

Another example of this sentiment comes from a Hybrid, representing the Economic

sphere:

> Even though that protest was the most diverse protest ever in U.S. history, maybe in world history, because the U.S. is the most diverse country in the world, immediately the movement embraced this critique that we should be even more diverse. Which is good. Critique sounds negative. Like if I send you an article I'm writing and you send it back with no red ink, you didn't do me any favor. Criticism is good. That is part of the culture of the movement, self criticism.

The debate over Power and Exclusion is a matter of recognition of difference, or

including others in diversity. Fraser (2000) contends that the move from "redistribution"

of to "recognition" of identity or from Marxism to identity politics has its downsides. She

reasons further that overemphasizing identity often marginalizes at the same time as it

over reifies group identities. Therefore, Fraser calls for a melding of the concepts of

recognition and redistribution. This means that SMOs from different spheres need to

reach out beyond merely staying within economic or identity realms. This sentiment is

captured by a Radical in the Economic sphere,

> This is more cultural than anything else. Recognizing different kinds of organizations and backgrounds and getting out of the box that our own cultures put around us. Cultures meaning class, or race, or whatever, what we perceive of our identity. Getting people in our movements in practice to look outside their boxes and recognize other boxes as just as valuable. Is a positive good that we are always trying to be.

Summary

There are some indications that there is potential for the Movement of movements to unite, but there is little to no indication of a single movement, maybe, wings or strands of multiple social movements.

When it comes to names, for example, there does not seem to be a single collective identity, but at least two or more. Although the names this Movement of movement adopts take on positive associations beyond the well-known negative "Antiglobalization" movement moniker given them by their opposition, they do not share a collective identity, at least not with a common name.

Furthermore, while the Movement of movements has a potential to unite through dialogue and coalition building with diverse allies, many of these alliances are only in the short term, poised against a common enemy. Although there is a diversity of allies in this sample, SMOs still often prefer to align with those who are like-minded. This means that while they can apply pressure from many directions, there is still plenty of room to reach out to other spheres and divergent ideologies. Meyer (2003) would contend in this case that SMOs must find some middle ground through trade offs and compromises to cultivate a diversity of allies. This can be facilitated through dialogue at protests, conferences, through accepting each other's email listservs. Like allies, SMO enemies are concentrated among spheres, specifically, political and economic. Contrary to the literature, however, this research finds that there is more to a "common" enemy than a single entity. Actually, there are shared enemies, which are diverse and often multiple

and probably most related to political, social, and culture hegemony rather than specific entities like the World Trade Organization or World Bank.

There is certainly a division among Radical and Reformer SMOs in how they choose to internally organize. Radicals prefer more organic decision making while Reformer SMOs choose more mechanical structures. However, more than a third of these SMOs studied actually mix their decision-making structures, which may provide a middle ground when Radical and Reformer SMOs want to form coalitions with one another. More than half of the Hybrids choose a mixed heterarchical structure and may act as key SMOs in moving beyond conflict in this area – a sign of a paradigm shift in organizational relations through the third indicator.

SMOs' empowerment strategies are diverse. Radical SMOs prefer the third strategy where activists are the locus of decision making, whereas, for Reformers, empowerment's locus of decision making is either with the organizers, or in trained leaders in an organization. This means that since a majority of the Movement of movements may overall be overly focused on conscious-raising with the third empowerment strategy, there is less of a focus on obtaining concrete victories. In balance, this might also mean that nearly half of the SMOs studied here, mainly Radical SMOs and many Hybrid SMOs, need to work more on how to participate effectively, while others, especially the Reformers, need to work more on consciousness-raising.

Even questioning the need for diversity is a reflexive response and can broaden alliance building. However, there are still tensions among SMOs, especially Radical and Reformer SMOs. The findings reveal that race and class are the main problems associated

with power and exclusion. I further find that inclusion, unequal activity in protesting, sexism, debates on how to align and/or include others act as barriers as well.

While there is some potential for unity among various SMOs, there is little to no indication that a single movement is represented here. There is no specific agreement when it comes to a name. It is also important to point out that allies and enemies are not narrowly politico-economic, but diverse. Also, while some sectors are excellent at raising awareness, they do not always emphasize action, and vice versa. Finally, as diverse as SMOs are in this study, it still remains an open question as to whether the resolution of differences here can create a collective identity that defines a movement, sets its direction, focuses activities and efforts within, and provides a level of stability and consistency.

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS IN FRAME DISPUTES

The very existence of a social movement is evidence of a new frame of reference, as its mere presence shines a light on an aspect of life once thought as a norm, or even "common sense" (Benford 1993; Gusfield 1994). Because the world is a complicated place, frames are used as interpretative devices, providing coherence to an array of ideas, underlying arguments justifying what is essential in order to make sense of the world (Benford and Snow 2000). Frames act like a pair of glasses, drawing borders around what is important and excluding what is not (Bateson 1972; Gamson and Ryan 2005). One can argue that social movements are sites of reframing because the activists who compose them re-represent an issue in a new and unique way. When an SMO with a commonly held set of assumptions take the position of a certain frame of reference and another challenges these assumptions, it may result in a frame dispute, creating conflict not only with society, but also between themselves.

In this chapter, I focus on frame disputes, a term borrowed from Robert Benford's (1993) article "Frame Disputes within the Nuclear Disarmament Movement." In this study, Benford suggests that "core framing tasks" act as central sets of propositions or ideas, which actors can collectively organize around. In developing a discursive frame,

SMOs exclude other realities, limiting the possible collective action options considered (Brulle 2000).

The first core framing task is the "diagnostic attribution," also called "diagnostic framing." This involves a group pointing blame to individuals, groups or social structures. In this section, diagnostic framing relates specifically to the exploration of what activists Albert *et al*. (1986) call "oppressions" and Benford (1988; 1992) and other social movement scholars call "grievances." The second core framing task is the "prognostic attribution," also known as "prognostic framing." A prognostic frame also proposes specific strategies, tactics, and objectives by which these solutions may be achieved (Snow and Benford, 1988: 199 - 202). In this chapter, prognostic framing is dealt with specifically with the areas of tactics and visioning. Benford (1993b) claims that an analysis of the core framing tasks of SMOs can help social movement scholars understand the conflict at hand. Therefore, in what follows, I examine SMO diagnostic framing. I break down the diagnostic attributions in two parts. First, utilizing the language of frame scholars, I examine the number of grievances (oppressions) that activists attribute and focus on, and then I examine what grievances these SMOs specifically attribute. I examine these grievances through a quantitative content analysis as explained in the methodology.[1] Then, I examine the strategic direction of each sphere and ideology and how their tactics differ. Finally, I examine the prognostic attributions to see how these organizations' visions differ by spheres and ideologies.

Brulle (2000) argues that these core framing tasks facilitate the creation of a new societal narrative, or way of looking at life, in order to transition the movement toward a new identity. He makes the case that these core framing tasks are part of the creation of a

---

[1] Grievances are "socially constructed definitions of a situation," according to Klandermans (1997).

frame, one that both creates and maintains common beliefs that define the reality in

which a social movement finds itself embedded.

In this chapter, I borrow from Benford (1993) and Brulle (2000) to examine the

framing disputes, as well as the common ground found among SMOs in terms of their

frames. I will first examine the diagnostic framing of these SMOs by focusing on how

they diagnostically frame grievances.[2]

Number of Grievances Diagnostically Attributed

Spheres
Table 6-1
Number of Grievances Diagnostically Attributed by Sphere

	1	1 (+)	2	2(+)	3	3(+)	4	4(+)	5
Community	0	64%	9%	0	0	18%	0	0	9%
Political	0	24%	13%	24%	13%	0	0	13%	13%
Kinship	0	0	67%	0	0	0	0	33%	0
Economic	12%	49%	13%	13%	0	13%	0	0	0
Pluralistic	17%	66%	0	17%	0	0	0	0	0
Ecological	40%	40%	0	20%	0	0	0	0	0
Media & Research	29%	71%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spiritual	0	50%	0	25%	0	0	0	0	25%

1 = One Grievance Focus   **3** = Three Foci
1(+) = Focus On More Than One Grievance   **3(+)** = Three Foci and Attribute Others
2 = Two Foci   **4** = Four Foci
2(+) = Two Foci and Attribute Others   **4(+)** = Four Foci and Attribute Others
                                                5 = Five Foci

In the survey, I asked the following question: "I have observed that a primary

emphasis of the Global Democracy Movement is to end a variety of grievances. Every

---

[2] I equate grievances to oppressions in this dissertation. The term oppression is primarily used to describe "how a certain group is being *kept down* by unjust use of force, authority, or societal norms. When this is institutionalized formally or informally in a society, it is referred to as 'systematic oppression.' Oppression is most commonly felt and expressed by a widespread, if unconscious, assumption that a certain groups of people are inferior. Oppression is rarely limited solely to government action. Individuals can be victims of oppression, and in this case have no group membership to share their burden of ostracization." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enemy

organization probably cannot address every one of these effectively. How would your organization prioritize in addressing each of these grievances? Please rate each oppression with a number from one through eight, the number one as the most important and 8 as the least important. If your organization finds that certain grievances are equal, please note this in the dialogue box below (as well as make equal scores in the boxes). If there are grievances not expressed, please note this below, as well." Another question I asked during the telephone follow-up interview was: "Do activists in your organization point to a primary problem or oppression associated with globalization (or what your focus is), or do they seem to see these problems as interrelated?" After this section, I specify what types of oppression each SMO and ideology focus on.

Grievances and Oppression, or being "weighed down" by the cruel and arbitrary exercise of power, are a matter of perspective. When it comes to the number of grievances various spheres focus on and/or attribute, several spheres focus on a single oppression, but others identified more than one (See Table 6-1). SMOs from five spheres – Community (64%), Economic (49%), Pluralistic (66%), Ecological (40%), Media & Research (71%), and Spiritual (50%) – focus on a single grievance, but identify others as well. A majority of SMOs on the Kinship sphere (67%) actually identify two grievances and one third of their sphere identify four grievances, simultaneously acknowledging two or more others SMOs associated with the Spiritual sphere are the most apt to say there are five or more grievances that they focus on, and Political and Community spheres, do also but to a lesser extent. The Ecological sphere SMOs are the most likely to focus only on a single sphere (40%); the Media & Research, Pluralistic, and Economic do as well, but to a lesser extent.

Most spheres can find consensus in the fact that, while they may focus on one or two grievances, they acknowledge other grievances as well. This means there is a great potential for groups that may not focus on a multitude of grievances, but they do align with others who are unlike them. However, the data does suggest that some SMOs are more likely to focus solely on one or two grievances, which indicates little to no possibility of alliance-building among spheres. However, some SMOs see grievances as interrelated. For example, a Hybrid activist in the Media & Research sphere noted the diversity of issue stances SMOs may take in positioning themselves:

> One of the great strengths, and some would say weaknesses as well, of the liberal or progressive movement is that it has never been 'single issue.' Intellectually I think we tend to see the issues (environment, social justice, education, peace, end to poverty, freedom of speech, etc.) as interrelated and therefore worthy of united effort. Some would say this dilutes the message but, in fact, it illustrates the complexity of the issues at hand.

However, the Ecological (40%) and Media & Research spheres (29%) large focus on a single grievance might hamper their capacity to work with other groups. This hypothesis resonates with the data, which suggests that the Ecological sphere (3) exhibits the smallest number of allies. This does not automatically square with the Media & Research sphere, except for the fact that this sphere represents SMOs that help other allies in a generalized manner, such as with help in messaging, research, and other resources, often regardless of their specific grievance concerns.

Ideology
Table 6-2
Number of Diagnostically Attributed Grievance Foci by Ideology

	1	1(+)	2	2(+)	3	3(+)	4	4(+)	5
Reformers	53%	27%	13%	0	0	0	7%	0	0
Hybrids	5%	50%	0	20%	5%	15%	0	0	5%
Radicals	0	67%	0	33%	0	0	0	0	0

1 = One Grievance Focus　　　　　　　　　　　　　**3** = Three Foci
1(+) = Focus On More Than One Grievance　　　　　**3(+)** = Three Foci and Attribute Others
2 = Two Foci　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**4** = Four Foci
2(+) = Two Foci and Attribute Others　　　　　　　**4(+)** = Four Foci and Attribute Others
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　5 = Five Foci

The three main ideological types also differ in the number of grievances they focus on (Table 6-2). Reformer SMOs are the most apt to focus on a single oppression.[3] Although some Reformer SMOs (27%) actually focus on only a single grievance, they attribute two or more grievances as important, albeit not as their primary focus. Radical SMOs are most apt to either focus on a single oppression with an eye on two or more grievances (67%) or on three specific ones in this sample of SMOs. Hybrid SMOs, however, fall across the spectrum of foci from a single oppression to up to five. Some SMOs representatives may claim to be both feminist (Kinship sphere) and Marxist (Economic sphere) or environmentalist and at the same time socialist (Economic Sphere). Twenty percent of Hybrid SMOs focus on two grievances and attribute two or more others, while 15% focus on three grievances and attribute at least two others at the same time. Reformer SMOs, more than other types of SMOs, tend to focus on only a single oppression, and do acknowledge others as important as well. This means that the Reformer SMOs are the least likely to identify with grievances that other SMOs find are important. Therefore, this could hinder the potential alliance with other groups. However, an Environmental Reformer says, while her SMO prioritizes the environment, it works with other groups:

> We work in coalition with groups that address the other issues but we basically only prioritize environmental work, but do some environmental work as it relates to race/ethnicity/class (our environmental justice work) and Nationality (our fair trade work).

The Hybrid and Radical SMOs though, are probably the most likely to focus on multiple areas, and have the greatest potential to work with groups unlike themselves.

---

[3] A single issue strategy is what Albert *et al.* (1986) call a monistic or reductionist approach.
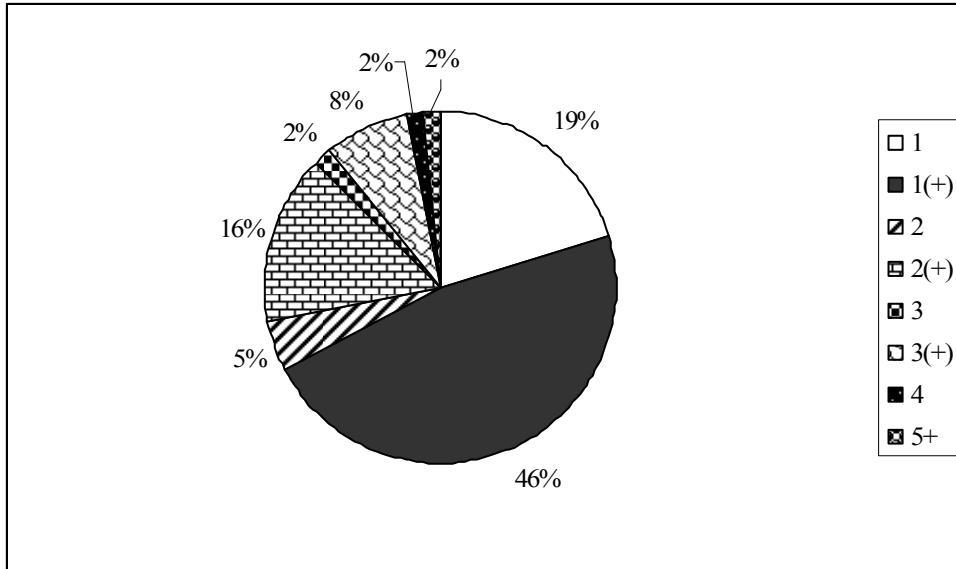
Figure 6-1
Overall Number of Grievances Focused On and Attributed

1 = One Grievance Focus	**3** = Three Foci
1(+) = Focus On More Than One Grievance	**3(+)** = Three Foci and Attribute Others
2 = Two Foci	**4** = Four Foci
2(+) = Two Foci and Attribute Others	**4(+)** = Four Foci and Attribute Others
	5 = Five Foci

Overall, nearly one half (n=20; 46%) of the sample focuses on a single attributed

oppression, but attributes others, while 20% (n=9) have a single focus. Another 16% do

attribute other foci and additionally attribute others as important. Twelve percent attribute

either two or three foci without acknowledging others. This leaves only 6% covering the

rest. Overall, there are 69% (n=30) of these SMOs which may have specific focus, but do

attribute other grievances. This is a potential bridge. However, this also means that 31%

have a specific focus and may not attribute other grievances as important. At the same

time, this means that nearly one-third of these SMOs sampled are less likely to reach out

to groups unlike themselves.

Albert *et al.* (1986) would characterize approaches that focus on a single set of

causal factors as short sighted. For example, to focus only on racism would ignore

sexism, classism, possibly even politics, or sexual orientation. Simultaneously, a single focus on race exaggerates the influence of race while underestimating the influence of other sources of oppression. A pluralist approach, while still creating links to other spheres,[4] still fails, according to Albert *et al.* (1986), to see, or at the very least act on the "multi-faceted defining influences" of oppressive forces because grievances are more complex than only the acknowledgement of only two grievances. These scholar-activists specifically acknowledge that between five and six grievances interrelate and reinforce each other. These authors find the Kinship, Political, Community, Economic sphere, and Ecological spheres must be dealt with at the same time, or little to nothing could or would be done.[5] The findings here diverge from those of Starr (2000), as she treats SMO perceptions as if they were only a single entity. She squarely focuses on economic factors, specifically corporations. She notes specifically, "The first section of the chapter explores the premise that movements are naming corporations as the enemy" (2000: 148). Starr (2000: 151) later complicates the enemy as indirectly economic, as she highlights their opposition to "neoliberalism" or "globalization as just part of capitalism." My research indicates, to the contrary, that many but not all SMOs point to more than a single enemy. One in three SMOs actually point to two or more grievances, contradicting the findings of scholars, such as Starr (2000) Prokosch and Raymond (2002) and Beck (2003), that SMOs focus on economics almost exclusively. Therefore, while the SMOs interviewed do not live up to Albert *et al's* (1986) ideal, they do go beyond Starr's (2000) focus on a single oppressive force.

---

[4] A pluralist approach might be illustrated with either the Marxist-feminists or Eco-socialists.
[5] What's interesting here is that the coauthors of Albert *et al.* (1986), who found the idea of "complementary holism," a term articulating a theory based on the "multi-faceted defining influences" failed to get back together for a second book which was suppose to place their theory into practice.

The grievances attributed by SMOs in this research resemble injustice frames.

Gamson (1992) articulates that the injustice frame defines a morally objectionable

situation, and attributes responsibility for it to an emotionally-charged cognition. Here, I

borrow this sentiment to understand the framing of opposition.

Spheres
Table 6-3
Diagnostically Attributed Grievance Type by Sphere

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Community	0	17%	5%	10%	22%	10%	2%	7%	20%
Political	0	17%	11%	11%	17%	11%	11%	7%	11%
Kinship	0	14%	7%	37%	14%	0	0	7%	21%
Economic	0	39%	0	15%	19%	0	0	8%	19%
Pluralistic	5%	6%	17%	17%	16%	0	0	6%	32%
Ecological	0	0	8%	8%	15%	8%	0	38%	23%
Media & Research	0	17%	8%	17%	17%	0	0	17%	24%
Spiritual	8%	23%	0	15%	15%	8%	8%	0	15%

A=Military   **E**=Racism
B=Economic   **F**=Ethnocentrism
C=Political   **G**=Nationalism
D=Sexism & Homophobia   **H**=Environmentalism
                                                      I=Grievances are interrelated

From the previous question, I extrapolate the types of grievances attributed by

SMOs. Ten different attributions of grievances, or injustice frames, emerge from the

interviews. The Community sphere activists, not surprisingly, focus most on race, 22% of

their total (Table 6-3). Add that to ethnicity (10%), and these two grievances add up to

32%, or nearly one third of Community sphere SMOs' total. Interestingly, the Political

sphere SMOs are divided between the economic and race categories as to the grievances

they focus on. Like the Community sphere SMOs, their focus is divided among nine

173

other oppression attributions.[6] Also, not surprisingly, the Kinship sphere SMOs' highest

focus is on Kinship (sexism and/or homo-phobia) and to a much lesser extent on

economic and racial grievances. When it comes to SMOs focusing mainly on their

sphere, this is true of five of eight of the spheres studied, specifically SMOs within the

Community, Kinship, Economic, Pluralistic, and Ecological spheres. The Political and

the Media & Research sphere SMOs are the most dispersed in their foci. The Spiritual

sphere SMOs also identifies economics as their biggest oppression. When it comes to

seeing these grievances as interdependent, the Pluralistic sphere SMOs are the most

likely to agree. The Media & Research sphere SMOs also are likely to find that spheres

are interdependent since their function is to often support SMOs regardless of their focus.

While Ecological sphere activists are likely to attribute a single focus, they also see

interdependence with nature, but nature is still the primary focus. For example, an

Ecological Hybrid activist says his SMO has a niche:

> We definitely see it as an environmental globalization – or the problems of globalization
> as environmental. I think that's partly because we belong to . . ., an environmental group.
> And, that's what we care about working on and the niche we fit into. For example,
> CAFTA, there are bunch of other groups nationally, we are the most focused on the
> environmental implications. It's not that we see it as more of a problems than human
> right's abuses, or economic abuses of it, but it's what we are most interested in and other
> groups like Oxfam is working on poverty, we're filling a niche too, the environment.

Kinship and Community sphere SMOs are likely to view these grievances as

interdependent while the Political sphere is the least likely to do so. When comparing the

New Social Movement SMOs – Community, Kinship, and Ecological – there is little

agreement as to the most important oppression or injustice. Each says its oppression is

primary. In this way, there may be conflicts as to the diagnosis. However, among SMOs

---

[6] Similar to the previous section describing the number of oppressions focused on, there is a wide of
oppressions types focused on; some are highly focused and others are dispersed.

in the Pluralistic and Media & Research spheres, activists see grievances as interrelated, while the Spiritual sphere activists point to poverty as the primary oppression they fight. This means that there may be conflict between these groups on what problems to focus on.

Ideology
Table 6-4
Types of Diagnostically Attributed Grievances by Ideology

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Reformers	0	28%	12%	12%	8%	8%	4%	12%	20%
Hybrids	2%	24%	8%	8%	18%	5%	3%	3%	28%
Radicals	0	32%	0	5%	9%	5%	0	14%	35%

A=Military   **E**=Racism
B=Economic   **F**=Ethnocentrism
C=Political   **G**=Nationalism
D=Sexism & Homophobia   **H**=Environmentalism
                                       I=Grievances are interrelated

Table 6-4 illustrates how ideological groups focus on different grievances. Considering all Reformer SMOs grievances, this ideological group focuses mainly on economics (28%). But only 12% on each of three other grievances: environment; political, and kinship. Reformer SMOs are the least likely to view their grievances as interrelated, but still 20% of them note this. Twenty-four percent of Hybrid SMOs similarly attribute economic grievances; 18% racism, but more than SMOs among the Reformers, as 28% attribute that their grievances as interrelated. Radical SMOs split 67% of their grievances between economics and the fact that grievances are interrelated. Radicals are the most likely to view grievances are interrelated (35%). Reformer (12%) and Radical (14%) SMOs similarly focus on the environment much more so than Hybrid SMOs (3%). Reformer SMOs though focus more on the sexism, homophobia, and racism than either Hybrid or Radical SMOs.

The fact that all ideological groups see that grievances are interdependent – 20% to 35% of their total – means potential for alliance building exists specifically because SMO activists point out that their fates are intertwined with those of other SMO activists. However, this also means that 65% of Radical SMOs and 80% of the Reformer SMOs do not note interdependence as important. Bridges can be found in the examination of these grievances for both spheres and ideologies. In both categories, activists commonly say that oppressive forces emanating from economics, sexism, and racism are important, yet a large percentage say these grievances are actually interdependent. Barriers probably focus on the fact that while economic, sexist, and racist forces are highly regarded as oppressive among almost all spheres, none of these spheres or ideologies find any of these categories as a majority separately. Also, not all SMOs place the same importance on each category. These findings are in accordance with Albert's (2002) argument that groups focus on what directly affects them.
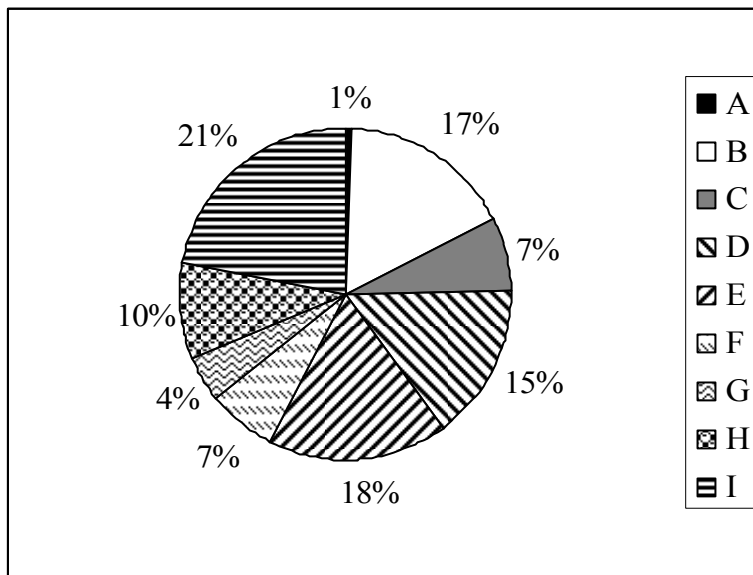
Figure 6-2
Overall Grievances Attributed by Percentage
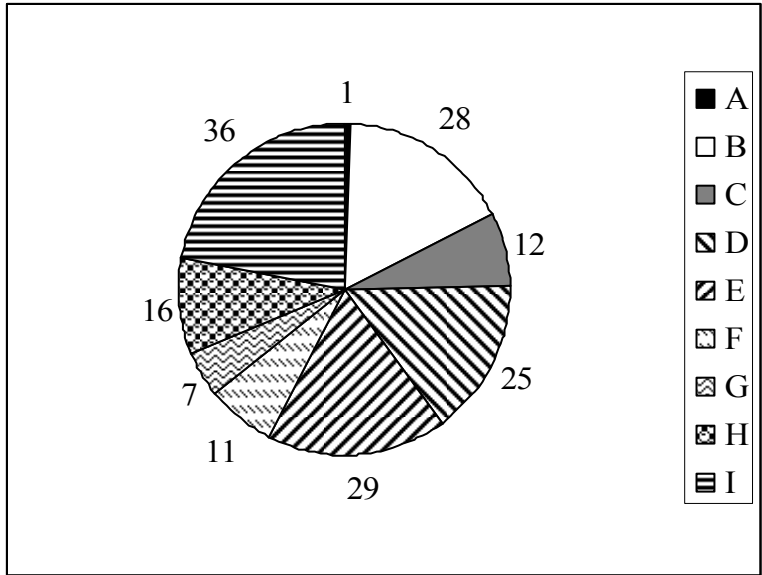
Figure 6-3
Overall Grievances by Number in Sample

A=Military	**E**=Racism
B=Economic	**F**=Ethnocentrism
C=Political	**G**=Nationalism
D=Sexism & Homophobia	**H**=Environmentalism
	I=Grievances are interrelated

Overall, the most common prognosis was that all grievances are interrelated, 21%

of the total of all grievances offered, but 65% (n=36) of all SMOs, followed by Racism

(18%) and Economics at a close 17% (n=30) each, or 52% and 51% of all SMOs mention

these grievances, respectively. The fifty-five SMOs mentioned 165 grievances. As one

Hybrid Pluralist activist explains:

> Pluralist means a general anti-oppression approach, recognizing the interconnectedness of
> all oppression within one system. This is our number one focus. At our national
> conference in April, we began Saturday morning with a three-hour group anti-oppression
> training to address many forms of oppression within our progressive movement,
> especially race, gender, sexuality, and class/education. We believe it is impossible to
> move forward as a unified movement without addressing the divisions that still persist,
> some stronger than ever, along the lines drawn by histories of oppression.

SMOs consider three grievances – economics, racism, and sexism & homophobia – equal 53% of the total grievances as shared.[7] Although thirteen of fifty-five (25%) SMOs did not attribute any of these three grievances; eight SMOs cited that all grievances are interdependent. Four of the five SMOs that did not cite the three commonly shared grievances are single-issue oriented Reformer SMOs. Two of these SMOs only mention ecological grievances and two others exclusively focus on political grievances. The fifth SMO is a Hybrid with two grievances, one environmental and another on ethnicity. This means that fifty of fifty-five or 91% of all groups commonly find these four grievances as common ground. A lot of common ground is uncovered among these SMOs. Adding Ecological grievances (n=16; 10%) to these common grievances means that 96% of SMOs share common ground.

Therefore, there is little conflict as to what grievances are in common, if a strategy includes these four aforementioned grievances attributed. Conversely, scholars often note that activists' grievances are economic in focus and do not consider sexism, racism, or ecological destruction simultaneously as a primary. To these SMOs, the grievances are varied to a greater degree than Starr (2000 & Held and McGrew 2002) and other scholars contend. The number and type of grievances attributed as a concern have expanded beyond only economics to that of social issues as well. This means that protests around the country are not solely focused on economic issues as many scholars and the mass media suggest, but also focus on other societal or cultural issues. In fact, if these SMOs are to unite, these four attributed grievances – Economics, Sexism, Racism, and Ecological destruction – must all gain equal footing as key problem foci. By no means

---

[7] Of course there is a lot of overlap here as many groups in this study find that more than one oppression is important even if not an exclusive focus.

can SMOs ignore other grievances because, if Albert *et al*. (1986) are correct in their assumption that grievances are interlocking, to focus exclusively on economic institutions as oppressive forces is a faulty assumption.

<center>Prognostic Attributions: Tactics</center>

Tactics flow out of an SMO's strategic use of prognostic attributions.[8] SMOs have a repertoire tactics to struggle against their enemies, ranging from insider to outsider tactics. Benford argues that prognostic attributions are how SMO actors view how a "problematic aspect of reality ought to be transformed, including what is to be done to achieve such a state of affairs" (Benford 1993: 679). Turner and Killian (1987) suggest that activists within SMOs debate over such issues as strategies and tactics to obtain an "accepted version of reality" (p. 232). Tactics are not only a matter of expressing a grievance, "but also of defining one's political and social identity" (Rochon and Meyer 1997: 248). In the following section on tactics, I break down tactics into five categories: Outside, Inside, Mixed (Outside and Inside), Education, and Coalition Building with other SMOs.[9] Outside tactics are, for example, protests and street theatre, often called unconventional tactics. Inside tactics are viewed as conventional action, such as letter writing, voting, lobbying legislators, running for office and other more accepted ways of influencing politics. Some SMOs mix these types of tactics, depending on the opposition and/or issue. Education includes SMOs' holding trainings before protests, or even in

---

[8] Prognostic attributions, are also utilized when I talk about visions because Benford (1992) argues that these attributions offer solutions, beyond tactics and assigning blame.
[9] Since the categories were the most salient ones given by the key informants, they are included here.

<center>179</center>

between protests.[10] Coalition building is SMOs' working with other SMOs as a tactic to

gain power.

Spheres
Table 6-5
Prognostic Attributions: Tactics by Spheres

	Outside	Inside	Mixed	Education	Coalition
Community	13%	13%	17%	22%	35%
Political	20%	27%	7%	13%	33%
Kinship	0	18%	27%	37%	18%
Economic	16%	16%	11%	41%	16%
Pluralistic	11%	11%	17%	39%	22%
Ecological	11%	34%	11%	33%	11%
Media & Research	0	13%	0	74%	13%
Spiritual	0	49%	0	38%	13%

In the survey, I asked the question: "What kind of tactics does your organization

most employ?" Additionally, in the follow-up phone interview, I asked: "Based on your

experience, can you provide an example or story of the kinds of strategies and tactics

your organization best employs to fix, or otherwise oppose the problem(s) your

organization has identified?"

Prognostic framing of outside tactics, such as protests, is most widely used by

SMOs in the Political sphere (20%), the Economic sphere (16%), Community sphere

(13%), and the Pluralistic and Ecological spheres (11%) (See Table 6-5). A Community

activist finds protests are important for empowerment and solidarity's sake, "You feel

like 'Wow.' We have some power here – it's not just me feeling these thoughts. People

agree."

None of these SMOs, however, choose outside tactics as its primary strategy.

Inside strategies are the most preferred type of tactic by Spiritual sphere SMOs with 49%

---

[10] Taylor (1989) describes work social movements do even during abeyance.

of their total. A Hybrid Spiritual activist describes why her organization prefers insider tactics:

> . . .writing letters, editorials, talking to congressmen, are pretty standard and I suspect they are pretty standard for any organization to promote their cause. I'm sure they've changed things here and there, but the one thing we keep going back to is that there is nothing better than an informed, passionate constituent who cares about an issue and gets a hold of his or her member of congress and communicates in a way that motivates that member of congress. That message gets through in a number of ways. We really think touching the heart of member of congress to get legislation to pass, and get money to that program is the best way.

Ecological and Political sphere activists also prefer insider tactics (27% and 34%, respectively). The least likely to use inside tactics are Media & Research sphere SMOs (13%), which stress education (74%). A mix of tactics is most preferred by activists within the Kinship sphere (27%), and the Pluralistic and Community sphere SMOs, both of which say a mixed-tactic approach is still their preferred way to challenge their opposition (17%). The SMOs in spheres least likely to mix strategies are the Media & Research and the Spiritual activists with neither one stating they prefer a mixed set of tactics. As stated above, the Media & Research spheres actually stress education the most. Coalition building as a strategy is stressed most by SMOs within the Community (35%), Political (33%), and lesser so the Pluralistic sphere (22%). The Media & Research, Spiritual, and the Ecological SMO spheres are the least likely to stress coalitions, however. Therefore, they have to work with Ecological SMOs mainly through inside tactics. Similarly, the Political and Economic spheres find consensus on internal tactics much like both the Spiritual and Media & Research spheres. The Pluralistic Sphere accommodates the middle ground them as they prefer a mixed-tactical approach that fits the context of the situation.

Spheres
Table 6-6
Prognostic Attributions: Tactics by Spheres Excluding Education and Coalitions

	Outside	Inside	Mixed
Community	30%	30%	40%
Political	38%	49%	13%
Kinship	0	40%	60%
Economic	37%	38%	25%
Pluralistic	29%	29%	42%
Ecological	20%	60%	20%
Media & Research	0	100%	0
Spiritual	0	100%	0

Excluding the coalition and education variables, I find that the Media & Research

and Spiritual sphere SMOs exclusively utilize inside tactics, and the Ecological sphere is

the only sphere that stresses inside tactics a majority of the time (See Table 6-6). The

Political sphere does stress inside tactics nearly half the time though. Outside tactics are

utilized most with Political and Economic sphere SMOs and to a lesser extent with the

Community, Pluralistic, and Ecological SMO spheres. A mixed-tactics approach is most

popular with the Kinship sphere SMOs (60%). A mix of insider and outsider tactics is

nearly as popular among the Pluralistic and Community sphere SMOs.

Ideology
Table 6-7
Prognostic Attributions: Ideology by Tactics

	Outside	Inside	Mixed	Education	Coalitions
Reformers	0	57%	0	31%	12%
Hybrids	4%	13%	54%	22%	27%
Radicals	50%	0	0	25%	0

The types of tactics are viewed differently based on ideology. More specifically,

Reformer and Radical SMOs emphasize a different repertoire of tactics. Reformer SMOs

are the most likely to prefer insider tactics, while Radical SMOs are the most likely to

prefer outsider tactics. When it comes to tactics (See Figure 6-7), Reformer SMOs prefer

inside tactics (57%). If you exclude the education variable, it is obvious that Reformer

SMOs frame inside tactics. While many of these Reformist SMOs may have their

members go to protests, the data suggests that they prefer inside avenues in order to

influence the government, as opposed to adversarial outside approaches. On the other

extreme, the Radical SMOs prefer outside strategies such as protests and street theatre

(50%). If you exclude the variable of education, these SMOs most prefer outside tactics

(64% of the time). Both Reformists and Radicals may accept and participate in non-

preferred tactics, but their organizations tend to underplay them. Hybrid SMOs are the

most likely to adopt a mixed inside/outside approach (37%), and 43% of the time if you

take out or exclude the variable of education variable. Hybrid tactics are the most varied.

Education is prominent with all these SMOs: Reformers 31%; Radicals 25%; and

Hybrids 22%. But, coalition building is a tactic that varies among ideologies. Reformers

mention coalition building as a tactic only 12% of the time, while Radicals do 25% of the

time, and Hybrids say that coalition building is 27% of what they do.[11] It is possible that

since Hybrids use a mixed tactics method, they could help with finding common ground.

Ideology
Table 6-8
Prognostic Attributions: Tactics Excluding Education & Coalitions by Ideology

	Outside	Inside	Mixed
Reformers	0	100%	0
Hybrids	3%	26%	65%
Radicals	100%	0	0

Excluding education and coalition variables reveal the stark difference in the

ideological choices among types of tactics: outside, inside, and a mix of the two. When

one excludes both Education and Coalitions (See Figure 6-8), ideological groups

[11] Coalition statistics presented here do not exclude the education variable.

definitely are differentiated on the basis of tactics. Reformer SMOs exclusively prefer insider tactics and Radical SMOs exclusively prefer outsider tactics. Hybrid SMOs prefer a mixed approach with 65% of their total. While Hybrid SMOs do utilize the insider tactic, they do not prefer outside tactics exclusively.

In examining some of the reasons SMOs participate in protests, many of them reasons surround the fact that they help activists build solidarity, meet face-to-face, and network; however, they are not effective at bringing about public policy change. A Community Reformer activist claims that protests "generally are good in building public awareness and building solidarity around issues, which are important components of making change, but [they] don't make change themselves." The fact that protests are useful in creating awareness is backed by Klandermans (1997: 52), as he argues that once an individual takes part in a collective action "their view of the world may change dramatically."

However, a Community Radical finds protests are essential for reflexivity. "It's really a healthy moment in the learning process and it goes back to the idea that protests are 'laboratories of resistance' where we are thinking about what we are doing and draw out lessons." A Hybrid SMO in the Kinship sphere finds that protests are about demanding change. "Change is going to happen, but it won't happen if people don't speak up. So, yes, I believe in protests." However, not all activists find that protests are the only tactic. A representative from a Hybrid SMO in the Economics sphere contends that tactics should be part of a larger strategy with "many arrows in your quiver," meaning both outside, including protesting, and inside tactics, which include legislative action.

I also asked this follow-up question of SMO representatives in the sample: "It seems that activists engage in certain techniques that are repeated to oppose corporate globalization at protests. Would you say that protests have become ritualized? In other words, how would you describe the continuity of strategies from protest to protest?" Only twenty respondents answered this question, but I found that all 20 agreed that protests have become ritualized, as Barbara Ehrenreich (2000: 1) elsewhere describes:

> The events in Seattle and D.C. are in many obvious ways enormously heartening, but they also illustrate how absurdly ritualized leftwing protests have become, at least on the side of the protesters. Once, back in the now prehistoric sixties, a group would call for a demonstration, with or without a police permit, and the faithful would simply show up. If you were fortunate or fleet of foot, you got away unscathed. Otherwise well, everyone knew there were risks to challenging the power of the state.

While many activists see the potential for protests to facilitate solidarity and networking, they also view them as having become predictable, uncreative, and in need of retooling. A Radical activist in the Economic sphere declares that, while worthwhile, people are not showing up to protests anymore because "they feel they are redundant. There is a comforting aspect to it, that's why we still have them. These rituals are relived with the solidarity they get out of it. But, I think it only works now for those who are veterans who use these rituals, which are keeping new people." A Reformer Pluralist activist, though, finds protests largely useless. "In my observation of them, they have become more of a carnival and parade than anything else with highly disparate voices and issues. They don't show the kind of cohesive power and united front that the civil rights and antiwar street actions did in the past." However, another Reformer Pluralist activist contends that while there is ritualization, there is nothing wrong with it. "It's the oldest form of free speech, people gathering, talking, sharing; it's also a place for free speech."

Protests also may be central in escalating violence. Brooks (2004) argues that with an inclusive democracy master frame, there is no way to exclude violent factions within these SMOs. Additionally, he maintains that its decentralized decision-making structure makes it difficult, if not impossible, to bar violence at protests. Brooks' (2004) contention is that a democratic ideal of a "diversity of tactics" means that while protests can get violent, their acceptance in the movement can spell a "radicalization" of the movement and an escalation of violence. As the anarchists increase their violence against property, the police, in turn, escalate their forceful presence without determining which protestor is violent and which is nonviolent. This escalation of violence brings more negative press to protests, which can obscure their potential to change minds.[12]
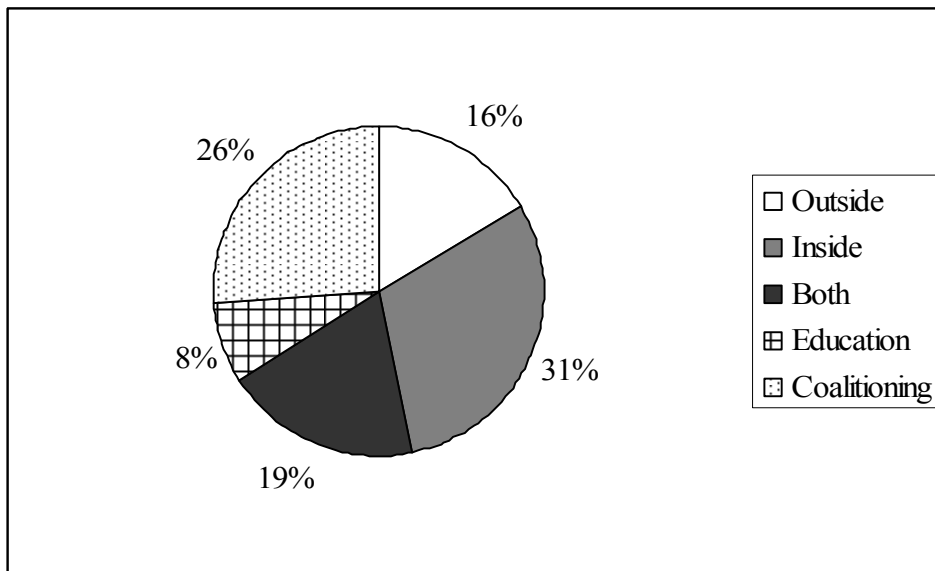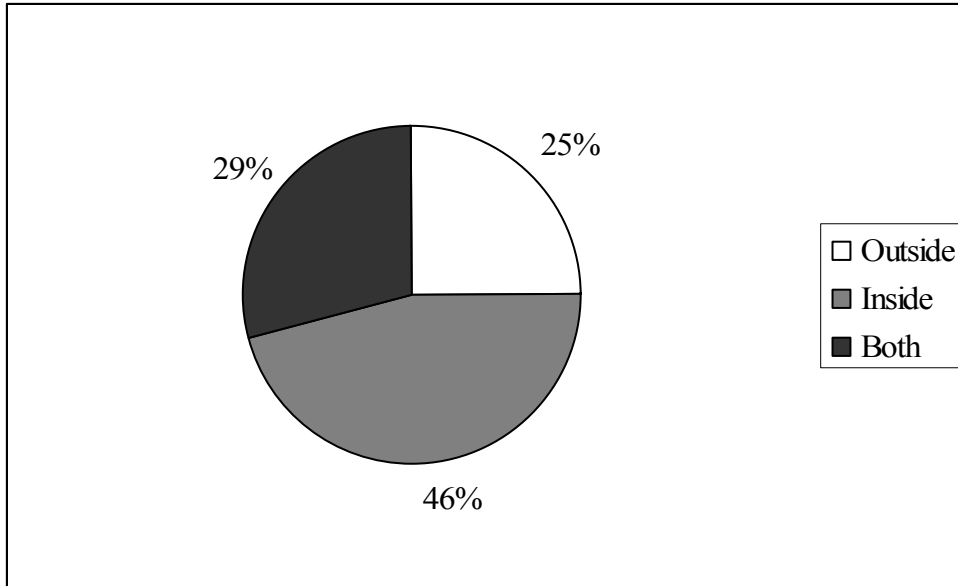

Figure 6-4
Prognostic Attributions: Overall Tactics

---

[12] Chapter VII finds that the 3rd largest barrier to uniting is tactical conflict among SMOs.

Figure 6-5
Prognostic Attributions: Tactics – Three Categories Only

Overall, inside tactics, i.e., lobbying, writing congressmen, and working on campaigns are the most utilized tactics, constituting nearly one-third of all the five tactics (See Figures 6-3). When excluding both Education and Coalition building, 46% (n=22) of the total SMOs interviewed say that the primary way they oppose their enemy is inside tactics. In Figure 6-3, the next most used tactic is coalition building, with 26% of the total.

This means SMOs are actually working with others in a concerted effort, which is a bridge to creating a larger movement. Outside tactics, such as protesting are utilized by 16% of the groups in the five categories in Figure 6-3. However, outside tactics make up 25% of the tactics preferred by SMOs, when one controls for both education and coalition building. Mixes of both strategies are utilized as a primary tactic by 19% of the total, but 29% without coalitions and education. This means that nearly one-third of the SMOs utilize a mixture of outside and inside tactics, which can also act as a bridge to uniting. Conflicts arise because some SMOs prefer outside tactics and others prefer only

inside tactics. However, the data suggest that activists are working on getting over

conflicts because of tactics. A Hybrid Community activist wants to find some middle

ground.

> Tactics are how you express your politics, it's defines who you are. If you are radical, you do civil disobedience and destruction, and reformists, don't do this. We were really trying to break out of that framework, and I think over the years, movements seem a lot more sophisticated in thinking about these issues. These were burning issues, like around a 'diversity of tactics.'

Hybrids may play the facilitator role. As they accept both insider and outsider tactics,

they may be able to bring Radical and Reformer SMOs together to feel more comfortable

and accepting of each other's tactical style. This finding is in accordance with Meyer

(2003), who finds that SMOs need to find a middle ground by cultivating diverse allies

through tradeoffs and compromises. This finding also goes beyond the traditional

hypothesis that views tactics exclusively on an insider and outsider axis (Gais and Walker

1991).

Chris Crass of the Catalyst Project sums up a way to go beyond a fight over

tactics, when he proposes that SMOs must work on vision building. However, the data

suggests that currently SMOs are only myopically focused on tactics.

> I think when it hurts our movement is when people identify tactics to certain politics. If you do black bloc at a protest, then you are very radical, but if you are walking with your family and you have a toddler and stroller and have your grandma with you, you are reformist because you are not going to risk anything. That's simplistic, but that happens out there. That groups engage in electoral struggles or that's a group that will always do direct action because they are radical. Instead of a long term vision, it's sort of a rod, we want justice. As a result, of not a lot of clarity of how strategy work, what we are left with that is really concrete is our tactics.

This section on visions is related to Benford's (1993) conception of a "prognostic frame," or the ultimate vision on which reality should be transformed. For example, The Center for Community Change's website provides this sentiment on vision. "As the saying goes, if we don't know where we're going, any road will get us there. To build a better future, the progressive movement needs a coherent, common vision — one that represents our values and dreams for America and guides us in inspiring others to share our hope" (Movement Vision Project 2006). Talking with SMO representatives, there is much reflexive dialogue on the need to have either a single vision or multiple visions. Turner (1994: 80) contends that a vision is important because when people have a common vision, "they can discuss social issues with a reasonable degree of mutual understanding." It is central to this study to see what these SMOs think about when it comes to visions and vision-building.

Spheres
Table 6-9
Prognostic Attributions: Vision by Sphere

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Community	0	27%	9%	9%	0	9%	46%
Political	24%	13%	13%	37%	0	0	13%
Kinship	0	80%	20%	0	0	0	0
Economic	13%	37%	13%	24%	0	0	13%
Pluralistic	13%	37%	13%	24%	0	13%	0
Ecological	20%	20%	20%	40%	0	0	0
Media & Research	17%	17%	0	32%	17%	0	17%
Spiritual	25%	38%	0	25%	0	25%	0

A=Reform   **E**=Reform then Revolution
B=Paradigm Shift (deep structural change)   **F**=Paradigm Shift then Revolution
C=Revolution   **G**= All Three at the Same Time; Change
D=Reform then Paradigm Shift   Occurs Simultaneously Across the Board

In the phone interview, I asked the following question: "What is your organization's vision for fixing the problems you focus on?" The vision of reform, or gradual change, is most resonant with the Political (24%) and the Ecological spheres (20%) (See Table 6-9). However, both the Community and Kinship SMOs eschew any notion of mere reform. The Community sphere (46%) is actually the most likely to say that change is not a matter of reform, a paradigm shift, or revolution[13] only, but all three may come about through activism. The Kinship sphere may not be for reform, but instead sees a paradigm shift (80%) as its main focus. Well behind the Kinship sphere, the Economic and Pluralistic spheres are the next most likely to say a paradigm shift is needed, with 37% of their total. The Economic and the Kinship spheres are the most likely to call for a revolution. Among New Social Movement spheres, all will accommodate a paradigm shift, however, the Ecological sphere is the most likely to assume a reform-oriented strategy before a paradigm shift, while the Community sphere is permissive of all three vision types simultaneously. As long as the notion of paradigm shift is up front, these three spheres should agree with each other. There are few conflicts between the Political and Economic spheres, but this is one. Political sphere activists tend to be for Reform most of all and the Economic sphere is for a paradigm shift. There is agreement among the Pluralistic and Spiritual spheres in that they agree that a paradigm shift is needed, but the Media & Research spheres, like the Kinship sphere prefers a reform approach before pushing for a paradigm shift.

---

[13] See definitions for Reform and Revolution under the Nomenclature of this dissertation, page xxvii. Paradigm shift is defined on page xxiv.

Ideology
Table 6-10
Prognostic Attributions: Visions across ideology

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Reformers	37%	38%	0	25%	0	0	0
Hybrids	4%	30%	7%	32%	4%	4%	19%
Radicals	0	30%	40%	0	0	10%	20%

A=Reform   **E**=Reform then Revolution
B=Paradigm Shift (deep structural change)   **F**=Paradigm Shift then Revolution
C=Revolution   **G**= All Three at the Same Time; Change
D=Reform then Paradigm Shift   Occurs Simultaneously Across the Board

When it comes to prognostic attributions, Reformer SMOs mainly frame their visions in terms of reform, but are just as likely to frame a paradigm shift (See Table 6-10). Both of these categories of vision account for 75% of their total. The rest of Reformer SMO vision is accounted for by those who see a transition from reform to a paradigm shift. A Hybrid Pluralist activist describes his SMO's vision in terms of the reform frame: "Reforms with a goal of deep structural change are just what Saul Alinsky used to say: 'We're really reformers.'"

Hybrid SMOs are the most likely to identify reform as their vision, with a paradigm shift as their ultimate goal (32%), and 30% of the Hybrid SMOs are likely to call for a paradigm shift outright. Therefore, more than 60% of Hybrid SMOs call for a paradigm shift whether it is now or later. A smaller percentage of Hybrid SMOs believe that all three notions of vision should be allowed. Radical SMOs, not surprisingly, indicate that their preferred way for societal change is revolution, but only with 40% of their total. Many SMO representatives want a paradigm shift (30%), while a smaller set wants all three visions to take place (20%). Framing visions differently is divisive, especially between the extremes of Reformist SMOs that want simple reform and Radical SMOs that want major change with a revolution. Although Revolution is important for

Radical SMOs, it is often seen as a long-term project. As a Radical Economic activist

puts it,

> . . .a lot of us at this point, Revolution is not in the near term, it's not on the agenda right now. You know, we're fighting rear guard battles at the moment. We are not really fighting a proactive strategy. So, I don't really know. I think one thing in anarchists currents in the Global Justice Movement have had to offer is that revolution isn't a single event; it's not about state seizure for sure.

Bridges exist between those SMOs that see stages of societal change and those

that want all three different visions to take place. As a Radical Community activist

claims, "Because there isn't just one right way or answer to all the different things people

are working on. There aren't even a handful of answers. Another world may be possible,

but it's not like just one world – it's multiple." Such sentiments include every groups

efforts at societal change; however, only 13% overall frame that all three ways for change

are acceptable. Along with tactics, this is another place where ideologies clash.
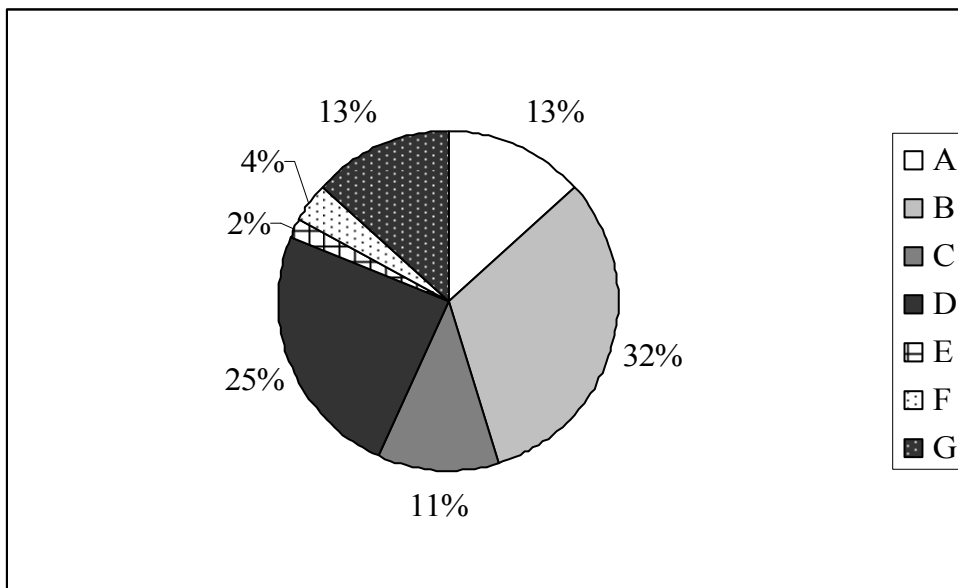
Figure 6-6
Prognostic Attributions: Overall Visions

A=Reform   E=Reform then Revolution
B=Paradigm Shift (deep structural change)   F=Paradigm Shift then Revolution
C=Revolution   G= All Three at the Same Time; Change
D=Reform then Paradigm Shift   Occurs Simultaneously Across the Board

Overall, a paradigm shift or deep structural change, by itself, is the preferred vision frame among SMO activists (See Figure 6-5). Interestingly, one quarter of SMOs see reform as a first step toward a paradigm shift. Therefore, 57% (n=30) argue for a paradigm shift as their ultimate vision frame. Another 13% (n=7) include all three: revolution, reform, and a paradigm shift, side-by-side or simultaneous notions of change. Eleven percent of the entire sample wants a revolution outright, while another 2% (n=1) frame reform before revolution, and another 4% (n=2) see a paradigm change is the way toward revolution. This means 17% (n=6) find revolution as the ultimate vision frame for them. The vision of Reform is the ultimate choice for only 13% of the total. Therefore, more than half of SMOs ultimately want more than reform and find revolutions unnecessary; however, they do want some form of deep structural change. While a paradigm shift is predominant with these SMOs, there is a split on how to achieve it. Whether a paradigm shift takes place through a direct transformation (32%) or a gradual reform culminating toward a paradigm shift (25%), there is not clear common starting point. Also, pushing for a paradigm shift solely may lose 40% of the Radical SMOs and nearly as many Reformers. A central bridge to uniting might be allowing a more pluralist vision with all three visions as an option; however, Reformer SMOs do not find this a viable option. This relates back to the fact that Reformer SMOs are unlikely to use protest as a tactic; they are largely cynical of the efficacy of protests, which is the most likely mode for a revolution. The exploration on Visions indicate some common ground, but with large areas of conflict and without many points of compromise. Visions could end up as a sticking point for movement actors as they work toward common ground.

One Hybrid representative in the Media & Research sphere concludes:

There are competing visions, but also, people could have competing vision of visions, of how visions is useful. So, the question is not about not having a vision, but how do we conceive of them? Then, how do we communicate those visions to be effective?

Summary

In this chapter, I have examined the core framing tasks of SMOs in the Movement of movements. First, I have examined the diagnostic frame to see what these SMO actors see as problems. Second, I have examined the prognostic frames of the SMOs. SMO prognostic attributions or frames focus on what should be done to overcome these problems in terms of tactics, and subsequently where this path might lead in terms of vision. The diagnostic section focuses on grievances, initially by the numbers of grievance foci each sphere and ideology has, and then by the specific grievances they each identify. From these findings, many but not all SMOs point to more than a single enemy, and one third actually point to two or more grievances as foci, which contradicts Starr (2000) and other scholars' findings that SMOs focus on economics almost exclusively.

For Foucault and Deleuze and Guattari (1987), oppressions of women, homosexuals, environmentalists, people of color, etc. are legitimate arenas of theoretical consideration, because of their consideration of power, which operates in these arenas as much as any others related to class and capitalism. My data support this assertion as I find that beyond Economics (17%), grievances such as Racism (18%) and Sexism & Homophobia (18%). Also, the interrelations of these grievances are 21% of the total. There were many grievances mentioned, so there is a lot of overlap, and the data reveals that fifty of fifty-five or 96% of all groups commonly find these three grievances,

including Ecological concerns as shared. This means that grievances do not provide a single focus for the Movement of movements. Therefore, while these SMOs interviewed do not live up to Albert *et al's* (1986) ideal of acknowledging a highly interrelated oppression analysis, they do go beyond Starr's (2000) focus on a single oppressive frame of "anti-corporatism." This expansion of issues attributed as grievances parallels Jacobson's (2007) findings. He found that while economic issue positions in the electorate were previously privileged as the primary explanation for voting cleavages, cultural issues in the last 30 years are also at the forefront. In other words, economic issues are no longer the only thing activists talk about; social issues, such as gay marriage, water pollution, AIDs, etc. are also important. This also means that activists at protests are their not only against the WTO, World Bank, or other economic reasons, but also for other reasons that are better explained by cultural and even ethical reasons.

This means that grievances do not provide a single focus for the Movement of movements, but have shared concerns. However, grievances or injustices in the literature are often focused, for current social movements, largely focus through an economic lens. Such an analysis often underemphasizes the New Social Movement emphases of sexism, racism, or ecological destruction as primary. To these SMOs, the grievances are varied to a greater degree than Starr (2000; Held and McGrew 2002; Prokosch and Raymond 2002; Beck 2003; and Klien 1999) and other scholars contend. It is a faulty assumption, then, to point to economic grievances exclusively.

The study of prognostic attributions indicates that one quarter of SMOs in the Movement of movement prefer protests, and nearly one half emphasize inside tactics. This means that nearly one third of the SMOs utilize a mixture of outside and inside

tactics, which can also act as a bridge to uniting. Bernstein (1997) argues that conflict over tactics is an indicator of a lack of a collective identity. The conflict between Reformer and Radical SMOs reveals a definite lack of collective identity.

More than half of the SMOs in this Movement of movements frame a paradigm shift or deep structural change as their vision for the future, while only a small percentage want either reform or revolution as their preferred outcome. This means there is a lot of common ground among paradigm shifters, but this might spell conflict for those who find this too extreme or not extreme enough for social change.

Across the board, the largest differences are between the Reformer and Radical SMOs. It may take the Hybrid SMOs to act as mediators between the extremes to gain a deeper unity against a single-issue focus.

CHAPTER VII

FINDINGS IN BRIDGES AND BARRIERS TO UNITING

Political influence is most likely when several groups cooperate and provide a

united front (Hathaway and Meyer 1997). This means that it is essential to examine

factors contributing to cooperation and conflict among SMOs within this Movement of

movements. When SMOs form coalitions and/or pool their resources in pursuit of

common goals, permanent coalitions are sometimes established; often enhancing their

effectiveness. However, sometimes intra-movement conflict emerges, making divisions

just as likely (Benford 1993). Although Starr (2000) contends that there is promise of a

possible unity among the social movements involved in the Movements of movements,

this research is less sanguine on this matter. It is unclear whether there is a united front or

a unity of many determinants here. Therefore, it is important to identify what are the

barriers to uniting the Movement of movements? Additionally, what brings them

together, or what are the bridges that may unite them?

Spheres
Table 7-1
Barriers to Uniting by Sphere

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Community	0	45%	22%	22%	11%	0	0	0	0
Political	0	32%	17%	17%	17%	0	17%	0	0
Kinship	0	50%	0	50%	0	0	0	0	0
Economic	10%	10%	10%	10%	40%	10%	0	10%	0
Pluralistic	15%	15%	24%	24%	15%	0	0	0	8%
Ecological	0	11%	34%	22%	11%	11%	0	11%	0
Media & Research	0	14%	0	44%	0	14%	14%	0	14%
Spiritual	0	0	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0

A= Competition for Funding
B= A Lack of Trust Among SMOs
C=Tactical Conflicts
D=Conflicts Over Single-issue focus
E=Ideological Conflicts

F=Ego Conflicts
G=Autonomy is Needed Over Cooperation
H=No Need to Unite
I=Other Barriers

In the follow-up telephone interview, I asked, "In my experience, I have oftentimes noticed that other activist organizations do not agree with each other in regards to a common focus. Can you relate to me in what ways your organization has utilized campaigns that have most effectively created alliances focused on a common campaign?" In the survey I asked, "Although you see the movement fragmented, do you see the movement having the capacity to come together? Why or why not?" Another question in the survey asks: "In your opinion, what specifically are the largest barriers to uniting the movement?"

By utilizing both of the aforementioned questions, nine types of barriers were elicited, and mentioned more than once (See Table 7-1). A lack of trust as a barrier to uniting is mentioned the most among Kinship (50%), Community (45%), and Political

(32%) spheres. Funding is mentioned by both Economic (10%) and Pluralistic (15%) spheres on par with other concerns they have. Activists in the Spiritual sphere say that tactics, specifically protests, are dividing groups. The Ecological and Pluralistic spheres are the most likely to agree with this assessment, with the Community sphere not too far behind. A Community sphere activist claims: "We're fighting each other all the time and it slows us down. And, all the political correctness stuff, and who's got the better angle on things, huge amounts of a lack of trust, those can be dealt with if you have a process to deal with them." The Kinship (50%), Media (44%), and, to a lesser extent, Pluralistic (24%) spheres agree that single issue-focus is a barrier to uniting. The Economic sphere is the most likely to say that ideology is the biggest barrier and to a much lesser extent Political and Pluralistic spheres agree. Divisions based on egos among activists are most noted by the Media & Research, Ecological, and Economic spheres. A need for autonomy is mentioned by both the Political and Media & Research spheres. Only on the Economic and Ecological spheres do groups believe that uniting is not really important anyway. Among New Social Movement spheres, the Ecological sphere is the most likely to find tactical questions as the primary problem. Since they prefer insider tactics and the other two prefer a mixed strategy, this may be why it is their primary concern. The Community and Kinship spheres, though, agree that a lack of trust among SMOs is the primary barrier to uniting. However, the Pluralistic, Media & Research, and Spiritual spheres tend to emphasize tactical and single-issue conflicts as primary reasons for divisions within these social movements.

Ideology
Table 7-2
Barriers to Uniting by Ideology

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Reformers	7%	20%	13%	33%	20%	7%	0	0	0
Hybrids	4%	24%	18%	21%	11%	7%	7%	4%	4%
Radicals	18%	18%	28%	9%	18%	0	0	0	11%

A=Competition for Funding   **F**=Ego Conflicts
B=A Lack of Trust Among SMOs   **G**=Autonomy is Needed Over Cooperation
C=Tactical Conflicts   **H**=No Need to Unite
D=Conflicts Over Single-issue focus   **I**=Other Barriers
E=Ideological Conflicts

Reformer SMOs note that a myopic single issue foci are the largest barrier to uniting (33% of all barriers they mentioned); Hybrid SMOs agree with this problem with 21% of their total barriers mentioned (See Table 7-2). However, Radical SMOs do not find it as important. Radicals are not critical about a single-issue focus evidenced by the fact that they rate this category last of their six categories they list as barriers. While Radicals do not rate a single-issue focus as important as other categories, it is important in these findings because both the Reformer and Hybrid SMOs do rate it as a high concern. For example, a Hybrid activist in the Political sphere says:

> There are a lot groups each sort of doing their own thing. And, along with that, there are varying degrees of attempts to build coalitions and you know the fact that there are so many groups going in different directions and to some extent less effective. It would be nice if there were one overarching factor.

Another Hybrid in the Economic sphere says a single-issue focus is closely related to a lack of resources:

> So if you can get everybody to pay attention and come together, they can see that they have a huge powerful movement. But otherwise, with limited resources, they're focused on something else.

This confirms Zald and McCarthy's (1987) finding that SMO leaders seek to obtain resources for their sheer survival.

Both Reformer and Radical SMOs say that ideology is also an important barrier. Twenty percent of Reformer SMOs agree with this sentiment, as do 18% of Radical SMOs and 11% of Hybrid SMOs. Twenty-four percent of Hybrid SMOs note a lack of trust is an important barrier to unity, followed by 20% of the Hybrid SMOs, and 18% of Radicals SMOs. Tactical barriers is the primary concern of Radicals (28%), followed by Hybrids (18%), but and Reformer SMOs (13%). Among SMOs, a definite tension based on ideology is evidence, as one Hybrid in the Economic sphere observes that among SMOs there is a
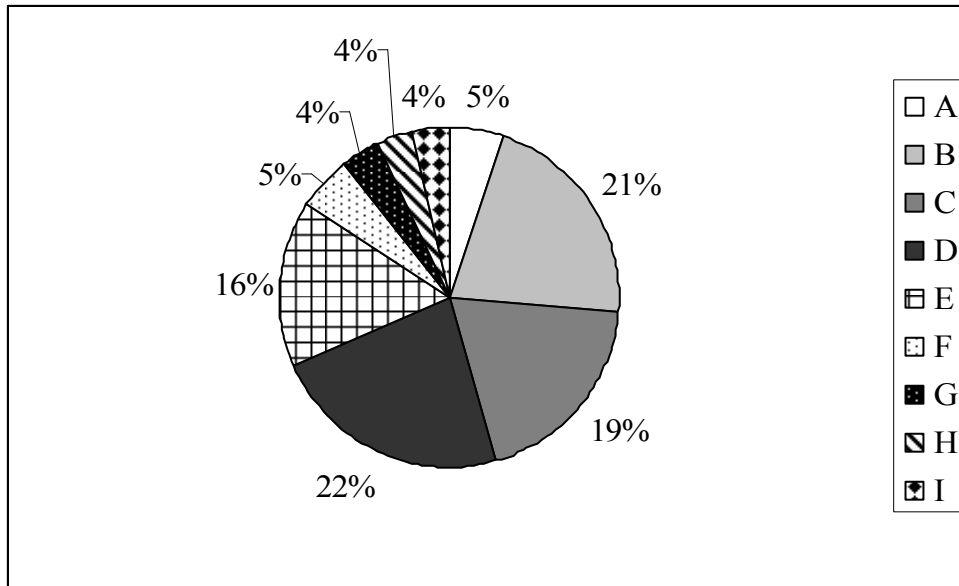
> residual, sectarian behavior. I'm talking about some of the more ideological groups. Some of it … people just don't see eye-to-eye. It's sometimes easy to think that everyone is on the same page, for instance, in Seattle, there was a big burst, so many people came for a common interest, but that's kinda of how the cycle of movements go, there is a lot of excitement in the beginning. Then, then things kind of get teased out with strategy with tactics, the degree with how much we really want to tinker with things or hermetically transform it. Where people are offended by each others dogma, their organizational models, or where one group is committed to one part of the agenda of the movement of movements. If you are working with progressives of faith, that's one thing, but if they are not wanting reproductive freedom, it might throw a monkey wrench in the unity.

Ideologically, the greatest barriers to uniting are a lack of trust, tactics, and single-issue focus. These areas need to be worked on to reduce divisions within the movement. Tactics are largely related to ideology. Radical SMOs, with their outside tactics, and Reformer SMOs, with their focus on inside tactics, need to work with Hybrid SMOs to possibly understand the potential strength of a mixed strategy. Hybrid SMOs can act as mediators because these groups embrace a mixture of insider and outsider tactics and are the most likely ideological type of SMO to view coalition building as a tactic. Also, the issue focus might be related to the fact that the first and second empowerment strategies tend to focus on issues exclusively, SMO activists who utilize these

empowerment strategies also tend to impose a highly structured issue analysis as they either provide expertise or train leadership with this analysis. The third empowerment strategy instead focuses on awareness more than a specific issue, which might bring groups together or at the very least lessen the conflict among spheres and ideologies. However, such a strategy that provides awareness may emphasize diversity and be overly critical of a universalized analysis that will help create solidarity. Conflict over empowerment strategies may erupt over issue focus, tactics, and a lack of trust.

A lack of trust might be alleviated by SMOs working more in a diversity of groups through either coalitions or conferences that focus on diversity dialogue. Misztal (1996: 187) suggests that trust can "soften the atomistic individualism," while Gambetta (1988) argues that trust is a social lubricant. Misztal (1996) contends that in this post industrial society, new tensions surface, between universalism and particularism, autonomy and community, and integration and fragmentation, all of which can lead to a lack of trust. Therefore, it is not surprising that barriers to uniting created between those who want a single-issue focus versus those who prefer broad issues, those who want more institutional tactics versus those who use protest, and between autonomy versus solidarity, even over a competition between SMOs for funding come into play. To illustrate, a Political Radical thinks that

> if it weren't for distrust we would be further along. The problem, as much as we are working against this system, we are a part of it. We are raised in a culture that doesn't trust each other. We are apart of that, too. So, we have to work to break down all these culturally imposed things.

Figure 7-1
Barriers to Uniting Overall

A=Competition for Funding
B= A Lack of Trust Among SMOs
C=Tactical Conflicts
D=Conflicts Over Single-issue focus
E=Ideological Conflicts

F=Ego Conflicts
G=Autonomy is Needed Over Cooperation
H=No Need to Unite
I=Other Barriers

The largest conflict or barrier to uniting is conflict involving a single issue focus, with 22% (n=13) of the total. The next is a lack of trust, with 21% (n=12), and the third is tactical differences, with 19% (n=11). That tactical disputes identified by SMOs as a problem is not surprising, as Benford (1993) has found that strategic and tactical disputes were the most prevalent between peace movement advocates. As noted in the findings, Bernstein (1997) argues that conflict over tactics indicate a lack of trust collective identity. Ideological conflicts make up another 16% (n=9). Covert's (1990) research supports the assessment that ideological difference creates obstacles to coalition formation. The conflict over funding is noted in Lakoff's (2004) recommendation that since groups compete for funding, the Left must create more foundations and think tanks much like the Right in order nurture groups instead of pitting them against one another.

Taken together, single-issue focus, tactical questions, and ideological conflicts which probably help fuel a deficiency of trust, account for 78% of the conflicts overall. In addition, egos, funding competition, the need for autonomy, the feeling that there is no need to unite, and other conflicts over small versus large and the issues being too complicated under the "other" category account for a total of 22% of the rest**.**

A single-issue focus provides problems for the Movement of movements, especially among Ecological and Reformer SMOs. In the context of globalization, SMOs focus on single issues such as human rights; and lose sight of the broader question of how their issue campaigns fit within a broader institutional context. As a result, the strategic decisions of SMOs often advance particular issues without considering implications for alliance building. Hybrid SMOs might act as mediators, as they are the most likely to make coalition partners as nearly a third of them view grievances as interrelated, they are also the most likely to say working in coalitions is a tactic they employ, and they have the widest distribution of ally types.

A Radical Community sphere activist is pessimistic of the prospects for a movement moving beyond these barriers, as he declares: "I see them staying fractured; there is (sic) just too many issues out there." On the other hand, a Hybrid Spiritual activist sees overcoming barriers as a process, "There's a lot of fracturing going on. I think we want very much to get things together. And, we continue to work on it." These barriers to uniting suggest that these SMOs associated with a Movement of movements exhibit only a thin form of unity because a single-issue focus, ideological and tactical conflicts, along with a lack of trust can only facilitate short-term alliances among SMOs in the presence of a common enemy.

This section examines two sentiments within the Movement of movements. One side is characterized by being against having an enemy as their primary objective – a primary reason many scholars and activists say SMOs associated with a Movement of movements have come together during protest events over the course of the last several years. The other side is characterized by a sentiment that these SMOs are either transitioning toward, or already united behind, what programs or agendas they are "for" rather than what they are "against." While scholars, like Best and Kellner, (1991) would argue the former is nihilistic, short-term, and pessimistic, the latter has more potential for uniting by building common agendas for change.

Spheres
Table 7-3
Coming Together as a Movement(s) More "Against" or More "For" Something

	A	B	C	D
Community	15%	0	45%	17%
Political	20%	0	11%	22%
Kinship	10%	0	11%	7%
Economic	25%	0	0	22%
Pluralistic	10%	0	33%	14%
Ecological	5%	0	0	7%
Media & Research	10%	0	0	21%
Spiritual	5%	67%	0	0

A=Coming Together Because of What They are "Against"
B=Coming Together Because of What They are "For"
C=Coming Together More for What They are "Against" But Transitioning Into Coming Together More for What They are "For"
D=Coming Together For Both What They are "For" and "Against"

In the telephone interview, I asked the following question: "Does your organization see itself in a fight; if so, what is it fighting for? And, whom or what would

your organization say it is fighting against?" In a follow up of those respondents who did

not answer this question because of time, I asked: "Do you feel the 'movement of

movements' has come together more for what it is 'against' or for what it is 'for'? Please

explain."

Although eight SMOs did not answer this question, a large majority of SMOs

associated with several spheres agreed that the Movement of movements was coming

together more because of what they were "against" than what they were "for" (See Table

7-3). For example, a Radical activist in the Community sphere says: "The general

tendency of these kinds of movements is to be more about what they are against than

for." The most obvious example is that twenty-five percent of the Economic sphere

SMOs agree that these movements have come together more for what they are commonly

against. The Political sphere SMOs are not far off, with 20% of respondents in the sphere

agreeing with the Economic sphere SMOs. However, many activists in these spheres

view these movements as having come together on the basis of both what they are against

and what they are for. The most obvious examples are again SMOs in the Political (22%)

and the Economic (22%) spheres, but also the Media & Research sphere (21%). SMOs on

two spheres the Community (45%) and the Pluralistic (33%) spheres find that the

Movement of movements is in a transition period, moving from what it is against to what

they are for. The Spiritual (67%) SMOs and, well behind, the Ecological sphere SMOs

(33%) find that the movement is more for an agenda than against an enemy. A Hybrid

Pluralistic sphere activist puts it this way: "I believe in the past two years the movement

is learning to multi-task and unite on more of what they are for than what they are

against."

Ideology
Table 7-4
Coming Together as a Movement(s) More "Against" or More "For" Something

	A	B	C	D
Reformers	54%	15%	8%	23%
Hybrids	38%	3%	19%	40%
Radicals	43%	0	14%	43%

A=Coming Together Because of What They are "Against"
B=Coming Together Because of What They are "For"
C=Coming Together More for What They are "Against" But Transitioning Into Coming Together More for What They are "For"
D=Coming Together For Both What They are "For" and "Against"

In this section, I examine the findings for how these SMOs compare and contrast in regard to either being against a common enemy or building agendas. More than half of Reformer SMOs see the Movement of movements as being against an enemy more than it is for some type of change (See Table 7-4). Radical (43%) and Hybrid SMOs (38%) are also likely to say they see the Movement of movements together against a common enemy.

Reformer SMOs (15%) are comparatively the most likely to say these movements are more for something than more than against an enemy, but the Radical SMOs do not note this at all. Hybrid SMOs barely register on this measure with only (3%).

However, a large number of SMO activists do not provide a simple "for" or "against" answer. The Radical SMOs are the most apt to say that movements are converging because of both what they are for and what they are against (43%) while Hybrid SMOs are not far behind (40%). Reformer SMOs are the least likely to agree with Hybrid and Radicals on this point, but only because of their preferred sentiment that the Movement of movements is against a common enemy is so sizeable.

Some activists view the Movement of movements in transition. When it comes to seeing the movement transitioning from against to for, the Hybrid SMOs at (19%), the Radical SMOs (14%) are not far behind, but only 8% Reformer SMOs agree.
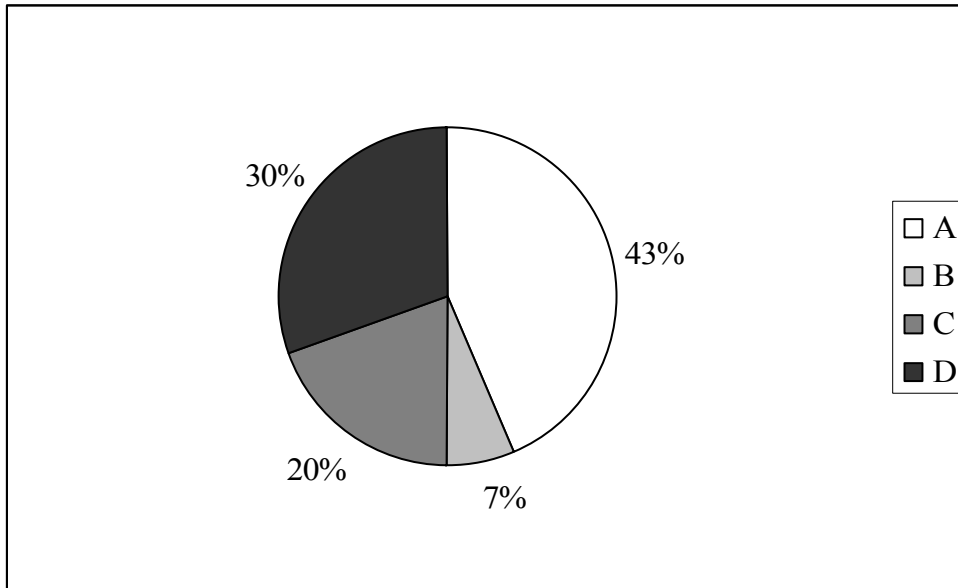

Figure 7-2
Overall Coming Together Because of Either Being "Against" or "For"

A = Together Because of a Common Enemy
B = For a Collective Agenda
C = Transitioning Being Together Against a Common Enemy to Being for a Collective Agenda
D = Both Against a Common Enemy and For an Collective Agenda

Nearly half (43%, n=20) of those SMOs interviewed find that these collective SMOs have gotten together more for what they are against than what they are for. Thirty percent argue that these SMOs have gotten together for both reasons. Others say that the movement has transitioned from being against an enemy to being for a cause, an issue, or having a stand. Only 7% (n=3) say that these SMOs have gotten together exclusively because they have a specific cause, issue, or stand. Whether this Movement of movements can get together for the long term or not, SMOs need to transition from a

negative movement to a positive one, creating agendas not focused narrowly on stopping and blaming the enemy.[1] A large sector of these SMOs are clearly blaming an enemy, and only 7% think they are clearly for something larger than what they are against. Luckily, 20% see these SMOs associated with a Movement of movements as transitioning from being purely against an enemy toward agenda-building. This means that while these SMOs are largely still in a blaming mode, there is some hope for a transition within the SMO community itself. This means that vision-building also may remain difficult, as mobilizing largely is focused on external enemies rather than creating positive agendas for the future. As a Hybrid Political sphere activist contends, "It seems easier, always, for people to rally against something, but the challenge is always leveled; what are you for? If a movement is to get anywhere it is important to formulate positive goals."

---

[1] This relates to Rothman's (1996) notion of reflexivity, which is of two kinds: 1) "knee-jerk" reflexivity, resulting in blaming; and 2) a deeper reflexivity in which questions arise to proceed in a different way.

Spheres
Table 7-5
Bridges to uniting by sphere[2]

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Community	45%	5%	10%	5%	15%	15%	5%	0
Political	40%	0	12%	12%	24%	6%	0	6%
Kinship	37%	18%	9%	18%	18%	0	0	0
Economic	40%	0	15%	5%	25%	10%	5%	0
Pluralistic	43%	6%	11%	6%	28%	6%	0	0
Ecological	30%	0	20%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%
Media & Research	41%	0	17%	17%	8%	17%	0	0
Spiritual	33%	0	17%	6%	17%	0	0	33%

A= Common Enemy
B= Passion of Activists
C=Awareness of the Problems That Exist
D= Internet Networking

E=Coalitions & Diversity
F=Conferences, Dialogue, & Political spaces
G=No Need to Unite
H=Common Campaigns

In the survey, I asked the following question: What is your instinct, do you see the movement as being fractured, or united? If fractured, please go to question 13, if united, skip to question 14." Question 14 in the survey reads: "Can you explain the cause for it being united? In other words, what is bringing them together?"

Table 7-5 reveals that a "common enemy" registers between 37% and 45% of the time as a reason why the Movement of movements has come together. The theory fielded by Starr (2001) that these SMOs are together with a focus on a common enemy is largely still confirmed. However, a common enemy hypothesis explains only one-third to nearly one-half of the reasons why SMOs have come together. Coalition building is the second most frequently cited reason those SMOs have come together. While the Media &

[2] Tables 7-5; 7-6, and Figure 7-3; 7-4 add up to more than 100% because of multiple answers can be held at the same time.

Research sphere activists do not place as much importance on coalition building, it accounts for one-fourth of all reasons that have brought SMOs together for the SMOs associated with the Political, Economic, and Pluralistic spheres.

Other reasons SMOs are coming together are that activists are aware that a steady accumulation of problems has built up over time and something needs to be done. The Ecological sphere SMOs would most agree (20%) that a bridge to unity is being aware of problems that exist and the Kinship sphere SMOs would least agree (9%). The Internet is considered an important glue among groups, but the SMOs associated with the Kinship and Media & Research spheres say this the most; whereas SMOs within the Community, Economic, Spiritual, and Pluralistic spheres note this least. Conferences among SMOs are viewed as an important bridge to unity in many spheres, but do not seem to register for the Spiritual and Kinship SMOs at all and only play a minor role for both the Political and Pluralistic SMOs at 6% each. Finally, the thought that SMOs should not even worry about uniting is the case for SMOs in the Community, Economic, and Ecological spheres. This sentiment is only expressed by a very few SMO representatives, they specifically noted that uniting does not make sense. This sentiment if large enough can act as a barrier to uniting as a whole. For example, an Economic Hybrid activist says there is no need to unite in the long term:

> I don't think it is useful to try to build a grand coalition of disparate groups that do not share common principles. Where we agree we should work together, to the extent that different organizational models make that possible. (Working with some groups is very difficult because of their authoritarian principles and their insistence on total control). Where we do not agree, we should not paper over our difference.

Ideology
Table 7-6
Bridges to Uniting by Ideology

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Reformers	37%	9%	12%	6%	21%	6%	3%	6%
Hybrids	42%	2%	11%	7%	21%	13%	2%	2%
Radicals	46%	0	20%	7%	13%	0	7%	7%

A=Common Enemy   **E**=Coalitions & Diversity
B= Passion of Activists   **F**=Conferences, Dialogue, & Political spaces
C=Awareness of the Problems That Exist   **G**=No Need to Unite
D= Internet Networking   **H**=Common Campaigns

In this section of the chapter on the examination of ideology, the data resembles the findings discussed on the bridges to uniting by spheres. The data (See Table 7-6) supports the fact that a common enemy is bringing these SMOs together, a hypothesis proposed by other scholars as explained in the previous section. However, this section on bridges to unity by ideology also supports the idea that there are also a variety of other reasons the Movements have converged. For Reformer SMOs, other reasons for uniting explain 63% of their total reasons they see such convergence beyond a common enemy. In other words, only 37% of the total reasons for uniting are mentioned by Reformer SMOs are because of, or are specifically related to, a common enemy. For the other two ideological categories other explanations are more than half their total. While a common enemy is pervasive, coalitions are important, especially for Reformer and Hybrid SMOs. Radical SMOs also see an awareness of problems percolating in society as a major reason for convergence. Hybrids and Reformers see awareness as important, but not to the same degree as Radical SMOs. Both the Internet and Campaigns range only from 2% to 7% of any one ideological categorical total. Radical SMOs are the most likely to mention that there is no need to actually unite. While a common enemy is bringing groups together, it does not necessarily mean that a specific enemy is the focus. For example, SMOs within

the Spiritual sphere focus more on the Religious Right as the enemy. The Internet, coalitions, awareness, and to a lesser extent conferences bring SMO activists together. However, SMOs associated with the Kinship, Spiritual, and Radical groups are the least likely to find that conferences are important.
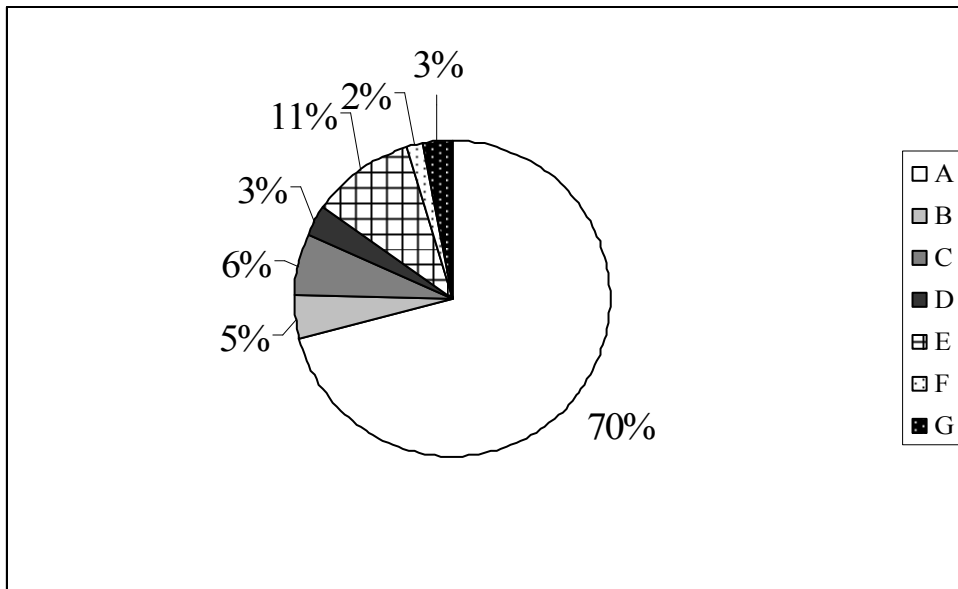

Figure 7-3
Overall Bridges to Uniting

A=Common Enemy   **E**=Coalitions & Diversity
B= Passion of Activists   **F**=Conferences, Dialogue, & Political spaces
C=Awareness of the Problems That Exist   **G**=No Need to Unite
D= Internet Networking   **H**=Common Campaigns

The data on bridges, for the most part, supports the findings of Starr (2000; Kingsnorth 2003) and other scholars that a common enemy is bringing these SMOs together. Forty-six SMOs (70%) agree. Starr (2000) argues that finding a common enemy is empowering because it minimizes the overwhelming notion that there are many problems and SMOs can easily find a single source to what ails them. Likewise, I find that this Movement of movements is together more because they are against an enemy than anything else. This conclusion makes sense as the form that coalitions take often

reflects the external environment, which is largely made up of economic, political and anti-environmental forces.

However, saying they are only against a single common enemy gives short shrift to what is bringing these diverse SMOs together. The common enemy is more diverse than once thought and varies, depending on the SMO's ideology and sphere, as found in Chapter five. I agree that the common enemy is merely a concept, as one Hybrid Kinship sphere activist claims, "I think the idea of a common enemy,… or identifying a common enemy helps people have a greater understanding of the interrelatedness forces and of structural impediments." Therefore, while there is some overlap, twenty-one SMOs, or 30% do not exclusively think that a common enemy is what is bringing them together. Nine SMOs note there are multiple reasons for this Movement of movements uniting.[3] From this overall perspective of how movement activists see each other, the high percentage of those seeing themselves against a common enemy means that most SMOs emphasize what I call a thin form of unity. This type of unity emphasizes a common enemy facilitated by the Internet and while SMOs do attribute other grievances, they focus on their autonomy because of a lack of resources and ideological and tactical differences.

Excluding the common enemy variable, I find that among the remaining 30% (n=21) of these SMOs say coalitions with other groups, such as ANSWER and United for Peace and Justice, the Progressive Democrats of America and others is bringing SMOs across various social movements together. Another 19% say that an awareness of the problems is what is bringing them together. Yet another 30% cite conferences, common

---

[3] Controlling for a common enemy, takes half the SMOs out of the sample.

campaigns, and Internet and networking as reasons for them getting together. Relationship building and networking account for 62% of this total. This 30% finding is in accordance with the fact that in the previous section, I found that 7% of the movement is actually for something and another 20% see it shifting to being for something beyond what it is against.

What is interesting is that the three main bridges to uniting are in different realms. For example, the Internet is both structural and somewhat relational, whereas coalitions & diversity are mainly relational and less structural. Awareness of the problems that exist, though, is more cognitive and less relational. Each interrelates and gives SMOs, a sense of uniting against a common enemy as they relate to spheres and ideological categories. Therefore, capacity building will have to deal with structural, relational, and cognitive bridges to uniting.

However, since many SMOs cite a common enemy as the greatest reason for what is bringing them together, there must be more work in relationship building with the focus of uniting groups. This is because scholars, such as Albert *et al.* (1986) and Derber (2002) contend that making coalitions against a common enemy is a short term prospect at best. Therefore, I argue that since what is largely bringing groups together is a common enemy, SMOs associated with this Movement of movements need to work more toward a common agenda. This small portion of the movement might be a space carved out by activists reflecting on their coalition practices because of differences, not in spite of them. To illustrate, a Hybrid activist in the Community sphere says,

> There are discussions all the time. We actually just had a retreat this weekend, specifically, it was our alliance building committee, dealing with identity oppression in the work we do. There's constantly discussion and debate about issues of identity oppression within our group and the broader movement.

Another Hybrid activist in the Community sphere says that, although grievances are interlinked, SMOs must find a balance by focusing on a single sphere, "I think it is really important to have an overall analysis that takes into account all these different grievances, and I think to do really effective work, you have to focus." Similarly, a Radical activist in the Economic sphere said: "I think it is really important to have an overall analysis that takes into account all these different grievances, and I think to do really effective work, you have to focus."

<center>Coalitions</center>

In this section, I have observed several of the SMO activists I interviewed in involved in common coalitions with other organizations. SMO coalitions are important in that they facilitate successful achievement of individual SMO goals (Rochon 1988; Rucht 1989). Coalitions, furthermore, are important in facilitating the exchange of intelligence, pooling human and material resources, and interpersonal networks (Zald and McCarthy 1987). Twenty-six percent of SMO activists, the data suggests, cite coalition building as an important tactic. Staggenberg (1986) finds that the more coalitions are in cooperation, the more the potential payoff in the end because internal conflicts are minimized. Therefore, I examine different coalitions among spheres and ideologies of the SMOs in the sample to look for common ground. In this section, I examine nine large coalitions to see how these fifty-five SMOs line up.

Spheres
Table 7-7
Coalitions by Sphere

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Community	17%	26%	8%	8%	17%	8%	8%	8%	0
Political	0	34%	0	0	0	33%	0	33%	0
Kinship	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100%	0
Economic	0	30%	15%	0	18%	8%	23%	8%	8%
Pluralistic	13%	13%	00	0	0	49%	0	25%	0
Ecological	14%	29%	14%	0	0	0	0	0	0
Media & Research	0	0	0	0	0	50%	50%	0	0
Spiritual	33%	17%	0	0	33%	0	0	17%	0

A=Generation Fair
B=Stop CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Agreement
C=Citizen Trade Campaign
D=ANSWER (Act Now To Stop War & End Racism

E=Jubilee Network
F=Progressive Democrats of America
G=50 Years is Enough
H=United for Peace & Justice
I=Apollo Project

The two coalitions with the largest number of different spheres are Stop CAFTA and United for Peace & Justice (See Table 7-7). The Progressive Democrats of America has the third largest number of spheres. ANSWER has the fewest SMOs in coalitions.[4] Community sphere SMOs have the largest number of affiliated coalitions (8). SMOs in the Economic sphere have the second most diverse set of allies, with seven. Conversely, Kinship sphere SMOs have only one coalition on this list with the UP&J. Among New Social Movement spheres, two of the three of these SMOs coalition with Stop CAFTA, while the third (Kinship) has its only common coalition with United for Peace & Justice. The Political and Economic spheres also have their largest number of coalitions with Stop CAFTA. However, with SMOs associated with the Pluralistic, Media & Research, and Spiritual spheres, the first two have its largest

---

[4] I included ANSWER because it is an organization with thousands, even if declining membership. Also, according to interviews, the UP&J was created to oppose ANSWER.

number of connections with the Progressive Democrats of America while the third's

largest connections are split between the Jubilee Network and Generation Fair. Stop

CAFTA is not a coalition only for the Media & Research sphere among the last three

spheres examined here.

Ideology
Table 7-8
Coalitions by Ideology

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Reformers	6%	17%	17%	0	0	21%	17%	11%	11%
Hybrids	11%	29%	4%	4%	11%	15%	7%	19%	0
Radicals	0	25%	0	0	25%	0	25%	25%	0

A = Generation Fair

B= Stop CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Agreement

C=Citizen Trade Campaign

D=ANSWER (Act Now To Stop War & End Racism

E=Jubilee Network

F=Progressive Democrats of America

G=50 Years is Enough

H=United for Peace & Justice

I= Apollo Project

Hybrid SMOs have the largest number of coalitions in this sample with eight of

nine coalitions noted here. Reformer SMOs follow close behind with seven and the

Radical SMOs have only four (See Table 7-8). Stop CAFTA has the largest number of

SMOs that coalition with them, followed closely by United For Peace & Justice. Only

40% of the Radical SMOs in this sample work closely with one of these large coalitions.

Three of nine coalitions have a full diversity of ideologies represented: Stop CAFTA, 50

Years is Enough, and United for Peace & Justice. Radical SMOs, in this sample, only

coalition with Stop CAFTA, Jubilee Network, 50 Years is Enough, and United For Peace
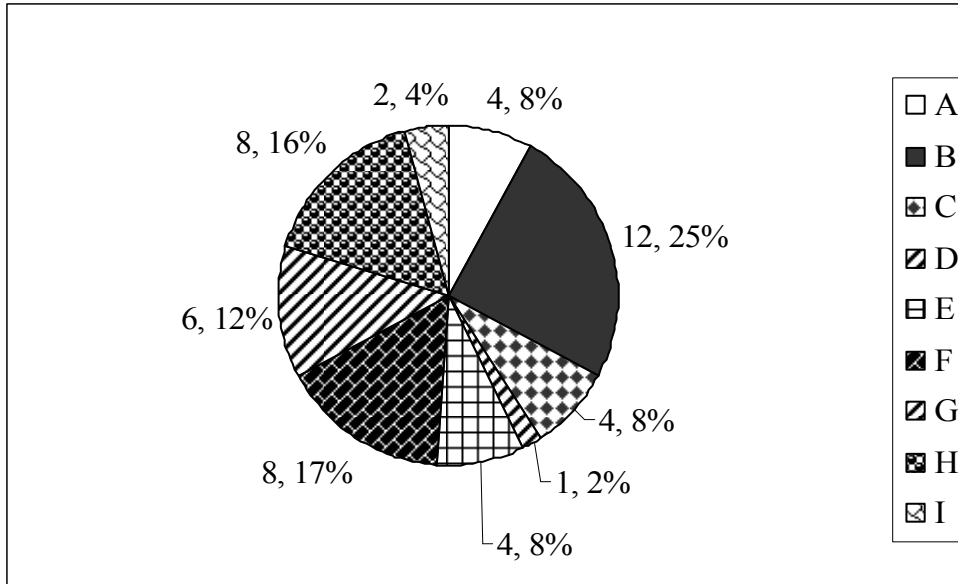
& Justice.

Figure 7-4
Coalitions Overall

A = Generation Fair
B= Stop CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Agreement
C=Citizen Trade Campaign
D=ANSWER (Act Now To Stop War & End Racism

E=Jubilee Network
F=Progressive Democrats of America
G=50 Years is Enough
H=United for Peace & Justice
I= Apollo Project

Overall, Stop CAFTA has the largest number of SMOs in coalition (25%, n=12). The diverse impacts of the Central American Free Trade Agreement[5] may be why such a large contingent of SMOs have allied on this issue. The reason for a diverse coalition is that while their issue is focused, their reasons for this particular issue are broad. To illustrate, an Ecological Reformer activist describes this coalition's type alliance.

> We have a common goal in the CAFTA campaign of defeating CAFTA. Various entities who are in the loose alliance will approach it differently because they have different constituencies. So, we don't worry too much about their tactics. We try to share information and events to the extent it works.

---

[5] The Stop CAFTA notes 7 major problems associated with CAFTA: extreme secrecy, corporate domination, increased inequality, disappearing public services, reduced labor rights, negative agricultural impacts, and environmental destruction. See http://www.stopcafta.org/article.php?list=type&type=2

However, the Progressive Democrats of America (PDA) has the second largest

number of SMOs in its coalition (17%, n=8), and has a broad set of issues to work on.[6]

The PDA's website characterizes its sixty plus allies relationship as one that is "often

strategic and may be short term." However, my findings show that while the PDA is the

second most popular coalition, Radical SMOs are not represented. The third largest

coalition is the United for Peace & Justice (UP&J) with 16% of the total sample. The UP

&J's website notes that they have four encompassing principles:

1. Stop the Wars
2. Expose What the War is Really About
3. Change the Political Direction and Leadership of the United States
4. Build a Multi-Racial, Multi-Issue Movement

50 Years is Enough is the fourth largest coalition with 12% (n=6) of the coalitions

mentioned. This coalition is also highly focused, but with a diverse set of groups

represented. On their website, they explain that they are a

> coalition of over 200 U.S. grassroots, women's, solidarity, faith-based, policy, social- and economic-justice, youth, labor and development organizations dedicated to the profound transformation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The characteristics of four of the most popular coalitions reflect Herbert Blumer's

(1939: 201) distinction between a specific and general social movement.[7] Both Stop

CAFTA and 50 Years is Enough have specific goals and represent or are the face of

specific movements. The PDA and the UP& J are actually broader facets of the

---

[6] The PDA vision is: We are specifically committed to the realization of new models for achieving local, national and global security that redirect the current wasteful and obscene levels of military spending toward the uncompromising and effective funding of: health and education programs; an end to discrimination; the provision of full and meaningful employment; and an end to poverty for all people. See http://pdamerica.org/policy/vision.php

[7] Blumer (1939) argues that general movements are basically "formless in organization and inarticulate in expression." By contrast, a specific movement has a "well defined objective goal," one that "develops a recognized and accepted leadership and a definite membership characterized by a 'we consciousness'" (p. 202).

Movement of movements. The former have specific economic goals, while the latter have more diverse goals to erase such problems as war, racial and sexual discrimination, along with economics for both the UP & J and PDA. The area of economics can act as a bridge, but it is one that cannot be blind to other problems that plague the world.

Values That Unite[8]

The Rockridge Institute's essay, "Creating a Progressive Values Movement" argues that progressives tend to narrowly organize around particular issues and causes (Rockridge Institute 2004). The Institute's essay explains further that coalitions based on common self-interest work toward a particular policy initiatives are usually, short term without ongoing cooperation. Coalitions readily come apart because of often substantial differences about policy details or tactics (Rockridge Institute 2004). And coalitions are hard to maintain over the long term since they more often than not compete for limited funding and resources. The Rockridge Institute, like Lakoff (2002; 2004), advises the "progressive" movement to recognize the shared values that define who and what progressives are across their individual differences. Ray and Anderson (2000), likewise, make the case that movements included in their Cultural Creatives have shared values that need to be recognized to work together. Therefore, it is important to explore these movement actors' values.

---

[8] Values as defined by Webster's Desk Dictionary are "abstract concepts of what is right or worthwhile." Or a verb is a "relative or assigned worth or importance." Heard (1990) describes values as "the concepts in life that we appreciate and which we accept and allow to become a part of who we are. They serve as standards for how we understand ourselves and the world around us, and we often use them as a basis for our decisions and actions" (pg. 1). I adopt Urban *et al's.* (2006: 1) definition that values as "guiding principles. Some of these values have to do with conduct (integrity, discipline), some with communication (honesty, tact). Still others relate to basic beliefs about people (freedom, equality, and worth). Some have to do with comparative treatment of others, with judgment or action in the distribution of resources or punishments (justice, equity)."

Spheres
Table 7-9
Values by Sphere

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
Community	16%	10%	16%	23%	3%	6%	3%	6%	0	0	3%	3%	0
Political	0	24%	16%	16%	0	0	4%	0	8%	8%	0	4%	4%
Kinship	17%	17%	11%	11%	0	0	0	0	11%	6%	0	11%	0
Economic	0	29%	14%	14%	0	0	7%	0	0	0	14%	0	0
Pluralistic	6%	6%	11%	11%	0	6%	0	0	2%	6%	11%	0	6%
Ecological	0	0	11%	11%	11%	0	0	0	0	56%	0	0	11%
Media & Research	0	0	15%	25%	0	0	0	0	0	23%	0	0	8%
Spiritual[9]	10%	10%	30%	0	0	0	0	0	10%	0	0	0	0

A=Dignity and respect   **F**=Human Rights   **J**=Ecological
B=Justice   **G**=Solidarity   **K**=Life values
C=Equality   **H**=Work   **L**=Fairness
D=Self Determination   **I**=Peace   **M**=Diversity
E=Freedom

In the follow-up phone interview, I asked the following question: "What values guide activists in your organization?" All SMO representatives mention values they hold as important (See Table 7-9). Values are a reason many groups, including the Movement of movements, see a convergence (Ray and Anderson 2000; Lakoff 2002; 2004). Ray and Anderson (2000) find two main values bringing the Movement of movements together – feminist and ecological. What stands out is that there are many values SMOs in different spheres point to as important. These values seem to cut across these many spheres. While equality is the only one that reached across all spheres, the values of justice and self determination also registered with activists across most spheres. However, similar to what the data suggests in chapter five on grievances, the Ecological sphere has the highest concentration of ecological values. The Economic and Political sphere SMOs are

---

[9] Forty percent of the Spiritual Sphere SMO's values are Spiritually related. However, it was not included because only one sphere noted spirituality as a value. All four SMOs did note spirituality though as an important value bringing SMOs together.

most apt to say they value justice. This might be because people often see justice in terms of a distribution of money, supported by politics (Lakoff 1996; 2004). Spiritual sphere activists are the only sphere to mention spirituality as one of its values. Although values are spread across the board, values do concentrate, depending on the sphere in which they originate.

Ideology
Table 7-10
Values by Ideology

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
Reformers	6%	15%	15%	18%	3%	3%	0	6%	6%	12%	3%	6%	3%
Hybrids	15%	13%	17%	12%	0	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%	5%	2%	4%
Radicals	18%	12%	16%	16%	4%	4%	8%	0	8%	8%	4%	0	0

A=Dignity and respect F=Human Rights J=Ecological
B=Justice G=Solidarity K=Life values
C=Equality H=Work L=Fairness
D=Self Determination I=Peace M=Diversity
E=Freedom

In the examination of ideology in regard to values, the data suggest that SMOs have the highest concentration of values across justice, equality, and self determination, and dignity as important values (See Table 7-10; Figure 7-5). For Reformer SMOs, all four of these values make up 54% of their total, while for Radical SMOs it is up to 62% of their total. For Reformer SMOs, self determination stands out as slightly more important than the other three aforementioned values. For Hybrid SMOs, equality is slightly higher, while for Radical SMOs dignity is their number one value. However, all the values are close and mostly range from 12% to 18% of their totals. Considering other values, the Reformer SMOs are the most likely to mention ecological values as the most important (12%) of the three ideological categories. Lakoff (2002; 2004) claims that the Right does not have a monopoly on values; the Left hold values, as well. He argues also that finding shared values is key to bringing groups together. However, he further

223

maintains that a diversity of values can only help bring groups together through reaching out, by strategically framing issues from that group's point of view. Also, a diversity of values might create conflict as different SMOs in different spheres and ideologies might find some values more important then others. For example, Radical and Reformer SMOs may conflict over what "solidarity" involves. Another example is that the Ecological sphere highly values the environment, while SMOs in the Community sphere do not place the same emphasis on it. If this Movement of movements were to campaign around justice, equality, self determination, and dignity, I contend a majority of movements would likely go along. However, it is possible that SMOs within the Ecological and Media & Research spheres might balk because of a lack of concern for ecology.
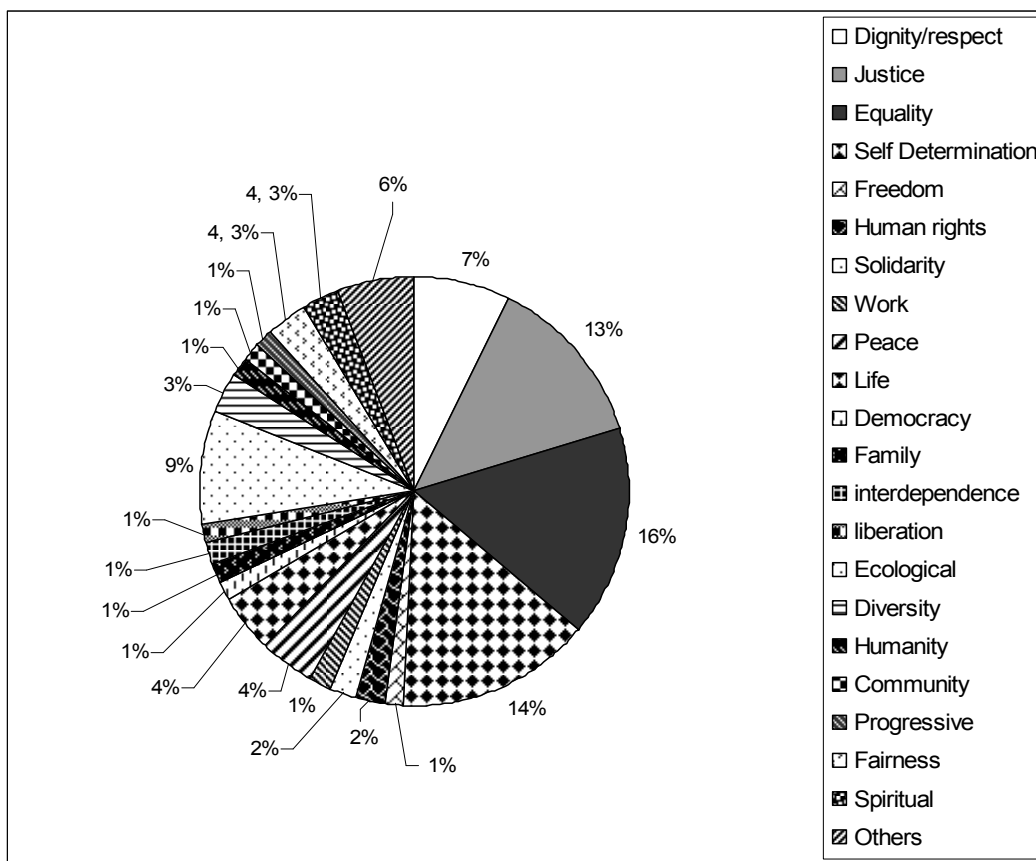
Figure 7-5 Overall Values

Figure 7-5 shows that the five largest common set of values overall are equality (16%; n=22), self determination (14%; n=20), justice (13%; n=18), ecological (9%; n=12), and dignity/Respect (7%; n=10). All together these five values account for 59% of the total values mentioned.[10] Ninety percent mention one of these five values, which points toward even greater mutuality among SMOs. Twenty-two value categories came up during the open-interview process; so there is still a great diversity of values out there; however, five core values can bring a large section of the movement together. And yet, some values might divide SMOs, such as ecological values, as they represent values that are held intensely by only a few groups, and are not values noted by the SMOs associated with certain spheres. To base campaigns exclusively on ecological values, for example, might divide a movement. However, utilizing the five shared values, already noted, can potentially unite the movement if used together. Turner (1994: 80) notes that when people share a common utopia or set of values, "They can discuss and debate social issues with a reasonable degree of mutual understanding." However, when people have different visions or even values, they talk past and misunderstand each other; the result is conflict. On the surface, is seems that 41% do not necessarily hold these five aforementioned values. However, since these value categories overlap, out of all the SMOs in my sample, only five SMOs do not have any of these most shared values, which means that 90% do mention one of these values at least once. However, three are life values, coined by Kevin Danaher in Danaher and Pitney (2003), who describes in an interview with *ZMagazine* that life values are "human rights and the environment." Life values, then, also include of ecological values. Human rights might also be construed as

---

[10] SMO representatives mentioned anywhere from one to five values they say are important. Therefore, there were seventy different responses among the fifty-five respondents to what values are considered important.

relating to justice, equality, and dignity. Two other SMOs note their values as Progressive Peace oriented. The SMO associated with the Media & Research sphere defined progressive values in ecological terms, as she makes environmentally-minded documentaries. They all then share a commitment to similar values, but prioritize them differently. Often this is a source of tension, since a person who strongly identifies with a single issue may not see how the other issue grievances are similar. The key to forging unity is to see that each sphere and ideology is a special case of a more general identity grounded in a moral system that links all these movements together. A bridge to unite this movement is to build agendas based on these common and inclusive values (Lakoff 1996; 2002).

<div align="center">Summary</div>

The largest conflicts taken together – a single-issue focus, tactical questions, and ideological conflicts, all of which probably help fuel a lack of trust – account for 78% of the sources of conflict overall. These barriers suggest that only short-term alliances among SMOs in the presence of a common enemy are currently being facilitated at this time, indicating there is only a thin form of unity.

In this study, the SMO activists against a common enemy make up nearly half of the SMOs studied. These SMOs are "against" an enemy as their primary objective and the reason these SMOs have come together during protest events over the course of the last several years. A little over a one-fourth of SMOs surveyed say SMOs are either "for" building agendas or transitioning into such a response. However, 30% of these SMOs have gotten together for both reasons. A common enemy is bringing this Movement of

movements together, creating a collective identity; however, the findings suggest the

belief that only this holds the movement together shortchanges other factors that are

bringing many of these SMOs together. The common enemy varies depending on

ideology and spheres. After excluding the common enemy variable, nearly two-thirds of

the SMOs find relationship-building and networking are bringing the movements

together.

Coalitions are one way to build relationships. A Reformer from the Economic

sphere asserts that in order to "continue to build trust; [SMOs] must continue to build

relationships." Considering that nearly three-fourths of the SMO actors represented in

the data are from four major coalitions, this means that coalitions are potentially a

powerful mechanism for uniting SMOs.

Similarly, shared values can bring SMOs together to understand and work with

each other. For example, a Pluralist Hybrid activist says that what is bringing these SMOs

together are:

> common values. I think what Lakoff talks about resonates with all these groups. That's
> why we keep bringing things back to, like Civil Rights, we ought to be the people we say
> we are. We have to base what we do in our value systems, and we have to do as a group
> and overlook our differences.

In this sample of SMOs, five of the most common values overall are Equality,

Self Determination, Peace & Justice, Ecology, and Dignity/Respect. All these values

reach across the breadth of the SMOs studied and represent the Movement of

movement's common value system.

This data suggest that the Movement of movements exhibits only a thin unity.

This type of unity works only in short-term alliances against a common enemy. But, there

is some possible learning through dialogue occurring in these movements through

coalitions, protests, and networking. And in this way, movement activists are finding

these aforementioned shared values that can facilitate struggle against multiple

grievances, but are also searching for alternatives to replace them. This relationship

building is the key to transitioning the Movement of movements into a movement larger

than the fragmented one found today with only a thin unification. Even if this Movement

of movement falls short of an idealized single, coherent movement, it may one day do a

better job of facilitating, coordinating, and sharing power among its many factions.

CHAPTER VIII

DISCUSSION

This dissertation is a diagnosis of fifty-five social movement organizations (SMOs) across several sectors of the U.S. wing of the Movement of movements to explore whether they have the capacity to unite. In this diagnosis, I examine the current status of the Movement of movement's unity through three indicators of change. I, then, theorize that my Relational empowerment strategy fills the theoretical gap in the literature and is needed to set in motion a Movement of movement transition toward a strong unity.

In this dissertation, I utilize the themes of identity, frame disputes, and barriers and bridges to facilitate a diagnosis of this question of unity. The data suggest that these SMOs are clearly only in a state of a thin unity, but one that has some potential to move toward a new strong type of unity not yet widely experienced across movement sectors. Explicitly, the data suggest these SMOs are shallowly unified overwhelmingly by a common enemy frame and short-term alliances, facilitated by the Internet, conferences, and protests. Also, while these SMOs do identify many grievances, most tend to focus on their own conflicts, largely because of a lack of trust, grant funding competition, and ideological conflicts over tactics between SMOs. However, five grievances are popular among more than half of the SMOs, revealing common ground. Additionally, while

scholars may contend that the Movement of movements has come together against an economic enemy, I contend that this analysis paints these movements too narrowly, and ignores other important ways of viewing injustice – sexism/homophobia, racism, and ecological destruction.[1]

Conflict is apparent among SMOs over tactics, decision making, and vision. When considering these conflicts, the Hybrid SMOs fall in between Radical and Reformer SMOs; this is important because these SMOs may serve as a middle ground to balance between unity and diversity among diverse SMOs.

In my sample of SMOs, conflict manifests itself between Reformer versus Radical SMOs, New Social Movement (NSM) theory versus the Resource Mobilization (RM) Theory, critical awareness versus action, and the universal versus the particular. More specifically, the largest conflicts among SMOs studied manifest in terms of grievances (oppression foci), tactics, and vision.[2] Later in this chapter, I argue that a new type of empowerment is needed to deal with these conflicts, as doing so has the potential to produce a stronger form of unification.

First, I explore the three indicators of strong unity and apply them to my findings. In the literature review, I discuss three indicators which are helpful in assessing whether these SMOs might grow together beyond their current thin unity, in which they are held together more for what they are against than what they are for. The first indicator is a shift from simple to complex realities. This indicator is helpful to assess SMO representatives' views of outside forces as either simple and disconnected or complex and

---

[1] Scholars such as, Starr (2000), Prokosch and Raymond (2002), Beck (2003), and Klien (1999) focus on a narrow economic analysis of the enemy and grievances.
[2] These findings coincide with Zald and McCarthy's (1987) notion of movement conflict that tends to reveal itself in terms of objectives, strategies, and tactics.

interconnected. Second, I examine the shift from objective to multiple views of reality.

This indicator is a useful assessment of whether SMO representatives view their struggles

as fragmented or interconnected. The third indicator, or framing hierarchy, facilitates the

assessment of whether SMOs are prefiguratively organizing and interrelating in ways that

reflect their ideals. I also examine and compare my analysis to both the RM and NSM

theories, not because this is a completely new application of this dichotomy, but because

this theoretical division parallels some of the conflicts that seem to persist with the

Movement of movements.

<p align="center">First Indicator – Framing a Complicated World[3]</p>

In this first indicator, I explore a shift from simple to complex realities, or

whether SMO activists view a complicated world. Beuchler (1995) argues RM and NSM

theorists emphasize different foci. For RM theorists, a single-issue focus on injustice is

material and/or structural, much like Marx and Gramsci. However, NSMs problematize

issues of identity and identifying group interests, much like Foucault, who articulates a

"multiplicity of forces."[4] From the data, 69% of the SMOs studied focus on a specific

oppression or injustice, but also identify others (See Figure 6-1). A single focus resonates

with Gramsci's philosophy, and yet these movements also resonate with Foucault, as

sixty percent of these SMOs actually identify that all grievances and/or injustices are

interrelated. While the Economic sphere SMOs and the Community sphere SMOs

emphasize their own grievances as primary, they both view each other's grievances as

important as well, crossing the division between Resource Mobilization (RM) and New

---

[3] See the First Indicator in this study's literature review for more context (pg. 62).
[4] This study does not confirm these notions of a singular or narrow SMO focus on either side. (See Holloway 2005:41)

Social Movement (NSM) theories.[5] The former describes the "how," and the latter the "why" of the emergence and the significance of collective action. Although most aforementioned research in social movement scholarship focuses on economic explanations for grievances, the Movement of movements is based on a broader set of grievances. In fact, I find that economics, racism, sexism & homophobes, and ecological degradation account for 63% of all the grievances mentioned and are shared by 96% of all SMOs in this study (See Figure 6-2).

In a complex world, frames are utilized as a heuristic to simplify the world. The common enemy frame is one such mental short cut useful in its organizing for a thin unity. However, the enemy frame is also influenced by a shift from simplifying SMO opposition to making it multifaceted – a transformation from a single focus to a multifaceted one. For example, when it comes to enemies identified by these SMOs, the data suggest that the Movement of movements is largely concentrated around politico-economics. The common enemy frame has been useful in creating a collective identity, shifting the constituency of the Movement of movements from a particularized form of unity to a thin form. This common enemy frame, however, falls short of a strong form of unity that many scholars and activists have long hoped to achieve. In reality, this form of unity is problematic because enemies are more complex than the previous literature indicates, as nearly forty percent and the nine categories identified as enemies are beyond a politico-economic based opposition. For Radical SMOs, slightly more than half of their enemies come from the seven other categories beyond politico-economics. Additionally, 56% of Political and 54% of Kinship sphere SMO enemies are from these seven other categories (See Table 5-5). This might mean that to say political and economic enemies

---

[5] This makes sense because Tarrow (1998) explains that both theories are really two sides of the same coin.

are the only enemy; cultural enemies are still important factors. Similarly, economic reductionism usually points to a single material enemy, but NSM SMOs also point to identity-based grievances, such as racism, sexism and homo-sexism. The common enemy frame, while useful, is based on an economic-reductionist argument. Both broad types of enemies are actually present here – politico-economics and cultural. Conflicts are evidenced with each sphere emphasizing its own oppression as primary, partly because the SMOs are tied to grant money, which restricts their activities toward a single-issue focus. Therefore, a common enemy has a lot of play here, but one that is more multifaceted than the literature, (i.e. Starr 2000, Prokosch and Raymond 2002, Beck 2003, Klien 1999) suggest.

Finding common ground is necessary to broaden these movements' abilities to act on multiple issue areas, recognizing funding questions, but not falling into structural turf battles for money. Really, these SMOs display displaced conflict,[6] as they fight over parochial single-issue interests and yet attribute the importance of an interrelation of grievances and injustices that other SMOs also focus on.

In addition, a complex world frame is also not fully apparent, as nearly half of SMO representatives say that the Movement of movements is more "against" an enemy rather than "for" an agenda. Framing against a common enemy assumes a singular one. However, more than half of SMO representatives interviewed actually say they see the Movement of movements as getting together because SMOs are either "for," both "for" and "against," or transitioning from "against" to being "for" an agenda. While enemies are not necessarily "common," they are shared. This acknowledgement that SMOs are for

---

[6] Displaced Conflict, according to Deutsch (1972), is where those in conflict argue about the wrong thing. The actual conflict experienced is the manifest conflict, while the one not directly expressed is the underlying conflict.

something indicates a deepening, but no immediate shift is apparent because the data indicate a multifaceted notion of oppression/injustice and the enemy.

<center>Second Indicator – Framing Their Interdependence[7]</center>

A second indicator is a shift from objective to multiple views of reality. In other words, it is a shift in how SMO actors view themselves. It is the transformation from a single identity, the distinct human, to the idea that activists are not reducible to either the universal or the particular—individuals are instead dynamically multi-dimensional.[8] The point here is that NSM theorists, like Foucault, tend to characterize movement actors as particles, or identities, without much connection to others, while RM theorists, like Gramsci, tend to overlook individual subjectivity and instead embrace the SMO or movement as a whole. Movement actors, in Sheller's (2003) view, are similar to waves in that they are really individual identities, within a community of others.[9]

Some SMOs are viewing their activism as being part of something larger than themselves. The Global Exchange, for example, is a pluralist SMO that showcases a multi-dimensionality in the Movement of movements. Hayduk (2003) describes this human rights organization as one that largely focuses on problems involving political, social, and environmental justice around the world. He finds also that Global Exchange sees itself as part of a larger movement, as it works alongside hundreds of SMOs, radical direct-action collectives, and grassroots organizations. He also finds that Global

---

[7] See Second Indicator in the literature review of this study for more context (pg. 71).

[8] Metaphorically, movements are like light, in terms of both a particle (individual) and a wave (collectivity) (Zohar and Marshall 1994). These authors call this interrelation "relational holism." Adams (2003) offers another conception, the theory of "complementary holism," which basically means that one cannot really understand, say, the economy without employing a diversity of critiques and integrating them into a whole. Sheller (2003) contends that activists are like particles, or nodes, existing in rigid networks, located in space and time.

[9] Mead (1934) describes individuals acting in community as "highly peopled" in society.

<center>234</center>

Exchange's tactics to fix the problems associated with globalization include organizing, research, and education. More specifically, this organization has six main program areas: "Global Economic Rights Campaigns," "Human Rights Campaigns," "Reality Tours," "Public Education Program," "Fair Trade Program," and a "Grassroots Self-Help Project." Finally, its goals are, he notes, to improve lives of the poor through technical and material assistance; promote sustainable development and democratic policies in the U.S. government and international institutions; promote economic and political human rights; and get sustainable development in both the developed and developing world. Global Exchange is an example of an SMO that reaches across difference in alliance with others.

An example of this perspectival view, in which movement actors see themselves as interdependent entities in a large-scale movement, is how they identify themselves, in terms of a name. In the 1999 Seattle protest, for example, they were labeled by their opponents as "Antiglobalization" protestors because of their opposition toward the World Trade Organization, which is considered "proglobalization." However, activist-scholars such as Hardt and Negri (2001: 102-103) claim that it "should not be called an anti-globalization movement. It is pro-globalization, or rather an alternative globalization movement." The data suggests that nearly one half of these SMO activists call themselves either the "Progressive" or "Global Justice Movement," these names imply a step toward a positive identity, albeit not necessarily a single collective identity.[10] Twenty-six percent of the SMOs note unique names. Additionally, the data suggests that allies are often highly associated with those who are like-minded; simultaneously there are allies across a

---

[10] Kriesburg (2003) claims a lack of collective identity would mean that this Movement of movements does not constitute a common interest and/or fate.

spectrum of spheres, which is a step toward diversifying this Movement of movements. The common enemy frame is largely the focus of these SMOs currently creating a collective identity.

In addition, beyond a common enemy frame, nearly one third of these movement actors say that they are building relationships and networking in order to unite. This means that there is a significant number of SMO activists seeing that they are in more than merely a short-term alliance against a common enemy; they are actually together, creating a "we-ness," or collective identity for the long term, creating shared agendas. A Hybrid Economic activist, for example, has diversity in mind in creating movement solidarity.

> We are part of the 'Movement of movements.' As a multi-issue organization committed to a feminist, anti-racist and pro-worker agenda; there are obvious links to be drawn between struggles against systems of domination, exploitation and injustice. Building solidarity between movements is not only a strategic necessity; it's also a moral imperative.

Even though coalitions are present and may serve as relationship opportunities, they are also a way to obtain and maintain power and influence. The most prominent coalition found among the SMOs in this study is a focused issue campaign, Stop CAFTA.[11] However, the next two largest coalitions found in this study are broad coalitions that bring a diversity of SMOs together beyond a single issue – Progressive Democrats of America (PDA) and United for Peace & Justice (UP&J). The fourth largest coalition, 50 Years is Enough, has a broad constituency, but primarily focuses on issues that are narrowly politico-economically oriented. These coalitions, whether issue-focused or more broad-based, are opportunities for deliberation, contained by a political space

---

[11] This corresponds to Albrecht and Brewer's (1990) conception of a coalition as one that brings groups together around a specific issue to achieve a specific goal. Shaw (2001) argues coalitions combine two or more organizations in pursuit of a common objective.

that Habermas calls the "public sphere." Activists can discuss ideas and strategies at places like the World Social Forum or within coalition meetings. These political spaces enable and empower activists to articulate their opposition within a discursively democratic setting with the potential for what Rothman (1996) calls "reflexive dialogue" to surpass conflict. This dialogue at conferences allows networked groups to grow together and evaluate their common destiny, creating a potential for working relationships.

However, developing a collective identity is often difficult when individuals and SMOs differ in their view of reality. Frames are not only involved in the creation and maintenance of a coherent perspective, but for those in conflict, the use of framing as an aid to promote a strategic advantage. Frames can affect the intractability of conflict by creating incompatible interpretations of events. The tension between SMOs in this study is not a "pure" conflict but a political space characterized by a mix of competition and cooperation, negotiating what its movement identity should look like. Tension escalates from dialogue to that of protests on the streets, which results in unresolved, underlying conflict in this Movement of movements. Digging deeper into how these SMOs' ideological frames entrench opposing sides, I have uncovered, through a frame analysis what is at issue, and later in the discussion provide a theoretical tool building from empowerment theory to promote cooperation toward constructive goals instead of escalating the "blame game." Although conflict among Movement of movement SMOs centers particularly on tactics, single-issue foci, and a lack of trust, it is particularly a matter of ideological frames SMO actors compete in a contest of meaning, each SMO situated locally in the context of political space with its own system of beliefs. These

SMO actors communicate and interrelate with other SMO actors through their frames of reference. For example, the Zapatistas have become famous for their struggle against the Mexican government. They have a system of beliefs that include autonomy, but they frame their struggle in terms of solidarity with other struggles through communiqués via the Internet.

While there is much bringing these SMO actors together toward a strong unity, the findings suggest that current conflict still keeps these movements in only short-term alliances at best. The SMOs under study show signs both of a perpetuation of conflict as well as factors limiting it.[12] In the Barriers to Uniting section of the findings, I do find a lack of trust, fighting over tactics, and excessive single-issue focus among SMOs. For example, an economic SMO representative says his organization is primary concerned that **"**the U.S. is particularly blind to the class relations that underpin the system." Alternatively, an environmental SMO representative maintains that his organization is "primarily an environmental organization, so that's our focus." But he notes further that, "some of the unions are more job or labor focused. So, the agricultural people are interested in small, sustainable agriculture and genetically modified organisms (GMOs). So, we all have a slightly different focus. Everybody pursues their own special interests – they are not contradictory or clashing, but diverse."

However, there are also indications that the conflict is or can be limited; such indicators include cooperating bonds; common allegiances; and conflict-limiting values, institutions, procedures and groups. In the Bridges to Uniting section, I find that groups are largely coming together because of their shared framing of a common enemy. I also

---

[12] Deutsch (1973) suggests that competition leads to suspicious attitudes, a sensitivity to differences, and a minimal awareness of similarities.

find that to much a lesser degree, SMOs are converging because of intense Internet networking, coalitions and conferences, and common campaigns because of this common enemy frame. However, a Community sphere activist says her organization organizes on the basis that all grievances are interrelated.

> We definitely talk about the interlinking of different forms of oppression and how and when we are fighting for worker justice, sexism, racism, and classism are sort for interrelated. We do everything we can to combat those oppressions as well. Even working on racism in our own organization and not sort of ignoring it.

This sentiment is true in that 65% of the Movement of movement SMOs view grievances in an interdependent way (See Figure 6-2). Conversely, as many as 66% focus exclusively on a single grievance, and two-thirds of these SMOs believe that other grievances matter, but are constrained mainly because of the funding criteria of grantors. This means that while SMOs see an interrelated world, they are structurally bound to not act that way.

The second indicator reveals some positives for a Movement of movements in that many SMOs do see themselves as working together with many others, but more often than not, most SMOs' alliances are with like-minded activists with a lack of trust of others unlike them. Through bridges found in the data, many SMOs are finding ways to work with each other in constructive ways. This means there is much room for reflexive interaction among diverse SMOs. A Movement of movement that shares, several grievances and values reveals the fertile possibilities within itself just waiting to be discovered. Another important aspect of change is not only how SMOs interrelate, but how they organize.

Third Indicator – Framing Hierarchy[13]

The third indicator is the shift from relations based on hierarchy to those based on heterarchy, or side-by-side relations. An organization's form often reflects the larger political and cultural environment in which it finds itself. Nearly one quarter of the SMO representatives interviewed say their organization prefers a consensus-based approach to decision making. Add this figure with that of the mixed approach (consensus and majority rules), and 61% oppose a purely majority-rules organizational, or mechanistic, form (See Figure 5-7). A consensus-based approach is prefigurative in that its use conforms to the egalitarian approach most of these organizations proffer. While a consensus-based approach may be slow and inefficient, it is certainly utilized because it is an authentic way to organize, according to those who go out of their way to practice it. De Angelis (2001: 117) suggests that when confronted with the question: "What does this movement want?" De Angelis answers, "What in practice this movement has shown it wants is horizontality and participatory democracy." Along with a flatter organizational structure, similar to De Angelis' sentiments, the findings here suggest that the number one way SMOs see exclusion is by lacking a voice in decision making (20%), counter to participatory democracy, which asserts the rights of people to be heard. It is a matter of recognizing others (See Figure 5-7). As one Economic Radical activist declares:

> This is more cultural than anything else. Recognizing different kinds of organizations and backgrounds and getting out of the box that our own cultures put around us. Cultures meaning class, or race, or whatever, what we perceive of our identity. Getting people in our movements in practice to look outside their boxes and recognize other boxes as just as valuable.

---

[13] See the literature review in this study for a third indicator (p. 77).

Organizing also means that SMOs will have to work with other organizations, whether in a hierarchical or consensus manner. SMOs do not have to embrace either extreme approach. In fact, an approach called "Autonomy in Solidarity" could be useful. This approach is one in which social movements are autonomously searching for self-determination, while, at the same time, maintaining different perspectives. This is similar to the relational or complementary holism, or even the wave-particle theory, in which a diversity of critiques integrate into something greater than the sum of their parts without losing their individual identities. Autonomy means that groups maintain an ability to adhere to an identity, yet work with other groups without the fear of assimilation. A middle approach to decision making would be one with structure and rules, much like organizations with a majority-rules approach, but also one that promotes full participation, not unlike consensus-based organizations. This concept resonates with a Hybrid Community activist, who describes a lesson learned from aligning with other SMOs.

> You need to have a place that allows them to listen to each other with respect and learn what each approach, each goal, each organization is doing. Despite our best efforts with all this competition, who has really got the key issue and who is really going to change society and have the answers? Um, this competition, this patronizing, and this will happen along other isms, we need to develop a forum where people are really listening to each other. I think for certainly, any disagreement it should be set aside or tabled until it can be dealt with.

Hybrid SMOs are important because, while all Reform SMOs prefer a majority-rules approach to decision making and 90% of Radical SMOs prefer a consensus approach; Hybrids exhibit a mixed decision-making approach (See Table 5-8). Two-thirds of Hybrid SMOs prefer a mixed approach to decision making, which is a moderated balance between the two extremes, that is, a heterarchical approach. A Hybrid

241

Pluralist activist describes his sense of the tension in utilizing a mixed approach to decision making:

> I think I described it pretty well in the questionnaire. I think some people think voting is putting on a pretty face on not listening to what people have to say and shutting people up. And, the power relation that is corrupting group work. Yet other people see it as an important step to a more efficient process. So, it's we have to find some compromise there.

These three indicators reveal some movement toward a stronger unity. In an exploration of the Framing a Complicated World, the finding's data reveal that one-fifth of grievances are framed as interconnected, alliances are broad, but often shallow, short-lived, and many concentrated on those like-minded. Additionally, most SMOs have a rather simplified frame of the enemy, and most SMOs find themselves together against a common enemy more than they are for a common agenda. The second indicator is more ambiguous, but also more optimistic, as SMOs frame a positive identity for themselves, even though there is no collective name. In addition, coalitions are springing up; however, they are mainly issue-focused. Some coalitions have network potential, and yet a lack of trust and short-term alliances persist. Finally, the third indicator, or Framing Hierarchy, does show signs of alliance capacity as nearly two-thirds of the Movement of movements tend to abhor too much hierarchy, which often minimizes voice, a large concern for SMO activists. Twenty percent of SMOs primarily chose heterarchical relations, which is a mix of decision-making styles.

While a majority of SMOs within this Movement of movements does unite in a thin type of unification, it clearly has not yet transformed into a new, deeper, type of unity. However, there is some indication for a potential shift in the future. In the introduction, I argued that the Movement of movements had three three paths to follow:

1) it could align in short-term alliances against a common enemy; 2) fragment even more; or finally 3) find a new sense of balance of unity and diversity. As evidenced in the chart 8-1 below, all three could happen simultaneously. Unity is in flux and never seems to stand still. While a transition is possible from a thin unity to a strong unity as the data seems to indicate for seven of the finding's categories, it could just as easily slip again into a thin unity depending on the circumstances, such as a unifying threat that creates a short-term collective identity, much like the WTO did for Seattle. The findings do suggest that when it comes to five of the finding's categories, they are a movement primarily united in short-term alliances against a common enemy. However, probably what is most interesting here is that when it comes to types of grievances/oppressions and values, this Movement of movements, unknowingly has much in common and a core to build upon toward a strong unity. In spite of this finding, activists must keep in mind what is at the same time tugging at this Movement of movements toward a thin unity (See Table 8-1).

Categories in Findings	Indicates Mainly a Thin Unity	Transition possibilities from a Thin Unity to a Strong Unity	Indicates a Strong Unity
	Names	For an Agenda/Against an Enemy	Grievances/Oppression Types
	Power & Exclusion	Bridges to Unity	Values
	Visions	Coalitions	
	Barriers to Unity	Decision Making	
	Enemies	Number of Grievances	
		Tactics	
		Allies	

Table 8-1. Categories of Unity by Indicator Type

Whether this movement unites or keeps fragmenting, there are many barriers to overcome, as well as bridges to cross for a robust unification to take place. These barriers are conflicts among SMOs of various spheres and ideologies. This is not the first time precarious alliances have taken shape.[14] Secondly, because of these findings, I argue social movement actors in this Movement of movements should articulate and foster a new strategy for empowerment to improve this Movement of movements' capacity to unite.

Three Indicators of Unity		
First – **Framing a** **Complicated World**	**Second –** **Framing Their** **Interdependence**	**Third –** **Framing Hierarchy**
•Shift from objective to perspectival views of reality •Whether SMO actors see interrelated diagnostic & antagonist attributions	• Shift from objective to perspectival views of reality • A shift in how SMO actors see themselves	• Shift from relations based on hierarchy to those based on heterarchy, or side-by-side relations
Findings		
• **Interrelated grievances** - 65% grievances and injustices attributed as interrelated. • **11 Enemies & 11 Grievance** categories identified. • 54 of 55 SMOs share one of five grievances. • **Against more than for an agenda -**more ½ consider getting together because they are either "for," both "for" and "against," or transitioning from "against" to being "for" an agenda	• **Name** – "Progressive" or "Global Justice Movement,"- a positive identity, albeit not necessarily a collective one • **1/3 beyond a common enemy** - the data suggest they are building relationships and networking in order to unite • **Coalitions** – 4 major coalitions make up 3/4ths of all the coalitions noted by SMOs. • Public spheres, political spaces – "reflexive dialogue" 26% say coalitions are an important tactic; Hybrids – mixed tactics	• **Decision making** - **61%** oppose majority rules or mechanistic forms - Consensus + mixed approach (consensus and majority rules), consensus-based • _b/c Voice_ – 20% lacking a voice in decision making – recognition **Tactics** – large division between insider and outsider tactics. • **Hybrids** - majority-rules approach, but also one that promotes full participation, not unlike consensus-based organizations. Heterarchical approach – balance between two extremes. 17 of 29 Hybrids have mixed decision making and tactical approaches. Hybrid SMOs are the Movement of movements' facilitators.

Table 8-2 Three Indications of the Movement's Transition from Thin to a Strong Unity

---

[14] Zald and McCarthy (1987) contend that social movements are rarely united affairs because they compete, and additionally even conflict over differing frames (Benford 1993).

Power and Empowerment

In the literature, empowerment is focused on either winning political victories, getting issues on the agenda, or the development of critical awareness to unmask the relationship of those who possess a concentration of power in only a few hands. Power is often played on an uneven table. The haves and have-nots are divided by vast inequalities of resources. I argue that the Movement of movements must go beyond Gaventa's (1999) original three fragmented empowerment approaches and incorporate all three, but on a macro-scale.[15] Gaventa's (1999) empowerment strategies take place on the level of the individual activist or a single SMO. I will explain further that my notion of empowerment allows room for multiple SMOs.

In order to understand whether this Movement of movements has the capacity to unite, I must first engage theories of power and empowerment. Before Gaventa (1999) articulates his understanding of empowerment, he asks: "What are citizen competencies, or what competencies are critical for democracy building?" (p. 50). His answer is to ask: "What is power? How does it affect citizens' capacities to act and participate for themselves?" (Ibid).

The first three faces of power (See Table 8-3) are generally considered in terms of *power-over*. The first face of power is the direct political involvement into decision making – laws, policies, rulings, or decisions – made by government officials. The second face of power describes the behind-the-scenes forces that shape political agendas;

---

[15] Bush and Folger (1994:2) argue "empowerment" means "the restoration to individuals of a sense of their own value and strength and their own capacity to handle life's problems." In a latter publication, they further explain that through empowerment, disputants gain "greater clarity about their goals, resources, options, and preferences" and that they use this information to make their own "clear and deliberate decisions" (Folger and Bush 1996:264).

determine what issues get addressed and who should get heard. The third face of power

shapes people's understanding of the world, preventing them from asking questions and

seeing possibilities for change. Finally, the fourth face of power legitimates and

delegitimizes identity, which does not fit squarely with either a power-over or power-

with philosophy because, according to Foucault, power circulates, it is not a possession.

Empowerment is conceived in the literature as *power over* others and, subsequently

power with others. A *power with* approach emphasizes empathy and interdependence

among others to challenge the current *power-over* thinking. In terms of Foucault,

empowerment is important because it can help those who challenge the powerful with

their own tools. This is resonant with Morton Deutsch (1973: 399) who articulates this

sentiment when he contends that

> it is possible to increase the power of the have-nots by developing their personal
> resources, social cohesion, and social organizations so they have more influence. And in
> jujitsu fashion, it is possible for the have-nots to employ some of the characteristics of the
> haves to throw the haves off balance and reduce their effective opposition.

First	Second	Third	Fourth
Dahl (1957: 202-203) defines power as "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do."	Bacharach and Baratz (1962) "power is not solely a matter of getting B to do something that she does not want to do, but can also be a matter of preventing B from doing what she wants to do" (Digeser 1992: 978).	Steven Lukes (1974) "power could be exerted even if B consciously wants to do what A desires" (Digeser 1992: 979).	If B acts against his/her interests, then power is being exercised. Digeser (1992: 980) argues that the fourth face of power asks: "What kind of subject is being produced?"

Table 8-3 Four Faces of Power

Although Gaventa (1999) articulated three empowerment strategies to oppose each face of power (See Table 8-4), no one has, until now, articulated a fourth strategy of empowerment.

<div align="center">A Relational Empowerment Strategy</div>

A fourth empowerment strategy, I contend, must be developed for SMOs to challenge the "haves" collectively (See Figure 8-4 below) in the context of a newer, more complex world where power is often on a globalized scale. This empowerment theory, like the Movement of movements itself, is influenced by the Zapitismo[16] "Politics of Refusal" (Callahan 2004: 219). It is a strategy that incorporates unity with a collective "Enough" response, and at the same time, movement actors struggle to transform the shared diversity through conflict negotiation. This strategy responds to Digeser's (1992: 1005) Fourth Face of Power where he challenges: "If we are convinced of the disciplinary character of $power_4$,[17] then the problem of how to respond looms large."

This new empowerment theory has four parts. First, I theorize that movement actors associated with SMOs must view the world as complex and oppressions as interrelated. Second is restoring a sense of autonomy or capability to the individual SMO in balance with a collective social justice of the Movement of movements as a whole. The third part is a balance between an organic and mechanical decision-making structure and tactical opposition to power. The fourth part utilizes deliberation as a way to transform conflict, balancing the aforementioned two parts. This deliberation is facilitated through reframing of grievances, tactics, and visions through values in the context of

---

[16] Zapatismo is a concept adopted by the Zapatistas (Martinez and Garcia). It is a concept of social transformation. It proposes a grassroots autonomy.

[17] Digeser (1992) notes that "$power_4$" is shorthand for what he calls the Fourth Face of Power.

organizing.[18] Therefore, I develop the Fourth Face of Empowerment to respond to

Digeser's Fourth Face of Power, filling in the theoretical gap. Before I engage in this new

face of empowerment, I briefly engage Gaventa's (1999) three faces of empowerment.[19]

Empowerment Strategies	First Public Interest	Second Citizen Action	Third Transformative
	• Advocate for the people •Expert knowledge •Narrow and winnable issues *How to participate effectively?*	• Professional organizers build local leadership •Winnable community issues •Build grassroots to get issues on the table; help define agenda *Who participates?*	•Grassroots leadership •Development of critical awareness •Unmask the relationship of the power class •Local knowledge *What are people participating about?*

Table 8-4. Empowerment Strategy Types, First Three Strategies Adapted from Gaventa (1999).

The first two liberal empowerment strategies emphasize action, but neglect the

question of difference, while the transformative empowerment strategy deemphasizes

efficacy. Gaventa (1999) argues that the public interest strategy pushes activists to use

insider tactics to influence public officials on those issues that affect them through

building political coalitions. The public interest strategy asks: "How to participate

effectively?" (pg. 51). He describes that the citizen action strategy advocates the building

of broad-based citizen's organizations to overcome barriers of participation. The citizen

action strategy asks: "Who participates?" (Ibid). He finally contends that the

transformative strategy advocates for activists to develop their own critical

consciousness. The transformative strategy calls: "What people are participating about?"

(Ibid). The first three empowerment strategies encompass the individual activist and

---

[18] Benford's (1992) encoding is similar to reframing.
[19] See Figure 5-9 on the Faces of power.

SMO levels of organizing, but I envision a fourth strategy that encompasses multiple SMOs and movements to build the capacity for a large-scale social movement. The Fourth or Relational Strategy asks: "How to effectively and inclusively participate based on shared values?" This question is one that is a synthesis of the previous three strategies, but this one is more comprehensive, inclusive, and focuses on what brings groups together.

From the findings, nearly half of the SMOs studied here advocate a transformative empowerment strategy, which is by far the most popular empowerment strategy represented in the data reflecting Gaventa's typology. Although Gaventa does mention all three of these empowerment strategies, oppose the three faces of power, all three could simultaneously be utilized to counter powerful forces. He articulates briefly the need to develop a coherent strategy that builds on all three forms of empowerment noted at the end of his book chapter, "Citizen Knowledge, Citizen Competence":

> The critical challenge for building participatory democracy is to understand and develop the dynamic interrelationship among the differing aspects of overcoming powerlessness, to develop a unified approach that educates for consciousness, mobilizes for action, and advocates on the issues simultaneously.

Gaventa also fails to acknowledge or incorporate Peter Digeser's (1992) article, "The Fourth Face of Power." Digeser goes beyond the first three "Faces of Power" with an emphasis on Michel Foucault's novel conception of power.[20] Digeser (1992: 977) describes Foucault's conception of power as "productive of subjects, accompanied by resistance, twined with knowledge, and—in modernity—insidious, totalizing, individuating, and disciplinary." Since, Foucault's power does not involve possession or

---

[20] Digeser (1992: 980) argues that the fourth face of power asks: "What kind of subject is being produced?"

property of anyone, there is no need to seize power.[21] For Foucault, this means that the

revolutionary take over of a state is not an objective because everyone holds power;

therefore, everyone must be recognized as a subject or worth acknowledging in order for

the powerless to resist domination. Therefore, for Foucault, power is a matter of personal

relationships. Foucault attacked the concept of a binary notion of power because he

viewed power as a multiplicity of forces in which we are all caught. As Bobo *et al.*

(1996: 5) argue in their activist manual, the real goals of organizing "go beyond the

immediate issues: they are to build the unity and power of all who want control over their

own lives." It is also about changing the world and how individuals in the context of

SMOs and social movements act in it. It makes sense to work toward capacity building so

SMOs associated with this Movement of movements can work in dialogue toward a new

type of unification. In dialogue, the Hybrid SMOs also potentially act as mediators

through their mixed decision making, tactical strategies, and decision making. Hybrids

are also the most apt to accept a wide range of visions from either reform to a deep

structure, or even an acceptance of all strategies in visioning change simultaneously.

I envision movement SMOs fostering a mode of empowerment strategy that

recognizes difference in SMOs as a positive, but also engages their collective opposition

with diverse approaches to constructive action. It is an empowerment strategy that

incorporates Gramsci's (1971) binary notion of power that pushes for a unity in counter-

hegemony. Additionally, it balances it with Foucault's (1979: 95) "multiplicity of points

of resistance," or diversity in which each SMO is recognized and respected for its

particular viewpoints. The fourth type of empowerment is really a balanced combination

of all three empowerment strategies.

---

[21] See also Fraser (1989); Holloway (2002).

This Relational empowerment strategy has four parts: first, the framing of a complicated world; second, a philosophical balance between a multiplicity of resistance and solidarity; third, a structural balance between a critical consciousness and movement organization and action; finally, this fourth strategy is an embrace of conflict negotiation to maintain the first three parts in equilibrium. A fourth empowerment theory is needed to facilitate the melding of the contradictions between two theorists – Gramsci and Foucault. Such theorizing is important because former Sierra Club President Adam Werbach (2005: 1) argues that activists must find new strategies in "creating a new language and a new set of institutions more appropriate for our times."

In the following section, I discuss each of the four parts of this new empowerment theory: Framing a Complex World, Multiplicity of Resistance & Solidarity, Critical Consciousness & Action Mobilization, and Conflict Negotiation.

Empowerment Strategy	Fourth Relational
	•Framing a Complex World •Multiplicity of points of resistance & solidarity •Critical consciousness & action mobilization •Conflict Negotiation *How to effectively and inclusively participate based on shared values?*

Table 8-5 – Relational empowerment Strategy Type

Framing a Complex World

The first characteristic of this new empowerment strategy is framing a world that is more complex than simple dichotomous divisions capture. When the world's reality is considered simple, deliberation is often characterized as warlike in which the winning side has the "truth" and the losing side is "false." In deliberation of this type, middle

alternatives are often ignored. As noted in the literature review, both interactivity and diversity are opened up as categories of reality once it is framed as complex.

SMOs are embedded in the context of an intricate world. A complex world engages the first indicator's shift from activists framing a simple to a complex worldview in an effort to move the Movement of movements toward a strong unity. The world is a complex place and frames are utilized as interpretative devices to make sense of it. Often, SMO activists utilize frames as heuristics, or short cuts, to provide an easy analysis of what ails them. For example, labor groups often traditionally visualize their grievances in terms of economics as their primary problem with other grievances as secondary. By viewing enemies and grievances with the lens of an interdependent and complex world, groups with a single-issue focus may find that their campaigns gain enhancement through a diversity of allies.

By the logic or a complex reality, this understanding brings in the realization that it is virtually impossible to disconnect anything from its context or interactive environment. In a complex world, it makes sense to argue that oppressions are overlapping and reinforcing each other. For example, in this context it makes rational sense when an environmentalist states that the Earth as an interconnected and living system. It also follows by this logic that a woman has backing when she attests that the patriarchal system she finds herself in is also reinforced by the economics of postindustrial society.

The world is indeed a complex place according to activists, and the data suggest activists overall acknowledge this by identifying up to eleven different categories of enemies and grievances, which is more diverse than the literature suggests for these

SMOs. However, most SMOs point to either political or economic enemies as the culprit for their particular grievance. I find that nearly seventy percent of SMOs only focus on a single issue, simultaneously acknowledge others. I also find that a single-issue focus is often due to funding criteria and tactical turf battles. It is Reformer and Ecological SMOs that are the primary groups focused on a single issue. This focus can bring strength and power in opposing and reforming an issue, but it can also keep allies to a minimum. Although a vast majority of SMOs do focus on a single grievance, nearly two-thirds of these SMOs focus on one or more among four common grievances – economics, racism, sexism/homophobia, and ecological degradation. This means that SMOs have a lot in common in regard to whom and what they oppose, but what is "common," especially in regard to the "why" they oppose, is more complex. These SMOs largely share a set of political-economic enemies, but do so for different reasons. I also find that there is a cognitive notion of interdependence in that 60% of the Movement of Movements says there is an interrelated world (See Table 6-2), yet in reality, SMOs are structurally fragmented because 66% focus on a single issue when it comes to organizing (See Table 6-3). Simply acknowledging that there is interrelatedness to this complex world may be necessary, but not sufficient to bring forth a larger alliance of groups.

How to oppose enemies to alleviate grievances is not an easy question to answer for activists. While the first three empowerment strategies enable actors to challenge power that oppresses them, these strategies are only enacted on the micro level – each specifically focused on individuals, single SMOs, or a single movement. This fourth, or relational, empowerment strategy also considers the macro level between movements

through SMOs. Only by considering the relationships among a wide-range of social movements, I argue, can large-scale social change take place.

When considering an interconnected world, the three pre-existing empowerment strategies fall short in their analysis. This falling short is evidenced by the uncoordinated movement struggle within the context of an interrelated and mutually defining set of oppressions and injustices (See Figure 8-1). In other words, the three pre-existing empowerment strategies fail to collectively frame the "big picture" of a complex world, while more than half of the SMOs studied here do acknowledge a complex and interrelated world. Because of barriers, such as a lack of trust, a majority of SMOs fail to frame themselves as one of the many facets of the same movement but rather as a coalition of convenience against a common enemy. To illustrate a Kinship activist, says:

> I think the idea of a common enemy,… or identifying a common enemy helps people have a greater understanding of the interrelatedness forces and of structural impediments.

However, a new way of looking at empowerment can create a generalized trust built through a broader vision of not only the enemy and the grievances that plague SMOs, but organizing cognitively, structurally, and interactionally in a new way. Simply, SMOs see interdependence, but must also act that way, too.
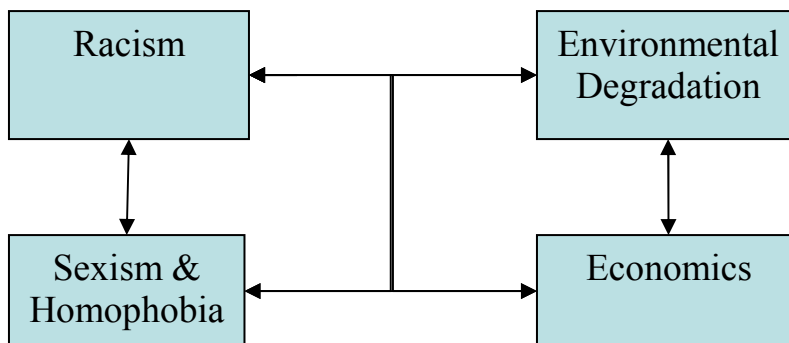
Figure 8-1 Interlocking & Interrelated Oppressions/Grievances

<u>Multiplicity of Resistances in Solidarity</u>

The second characteristic of my Relational empowerment Strategy is organizing

that balances between unity and diversity. This new empowerment strategy, I argue,

resonates with and is a response to Foucault's (1979: 95) "multiplicity of points of

resistance," and with what John Brown Childs (2003: 11) describes as movement actors

emerging from "particularistic vantage points." These vantage points articulate

universalistic values like freedom and justice. When movement actors fail in their mutual

recognition between particularistic groups, diversity itself does not materialize; instead

the lack of "mutually respectful interaction" surfaces among those in diverse contexts (p.

7). In order to unify a large contingent of groups, empowerment is needed through mutual

communication between and among SMOs as a constituent part. First, SMOs must

discuss among themselves in homogenous enclaves, where like-minded groups can feel

safe in their particular political space, then move to larger, more diverse groups

representing groups with different worldviews.[22]

This means that a key concept between a unity in diversity, and the other theories

is articulating how to find a middle way – autonomy in solidarity, the particular and the

universal, particularistic vantage points – is dialogue, talking with others. For Childs

(2003) this intermingling of concepts is not a mere structural question, like it is for the

RM theorists, or merely a cultural question, like it is for the NSMs – it is both. What both

have in common is their relationship. Childs (2003) calls this notion of recognition in

---

[22] This is because empowerment is a developmental process; its continual growth requires "the function of a continuing internal 'constructive dialogue'" (Kieffer 1984: 25).

others as shared practical action. He contends that from a shared practical action "flows increasing communication, mutual respect, and understanding" (p. 11). Therefore, this new theory is neither structural nor cultural, but relational. This articulation of a middle way is an attempt to answer Diani (1992) and Melucci's (1996) question of how do activists form a unity without homogeneity, and diversity without fragmentation.

For Foucault – like the NSMs and Radicals – unity is suspect, but for Gramsci, – political economic and Reformer SMOs – it is essential. A productive place to work from is the melding of Foucault's notion of recognition of difference, which is considered by many as a movement strength, with Gramsci's counter hegemony, with a focused potency to unify the Movement of movements – a sense of balance.[23] Both philosophies are important because the world and its oppressive forces are too entrenched and intertwined to succumb to partial assaults. This balance resonates with the first indicator, framing a complex world. This balance can also move the second indictor forward because SMOs have to recognize each other as part of a movement beyond the current Movement of movements. This was true in the past, when Marxism's assimilative tendencies created splinter groups like the Black Power Movement in the 1960s and the women's movement from the civil rights movement thereafter. These new groups created several facets of the NSMs, criticized for their diffuse power and lack of solidarity, yet movement activists can never fully turn back. While the inspiration of Gramsci's counter hegemony is tantalizing, today's world needs to respect the movement's diversity, its creativity, and its multidimensionality. Ignorance of these dynamic facets is likely to leave this Movement of movements in the dustbins of history, just one more story of a once vibrant challenge to the status quo, short-lived, largely impotent, save for maybe a few reforms. However,

---

[23] See Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci – Theoretical Debate in this dissertation is on page 39.

in Gramsci lies the fascination of a powerful and efficient social force, one that can mobilize a large contingent pregnant with the realization of change potential. And, yet with the historical failure of a counter hegemony to crystallize over time, such large-scale change remains only an ideal for many. However, if activist can also embrace the Foucaultian notion of recognition of other struggles against oppression as equally valuable, a larger range of allies can mobilize from what was once only fragmentation. This begs the question of how can the Gramscian philosophy align with a more diverse and sizeable population than what was found in the Zapatistas' experience?[24]

By recognizing and drawing on diversity, autonomous SMOs rooted in their sphere or ideology can cooperate as equals in solidarity. However, power can not be seen as a binary structure that must be overcome, but shared among mutually recognized SMOs. For Foucault, this conclusion can lead to activist nihilism, burnout, and hopelessness. However, paired with Gramsci's counter-hegemony, it can challenge dominating forces. Hybrid SMOs are useful, as they are more likely than either Radical or Reformer SMOs to find middle ground in regard to tactics, empowerment, and decision making. Hybrid SMOs are also the most prone to coalition-building as a tactic.

In this way, empowerment's resistance orientation relates to recognition, not only of the enemy, but also of friendly alliances. This is important because as activists work together, they cultivate an awareness of previously unrecognized needs, encouraging political tolerance.[25]

However, this interaction is often accompanied by conflicts among themselves involving rights and responsibilities. The data support the fact that the Movement of

---

[24] See a discussion of the Zapatistas "The Organizing Structures for a Thin Unity: Zapatista Inspiration" in this dissertation's literature review pg. 46.
[25] Recognizing other's needs comes from the Zapatismo's "Politics of Listening."

257

movement alliances are currently diverse, except for the fact that such alliances are still

predominately with like-minded SMOs. The data suggest that the diversity of alliances is

limited because conflict among SMOs is due to such barriers as a lack of trust over a

single-issue focus, ideology, and tactics. However, since diversity is considered

beneficial by many activists in the Movement of movements, following Foucault's call

for multiplicity of resistances, conflict negotiation becomes critical to their activism. This

is partly because activists and organizers are often busy working on projects and have

little time to work on efforts to recognize and listen to each other in order to unify.

Unfortunately alliance-building efforts by other movement activists are often seen as

distracting, even peripheral, especially among single-issue SMOs. This reluctance to

recognize and listen to others, though, might even hurt their individual efforts in the long

run, as the effectiveness of their solo efforts is reduced.

The "Battle of Seattle" provided the opportunity to build relationships among

groups without prior contact, such as Seattle's short-term Teamster-Turtle Alliance. The

data suggest that 70% of the Movement of movements is still together because of its

framing of a common enemy (See Figure 5-6). However, when eleven categories of

enemies are noted by the data, a "common enemy frame" is not an appropriate term. This

reinforces the fact that it is a complicated world.[26] Thirty percent of activists say they are

actually together because of relationship and agenda building at conferences, working

within coalitions, and meeting face-to-face. Specifically, the data specify that four

coalitions are common among more than half of the SMOs surveyed. Thus, a collective

identity among the Movement of movements is not currently present; however, there are

---

[26] This complication of a "common" enemy is reinforced by the fact that a large majority of SMOs in this study go beyond economics, but also say racism, sexism/homophobia, and ecological degradation are their concerns.

indications of common ground. An indication that this Movement of movements has only

some sense of collective identity is the fact that one-third of these SMOs often name

themselves "Progressive," yet there is not a cohesive identification because the Radicals

prefer either "Global Justice Movement" or "Antiglobalization." Additionally, 26% could

not come up with a common name at all (See Table 5-4). Although there is no collective

identity across movements by name, there is some common ground when considering

shared values. Five shared values – equality, self determination, peace & justice, ecology,

and dignity and respect – run across more than half of all SMOs. The opportunity that

emerges from this relationship and agenda building is the potential to grow together,

facilitating the capacity to transform and direct their relationships toward a strong unity.

One Community activist suggests to build trust in the Movement of movements, groups

must reach out to other activists unlike themselves.

> You have to go to people's events and actions and figure out how to have a one-on-one relationship and find out what they are doing. And, taking the time to realize that you are not superior and that your ways of doing things are any better necessarily. So, not really taking time to find out what other groups are doing and assuming what you do is better. Or, that you have it all figured out, again, is the relationship building. What are ways we can connect what you are doing. Also, to ask yourself why am I wanting to help? Is it personal? The way history has played out, the way whites have and continuing to undermine groups of colors, it's very much based in reality; there is a lot of distrust.

Relationship building is apparent in the Movement of movements, but there is still much

work to be done, structurally as well. Nearly one-fifth of Movement of movement actors

say that tactical conflict is keeping the Movement of movements from uniting.[27]

Critical Consciousness and Action Mobilization

---

[27] The tactical conflict category is a top three barrier to unity.

The third part of this Relational empowerment strategy is that of balancing critical consciousness of the third empowerment strategy with political action in the first two. The first two empowerment strategies, as discussed in the findings, embrace the Alinsky approach[28] in which activists first teach people to organize and act in their communities and, as a result, they would learn how to strategically think.[29] The third empowerment strategy, conversely, embraces the Myles Horton approach [30] – activists empower by getting people to think, which includes framing messages in this dissertation's context, and then grassroots activists will figure out how to organize themselves and act in their communities (See Figure 8-2).

Acting	→	Thinking
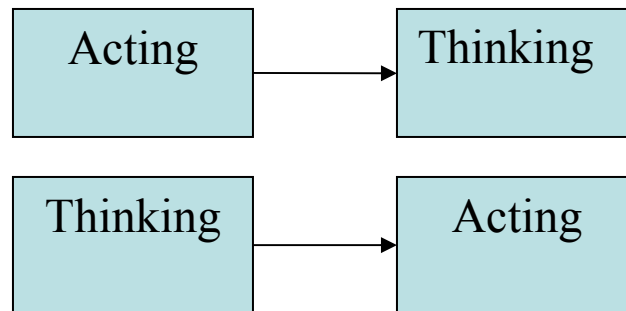
Thinking	→	Acting

Figure 8-2. Acting and then thinking is Alinsky's approach; Thinking and then acting is Horton's approach.

This follows the sentiment that to unite a movement, scholars, such as Lakoff (2002), suggest that progressives must reframe their messages around their values before they can act. Lakoff's work follows in line with Clemens' (1996) research that contends that frames influence organizational structures. In this way, I argue both framing and

---

[28] Alinsky's approach stresses action mobilization (see Klandermans 1997), where participation in collective action accompanies a change of conscience.

[29] This philosophy follows, McCarthy, Smith, and Zald (1996) findings that organizational resources influence framing.

[30] Horton's approach stresses "consensus" mobilization in which (Klandermans 1997) argues, movement actors try to redefine the situation, or break from the status quo. Really, it is a matter of symbolic politics.

movement organizing hold an interlinked relationship. This is why Gamson and Ryan (2005) argue that social movement activists must integrate their framing strategies with movement-building strategies (See Figure 8-3).
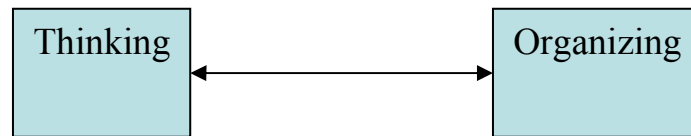

Figure 8-3 Thinking and Organizing are interrelated

The conflict between Reformer SMOs on the one side and the Radical SMOs on the other is similar to the conflict between NSM theorists and the RM theorists. Reformer SMOs, like the RM theorists, are focused on mainstream political processes and the accumulation of resources, such as money and other resources to mount an effective mobilization, much like Gramsci and Marx before him. But, the New Social Movements – in this study, the Community, Ecological, and Kinship SMOs – are more worried about shared meanings, similar to Melucci's self-transformation, or Foucault's notion of identity, as evidenced by their emphasis on the third empowerment strategy focused on creating a critical awareness. The Reformer SMOs, like the Political and Economic SMOs, are more focused on the first and second strategies of empowerment, which are focused more on action and effectiveness. A Hybrid Community activist describes how her SMO is action-oriented.

> We really do empower those folks; they fight for the cause and take part in a leadership process. That gives people agency, that's a very empowering process. Instead of always feeling disempowered and not enabled to do anything.

However, Featherstone *et al.* (2004: 309) call activists who place action before critical consciousness "activismists." These authors describe this type of activist as combining "political illiteracy of hyper-mediated American culture with all the moral zeal of the

nineteenth-century temperance crusade." Such activism leads to righteousness and anti-intellectualism, which, they argue, "limits the movement's intellectual power" (p. 310). On the other hand, the third empowerment strategy focused primarily on individual enlightenment and emancipation not directly relevant to collective action and structural transformation (Breton 1994: 31).

> Even though one has experienced empowering cognitive and behavioral changes, it is difficult to argue that one is empowered as long as those personal and interpersonal changes have no impact on socially unjust situations which affect one's life.

Reformer SMOs, while they are most likely to adopt an action-oriented approach, are also most apt to foster centralized organizational forms. Radical SMOs, like the NSM actors, are most apt to adopt network and consensus structures. However, Hybrid SMOs prefer a heterarchical approach, combining the two decision-making organizational forms, which reveal a potential indication of a paradigm shift as discussed with the third indicator and a midpoint between the two more traditional and extreme approaches. Radical activists, who primarily prefer a consensus-based approach, may have to redefine their notion of "prefigurative" beyond the narrow definition of an organic organizational approach. This redefinition of "prefigurative" will facilitate dialogue and coalition building with Hybrid activists.

When it comes to empowerment, 35% of SMOs favor the first two empowerment strategies and would most likely agree with Alinksy that action guides ideas, conversely; 49% would agree more with Horton, that ideas guide action (See Figure 5-8). The former may emphasize mobilization without much awareness as to why they are doing so and, therefore, may create narrow victories. However, consciousness without concrete victories could cause or reinforce a sense of powerlessness.

An emphasis on the third empowerment strategy parallels Rochon, (1998) who

suggests that clashes between protestors and the state are not only evidenced in the

streets, but in contests over meaning. A social constructivist perspective is important for

social change because a frame of reference can influence action.[31] It also makes sense to

look at how the process of framing illuminates differences in identity construction and

maintenance of SMO identity fields. Ideas guide action; one example is from the

Zapatistas' namesake.

> It is not only by shooting bullets in the battle fields that tyranny is overthrown, but also
> by hurling ideas of redemption, works of freedom and terrible anathemas against the
> hangmen that people bring down dictators and empires… – (Emiliano Zapata, Mexican
> revolutionary, 1914 in Notes from Nowhere 2003).

A Relational empowerment strategy couples a constructivist approach with

structurally organizing. Tarrow (1998), for example, argues that social movements cannot

rely on framing only, but must bring activists together in the field, create coalitions,

confront perceived enemies, and maintain their own well being, specifically, mobilizing

structures. In this vein, Lakoff (2004) recommends that activists create think tanks and

foundations so SMOs can get away from conflicts involving a single-issue focus, which

accounts for 22% of the total conflicts among the SMOs sampled (See Figure 7-1). This

fourth empowerment strategy pushes to combine for meaning and organizing to work

side-by-side as much as possible.

Also, when it comes to tactics, the data reveal that Radical SMOs and Reformer

SMOs clearly are in conflict. The data suggest that conflicts over tactics account for 19%

of all conflicts mentioned, which falls close behind funding competition and a lack of

trust as the largest conflicts among SMOs (See Figure 7-6). For example, a Pluralist SMO

---

[31] Eyerman and Jamison (1991:3) argue that social action itself is "conditioned by the actors' own 'frame of reference' in constant interaction with the social environment or context."

activist argues, "I see we are put into a situation where we feel we are in a competition with one another. It's primarily because of scarce resources. It's an unhealthy competition and it's creating fragmentation and is an impediment to collaboration." This competition also fosters a lack of trust. A Political sphere activist echoes this sentiment. "I think if it weren't for distrust we would be further along this fragmentation and, I think it's set up that way, because the way funding is done with non profits, they have to compete with one another for funds. I think it's a way to control groups."

Radical SMOs view direct action as constructive to gain social change, whereas, Reformer SMOs advocate for social change through mainstream channels. Radical SMOs adopt the tactic of a protest campaign as part of its strategy for achieving wider-ranging change, and cultural conscious raising,[32] while Reformers value mainstream politics, providing leadership or training leaders to act at the "non-systemic" level of change. Hybrid SMOs are important here because they embrace multiple empowerment strategies, albeit a large emphasis on the third strategy's development of a critical consciousness. Hybrid SMOs also embrace a mixed bag of tactics that range from insider to outsider tactics, which can help their relations over tactics with either Radical or Reformer SMOs. In this way, it is also a middle ground between Gramsci's emphasis on an effective hegemonic bloc and Foucault's recognition that everyone has power, advocating a critical consciousness to keep an alliance egalitarian and open to difference. Through both the Internet and global forums, activists from around the world are able to communicate in political spaces. Although Habermas (1987) argues that the members of a new class may want and demand that the world become more rationally accountable.

---

[32] Cultural conscious-raising is on the "systemic" level (Klandermans and Tarrow 1988).

Although Radical SMOs and Reformer SMOs tend to conflict, Moyer (2001) and Lederach (1995) argue that both types of SMOs play pivotal roles at different stages of social movements. Following Moyer's eight-stage process, Reformer SMOs play an important role in following official channels during the early stages before protests begin. Radical SMOs, or what he calls Rebels, play in important part in protest when Reformer SMO appeals fall on the deaf ears of elected officials. After Radical SMOs create an atmosphere of awareness, Reformer SMOs again take on official channels with insider tactics. In this way, both inside and outside tactics find importance, depending on where activists are located along the specific issue's timeline. Therefore, both Radical and Reformer SMOs play important roles and Hybrid SMOs can facilitate dialogue between the two ideological groups (See Figure 8-3).[33]

| Reformers & Inside | ⟷ | Hybrids Inside & Outside | ⟷ | Radicals & Outside |
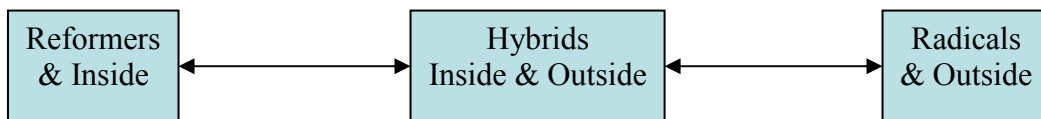
Figure 8-4 Relationship between SMOs by Ideology and Tactic emphasized. Hybrids can act as mediators.

My data suggest that 36% or twenty of fifty-five SMO representatives agree with the assessment that protests have become ritualized and generally are not working. Simultaneously, public opinion is shifting against corporate hegemony and toward recommending that corporations should give back to their communities.[34] Of course, this was before the 9/11 attacks. Lampman (2004), a *Christian Science Monitor* reporter finds that the "culture wars" are back after 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq. She finds that people are more and more "worried about declining morals." This means that if economic injustices are the center concern, then the public's concern over "declining morals"

---

[33] Beck (2001) makes the case that what she calls the Globalization Movement is in the sixth stage, protests largely have run their course and activist burnout is apparent.
[34] See the followup question involving Table 6-8.

would not play much of a concern with these SMOs surveyed. However, since economics is not the lone SMO grievance or injustice cited, diagnostic attributions denote culture wars important because beyond economics, SMOs regard assaults on cultural gains in the last 40 years – sexism/homophobia, racism, and ecological degradation – paramount, with more than 90% of the total mentioning them (See Figure 6-2; 6-3). Both economic and cultural injustices are important to these SMOs and, while public opinion on these cultural gains steadily gained before 9/11, these groups say they have been put on the defensive since then.[35] The Pew Charitable Trusts (2004) found that the most important issues to Americans are moral values, Iraq, and the economy falls somewhat behind. This means that SMO activists need to collectively regroup and consider both economics and cultural questions as equal concerns. Therefore, activists should regard both economics and cultural issues with equivalence.

This also means that activists should also regard tactics with equivalence. SMOs may have to start the social movement process by challenging officials from the inside – government offices, commissions, courts, hearings, etc. – to bring an awareness that their policy positions do not work and present alternatives. Moyer (2001) argues that this momentum can lead to "ripening conditions" in which the awareness about the problem slowly grows in the mind of the public, which can lead to another "trigger event," much like the 1999 Seattle Protests. Moyer (2001) argues that outsider tactics, which can pave the way for more insider tactics in an effort to win over public officials. In this way, Radical SMOs and Reformer SMOs can work together in a division of labor during the

---

[35] Exit polls on November 2nd, 2004, the Pew Charitable Trust found that for many voters their primary concern in the election was "moral values." No matter how the question is asked, the survey shows that moral values is the most frequently noted issue for Bush voters, but is a seldom mentioned issue for Kerry voters. http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=233

course of a larger coordinated social movement. Hybrid SMOs can work as mediators because they have the broadest alliances and are the most apt to embrace a mix of tactics. This connection between the issues SMOs find important and the tactics they embrace have a connection. While Radical SMOs stress protests, they are also more likely than Reformer SMOs to emphasize ecological, race, and sexism & homophobia concerns. Conversely, while Reformer SMOs regard insider tactics as more effective, they also find political issues much more important than Radical SMOs. Both ideological groups might be hard pressed to work together if they both find tension between the issues they are grappling with and how they go about fixing them. By making both issues and tactics equivalent, at least to the point of tolerance, working relationships might more easily develop.

A surprising finding is that nearly a one-third of SMOs find that coalition building itself is a tactic, which constitutes an indicator of change. Hybrid SMOs are the most likely of all ideologies to advocate for coalitions as a tactic. This is especially important because when SMOs align, they have to work with each other inter-organizationally. However, when advocating for action before critical thinking, it follows that decision making must be quick and effective, but when critical thinking is prioritized, decision making should be less hierarchical, allowing all voices to be heard. When organizations align, conflict may erupt when activist decision making does not coincide among SMOs.

I find that more than sixty percent of SMOs prefiguratively organize to flatten out their own organizational power structures working either with a consensus or a mixture of consensus and majority rules approaches. When it comes to concerns over power & exclusion in the data, the largest category revealed concerns over a lack of voice. In a less

hierarchical approach, activists are more capable of voicing their opinions, especially when it is critical during agenda building and planning when either a consensus or mixed approach to organizing is utilized. Hybrid SMOs are also the most likely to prefer a mixed decision-making approach so they are the most appropriate mediators for not only tactical questions in coalitions, but also with decision making. Hybrid SMOs can act as mediators on a variety of issues – decision making, tactics, coalitions, empowerment, etc. – when conflict erupts among either ideological wing of the Movement of movements.

| Reformers & Majority rules | ⟷ | Hybrids Majority rules & Consensus | ⟷ | Radicals & Consensus |
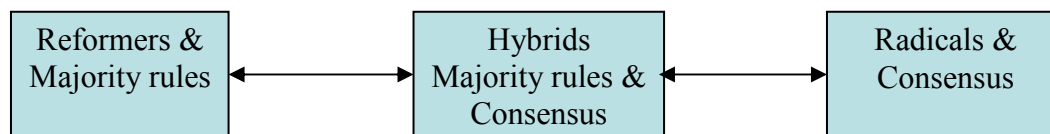
Figure 8-5 Decision making – Hybrids can act as mediators.

The first two parts of this new empowerment process, I call Framing a Complex World and Multiplicity of Points of Resistance and Solidarity, is primarily a cognitive and philosophical process. Both incorporate and combine the notion that the world is complex and that activists share a great deal. This cognitive process is contained and fostered in political spaces. Political spaces can facilitate the cognitive deliberation necessary for activists to cut across differences and let the cognitive bridges that bring this Movement together – passion and awareness – filter through the myopic barriers of single-issue foci and ideological differences.

This third part of the empowering process, the critical consciousness and action mobilization is important because structural barriers, such as funding and different modes of decision making, seem to foster a lack of trust. Structural bridges, suggested by the data may structurally facilitate mobilization through fostering political spaces that can

help with funding, such as foundations, create ideas with more think tanks, and disseminate these ideas through progressive media outlets.

However, conflict may still impinge on these working relationships, which are the glue that connects both the cognitive and the structural in the Movement of movement's empowerment process.

<u>Conflict Negotiation</u>

Conflict Negotiation is the fourth and final characteristic of this fourth empowerment strategy. Conflict Negotiation engages five parts: reflexivity, recognition, framing values, and visions, all of which take place in the context of political space and relate to the balancing of cognitive and structural aspects of the Relational empowerment strategy.

Conflict here transcends simple interests – it has an underlying context as it is a matter of identity and ideology. What is at issue within the Movement of movements – grievance focus, tactics, and vision – are actually conflicts over deep-seated systems of belief, and ideological frames. Because people frame the world differently, conflict is not unusual, especially when a diversity of views are recognized and respected.[36]

Conflicts in this study are most prominent between Radical and Reformer SMOs over core framing tasks of diagnostic attributions (grievances/injustice), and prognostic attributions (tactics/visions). They are ideological because all these framing tasks taken together constitute a cohesive way of describing the world.[37] In this way, these deep-seated conflicts cannot simply be resolved. Therefore, it is important to look beyond the

---

[36] This sentiment resonates with Klandermans (1997), who argues that the same social conditions are often defined in completely different ways.
[37] This corresponds to what social movement scholars Oliver and Johnston (2000) describe as an ideology.

resolution of this conflict. This Relational empowerment strategy can facilitate all the aforementioned indicators because dialogue is crucial in moving activists to view the world and themselves in a broader fashion.[38] In this manner, political spaces are transformed from interpersonal to inter-organizational political space.

SMO conflict within political spaces can drive clear communication and result in common ground.[39] In this deliberation, SMOs should strive to see that they are simultaneously unique with identities in a specific locale, and at the same time, commonly embedded in a community with others, on a shared planet. Embracing such a dynamic multidimensionality means that SMO activists must acknowledge that the world is a complex place. For example, environmental movement activists must move beyond the prioritization of environmental degradation over employee wages for middle-class Americans. Likewise, labor unions must move beyond labor disputes to see how their corporations may be degrading the environment. There are many examples of single focus SMOs, as well as examples of multiple partnerships. If social movement activists are going to move society toward a new paradigm, there needs to be more dialogue over differences as well as common ground among social movement activists. This does not mean that movement activists will have to give up on their focus but that their social and political analysis should incorporate other groups not necessarily like them. As Habermas (1984) argues, this exposure to dissimilar views will facilitate a greater transition of the

---

[38] Eyerman and Jamison (1997) support this conclusion, as they contend that the collective articulation of movement actors is a "process of social learning in which movement organizations act as structuring forces, opening a space in which creative interaction between individuals can take place" (p. 251-252). Or, "cognitive territory, a new conceptual space," creating a new movement identity (p. 252).

[39] Lederach and Maiese (2003:4) argue that conflict transformation "represents intentional intervention to minimize poorly functioning communication and maximize mutual understanding." Bush and Folger (1994) argue that beyond deliberation in itself, emergent conflicts can force disputants to clarify for themselves their needs and values, and can thus help them to better understand just what causes them dissatisfaction and even satisfaction.

notions backing both the first (Complicated world) and second indicators

(Interdependence) toward a strong unification of SMOs beyond the fragmented

Movement of movements through deliberation and reflexivity. To illustrate, if a feminist

group wins in its struggle, gay, lesbian, and bisexual groups win, too. It seems that all

these SMOs are proponents of progressive values – equality, self determination, peace &

justice, ecology, and dignity/respect – but prioritize different ones. For example, Political

SMOs tend to be the most likely to emphasize equality, the Spiritual SMOs prioritize

equality, and the Community activists focus the most on self determination than any other

sphere. This prioritization can cause tension among different spheres and ideologies.

<u>Reflexivity</u>

The data indicate that a movement identity has not fully emerged. For example,

there is no consensus among activists in regard to a name, specific grievances, tactics,

visions, and a lack of trust persists. On the bright side, while there is no specific or

singular movement identity, reflexive dialogue, or exploring their own viewpoints, seems

characteristic of this Movement of movements, prompting potential social change. For

example, a Pluralist Hybrid activist asserts in Habermasian fashion that the Movement of

movements is unique because, "What other movement critiques their own protests, like

when we asked whether there was enough people of color at the Seattle protest? No other

movement I know has done that." This activist refers here to Martinez's (2000) widely

read article: "Where is the Color in Seattle? Looking for reasons why the Great Battle

was so white." After major protests, books from small presses – i.e. Soft Skull Press,

Fernwood Publishing, Notes from Nowhere, New Society Publishers – publish

descriptions as well as reflexive critiques of the protest itself. For example, an article in an edited volume called *Resist* after the Quebec City protest in 2001, is entitled "Women Talking About Sexism in the Anti-Globalization Movement." Another example from this edited volume is "Anti-Racist Organizing: Reflecting on Lessons from Quebec City."

Recognition of others in a double-loop way is related to reflexivity in the Movement of movements. Even though cultural questions are important among activists, most notably with Martinez (2000) questioning the real diversity in the 1999 Seattle protests, Hwang (2001) contends, for example, that SMOs' internal racism and sexism still persists. For example, a Hybrid Kinship activist declares that "People who… men actually, rise to the top of protest organizations and then so they relate to each other. Lip service is paid to democratic processes. Small group of men make a lot of decisions." Similarly, another Hybrid Kinship activist says she, along with other women, created a SMO because, "We want to create a safe space for women with political opinions without being drowned out by the louder voices, which are often men just because of the hierarchy in our society whether it's intentional or not."

Another SMO's program crosses race and ecological boundaries by holding "Dismantling Racism Trainings," which is anti-oppressionist work that critiques the self through intellectually breaking down privilege. Eleven SMOs explicitly have anti-oppression programs or feature policies. Seven SMOs are Hybrid and four are Radical SMOs. Reformer SMOs do not mention anti-oppression, probably because of their emphasis on the first and second strategies of empowerment, which prioritize action before thinking, or conscious building. A Hybrid Ecological activist asserts her SMO also has a "caucusing system on staff." She says,

> I think we are one of the only national environmental groups that do that. And, as a group that really gets a lot of young people into the movement, we really have a chance to change what the environmental movement looks like in thirty years.

In the example of the Kinship SMO, women find a political space to talk about peace issues, while in the second example, an Ecological SMO educates on recognizing the connections between environmentalism and racism.

Recognition

Exposure to different points of view can force activists to clarify themselves to activists from other SMOs their needs and values, creating closer relationships. Callahan (2004: 222) found, for example, that in the encuentros, or encounters, for the Zapatista, activists, "all voices, all proposals must be responded to with respect." This, according to the Zapitismo, is called the "Politics of Listening" (Callahan 2004: 22).

This type of strategy to deal with conflict among SMOs is valuable in that a lack of trust is the largest barrier found in this survey. Likewise, this strategy is important because the values of dignity/respect, equality, self-determination, human rights, diversity, and fairness are all compatible with this strategy. These values make up 59% of those values held in common by SMOs in this Movement of movements (See Figure 7-5), but more importantly 90% of the SMOs mention one of these five values at least once. Shared values are important because Misztal (1996) argues shared values can produce solidarity.

Recognition is the understanding of the rationales for an opposing point of view. This type of strategy also deals with deep-seated conflict that often seems irresolvable. Conflict engagement of this type must, therefore, involve the aforementioned reflexive dialogue, one in which those in conflict can speak freely about their values in the

presence of other SMO activists in their homogenous enclaves, before any kind of actual

negotiation can be expected to succeed. Bush and Folger (1994) argue that this reflexive

dialogue involves recognition of others' assertion and articulation of self. In other words,

the articulation of others' points of view as legitimate, even if not necessarily acceptable,

can create tolerance among SMOs. Recognition is the evocation of individual

acknowledgment and empathy for others' problems and situations. An Economic Radical

activist describes recognition in this way:

> This is more cultural than anything else. Recognizing different kinds of organizations and
> backgrounds and getting out of the box that our own culture puts around us. Cultures
> meaning class, or race, or whatever, what we perceive of our identity. Getting people in
> our movements in practice to look outside their boxes and recognize other boxes as just
> as valuable. It is a positive good that we are always trying to be.

Along with recognition comes reflexivity in the conflict process. The Relational

empowerment process balances Gramsci and Foucault's views of awareness and action.

In doing this, a Relational empowerment theory incorporates reflexivity as part of its

empowerment strategy. This means SMOs cannot focus on a single-issue solely.[40] A

single-issue focus often can lead to creating a singular identity that incorporates the

sentiment that "this is the issue we work on," precluding other issues. SMOs should adopt

a new view regarding issues and relationships.[41] Activists then can focus on an issue, but

also can refocus simultaneously on other issues because other activists are working on

them as well. Through deliberation, activists can acknowledge other issues in political

spaces, finding them important and worthy of activism. This acknowledgement of a

broader view is "double-loop" learning. This type of view expands activists' views of

---

[40] Argyris and Schon (1978), as in Rothman's (1996) "reflexive dialogue," argue that a narrow
understanding of other areas of concern can lead to only "single loop" learning (pg. 21).

[41] It is like an artist who uses his thumb to coordinate colors on a canvas. Imagine the artist's thumb as if it
were an issue. The artist's eye refocuses on the canvas. Neither the thumb nor the issue was lost when the
artist refocuses.

different areas of concern, enabling a greater flexibility in adopting new priorities,

organizational norms, and self-critiques.

Through recognition, SMO activists who do not normally work together learn

from each other and expand their priorities. For example, comparing Economic and

Ecological SMOs, Economic SMOs have a larger variety of allies then do Ecological

SMOs. Comparing ideology, Radical and Reformer SMOs have only eight different

spheres of allies, while Hybrids have the most, acknowledging ten spheres. Hybrids then

have a larger number of "weak ties"[42] and are exposed to a greater number of ideas

outside their worldview than other ideological groups. A Hybrid Economic activist

describes his allies, which are both economic and environmentally-oriented:

> …there is RAN, we work closely with them. There is Ruckus Society, a nonviolent
> training organization. Greenpeace, Public Citizen, Blue Water Network are working to
> get Ford Motor Company to raise their gas mileage. Sierra Club's, "As You Sew," which
> does a lot of corporate accountability type stuff. The Green Festival, a wide range of non
> profits and several hundred green companies that come to the Green Festival. There is the
> Hemp Trade Association. And, then we do a lot of local stuff in San Francisco and the
> Bay area. More local groups, depending on the issue, like the Ella Baker Center for
> Human Rights. There are these networks like 50 Years is Enough, the Owens Network,
> and the network around CAFTA, so its subject specific on that.

This specific SMO is broad in its working alliances. That data suggest that the reason

why a Reformer, especially an Ecological Reformer SMO, has fewer alliances is because

Reformer (53%) and Ecological (40%) SMOs are the most likely to focus on single issues

(See Table 5-4). An Ecological Reformer remarks, when asked about working with other

SMOs:

> These are not alliances. You know… It's like politics in general; we are not signing
> contracts with these people. We're saying well, it's very much issue-oriented. They may
> all have philosophical differences, but they all lead to the same place, that's where we
> want.

---

[42] See Granovetter (1983), who argues that weak ties are acquaintances that are less social familiar than
friends and close relations.

Conversely, alliances can work together through recognizing each other. Zapatista Sub-Commandre Marcos in Irlandesa (2005) invited delegations of SMOs to work with the Zapatista in a clear philosophy of recognition in mind. He says he invites SMOs in a

> reciprocal respect for the autonomy and independence of organizations, for their methods of struggle, for their ways of organizing, for their internal decision-making processes, for their legitimate representations.

Marcos provides political space to SMOS in consideration of their legitimate and unique viewpoints, promoting tolerance and potential for reflexive dialogue.

A bridge to uniting found in this Movement of movements is that of awareness of the problems out there, but also there is a sense that there is a complex and interrelated world. This cognitive awareness of problems that exist in the world and their interrelatedness has created a sense of recognition of other groups. For example, a Community activist views that there is growing sense that movement actors are working on similar projects.

> There is an increasing recognition that: "There are all these people doing this type of work." I know for myself, I was very focused on what I was doing, the community I was in – we were it. We're the radicals; we are the ones committed to change. We were in this small thing, so there is a recognition now that there are a lot of different groups doing a lot of different work, so how can we learn from each other?

The recognition of a number of activists working on similar subjects has been due to an enemy commonly framed, bringing SMOs together in working alliances. Interaction of activists not only creates potential conflict, but also strategic opportunities to oppose the common enemy, potentially creating friendships.

Recognition can lead to allowing space for roles, which has the potential for long-term alliances. Nevertheless, many SMO spheres practice different means to specialize, which can lead to conflict. As noted before, a division of labor can take place in

276

implementing tactics in terms of roles – from insider to outsider tactics, from coalition building to educating the public. Other SMOs in the Media & Research sphere facilitate the Movement of movements' conducting academic research or scientific studies and media outreach. Some SMOs act as think tanks, albeit only a couple, and others offer food or funding. As one Political activist noted, "You could say we are fragmented, but I would just call us diversified." Each type of SMO plays a role, as they add skills and provide capacity building for the Movement of movements. In perspective, these approaches are just different ways to support similar values.

<u>Reframing from Values</u>

At the moment, nearly two-thirds of the Movement of movements focuses on a single-enemy frame, even though there are shared grievances across movements. This is important because SMOs work on specific issues and perceive common enemies often form coalitions based on their individual SMO goals, working toward a distinct program or policy initiative. However, these coalitions are most often short term because once the policy and/or program is achieved or fails, there is no further basis for ongoing cooperation.

Coalitions come apart readily because of each SMO's differences about the specific details over policy, tactics, a lack of trust, ideology, etc. Coalitions are also hard to maintain over time since groups often compete with each other for limited resources, creating tension that is often counterproductive. Although the common enemy frame is currently bringing a majority of the Movement of movements together, values may prove to be as important as guiding principles in the creation of shared agendas. Two

environmentalists, Shellenberger and Nordhaus (2005: 1) criticize single-issue

movements that turn themselves into special interests with their narrow focus on

problem definitions and technical solutions instead of an inspiring vision. These authors

assert that "issues only matter to the extent that they are positioned in ways linking them

to proposals carrying within them a set of core beliefs, principles, or values."

In reframing values, interaction at protests, conferences, and the Internet have

brought about SMO deliberation. To illustrate, an Ecological Radical activist explains

that activist deliberation is essential to bringing a movement together.

> We have a set of values in common. As we are able to communicate it's better to
> crystallize these values to do that work, it's going to create a movement, you can't do it
> as an individual, more and more people are studying movement building, so it's
> becoming more and more sophisticated. Understanding the notion of a social movement,
> probably the most important thing is U.S. activists cross-fertilizing with social justice and
> peace activists around the world. Other countries like Argentina have much more
> sophisticated activism than we do. We are learning a lot from these other country's
> activists.

Since I have found shared values among SMOs in this study, basing activism on

similar values will be better coordinated SMO efforts to raise awareness about their

work. In fact, the findings suggest that of the more than twenty values mentioned by

activists, five values are shared by more than half of the Movement of movements –

equality, self determination, peace & justice, ecology, and dignity/respect. The

importance of values is apparent in the words of a Community sphere activist, who says

that he views his sector of the Movement of movements as "very values driven. More

specifically, very American Values driven." In addition to shared values, a large

majority of SMOs within the Movement of movement also share grievances –

economics, sexism & homophobia, racism, and ecological degradation. Therefore, both

shared values and grievances is the common ground of this Movement of movements.

When grievances are emphasized and opportunities seized through framing, they can facilitate the emergence of a protest cycle.

A Hybrid activist, for example, says reframing is important.

> It's sometimes something we may not be as conscious of as we should be but in the end what we are going to have to do to change the global economy is change the mindset of the public in the United States to view other countries and that requires a kind of new epistemology of how the world is understood and that therefore requires a reframing. I hoping what will happen is once we start to make really progress on that reframing it will no longer be so slow and gradual as it has been, and that there will be an acceleration and recognition of the need to do so. Maybe in my lifetime we'll see some real change.

In the past, the examples of slavery and segregation were institutions thought of as the way the world worked. However, abolitionists and the civil rights movement "reframed" the issue. Martin Luther King Jr. exposed a whole belief system as not being natural. After a time, Ray and Anderson (2000) notes, people start to ask: "Who's benefiting from keeping this view of reality in place?" Social movements make people question the status quo. Social movements are the refined lenses, pointing out particular cases of injustice, inequality, unsustainability, and oppression in our world. Activists express themselves based on what they really want from their values to create common ground and a middle way. A Political Radical says he finds reframing all the time.

> We talk about "Providing the Alternatives" so actually showing people alternatives that are possible; we consider the work we do as culture shifting. We shift culture to enable people to envision that another world is possible. I think there are others like the GJM; five years ago people were calling it antiglobalization. But, we are not opposed to globalization, we are opposed to corporate globalization, corporate controlled trade. The same thing we did on free trade, calling fair trade instead for how we see it as an alternative and "corporate managed trade" instead free trade. Or, Alternative media as opposed to mainstream media. Why call the major media "mainstream"? It's not mainstream, it's controlled by six corporations. Or, rather instead of corporate controlled media is opposed to democratic media.

A Media & Research activist says that his SMO teaches strategic framing from the vantage point of people's values.

> One of the examples we use in our training is the example of talking about environmental problems, like run-off from factories and things like that. We've talked about using the actual terms for the chemicals like metal bromide doing the polluting. It's really encouraging people to talk about access to a clean environment, valuing the environment.

When an activist reframes, he or she emphasizes something that is important to him or her by encoding or repackaging this emphasis in accordance with values of equality and an economic grievance, for example. However, the quote above frame denotes an ecological value from an ecological grievance. When Profit is considered more powerful and important than people, then a lack of voice in protecting the environment is often experienced. Similarly, values of dignity & respect come into play when people's ideas are ignored, which is often the case when SMO activists in the data mention Neoliberal economics. A frame can evoke various values and grievances, but the more spread out the grievances and values, the less likely they are to resonate. Luckily, more than half of the Movement of movements share five values and grievances, which can lay the ground work for deliberations over what ways to get their collective voice on the agenda.

However, framing of values should not fall prey to negativity. Once peoples' sense of reality is brought into question, they may act in a reactionary way, for example, after 9/11, this was a reflection of the power the Bush Administration held after spending more than $200 million in public relations to reframe an invasion of Iraq as a "war on terrorism" and "us" versus "them" (Drinkard 2005). Or, people can reframe from their values (Lakoff 2004). For example an Economic Radical activist describes how he views values.[43]

---

[43] These values are similarly to what Lowy and Betto (2003) argue are a divided between quantitative and qualitative values.

The salient slogan, if you will, is "People Over Profit." That encapsulates the change that is needed. We have to recognize that the U.S. and society that have mirrored its values have really subordinated other values to corporate profit and they have actually persuaded a lot of people to explicitly except profit as the greatest good and we're trying to argue for, I guess despite our reputation as radicals, a more conservative view of the world in which there are greater number of values those include solidarity, justice, public welfare and art, and creativity, and leisure, and family and all that other stuff, so those are not necessarily compatible with the profit motive that has become the center of our society.

SMOs need the inclusion of values to represent a diversity of foci and ideologies in order to find common ground. However, Tarrow (1998) reminds us that having grievances alone is not enough to mobilize, but it is also paramount to create social networks, connective structures, and face-to-face mobilization. Therefore, SMOs must balance the counter-hegemonic potential of Gramsci with the Foucaultian recognition of difference through constructive dialogue. Such a balancing act will not be an overnight affair, but one that should sit squarely as the Movement of movement's long-term goal in cultivating relationships among unlike SMOs.

Changing the mindset of activist SMOs associated with the Movement of movement's will be an uphill battle, as 54% of Radical SMOs and 43% of Movement of movement SMOs overall believe they are together more for what they are against in regard to a common enemy, than what agenda they are for, such as shared grievances, values, tactics, and finding a shared vision (See Figure 7-3; Table 7-4). One problem today, to illustrate, is how movements are framing the invasion of Iraq. They are framing not cohesively, but reactively, with "antiwar" frames. The Movement of movement frames are often reactionary. They articulate what they are "against," and yet many are still trying to find out what they are "for." For example, an Economic Reformer activist describes this reactionary mode of activism.

> I think it's always easier to identify what you are against than what you are for. And, it's a natural progression. It's like the finger the enemy and then point to the golden tomorrow. The fingering the enemy is what everyone is against, but then finding and understanding how that all interrelates is more difficult and takes a little more time.

Conversely, an Economic Radical activist reframes in a more positive way from his values.

> I think the salient slogan if you will, is People Over Profit, which encapsulates the change that is needed. We have to recognize that the U.S. and society that have mirrored its values have really subordinated other values to corporate profit and they have actually persuaded a lot of people to explicitly except profit as the greatest good and we're trying to argue for, I guess despite our reputation as radicals, a more conservative view of the world in which there are greater number of values those include solidarity, justice, public welfare and art, and creativity, and leisure, and family and all that other stuff, so those are not necessarily compatible with the profit motive that has become the center of our society.

However, some SMOs (20%) do see a transition currently taking place (See Table 7-3). For example, a Hybrid Community activist declares that movement activists are moving toward fighting for a new way to bridge over the barriers that divide them through finding shared alliances.

> I think there is instead of fighting against; there is a lot of fighting for. For jobs, for equality, recognition and respect within the culture, fighting for education, for health care.

> A Political Radical activist agrees that the shift from a negative to a positive

movement is coming to fruition, but it is not an easy transition.

> I think that's part of the culture shift, there has been a major shift from antiglobalization to global justice, because that says what we are for. It's really hard to figure that out because of the culture we were raised in and are surrounded by all the time. How to vision of what that is going to be. But, I think more and more that's becoming part of the struggle.

Empowering Visions

A vision is the realization of values held by SMOs. This notion of visions relation

to values can help create a sense of autonomy in solidarity and can also act as a powerful

tool for SMOs in their long-term working relationships with other SMOs. For example,

empowerment here relates to how SMO activists create shared visions, or how they see

another possible world. A Kinship Reformer activist sums up her vision of the future

world.

> It is empowering that we were working toward a better world. We need a world where
> fairness, equality, and there is love. So, there isn't war, there isn't discrimination, and
> everyone has a say.

Empowerment helps create a collective identity by building efficacy.[44] Efficacy is

revealed by numbers, empowerment, therefore, is a collective effort. Alternatively, a

Hybrid Media & Research activist relates that making a Progressive movie is tantamount

to giving her group voice and facilitating the empowerment of its audience in viewing the

world in a different way.

> Our plan for [our movie] "Finding our Voices," if it doesn't change the world, and we
> hope it'll change the world, the people see it, who don't know their congressmen, will
> feel some sense of empowerment. And, it is important for me to speak my voice for no
> other reason than to say that when the crap hit the fan, I let my voice heard.

Visions can move a social movement into a specified direction. Within any social

movement, some strands might call for reformist measures (i.e., incremental or technical

changes to norms, laws, etc.), while other strands might call for transformative systemic

change (i.e., fundamentally altering values, power structures, etc.). A Pluralist Radical

activist contends that within the Movement of movements, "the reformists versus

revolutionary people's visions still exist." Buechler (1995) argues that SMOs privilege

revolution over reform because economic reductionism by Marxists has led them to

---

[44] Piven and Cloward (1977) find that the missing ingredient for activation of poor people's movements is
efficacy.

define anything other than class as secondary. He further maintains that even though NSMs are critical of classical Marxism, some see a need to update and revise these assumptions while others seek to replace such explanations. I define Radical SMOs here as the most likely to push for a revolution, but a significant number of other Radical SMOs alternatively push for a deep structural change, or paradigm shift. A Community Radical activist asserts that revolution, while important, is not in the short term. "I think that one thing in anarchist currents in the Global Justice Movement have to offer is that revolution is not a single event, it is not about state seizure for sure. It is a long drawn-out process." For Radical SMOs, revolution is a way of living. I think Starhawk (2002: 59) describes revolution rather succinctly.

> Nonviolence is about not waiting for the revolution, but living it now, in this moment. What kind of world do we want? Maybe we can't always articulate it, but we can embody it in how we organize, and in how we treat each other. We can treat each other with respect, regardless of how we treat authorities.

For Starhawk, revolution is a prefigurative notion. Similarly, a Political Radical's sentiments resonate with this notion of living the revolution. "For us it is not a question of fantasizing or hoping that some kind of capital 'R' revolution will take place. It's a matter of siding with those liberating aspects of daily life as it exists today and trying to expand those autonomous results."

While Radical SMOs frame a need for dramatic change in a system that is corrupt, Reformer SMOs are most apt to work within the system and the most likely to push for incremental steps toward change. As an Ecological Reformer activist puts it, "We are fairly mainstream, so [we want] reform with some mild structural change. Other groups see the need for a great deal of structural change. Only a few fringe groups talk

seriously about revolution as most of us have seen the devastating results of that path."

The middle path points to a paradigm shift or deep structural change. Even many Radical

SMOs these days are suspicious of the language of revolution, but also find that reform is

frustratingly slow. The Hybrid SMOs act as mediators between the Radical and Reformer

SMOs. For example, an Economic Hybrid activist says there is a middle way:

> We reject the false dichotomy between incremental reforms and apocalyptic revolution. Some may call our approach 'visionary gradualism.' But the pace and scope of change is related to the balance of forces in society. If we have majoritarian support for a 'progressive' agenda and the available political base to enact it, then the fundamental redistribution of wealth and power may be possible. The purist approach of the self-marginalizing 'revolutionary' left is a dead-end. Unfortunately, most 'reformers' these days don't have much of a reform agenda. They've lost the ability to conceive of a world that is substantively different and better than the one we now live in.

Moyer (2001: 81) claims that both immediate and incremental reform is

necessary, but activists need to also "build toward fundamental philosophical and

structural changes." He proposes that this can be done by broadening the goals, analysis,

and issues worked on by a wide range of social movements, in other words, a diversity of

movement activist perspectives.

<u>Visioning through Political Spaces</u>[45]

Counter forms reveal evidence of the communication of visions, such as the World Social Forum. For example, the Second World Social Forum in February 2002 at Porte Alegre, Brazil adopted a statement: "We are building a large alliance from our struggles and resistance against a system based on sexism, racism, and violence, which privileges the interests of capital and patriarchy over the needs and aspirations of people" (World Social Forum Website 2003).[46] Anuradha Vittachi, Director of the One World International Foundation, claims: "The World Social Forum has become an incredible celebration of alternative views on democracy, global governance and development. Its value is not just in opposing the forms of globalisation that are undermining social justice but also in bringing together so many people and organisations that are providing the ideas and concrete actions to make another world possible" (OneWorld.net 2003).[47] Bello (2003b: 1) commends the World Social Forum for providing a space where social movements can explore ways to work together despite their differences. He further maintains that the World Social Forum process "may be the main expression of the coming together of a movement that has been wandering for a long time in the wilderness of fragmentation and competition. The pendulum, in other words, may now be swinging to the side of unity."

---

[45] See the literature review (p. 56) and Findings (p. 191) for discussions on visions.
[46] Kearney (2001) finds that there is still a "digital divide" between those who have computers and those who do not, such as people of color and the poor.
[47] Milstein (2001) doubts that the World Social Forum can make a difference because many radical voices are left out due to a lack of resources, in this case, travel expenses. Petras (2003) argues that there was a polarization between both insiders and outsiders at the World Social Forum in 2002.

I find that because of this stifling hegemonic cultural and political-economic context, the Movement of movements is seeking a "better" world through political spaces – like the World Social Forums and the Internet – maintaining their unique identities, while working toward common meanings in dialogue over the acceptance of their mutual difference, asserting that there are indeed alternatives, actually many of them.[48] Possibly through this new understanding of the relationship between unity and diversity, the current impulse to align and yet maintain respective group identities will give the Movement of movements a new sense of what it means to create another world. Movement actors must be able to see themselves on multiple levels because they are dynamically multidimensional. In this way, these movements are not fragmented, but diverse. This dynamic multidimensional aspect must be maintained by the cumulative impact of a dialogue-centered effort to create the foundations for a shared sense of history, which is indispensable to the future prospects for peace.[49]

In order to unite, the whole Left should participate in dialogue, not pander to parochial fights. This means that Radical groups should see Reformists as well as revolutionaries as filling a niche and vice versa. To prioritize some battles and agendas over others can create gaps in knowledge, and potential analysis may be ignored. To see the movement as a division of labor allows single-issue groups to maintain a deep, insightful focus and focus on single-issue reforms, while groups with a broad analysis can help in gaining allies, finding middle ground, seeing the big picture with the goal of more revolutionary proportions, "double-loop" learning and "reflexive dialogue."

---

[48] "One No, Many Yeses." Esteva (1992).

[49] Agamben (1993) describes the "whatever-being," as seeming to embody this multidimensional approach. As he notes, this "being" is not reducible to either a universal or a particular, which is beyond identity, neither individual nor generic.

Conferences and the Internet are important political spaces for such dialogue and networking, but critics point to activists' only talking past each other in specialized and like-minded workshops, which constitute homogenous enclaves. There also must be more agenda-building to move activists forward toward visions of another world. Although there are examples of agenda-building, they are sparse and exclusive. To illustrate, the "Porto Alegre Manifesto," a 12-point platform created at the WSF in 2004 called for example, for a Tobin tax on international financial transfers. However, critics found that few people were actually invited and involved in the writing of the platform itself (Morduchowicz 2005).[50] There was a "Wall of Proposals" open to everyone, however, little direction was provided, probably because of the fear of a hegemonic document that might try to assimilate instead of accept difference. A way to move beyond these WSF problems and yet embrace their dialogic power is to have more and more small forums. Activists should start pushing for forums on the regional, state, and local level. Furthermore, there are a variety of connector groups out there – i.e., Backbone Campaign, the Progressive Democrats of America, and Global Exchange – that view grievances as interconnected. These Hybrid SMOs potentially can provide ways to bring groups of activists to the table and hammer out common ground, getting past conflict through facilitation, building bridges across barriers, such ideology and different problem foci. Local groups also can make this their task. In addition, this data suggests that

---

[50] I helped articulate input into the agricultural section declaration outlining a vision for fair farm trade policies at the Second People's Summit of the Americas in Quebec City, Canada, April 16-21st, 2001. However, this declaration was only presented to the People's Summit and at a press conference. From my observation, the declaration from the 1st and 2nd People's Summit were neither built upon, nor were carried over to the Third People's Summit, in the Argentine resort of Mar del Plata, 400 km south of Buenos Aires in Nov. 2005.

Hybrid SMOs may play a part in moderating conflicts over Radical or Reformer SMO tactics and visions.

Deliberation is facilitated through political spaces, which facilitate relationship building. Conflict negotiation requires the creation of political spaces where people can open up and feel safe to be honest with one another and build trust.[51] The lack of trust is the number one barrier in uniting SMOs across difference, according to this dissertation's data. The Movement of movements is predominately opposing a McWorld, the free market neoliberal mentality as well as an encroaching socially conservative cultural war. These SMOs name political-economic targets because they see cultural problems exacerbated by them. To illustrate, a Community activists points out that "in terms of our enemies, those who have the power, those who can call the shots and wealth, and can enforce these kinds of policies."

Therefore, fragmented social movements are unlikely to make an effective fight with the forces of hegemony that often neglect difference,[52] unless, of course, as the second indicator findings suggest, groups consider the interrelations of waves or shared meanings. In the context of the Movement of movements, communication and coordination over the Internet has created a decentralized network of communication, with the potential to unify people with common goals or purposes, while at the same time participating in differing activities. A Hybrid Research & Media activist comments on the power of the Internet:

> The peace movement and opposition to the U.S. war on Iraq, as well as events such as the World Social Forum (and local social forums), are strengthened alliances via the Internet.

---

[51] Lederach and Maiese (2003:11) argue conflict transformation requires the creation of spaces to get at honesty, which builds trust.
[52] Carroll and Ratner (1996) argue similarly that fragmented movements are unlikely to make an effective fight if it ignores difference.

I think that although there are some dialogue going on, often constructive among people with differing views – the book *Liberating Theory* and the largely fruitless *Total Liberation Project* – it cannot move forward without more work toward finding middle ground beyond a common enemy. Dialogue is important, but obviously it is lacking something vital –dialogue that has a search for common ground as its goal. For example, the WSF Charter of Principles reflects a Foucaultian philosophy rejecting "a locus of great Refusal, no soul of revolt" (1980: 95). To further illustrate, the Sixth principle says in part: "It thus does not constitute a locus of power to be disputed by the participants in its meetings, nor does it intend to constitute the only option for interrelation and action by the organisations and movements that participate in it" (WSF website 2004). SMOs' aligning against a common enemy – even if it is not necessarily "common" in a narrow sense –likely provides fertile shared ground in pushing different SMOs together, forcing them to interact at conferences and the Internet. Forcing SMOs together helps activists consider interdependence of injustices and grievances, and in turn, that their plight is tied together as well. A Community Radical says his SMO recognizes the interdependence of both grievances and activists.

> It's not only our oppression that is interconnected, but our liberation is interconnected. We all need to be liberated, so if we say we are liberated by white racism, but still have the oppression of patriarchy. Collective liberation asks how are we going to fight all these systems and how all of us can be free?

Because SMOs are not creating shared agendas and acting upon them at the World Social Forums, Hybrids can facilitate middle ground. The power to connect is accessible, especially with the Internet, creating communication opportunities never seen before in the past decade, it is paramount that SMOs find ways to get together to construct a middle ground. Through creating representatives from different spheres and

290

ideologies, groups in deliberation, can build upon their middle ground to find ways to work together in the long term, not unlike the Conservative's Council for National Policy.[53] Likewise, the Left can create a council of leaders to create common agendas. Groups from each sphere and ideology, approximately thirty, can meet and dialogue with only "weak ties" in order to create agendas that are broad, but inclusive. Like many Hybrids in this study, a council like this would utilize a consensus-based approach unless a decision would require expediency. This council would also be open to different tactical persuasions and articulations involving grievances, values, and visions. This council would work toward building agendas in order to go beyond their common enemy to create shared actions and move the Movement of movements toward a strong unity.

Therefore, a new fourth theory of empowerment is paramount, involving conflict negotiation to balance multiplicity and solidarity as well as engaging the tension between thinking and acting as primary sparkplugs for activism. It is a strategy that is inclusive of many social movements, beyond the singular-movement focus of Gaventa's (1999) empowerment strategies. It is also a strategy that goes beyond previous scholars' primary focus on economic grievances, but one that recognizes diversity in its pursuit of solidarity – revealing a need to go beyond the RM and NSM scholarly myopic theoretical disputes. In this way, a new empowerment strategy endeavors to work like a thread weaving together autonomous movement identities into a holistic fabric through an equilibrium of collective action mobilization, framing a world pregnant with future possibilities and transforming the world with a new set of values and visions. In this fashion, this

---

[53] Barbara Aho (2006) describes the Council for National Policy as a group of conservative leaders who work together from a wide array of groups to create agendas to oppose the Left. Aho says this group of 500 find common ground with the goal of "turning a morally deficient society into a more 'conservative minded' society." http://www.watch.pair.com/cnp.html#cnp.

Movement of movements preserves the proposition that while activists currently face

"One No," with their opposition, society cannot ignore the "Many Yeses," which may in

fact, act as a flashlight, revealing the many facets of the contradictions deep within the

fabric of this increasingly globalized world.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have expounded on a new facet of empowerment. I find that the Movement of movements is in a state of thin unity, largely focused on single issues, fighting tactical turf battles, and with a deficiency of trust, all of which are fueled by a competition for scare resources. However, the common ground I empirically find among SMOs in regard to grievances, values, enemies, and relationship building can provide bridges to uniting with a deeper and robust unity. Therefore, I propose a new type of empowerment with the goal of bridging the chasms that divide SMOs currently.

Gaventa (1999) defines empowerment as the increasing strength of individuals in their own capacity to challenge those in power. I take a more comprehensive approach to empowerment. I argue that empowerment as it is applied to my Relational empowerment strategy, is a multilevel, open-ended process of continuous interaction over time. In other words, it takes place among social movements or even activists themselves and promotes on-going work in which activists honestly talk with each other about their differences. It engages a significant diversity of citizens and the relationships they form to solve public problems through embracing the power of their own collective voice in decision-making processes through various venues. Basically, when a diversity of citizens discuss their grievances and hopes for the future, they all must recognize that everyone has value and

that their unique perspective may hold an important response in fixing problems in the public sphere. Furthermore, empowerment is about recognizing and building relationships across difference and learning from and dealing with the inevitable conflict that transpires through deliberation. It is about resisting oppressive power and building autonomy of political spaces, but it is not about taking power or exercising power over others but rather embracing power with others.

In addition, my Relational Empowerment Strategy engages a macro, or "big picture," analysis that considers the complex and mutually defining oppressions that activists find themselves in, whether it is ecological, homophobia, racism, sexism, economic, political, or spiritual. This strategy for a more robust unity does not mean conformity; it instead means activists must embrace difference because everyone has a unique perspective and greater strength when collectively utilized. Relationship building among a diversity of SMOs can also collectively provide a deeper and more encompassing analysis of future strategic and tactical capabilities as well as a more comprehensive vision.

This strategy can be used to find compromise in decision making and tactics. For example, some SMO activists who prefer a consensus-based approach in meetings might become upset if their voices are over looked by activists from other SMOs. However, other SMO activists might become annoyed by the slowed pace to decision making by those aforementioned SMOs. The balance might be in creating ground rules that use a majority-rules approach when activists need to make quick decisions and alternatively a consensus-based approach when there is plenty of time. Different emphases on tactics can also create breakdowns in meetings. SMO activists who use this new empowerment

strategy can assume that activists from different perspectives have corresponding roles, or in other words, a division of labor, whether it is critical awareness dissemination through the mass media, lobbying, or protesting. Finally, SMOs embracing this strategy assume that constructive conflict is beneficial to inform, build, and transform SMO relationships through deliberation in political spaces, i.e. the World Social Forum, Internet chat rooms or email, or even coffee shops, creating common agendas for social change. In other words, when SMO activists try to form working relationships, but come in conflict, they do not shy away from tension in their relationships, instead they give each other space to talk with each other about what bothers them. Hybrid SMOs are the Movement of movement's facilitators between the Radical and Reformer SMOs as 58% utilize mixed decision making and tactical approaches.

I call this new fourth empowerment strategy the Relational Empowerment strategy in this dissertation. This unique strategy responds to Digeser's (1992) yet unopposed conception of a fourth face of power. This new Relational empowerment strategy develops a more complex, multifaceted analysis of struggle against oppressive power in order to fill in the theoretical gap in the research created by the fourth face of power. This strategy builds on, broadens, deepens, and moves beyond Gaventa's (1999) previous three strategies of empowerment – Public Interest, Citizen Action, and Transformative – which simultaneously oppose and directly respond to the first three faces of power (See Tables 8-3; 9-1). It also conceptualizes the "big-picture" of intermovement alliance building; it negotiates a cognitive middle ground between unity and diversity, and finds a structural balance between proactive action whether it is in the streets or the state house and critical consciousness through building knowledge with

books, websites, or even talking with each other. Finally, this strategy uniquely utilizes conflict negotiation as an approach to balancing unity and difference among the aforementioned three characteristics. In essence, this new empowerment strategy balances cognitive and structural characteristics of the Movement of movements through constructive interaction between activists in different SMOs. In this chapter, I briefly review the four components of this new relational empowerment strategy: 1) Framing a complex world; 2) Multiplicity of Points of Resistance & Solidarity, 3) Critical Consciousness & Action Mobilization, and finally; and 4) Conflict negotiation. I also redefine the empowerment concept itself.

<p align="center">Framing a Complex World</p>

SMO's incorporation of the world's complexity engages the first indicator's shift from activists framing a simple to a complex worldview in an effort to move the Movement of movements toward a strong unity. Frames are utilized as interpretative devices to make sense of the world around them. An analysis of the interdependence of enemies and grievances can facilitate single-issue SMOs uniting on a grander scale than ever before.

Although the data suggest an underlying complexity of the Movement of movements with eleven different categories of enemies, most SMOs only focus on a single culprit for their particular grievance – the majority of which are political or economic in nature. Nearly seventy percent of SMOs focus on a single issue while at the same time acknowledging others, which is often due to funding criteria and tactical turf battles. A singular focus can bring unity and power in opposing and reforming an issue,

but it can also limit allies. Although a vast majority of SMOs do focus on a single grievance, they have a lot in common as nearly two-thirds of these SMOs focus on one or more of four common grievances. This means that while they have a common enemy, the reasons they oppose them is more complex.

There is some unity among movements in that 60% (n=29) of SMOs in Movement of Movements says there is an interrelated world (See Figure 6-3); in reality, SMOs are fragmented. As I have noted above, 66% focus on a single issue when it comes to organizing (See Figure 6-1). Simply acknowledging that there is interrelatedness to this complex world may be necessary, but not a sufficient condition bringing forth a larger alliance of groups.

It is not at all easy for opposing enemies to get their grievances on the agenda. The first three empowerment strategies challenge power on the micro level – each specifically focused on individuals in a single movement. My empowerment strategy also considers the macro level between movements through SMOs.

The three pre-existing empowerment strategies also fail in their analysis to collectively frame the "big picture" of a complex world. As more than half of the SMOs studied here do consider complexity, this creates an opening for a new way of looking at empowerment.

<div align="center">Multiplicity of Resistances & Solidarity</div>

This section reflects the second indicator of shift from objective to perspectival views of reality. This is a cognitive shift from movement actors viewing themselves as

fragmented and separate from one another, to considering themselves integral parts of a multifaceted movement.

The bipolar notion of unity and diversity is really a paradox. Unity split from diversity is not as rich and fulfilling, instead it is a hegemonic replication of the system when it becomes hegemonic itself and takes over power. And yet diversity becomes an alienating buzz of uncoordinated particularisms. Together, the fertile middle ground between the concepts of unity and diversity can combine into a rich mediation in which their completeness is greater than the sum of their parts.

The public interest and citizen action faces of empowerment emphasize a top-down approach to draw from current expertise to advocate for people and build local leadership, respectively. Conversely, the transformative face of empowerment emphasizes a bottom-up approach to develop local knowledge and raise a grassroots style of organic leadership. However, the Relational Empowerment Strategy combines the two strategies. It is both top-down and bottom-up in its orientation. Expert knowledge is often more efficient; however, such experts might fall prey to their own prejudices, missing ways to fight what really ails people. However, a bottom-up approach might take years and never really get off the ground even if it is more authentic to those who are affected by oppression. A combined approach builds from the strengths of both worlds. The shared ground is both efficient and recognizes differences that might be passed over by the top-down approach to leadership.

The Movement of movements must go beyond the *either-or* boxes it places itself in by not embracing its paradoxical nature. This *both-and* philosophy, as noted above in regard to leadership, complicates the world and it complicates activism and activists, but

when activist SMOs work together across difference by engaging in relationship-building, they reclaim their own power in the world, forging a pluralistic culture and trusting coalitions. A both/and approach which respects difference, but focuses on what is shared can provide activists with the ability to create these working relationships. Unacknowleged to most activists in this diverse Movement of movements is the fact that they highly shared grievances and values, building blocks to creating momentum in creating a new sense of unity, only if they come to realize this fact.

However, probably because activists focus so heavily on their differences, trust is underwhelming among activists in this study. The problem of a lack of trust between SMOs is cognitive and influences activist structures, as many organizations are forced to compete for operating dollars. A lack of trust is among the top three barriers that the Movement of movement faces. In political spaces – such as conferences, coalition meetings, protests, and the Internet – deliberation can break down barriers erected because of the deficiency of trusting activist's relationships by connecting familiar faces to names, possibly transforming the faceless competition and perhaps finding ways to shift from competition to alternatively sharing resources.

My new fourth strategy of empowerment is also partly based on Foucault, who says that power is within everyone and every thing they do; therefore, power forges collective identities. He also argues that when power is utilized, it is likewise resisted. Empowerment is similar to power because both concepts are inherently in opposition.

Critical Consciousness & Action Mobilization

The third indicator, Framing Hierarchy, is noted in this section and denotes a shift from hierarchical to side-by-side relations. The first two empowerment strategies assume a hierarchical structure, whereas the third or Transformative empowerment strategy assumes a heterarchical one. My Relational empowerment strategy theorizes a balance between the two extremes.

The first two pre-existing types of empowerment – Public Interest and Citizen Action – elaborated by Gaventa are action-oriented, specifically concerned with how actors can perform regarding narrow and winnable issues or can have their action blocked because their concerns are not on the agenda. Conversely, the Transformative empowerment strategy emphasis shifts from concrete action instead toward a focus on concern for opening up and creating alternative solutions through books, websites, or deliberation among friends or coworkers. For example, the Transformative approach is the push for the development of a critical awareness, asking "what ought to be" and changing "what is," or the status quo. This Transformative notion of empowerment is found with the World Social Forum's theme: "Another World is Possible."

The data suggest that one of the largest barriers to uniting is conflict over tactics. While nearly half of SMOs surveyed prefer insider tactics, such as lobbying a state or federal representative, nearly a third of the SMOs prefer a mixed insider/outsider approach. Most of these SMOs are Hybrids (17 of 29), which can work as mediators to help resolve conflict when it occurs between Radical and Reformer SMOs. The acknowledgement that different tactics have different functions in a campaign can also alleviate conflict. When power holders do not listen and respond to insider tactics, conditions might ripen and create opportunities through outsider tactics, such as protests

300

most preferred by Radical SMOs. However, when protests go stale and become ritualized, as the data currently suggest, then insider tactics, such as lobbying, may have greater legitimacy and success.

Conflict Negotiation

Conflict negotiation involves the acceptance of conflict as a necessary stage leading to deliberative interaction and the opening up of alternatives. Conflict is often an outcome of a crisis built up in a relationship. The Chinese word "crisis" is made up of two characters signifying "opportunity" and "danger." Constructive conflict can lead to deliberation. Facilitated deliberation is paramount to find balance among a diversity of activists, on multiple issues, with a range of tactics available. Deliberation opens up alternative perspectives, which lead to new understandings. New understandings lead to new behavior, which in turn, leads to new perspectives. Conflict is part and parcel of the process. Ongoing facilitated deliberation with an emphasis on listening and learning from one another is paramount. As somewhat reflected in the literature, I argue that Conflict Negotiation, in this context, has five basic parts: 1) Reflexivity, 2) Recognition, 3) Reframing Values, 4) Empowering Visions all in the context of 5) Political Space.

First, reflexivity is the double loop learning that questions the SMO's foundations. It goes beyond knee-jerk blaming. Anti-oppression work among a fifth of these SMOs is working toward deconstructing their own power. Reflexivity is humbling in that activists confront themselves; it opens a space of empathy and respect for other people. Anti-oppression work across eleven SMOs is evidence of reflexivity across the Movement of Movements.

Second is recognition through deliberation; however, this does not mean assimilating uniformity in conflict negotiation. Insistence on uniformity limits the diversity of stories of injustice, its multiple forms, and the potential for a variety of prospective solutions. My Relational empowerment strategy suggests a multiplicity of movements' working together in a unity, but without assimilative uniformity – a balancing act of separate and unique autonomies. This strong form of unity calls for a recognition of differences rather than dismissal of them by differentiating quite clearly the terms 'unity' and 'autonomy.' Diversity really is the best way to harness multiple perspectives, more fully informing activists on a wide array of complicated issues as well as acting in multiple, but coordinated tactics. Recognition requires that SMO representatives with similar diagnostic and prognostic attributions deliberate among themselves in political spaces. Political spaces can keep activist articulations safe from ridicule, but simultaneously build agendas and platforms that feed into larger and more diversified coalitional meetings. The goal of these meetings is a search for a strong unity beyond relationships based on only a common enemy. Activists can deliberate and build shared agendas on successive geographical levels from the local to the global.

My Relational empowerment strategy is then a theory that incorporates the beneficial, but often contradictory parts of the first three pre-existing empowerment strategies through SMOs accepting conflict among themselves rather than avoiding it. It is also a theory that engages the interconnected world that globalization is making rather apparent.

Through reframing messages from activist-shared values and grievances, SMOs can find common ground often lost under the fine-grained nuances of a highly detailed

single-issue policy focus. Reframing values relates to visions because this process is the realization of values in the public sphere as the ultimate goal. Reframing values can facilitate the repackaging of messages in order to create resonance with adherents, bystanders, and even opponents. Reframing through deliberation can help build alliances to soften the hard edge of difference and win over bystanders through finding issues that make practical and grounded sense to them.

As Figure 9-1 below illustrates, all these concepts converge. First, self-reflexivity is where activists talk, negotiate, and articulate their identity in a safe and homogenous political space. This safe, homogenous space – the SMO itself, or in other like-minded settings – is where activists can reaffirm their identities and points of view, in doing so, they question foundations, in realizing that their ideas are not infallible. Often this self-reflexivity comes in the form of facilitated anti-oppression workshops on identity issues, such as race and sex. This exercise in reflexivity, if it goes beyond blaming, can broaden SMO activists issue positions, complexify grievances, finding what they are as SMOs really are for in terms of an agenda. Second, comes recognition of other SMO activists unlike themselves. With recognition comes the consideration of views, perspectives, and experiences of others unlike themselves in a broader, shared political space. If fully tolerated as views that SMO activists can accept as being coherent even if disagreeable, tolerance is created through learning and understanding their perspectives; i.e, the Zapatismo's "Politics of Listening." This recognition is the search for what both SMOs have in common, where their grievances, values, and issue positions overlap with the goal of working together. Since the SMOs studied

shared values for the most part, it provides a strategic opportunity to reframe their values, searching for common ground and sharing in a division of labor for mobilization purposes. Hybrid SMOs can serve as the primary facilitators as seventeen of twenty-nine Hybrid SMOs examined utilize both a mixed decision making and tactical approach to activism, which can minimize conflict at meetings and in the streets. Finally, when SMOs understand themselves, recognize others, and finally work with each other first in homogenous political spaces, then in collective ones, they can work on a shared vision that resonates with their shared grievances values in the process and into the future.

Recognition

SMO (self-reflexive) → **Shared Vision** ← **SMO (self-reflexive)**

Reframe Values & Organize
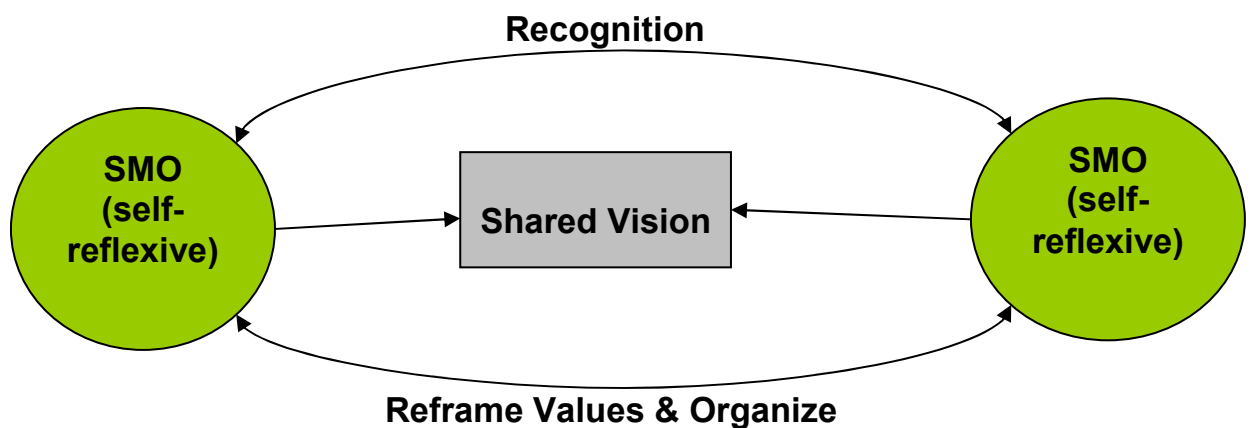
Figure 9-1. Conflict Negotiation Visually Displayed.

To illustrate, the Apollo Project has brought groups such as the United Steel Workers and the Sierra Club to work together to find ways to create alternative fuels and create jobs because these activists have demystified the either/or paradox of jobs versus the environment. "The Apollo Alliance provides a message of optimism and hope, framed around rejuvenating our nation's economy by creating the next generation of American industrial jobs and treating clean energy as an economic and security mandate to rebuild America" (Apollo Alliance 2007: 1). Reframing here is balanced with

mobilization as Apollo Alliance activists advocate to pass resolutions within labor unions or at city hall.

Another example of reframing is that of the Zapatista, an inspiration for the "Battle of Seattle." The Zapatistas reframe through a "very powerful and indestructible weapon: the word."[1] For the Zapatistas, the "word" is their voice, facilitated by their strident struggle for self-determination, a goal the Movement of movements values as well. The Zapatistas denote their own unique struggle through what they call "word." The "word," or their articulation of their philosophy, is created and transmitted to their fellow adherents in a political space. A political space provides for the Zapatistas a safe and nurturing place to listen and learn from each other through discussions of what it is to be a Zapatista – basically their identity. It also allows these activists to create a language that articulates their philosophy of life, what they see as their most important problems they face, their enemies, their strategies and tactics to fix those problems that oppress them, and also their visions for a better world.

Unlike the Marxists, who articulate a "false consciousness" that must be replaced by taking over power from those who are entrenched, the Zapatistas advocate a shared power with others, focusing on a recognition of their distinct humanity. The Zapatistas do not want *power over* others, but embrace their own power and share it with other activist SMOs in civil society, crafting autonomous space for alternative forms of struggle, constituting a *power with* others. This unique philosophy is a practical one for this indigenous population. The Zapatistas are an isolated people, who cannot realistically take over Mexico's government. Instead, this indigenous movement wants to be respected and recognized for its unique identity.

---

[1] From Callahan (2004: 219).

305

This philosophy represents a new mode of empowerment where everyone has power; therefore, it is this recognition that fosters respect for others and their unique contribution to the world. It also embodies Esteva's (1992) critique of capitalism, which for many, represents a roadblock for societal change and recognition of the unique solutions to fix oppressive forces. It is basically the "One No," that must respond to the "Many Yeses," or unique alternatives to the status quo. This means that the Zapatista is not alone, but among other groups in their resistance to an overwhelming power that assumes its power is ultimate and not questioned. Ponce de Leon (1996: 212) asks: "What other guerilla force has struggled to achieve a democratic space and not taken power? What other guerilla force has relied more on words than on bullets?"

The Zapatistas' "word" was powerful in stopping the Mexican government from confiscating their land in 1995, as Subcomandante Marcos' essays were transmitted worldwide though the Internet, later inspiring activists to protest the World Bank in Seattle in 1999. My Relational empowerment strategy borrows from the Zapatistas' view of power and empowerment. Not unlike the Zapatistas, the Movement of movements must work to reframe values and visions, like that of recognition in safe political spaces – Social Forums, Coalition meetings, protests, etc. – before they are transmitted to the world at large.

Empowerment Strategies	First Public Interest	Second Citizen Action	Third Transformative	Fourth Relational
	• Advocate for the people •Expert knowledge •Narrow and winnable issues	• Professional organizers build local leadership •Winnable community issues •Build grassroots to get issues on the table; help define agenda	•Grassroots leadership •Development of critical awareness •Unmask the relationship of the power class •Local knowledge	•Framing a Complex World •Multiplicity of points of resistance & solidarity •Critical consciousness & action mobilization •Conflict Negotiation

Table 9-1 – Empowerment Strategy Types, first three strategies adapted from Gaventa (1999). The last one is created in this dissertation.

This dissertation asks whether the Movement of movements has the capacity to unite. Through a new conception of empowerment, I argue that it does. It is a strategy that provides room for activists from separate movements to embrace conflict through relationships and structures based on what they have in common, transitioning toward a strong unity.

Nevertheless, if deliberation among movement sectors remains mired in conflict and a new philosophical unification fails in practice, scholars may have to look toward the unpredictable catastrophic event to occur, what some scholars call a "tap on the glass."[2] Waiting for chaos, in an effort to create a new societal paradigm – whether a tap on the glass manifests through the civil unrest of a natural catastrophe or that of a disastrous war – de-emphasizes the potential positive social movement activists' current role. However, the most constructive stance is to facilitate the emergence of a positive

---

[2] For example, Evergreen State College's failed *Total Liberation Project*, which failed to successfully create working relationships. The potential for social change might not fall to SMOs, but to disaster, or "tapping on the glass." However, many activists want to avoid an uncontrollable disaster with unknowable consequences. "Tap on the glass" is a reference to the Tellus Institute's idea that changes will come like a tidal wave, very quickly by external and internal forces (Raskin *et al.* 2002). A "tap on the glass" is a metaphor of a catalyst added to a chemical, creating an instantaneous chemical reaction.

force for change, which these SMOs represent, in order to face the challenges of the Twenty-First Century.

Significance

The Relational Empowerment Strategy has broader implications than this study's specific focus on the Movement of movements. This new dynamic strategy is important in the creation of unity whether it is between two SMOs, such as the Greenpeace and the United Steelworkers, or among a vast number of SMOs across multiple movements regardless of ideology or issue focus. This strategy's purpose is to uniquely create longer-lasting coalitions than experienced among preceding empowerment strategies articulated by Gaventa (1999).

This new empowerment strategy is a step forward for social movement scholars and activists. While it borrows from the strengths of previous notions of empowerment, it also builds upon them with the recognition of the current context of a more complex and technically-enhanced world than ever before.

However, it is naïve to think that this new mode of empowerment will work as the "magic bullet" that will unlock the mystery of long-lasting coalition building that has often eluded movement activists. In fact, social movements are really laboratories of learning in their efforts to discover how to resist those who posses a great amount of power while also building connections among potential allies across difference. This new strategy is by no means an end point either. Rather, it is a jumping-off point for further activism.

Laboratories are places to experiment, places to observe theory under the microscope, and places to view how theories can work pragmatically on the ground. Like any theoretically-based work, this Relational empowerment strategy needs practical implementation among activists with the aim of creating a flourishing practice. It is a strategy that must be empirically be implemented to "get the bugs out" and refine it further. I do not expect every SMO to try this strategy at first, but it is possible that some innovator SMOs may try. From all these innovators' successes and failures, SMOs will refine and strengthen this strategy of empowerment. Other SMOs with a "wait-and-see" attitude will observe these innovator SMOs and evaluate their success or failure. With success, SMOs will likely sell the idea to other SMOs to enhance their ability to sustain long-lasting relationships.

However, just as it took one hundred and fifty years is any indication of the time it took for a paradigm shift between the Copernicus and Galileo eras, a strong unity will not take place overnight. Likewise, Jacobson (2007) finds that the Republican Party's takeover of all three branches of the United States government in 2000 took nearly fifty years of active planning and organizing. Not only do activist SMOs need to take a long view in regard to change, they also must find within themselves the power to build working relationships cognitively, structurally, and sustainably in balance within the midst of difference. Balance is what is most important for this strategy (See Figure 9-2). Through a diverse variety of SMOs, coalitions balance the concepts of thinking and acting and multiplicity and solidarity in the context of a complex world – conflict negotiation places these paradoxes in equilibrium.
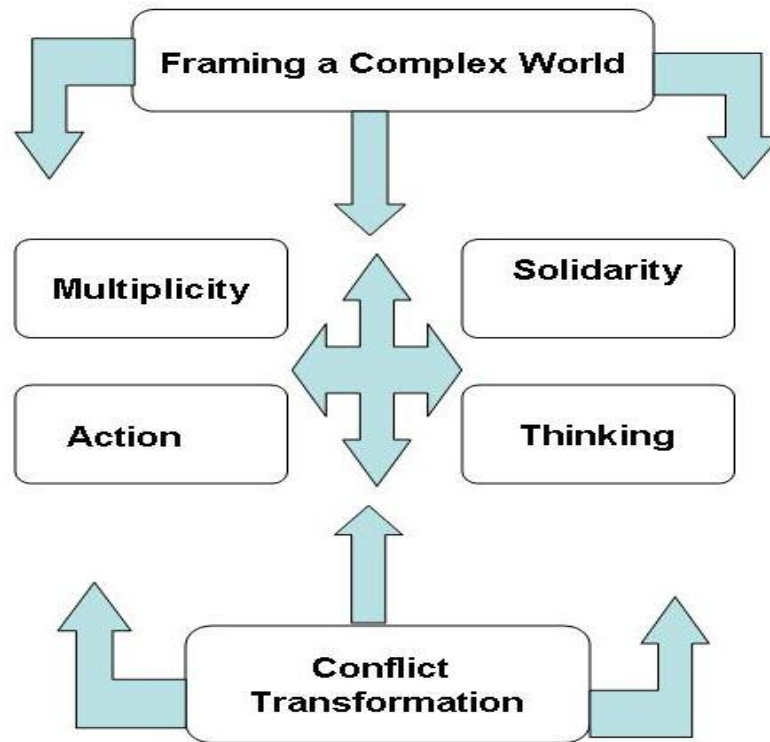
Figure 9-2. An Overview of the Relational Empowerment Strategy.

Simply, this new empowerment strategy engages activists who hold different

worldviews to work together and align. Every relationship is in tension between and

among those who differ on what problems they perceive plague them and what to do to

alleviate their specific situation(s). For example, the Zapatistas reject a politics based on

the control of the state or a desire to hold *power over* others; they instead seek to

participate in the creation of a new type of "world capable of holding many worlds"

(Khasnabish 2006: 1). While the Zapatistas are not above tensions among themselves on

whether they should follow the path of isolation or not, their contribution to social

movement theory is a pragmatic implementation of Foucault's multiplicity of resistances

that challenge the notion of one right way to perceive an alternative world. This means

multiplicity goes beyond the Movement of movements and opens up the inclusion of

every group that resists oppression of any kind with the desire to align with other groups to enhance its mobilization potential.

In every collectivity, activists are embedded with the twin strands of both the concepts of the individual and the communal or, in other words, autonomy and solidarity as this dissertation has discussed at length. Finding the right balance between competing interests is paramount. Tensions arise between SMOs, not because they have followed the wrong course, but because we live in a difficult and contradictory world. We, therefore, need a shift of metaphors within social movement scholarship, where the Relational empowerment strategy is a democratic ideal. This strategy is not charged to build a house; instead it is a conversation to be had. It is not a blue print for action, the way a draftsman plots a building's construction, but alternatively, it creates a framework, forcing people into a conversation, a way to deliberate across difference and systematize a method to visualize a shared future. This strategy provides space for a deliberative democracy where SMOs must engage and test their ideas against an external reality, persuading others to their point of view, shifting alliances of consent. The process forces SMOs to persuade, but not coerce. It forces SMOs to examine their own point of view and entertain the possibility that they are not always right. It challenges SMOs to examine their motives and interests constantly and suggests that their own activists' individual and collective points of view are simultaneously legitimate and fallible.

The Relational empowerment strategy goes beyond a simple allies-versus-enemies approach based on fear, fueling a self-fulfilling prophecy. The strategy is built instead on activists' deeper, once unarticulated hopes and imagination through free spaces with consistent deliberation that allows for ambiguity, empathy through

recognition, communicating values and visions. From the articulation of shared hopes and dreams to that of collective fears, emerges shared ground – our humanity. This strategy is a beginning, shifting empowerment from a stance focused on taking *power over* to an emphasis on sharing *power with*. This new emphasis of the latter is important in creating a concatenation, or a linking of chains of equivalence among SMOs in working relationships of a division of labor. The former *power over* relationship leaves movements fragmented in competitition with the goal to take power from others. So, far this strategy has failed to gain traction, therefore, a new empowerment strategy is paramount in challenging power with a balanced focus on reflexive identity within a political space. A *power with* relationship is a positive power, one that considers agenda- and coalition-building associations vital but without leaving uniquiness behind. Therefore, this emowerment strategy takes the long view in which activists can strive to obtain an emboldened unity that flourishes alongside a multifaceted diversity.

Future Research Directions

Now that I have conducted this primarily qualitative study that is quantitatively described through a content analysis, this information can be utilized to conduct quantitative research on a larger number of SMOs in the United States. For example, this research can serve as the basis for the creation of well constructed survey questions that can be quantitatively analyzed. A future project could pursue either a broad variety of topics presented in this research or focus on, for example, tactics or visions across a larger number of SMOs. A larger number of SMOs will make the results generalizable. Another study could use Q Methodology to study activists "subjectivity", but also

describe their viewpoint through a factor analysis. A study of this type might strengthen the qualitative/quantitative balance beyond this current study, which is much more qualitatively biased.

Furthermore, scholars can conduct similar qualitative research in Latin America, Europe, or anywhere around the world to compare and contrast with this dissertation. In addition, research can focus on more specifics regarding conflicts involving grievance interpretation, tactics, visions, a lack of trust, or ideology. Grant funding, often mandating a single-issue focus, should gain more research attention as well. Likewise, research exploring specific bridges to uniting – conferences, campaigns, Internet, even a common enemy – can facilitate the knowledge base and build capacity toward a strong unity. Additionally, stakeholders – activists from different spheres and ideologies – could meet and directly discuss ways to build working alliances. Other research can focus on local, regional, and the World Social Forum, specifically on how participants at these social forums could also build alliances among SMOs around the world. A case study could also examine how two SMOs of different spheres and/or ideologies can build deeper working relations. Furthermore, research on think tanks and foundations can be formulated to understand the types of intellectual work and resources most needed to move the Movement of movements forward. Also, my Relational empowerment strategy can receive more empirical grounding as well as practical implementation through engaging debate over how to work through barriers to uniting – a lack of trust, funding competition, single-issue focus, tactical and ideological conflicts – across a larger number of SMOs among a plurality of movements. Likewise, a network analysis can make clear and facilitate the connections among a large number of SMOs.

Research of this kind can help create tolerance on the Left as SMOs find that each

sphere and ideology has legitimate points of view. Similarly, a study can be done on the

ideological Right, exploring conflicts within that set of ideologies and spheres. Finally, a

future study could work toward finding common values among the Left and Right in

order to find bridges between the two supposed hemispheres of ideological conflict.

Limitations

A limitation to this dissertation is that the sample of SMO representatives

interviewed for this dissertation is limited to the United States. The qualitative data I

obtain is not generalizable to either a larger national or international population, but the

methodology can certainly be employable in other locales. A quantitative survey could

explore this Movement of movements on a variety of movement fronts, especially since it

is considered an international phenomenon.

Additionally, there are hundreds, if not thousands of SMOs that protest

nationwide to choose from that are in the United States alone and I could only sample a

relative few of them.[3] My study is also limited because there is likely a selection bias

toward SMOs with the desire to unite. SMO representatives who read the survey may

have declined to fill it out because of their negative views toward uniting with other

SMOs, or because they do not see the need for SMOs to unite at all.[4]

In addition, I find that women- and homosexual-oriented SMOs were the least

likely to return my telephone calls and emails, which is why the Kinship sphere SMOs

---

[3] CNN estimated that there were more than 800 groups represented at the Republican National Convention protest in New York City, Sept. 1st, 2004. Hawken (2000) estimates that more than 700 groups showed up to the Seattle protest in 1999. Brooks (2004) concurs that one can only sample SMOs in this huge Movement of movements to gain insight on its nature.
[4] I did find a couple respondents who said their SMO is not interested in uniting.

are the smallest combined. Kinship SMO representatives may have been disinclined to get back to me because I am male. However, twenty-five (45%) of the fifty-five SMO key informants I interviewed were female. Another possible limitation is that all the SMOs I surveyed are on the Left side of the political spectrum. As I cannot make any remarks on the Right side of the political spectrum, another study would be necessary to explore it in all its diversity.

Despite these limitations, this dissertation does not merely give a superficial view of all these SMOs examined in quantitative fashion. Instead, it endeavors to provide a deeper and more complex qualitative view with a smaller purposive sample.

CHAPTER X

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ackerman, Seth. 2000. "Prattle in Seattle: WTO coverage misrepresented issues, protests." *Fair*. [6 June 2004] (http://www.fair.org/extra/0001/wto-prattle.html).

ACME Collective. 1999. "N30 Black Bloc Communiqué." *Mid-Atlantic Info Shop: Your Guide to Anarchy on the Web.* [16 March 2003] (http://www.infoshop.org/octo/a_accounts.html).

Adams, Jason. 2003. "Constellation of Opposition" *InterActivist: Info Exchange*. [23 July 2003] (http:///slash.autonomedia.org/comments.pl?sid=1653&cid=1008).

Adamson, Fiona. 2005. "Globalisation, Transnational Political Mobilization, and Networks of Violence." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. 18 (1): 31-49.

Agamben, Giorgio. 1993. *The Coming Community*. Trans. Michael Hardt. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Albert, Michael, Leslie Cagan, Noam Chomsky, Robin Hahnel, Mel King, Lydia Sargent, Holly Skylar. 1986. *Liberating Theory*. Boston, M.A.: South End Press.

Albert, Michael. 2002. *The Trajectory of Change: Activist Strategies for Social Transformation*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Albert, Michael. 2003. Email correspondence. [7 September 2003].

Albrecht, Lisa and Rose Brewer. 1990. *Bridges of Power: Women's Multicultural Alliances.* Philadelphia: New Society Publishers.

Ambrose, Soren. 2005. "Global Strategies, Local Realities: The U.S Global Justice Movement in 2005." Unpublished Report by the New Voices on Globalization Project.

Anderson, Terry and Heather Kanuka. 2003. *e-Research: Methods, Strategies, and Issues*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education, Inc.

Anderson, Sarah and John Cavanagh. 2000. *Top 200*. Institute for Policy Studies. Policy paper. November.

Apollo Alliance. 2007. "About Us." [7 November 2007] (http://www.apolloalliance.org/about_the_alliance/)

Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Argyris, Chris and Donald Schon. 1978. *Organizational Learning*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Arquilla, John and David Ronfeldt. 2001. *Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy*. RAND's National Defense Research Institute.

Bagguley, Paul. 1992. "Social Change, the Middle Classes and the Emergence of New Social Movements." *Sociological Review* 40(1): 26-48.

Barber, Benjamin. 2003. *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*. 2nd ed. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Barlas, Asma. 2001. "Talks: Introducing bell hooks." [23 December 2004] (http://www.ithaca.edu/faculty/abarlas/talks/bellhooks.htm).

Bateson, Gregory. 1972. *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. New York: Ballentine Books.

Bateson, Gregory. 1979. *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity*. New York City, NY: Dutton.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 1998. Work*, Consumerism and the New Poor*. Philadelphia, PN: Open University Press.

Beck, Juliette. 2001. "The Globalization Movement." Unpublished manuscript. San Francisco, CA: Global Exchange.

Beck, Juliette. 2003. Telephone Interview. June 16th.

Behrens, J., & Yu, C.H. 1995. "Peircean Logical System." [2 March 2004] (http://seamonkey.ed.asu.edu/~behrens/asu/reports/Peirce/Logic_of_EDA.html#abduction).

Bello, Walden. 2003a. "Implications of Cancun." Znet. 23 September 2003. (http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?SectionID=13&ItemID=4241).

Bello, Walden. 2003b. "World Social Forum: Coming Together of a Movement."
 Common Dreams.
 (http://www.globalpolicy.org/globaliz/politics/2003/0122wsf.htm).

Benford, Robert. 1993a. "'You Could Be the Hundredth Monkey': Collective Action
 Frames and Vocabularies of Motive within the Nuclear Disarmament Movement."
 Sociological Quarterly. 343: 195-216.

Benford, Robert. 1993b. "Frame Disputes within the Nuclear Disarmament Movement."
 Social Forces. 71(3):677-701.

Benford, Robert and Scott Hunt. 1992. "Dramaturgy and Social Movements: The Social
 Construction and Communication of Power." *Sociological Inquiry*. 62:36-55.

Benford, Robert and David Snow. 2000. "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An
 Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 26: 611-639.

Berger, Peter and Thomas Luckman. 1966. *The Social Construction Reality: A Treatise
 in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York, NY: Doubleday.

Benjamin, Medea. 2000. "The Debate Over Tactics." *In Globalize This! The Battle
 Against the World Trade Organization and Corporate Rule*. Monroe, Maine:
 Common Courage Press.

Berg, John C. 2003. "Introduction." In John C. Berg. ed. *Teamsters and Turtles? U.S.
 Progressive Political Movements in the 21st Century*. New York: NY: Rowman and
 Littlefield Publishers, Inc: 1-16.

Best, Steven and Douglas Kellner. 1997. *The Postmodern Turn*. New York, NY: The
 Guilford Press.

Bevington, Douglas and Chris Dixon. 2004. "An Emerging Direction in Social
 Movement Scholarship: Movement-Relevant Theory." Conference Paper.

Blee, Kathleen and Verta Taylor. 2002. "Semi-structured Interviewing in Social
 Movement Research. In Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg. eds. *Methods
 of Social Movement Research*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press:
 92-117.

Blumer, Herbert. 1939. "Collective Behavior." In Robert Park. ed. *An Outline of the
 Principles of Sociology*. New York, NY: Barnes and Noble: 221-280.

Bobo, Kim, Jackie Kendall, Steve Max. 1996. *Organizing for Social Change: A Manual
 for Activists in the 1990s*. Santa Ana, CA: Seven Locks Press.

Bohman, James and William Rehg. 1997. *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Brecher, Jeremy, Tim Costello, Brendan Smith. 2000. *Globalization From Below: the Power of Solidarity*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Brooks, Christopher. 2004. "Faction in Movement: The Impact of Inclusivity on the Anti-Globalization Movement. *Social Science Quarterly*. 85 (3): 559-577.

Brulle, Robert. 2000. *Agency, Democracy, and Nature: The U.S. Environmental Movement from a Critical Theory Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Buechler, Steven. 1995. "New Social Movement Theories." *The Sociological Quarterly*. 36: 441-464.

Buechler, Steven. 2000. *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism: The Political Economy and Cultural Construction of Social Activism.* New York, NY: Oxford Press.

Burawoy, Michael, Alice Burton, Ann Arnett Ferguson, Kathryn J. Fox, Joshua Gamson, Charles Kurman, Leslie Salzinger, Joseph Schiffman, and Shiori Ui. 1991. *Ethnography Unbound: Power and Resistance in the Modern Metropolis*. Berkeley, CA: University of California.

Burch, Brian. 2001. "The Marginalization of Street Fighters Begins." Toronto Action for Social Change in a forwarded e-mail, July 2001." [11 February 2003] (http://www.carolmoore.net/sfm/marginalization.html).

Bush, Robert and Joseph Folger. 1994. *The Promise of Mediation: Responding to Conflict Through Empowerment and Recognition*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Bush, Robert and Joseph Folger. 1996. "Transformative Mediation and Third-Party Intervention: Ten Hallmarks of a Transformative Approach to Practice." *Mediation Quarterly*. 13 (4).

Cable, Sherry, Donald Hastings, and Tamara Mix. 2002. "Different Voices, Different Venues: Environmental Racism Claims by Activists, Researchers, and Lawyers." *Human Ecology Review* 9(1): 26-42.

Callahan, Manuel. 2004. "Zapitismo beyond Chiapas." In David Solnit. ed. *Globalize Liberation: How to Uproot the System and Build a Better World*. San Francisco, CA: City Light Books: 217-228.

Callinicos, Alex. 2003. "The Anti-Capitalist Movement After Genoa and New York. In Stanley Aronowitz, and Heather Gautney. eds. *Implicating Empire: Globalizatios & Resistance in the 21st Century World Order*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Canadian Security Intelligence Service Publication. 2000. "Anti-globalization – A Spreading Phenomena." [17 March 2002] (http://www.csis.gc.ca/eng/miscdocs/200008_e.html).

Carmichael, Stokley and Charles Hamilton. 1967. *Black Power*. New York, NY: Random House.

Cornell, Stephen. 1988. *The Return of the Native: American Indian Political Resurgence*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Carroll, William and Robert Ratner. 1996. "Master Framing and Cross-Movement Networking in Contemporary Social Movements." *Sociological Quarterly*. 37:601-625.

Castells, Manuel. 2003. *The Power of Identity*. 2nd ed. Blackwell Publishers.

Center for Human Rights Commentaries. 2001. "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights at 50: Can Uncle Same Take Credit?" [12 December 2002] (http://www.un.org/rights/50/decla.htm).

Chang, Jen, Bethany Or, Eloginy Tharmendran, Emmie Tsumara, Steve Daniels and Darryl Leroux. 2003. *Resist: a Grassroots Collection of Stories, Poetry, Photos, and Analysis from the Quebec City FTAA Protests and Beyond*. Halifax, CN: Fernwood Publishing.

Chesters, Graeme and Ian Welsh. 2004. "Rebel Colours: 'Framework' in Global Social Movements." *Sociological Review*. 52(3): 314-345.

Childs, John Brown. 2003. "Introduction." In John Brown Childs, ed. *Transcommunality: From Politics of Conversation to the Ethics of Respect*. Philadelphia, PN: Temple University Press: 9-13.

Cleaver, Harry. 1994. "The Chiapas uprising and the future of class struggle in the new world order." Riff-raff. Padua, Italy, Feb.

Cleaver, Harry. 1999. "Computer-linked Social Movements and the Global Threat to Capitalism". [22 July 2001] (http://www.eco.utexas.edu/faculty/Cleaver/polnet.html).

Clemens, Elisabeth. 1996. "Organizational form as frame: Collective Identity and political strategy in the American Labor Movement, 1880-1920. In Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, and Meyer Zald, eds. *Comparative Perspectives on Social*

Movements: Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press: 205-26.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 1991. "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Theory." In M.M. Fonow and J.A. Cook, eds. *Beyond Methodology: Feminist Scholarship as Lived Research*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Covey, Stephen. 1990. *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Covert, Margaret. 1990. "The Reproductive Rights Movement: Translating Ideology into Action." Master's Thesis, Tufts University, Boston.

Cox, Robert. 1993. "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method" In Stephen Gill, ed., *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University: 53.

Cox, Robert. 1997. *Production, Power, and World Order*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Coy, Patrick and Lynne Woehrle. 2000. Eds. *Social Conflicts and Collective Identities. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc*.

Crass, Cris. 2005. Personal Interview. [22nd April].

Danaher, Kevin and Roger Burbach. 2000. "Introduction: People Making History." In Kevin Danaher and Roger Burbach, eds. *Globalize This! The Battle Against the World Trade Organization and Corporate Rule*. Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press.

Danaher, Kevin and Nico Pitney. 2003. "FTAA: Pitney interviews Danaher." *Z Magazine*. (http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?SectionID=13&ItemID=4563)

Danaher, Kevin. 2003. Personal interview. [23rd June].

De Angelis, Massimo. 2001. "From Movement to Society." *In On Fire: The Battle of Genoa and the Anti-Capitalist Movement*. One-Off Press.

De Cremer, David and Mark van Vught. 1999. "Leadership in Social Dilemmas: The Effects of Group Identification on Collective Actions to Provide Public Goods." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. 76: 587-599.

Deleuze, Gilles and Felix Guattari. 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism & Schizophrenia*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Derber, Charles. 2002. *People Before Profit: The New Globalization in an Age of Terror, Big Money, and Economic Crisis*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Desai, Nitin. 2003. "The Secretary-General Kofi Annan's Message to the World Social Forum." Porto Alegre, Brazil. [27 January 2003] (http://www.ukabc.org/wsf2003.htm#n).

DeWitt, Rebecca. 2000. "An Anarchist Response to Seattle: What Shall We Do With Anarchism?" *Social Anarchism*. 29: 5-12.

Deutsch, Morton. 1972. *The Resolution of Conflict: Constructive and Destructive Processes*. New Haven, CT: Yale University.

Diani, Mario. 1992. "The Concept of Social Movement." *Sociological Review*: 1-23.

Digeser, Peter. 1992. "The Fourth Face of Power." *Journal of Politics*. 54(4): 977-1007.

Dixon, Chris. 2000. "Finding Hope After Seattle: Rethinking Radical Activism and Building a Movement." [5 June 2003] (http://www.tao.ca/~colors).

Dixon, Chris. 2004. Email correspondence. [3rd July].

Dobbs, Bill. 2004. "More than 500,000 Say No To The Bush Agenda at NYC March." Common Dreams. [1 Sept. 2004] (http://commondreams.org).

Dollar, David and Aart Kraay. 2000. *Growth is good for the Poor*. Washington: World Bank, March.

Drinkard, Jim. 2005. "Report: PR spending doubled under Bush." *USA Today* January 6. [5 March 2006] (http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2005-01-26-williams-usat_x.htm).

Dugan, Maire. 2003. "Power." BeyondIntractability.org [6 April 2006] (http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/Power/?nid=1168).

Dunlap, Riley and Kevin Van Liere. 1978. The "new environmental paradigm: A proposed measuring instrument and preliminary results." *Journal of Environmental Education.* 9:10-19.

Dye, Thomas. 2005. *Politics in America*. 6th ed. Pearson/Prentice Hall.

Eblen, Ruth. and William Eblen. 1994. *The Encyclopedia of the Environment. Boston, MA:* Houghton Mifflin Company.

Ehrenreich, Barbara. 2000. "FLIP SIDE: Anarkids and Hypocrites." *The Progressive*. [13 June 2004]. (http://www.alternet.org/story/9309/).

Elgin, Duane and Coleen LeDrew. 1997. Global Consciousness Change: Indicators of an Emerging Paradigm. [9 June 2004] (http://www.newhorizons.org/future/elgin1.htm).

Elgin, Duane. 2000. *Promise Ahead: A Vision of Hope Action for Humanity's Future*. New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.

Engler, Mark. 2001. "Fortress Quebec: A Return to Tear Gas and Violence." *Alternet.org*. [12 April 2003] (http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=10759).

Epstein, Steven. 1987. "Gay Politics, Ethnic Identity: The Limits of Social Constructionism." *Socialist Review*. 17:9-54.

Epstein, Barbara. 1991. *Political Protest and Cultural Revolution: Nonviolent Direct Action in the 1970s and 1980s*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Epstein, Barbara. 2001. "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement." *Monthly Review*. 53(4) [14 March 2003] (http://www.monthlyreview.org/0901epstein.htm).

Erlandson, David, Edward Harris, Barbara Skipper, and Steve Allen. 1993. *Naturalistic Inquiry: A Guide to Methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Eyerman, Ron and Andrew Jamieson. 1991. *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Eyerman, Ron and Andrew Jamieson. 1997. "Social Movements as Cognitive Praxis." In Steven Buechler and Kurt Cylke, Jr. Social Movements: Perspectives and Issues. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company: 245-259.

Fabun, Don. 1968. *Communications, the Transfer of Meaning*. New York, NY: Macmillan: 13.

Fanon, Frantz. 1986. *Wretched of the Earth. Constance Farrington* (translator). New York: Grove Press.

Featherstone, Liza, Doug Henwood, and Christian Parenti. 2004. "Activistism: Left Anti-Intellectualism and Its Discontents." In Eddie Yuen, Daniel Burton-Rose, and George Katsiaficas, eds. *Confronting Capitalism: Dispatches from a Global Movement*. Brooklyn, NY: Soft Skull Press: 309-314.

Fisher, Robert. 1997. "Grass-Roots Organizing Worldwide: Common Ground, Historical Roots, and the Tension Between Democracy and the State." In Robert Fisher and

Joseph Kling, eds. *Mobilizing the Community: Local Politics in the Era of the Global City*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Fraser, Nancy. 2000. "Rethinking Recognition." *New Left Review*. [7 July 2004] (http://www.newleftreview.net/NLR23707.shtml).

Freeman, Jo. 1970. "The Tyranny of Structurelessness" [14 June 2004] (http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/hist_texts/structurelessness.com).

Freire, Paulo. 1990. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York, NY: Continuum.

Foucault, Michel. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Tavistock.

Foucault, Michel. 1979. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Penguin: Harmondsworth.

Foucault, Michel. 1980. *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel. 1984. "What is Enlightenment?" In Paul Rabinow, ed. *The Foucault Reader*. New York, NY: Pantheon.

Fuller, Steven. 1999. "Identity Politics." In Alan Bullock and Stephen Trombley. 3rd ed. *The Norton Dictionary of Modern Thought*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company: 413-414.

Gais, Thomas and Jack Walker, Jr. 1991. "Pathways to Influence in American Politics," In Jack Walker, ed. *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions, and Social Movements*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Gambetta, Diego. 1988. *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Gamson, William A. 1990. *The Strategy of Social Protest*, 2nd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Gamson, William A. and Charlotte Ryan. 2005. "Thinking about Elephants: Toward a Dialogue with George Lakoff. *The Public Eye Magazine*. 19(2) [16 March 2006] (http://www.publiceye.org/magazine/v19n2/gamson_elephants.html).

Ganz. Marshall. 2000. "Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966." *American Journal of Sociology*. 105(4): 1003-1062.

Gaventa, John. 1999. "Citizen Knowledge, Citizen Competence and Democracy

Building." In Stephen L. Elkin and Karol Edward Soltan, eds. *Citizen Competence and Democratic Institutions*. United States: Pennsylvania State University Press: 49-65.

George, Susan. 1998. "Globalization: A Challenge for Peace Solidarity or Exclusion?" *Instituto Internazionale Jacques Martin*, Milano, 29-31, October.

Gerhards, Jurgen and Dieter Rucht. 1992. "Mesomobilization: Organizing and Framing in Two Protest Campaigns in West Germany." *American Journal of Sociology* 98: 555-595.

Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 2000. *Runaway World: How Globalization Is Reshaping our Lives*. New York, NY: Routledge

Glaser, B.G., & Strauss, A.L. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago, Ill: Aldine.

Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Prison Notes*. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, eds. and trans. New York, NY: International Publishers.

Granovetter, Mark. 1983. "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited." *Sociological Theory*. 1: 201-233.

Guidry, John A., Michael D. Kennedy, Mayer N. Zald. 2000. "Globalizations and Social Movements." In John A. Guidry, Michael D. Kennedy, and Mayer N. Zald. *Globalizations and Social Movements*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press: 1-34.

Guinness Book of World Records. 2004. [June 18, 2004] (http://www.guinnessworldrecords.com).

Gusfield, Joseph. 1994. "The Reflexivity of Social Movements: Collective Behavior and Mass Society Theory Revisited." In Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston, and Joseph Gusfield, eds. *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity* Philadelphia, PN: Temple University Press: 185-208.

Habermas, Jurgen. 1987. The Theory of Communicative Action. Volume 2. *Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*. Translated by Thomas McCarthy, first published 1981. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.

Hall, Peter. 1993. "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning and the State." *Comparative Politics*. April. 25 (3): 275-296.

Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. 2000. *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. 2001. "What the Protesters in Genoa Want." In *On Fire: The Battle of Genoa and the Anti-capitalist Movement*, eds. Longdon, England: One Off Press.

Harvey, David. 1989. *The Condition of Post Modernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Haig, Brian D. 1995. "Grounded Theory as Scientific Method." Philosophy of Education. [May 5, 2004] (http//:www.ed.uiuc.edu/EPS/PES-Yearbook/95_docs/haig.html).

Hatch, Mary Jo. 1997. *Organization Theory: Modern Symbolic and Postmodern Perspectives*. New York, NY: Oxford Press.

Hathaway, Will and David Meyer. 1997. "Competition & Cooperation in Movement Coalitions: Lobbying for Peace in the 1980s. In Thomas Rochon and David Meyer, eds. *Coalitions and Political Movements: The Lessons of the Nuclear Freeze*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Hawken, Paul. 2000. Skeleton Woman Visits Seattle." In *Globalize This: The Battle Against the World Trade Organization and Corporate Rule*. Kevin Danaher and Roger Burbach, eds. Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press.

Hayduk, Ronald. 2003. "From Anti-Globalization to Global Justice: A Twenty-First Century Movement. In John C. Berg, ed. *Teamsters and Turtles? U.S. Progressive Political Movements in the 21st Century*. New York: NY. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc: 1-16.

Heard, Gerry. 1990. *Basic Values and Ethical Decisions: An Examination of Individualism and Community in American Society*. Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company.

Heywood, Andrew. 1992. *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Herman, Edward and Noam Chomsky. 2002. *Manufacture of Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: Pretheon.

Holloway, John. 2002. *Change the World without Taking Power: The Meaning of Revolution Today*. Sterling, VA: Pluto Press.

Hubbard, Barbara Marx. 1998. *Conscious Evolution: Awakening the Power of Our Social Potential*. Novato, CA: New World Library.

Hunt, Scott, Robert Benford, and David Snow. 1994. "Identity Fields: Framing Processes and the Social Construction of Movement Identities." In *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, eds. Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston, and Joseph Gusfield. Philadelphia, PN: Temple University Press: 185-208.

Interhemispheric Resource Center. 2002. "Proto Alegre & Beyond: Following up on the World Social Forum." [8 December 2003] (http://www.americaspolicy.org/reprts/2002/0211wsf_body.html).

Irlandesa. 2005. "Sixth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona (III)." Chiapas Peace House Project. [28 July 2006] (http://www.chiapaspeacehouse.org/en/node/74191).

Jacobson, Gary. 2007. *A Divider, Not a Uniter: George W. Bush and the American People*. New York City, NY: Pearson-Longman.

Jamieson, Andrew. 1988. "Social Movements and the Politicization of Science." In J. Annerstedt and Andrew Jamieson, eds. From Research Policy to Social Intelligence. London: Macmillan.

Jason, Pini. 2005. "Second Nigeria Social Forum: Demanding change." *Vanguard*. [24 May 2006] (http://www.vanguardngr.com/articles/2002/politics/november05/11112005/p31111 2005.html).

Katsiaficas, George. 1997. *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday Life*. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press.

Kauffman, L.A. 2000. "Radicals on the Web." Issue #1.5. [7 July 2006] (http://archives.openflows.org/hacktivism/hacktivism00193.html).

Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. David Meyer and Sidney Tarrow, eds. In *The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century*. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.: 217-238.

Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. 2000. "Historical Precursors to Modern Historical Transnational Social Movements and Networks." In John A. Guidry, Michael D. Kennedy, and Mayer N. Zald, eds. *Globalizations and Social Movements*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press: 35-53.

Khasnabish, Alex. 2006. The International Order of Hope: Zapatismo and the Fourth World War". [12 November 2006] http://www.globalautonomy.ca/global1/summary.jsp?index=RS_Khasnabish_OrderHope.xml)

Kieffer, Charles. 1984. "Citizen Empowerment: A Developmental Perspective." *Prevention in Human Services*. 3: 9-36.

Kirchhoff, Sue, Elizabeth Neuffer, Robert Schlesinger, and David M. Shribman. 2001. "For Now, A Global Movement is Stymied." Boston Globe. [7 July 2003] (http://www.commondreams.org/headlines01/0930-03.htm).

King, Martin Luther. 1963. "Letter From Birmingham Jail." [12 July 2004] (http://almaz.com/nobel/peace/MLK- jail.html).

King, Martin Luther. 1967. "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence" [6 June 2004] (http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/45a/058.html).

Kingsnorth, Paul. 2003. *One No, Many Yeses*. London: Simon & Schuster.

Klandermans, Bert. 1984. "Mobilization and Participations: Social-Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory." *American Sociological Review*. 49: 583-600.

Klandermans, Bert and Sidney Tarrow. 1988. "Mobilization into Social Movements: synthesizing European and American Approaches." *International Social Movement Research*. 1: 1-38.

Klandermans, Bert. 1997. The Social Psychology of Protest. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Inc.

Klein, Naomi. 2000. *No Logo: Money, Marketing, and the Growing Anti-Corporate Movement*. New York, NY: Picador USA.

Klein, Naomi. 2002. "What is this Movement?: Introduction." Prokosch, Mike and Laura Raymond, eds. *The Global Activist's Manual: Local Ways to Change the World*. New York, NY: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books.

Kohn, Margaret. 2003. *Radical Space: Building The House of The People*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Korten, David C. 1996. "The Failures of Bretton Woods," In Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith, eds. *The Case Against the Global Economy and For a Turn Toward the Local.* San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books.

Korten, David C. 1998. *Globalizing Civil Society: Reclaiming Our Right to Power*. New York: Seven Stories Press.

Kritzman, Lawrence. 1988. *Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture*. 1st ed. New York, NY: Routledge.

Kriesburg, Louis. 1998. *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield.

Kriesburg, Louis. 2003. "Identity Issues." BeyondIntractability.org. [3 April 2006] (http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/identity_issues/)

Kuhn, Thomas. 1996. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 3rd ed. Chicago, Ill: Chicago University Press.

Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe. 1985. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Toward a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso Books.

Lakoff, George. 2002. *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives* Think. 2nd ed. Chicago, Ill: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George. 2002. *Don't Think of an Elephant: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate--The Essential Guide for Progressives*. Chelsea Green Publishing Company.

Lampman, Jane. 2004. "A 'moral voter' majority? The culture wars are back." *Christian Science Monitor*. November 18.

Lederach, John Paul. 1995. *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*. Syracuse, NY: University Press.

Lederach, John Paul and Michelle Maiese. 2003. "Conflict Transformation." BeyondIntractability.org [12 April 2006] (http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/transformation/?nid=1223).

Lewis, Tom. 2001. "The Promise of Porto Algre." *International Socialist Review*. Issue 16, February-March [29 August 2003] (http://www.isreview.org/issues/16/porto_alegre.shtml).

Lincoln, Yvonna, and Guba, Egon. 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Lippmann, Walter. 1921. *Public Opinion.* New York, NY: The Free Press.

Lofland, John and Lynn Lofland. 1995. *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observations and Analysis*. 3rd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Lowy, Michael and Frei Betto. 2003. "Values: Values of a New Civilization." In William Fisher and Thomas Ponniah, eds. *Another World is Possible: Popular Alternatives to Globalization at the World Social Forum*. New York, NY: Zed Books.

Lusane, Clarence. 1996. "Forward." In John Anner, ed. *Beyond Identity Politics: Emerging Social Justice Movements in Communities of Color*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Martinez, Elizabeth. 2000. "Where is the Color in Seattle? Looking for reasons why the Great Battle was so white." ColorLines 3(1). [September 14, 2003] (http://www.arc.org/C_Lines/CLArchive/story3_1_02.html).

Martinez, Elizabeth. 2004. "What is Zapatismo? A Brief Definition for Activists." In David Solnit, ed. *Globalize Liberation: How to Uproot the System and Build a Better World*. San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books.

McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1890-1970*. Chicago, ILL: University of Chicago Press.

McAdam, Doug, John McCarthy, and Mayer Zald. 1988. "Social Movements." In Neil Smelser, ed. Handbook of Sociology. Newbury Park, CA: Sage: 695-737.

McAdam, Doug, John McCarthy, and Meyer Zald. 1996. "Introduction: Opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing processes – toward a synthetic, comparative perspective on social movements." In McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, mobilizing structures, and cultural framings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1-20.

Melucci, Alberto. 1989. *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society*. London, England: Radius.

Melucci, Alberto. 1992. "Liberation or Meaning? Social Movements, Culture and Democracy." In Jan Nederveen Pieterse, ed. *Emancipations, Modern and Postmodern*. New York, NY: SAGE Publications.

Melucci, Alberto. 1993. "Paradoxes of Post-Industrial Democracy: Everyday Life and Social Movements. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*. 38: 185-192.

Melucci, Alberto. 1996. *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Mertens, Donna. 1998. *Research Methods In Education and Psychology: Integrating Diversity With Quantitative & Qualitative Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Meyer, David. 2003. " Social Movements and Public Policy: Eggs, Chicken, and Theory" Center for the Study of Democracy. Paper 03-02. [2 August 2005] (http://repositories.cdlib.org/csd/03-02).

Meyer, David and Nancy Whittier. 1994. "Social Movement Spillover: The Effects of the Women's Movement on the Peace Movement." *Social Problems*. 41:277-298.

Milbrath, Lester. 1984. *Environmentalists: Vanguard for a New Society*. State Univ. N.Y. Press.

Milstein, Cindy. 2001. "What's in a Name?" *Harbinger: The Journal of Social Ecology*. [3 July 2002] (http://www.social-ecology.org/harbinger/vol2no1/name.html).

Minkoff. Debra. 1997. "The Sequencing of Social Movements." *American Sociological Review*. 62: 779-799.

Misztal, Barbara. 1996. *Trust in Modern Societies*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Inc.

Morduchowicz, Daniel. 2005. "New Directions for the World Social Forum." *ZMag Online*. 18(4): 1. [6 June 2006] (http://zmagsite.zmag.org/Images/morduchowicz0405.html).

Morris, Aldon and Carol McClurg Mueller. 1992. *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Movement Vision Project. 2006. Center for Community Change. [7 July 2006] (http://www.communitychange.org/issues/movementvision/).

Moyer, Bill, JoAnn McAllister, Mary Lou Finley, and Steven Soifer. 2001. *Doing Democracy: The MAP Model for Organizing Social Movements*. Gabriola, CN: New Society Publishers.

Mueller, Carol. 1994. "Conflict Networks and the Origins of Women's Liberation." In *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, eds. Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston, and Joseph Gusfield. Philadelphia, PN: Temple University Press: 234-263.

Mulvany, Patrick. 2003. "The worm has turned: World Social Forum challenges US hegemony." *Postcards from Porto Alegre.* [4 February 2004] (http://www.ukabc.org/wsf2003.htm).

Murphy, Brian. 1999. *Transforming Ourselves, Transforming the World: An Open Conspiracy for Social Change*. New York, NY: Zed Books.

Nader, Ralph. 1999. "Preface" in Lori Wallach and Michelle Sforza. *Whose Trade Organization?: Corporate Globalization and the Erosion of Democracy*. Washington DC: Public Citizen: ix-xii.

Nancy, Jean-Luc. 2000. *Being Singular Plural*, trans. Robert Richardson and Anne E. O'Byrne. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

North American Social Forum. 2004. [2 October 2004] (http://www.northamericansocialforum.org/links.html).

"Notes from Nowhere." 2003. *We Are Everywhere: The Irresistible rise of global capitalism*. 1st ed. New York, NY: Verso.

Nunes, Lucimara. 2003. "World Social Forum Comes up from the Underground." Jan. 29th. [29 September 2003] (http://www.artsandmedia.net/cgi-bin/dc/newsdesk/2003/01/29_underground).

Oates, Stephen. 1982. *Let the Trumpets Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr*. NY: New American Library.

Oliver, Pam and Hank Johnston. 2000. "Mobilization Forum: Comments on Zald – What a Good Idea! Ideologies and Frames in Social Movement Research." *Mobilization: An International Journal*. 5(2): 37-54.

OneWorld.net. 2002. "OneWorld at the World Social Forum 2002, Porto Alegre, Brazil: 'Maximizing the Network Effect - the Power and Potential of the Internet for Civil Society Worldwide." Press Release. [5 March 2003] (http://www.oneworld.net/article/view/40020/1/3741).

O'Neill, William. 2001. *The New Left: A History*. Wheeling, ILL: Harlan Davidson, Inc.

Orpheus. 2003. "Cancun Confrontation: Thousands Protest the WTO and Capitalist Globalization." *La.Indymedia. Org*. [23 June 2004] (http://la.indymedia.org/news/2003/09/83281.php).

Parker, Walter. 2003. *Teaching Democracy: Unity and Diversity in Public Life*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Patten, Mildred. 2000. *Proposing Empirical Research: A Guide to the Fundamentals*. Los Angelos, CA: Pyrczak Publishers.

Pauly, L.W. 1997. *Who Elected the Bankers: Surveillance and Control in the World Economy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Pew Charitable Trusts. 2004. "Voters Liked Campaign 2004, But Too Much 'Mud-Slinging' – Moral Values: How Important?" Pew Charitable Trust Report released

November 11**.** [14 April 2006] (http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=233).

Picardo, Nelson. 1997. "New Social Movements: A Critical Review." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 23:411-430.

Pirages, Dennis and Paul Ehrlich. 1974. *Ark II: Social Response to Environmental Imperatives*. San Francisco, CA: W.H. Freeman and Company.

Piven, Francis Fox and Richard Cloward. 1977. *Poor People's Movement: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. New York, NY: Random House.

Ponce de Leon, Juana. 1996. *Our Word is Our Weapon: Selected Writings: Subcomandante Marcos*. New York, NY: Seven Stories Press.

Prokosch, Mike and Laura Raymond. 2002. *The Global Activist's Manual: Local Ways to Change the World*. New York, NY: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books.

Proyect, Louis. 2001. "Quebec City and 'diversity of tactics." *The Mail Archive*. [4 March 2003] (http://www.mail-archive.com/marxism@lists.panix.com/msg25991.html).

Radford, Tim and Paul Brown. 2001. "Warming Could Be Worst in 10,000 years." *The Guardian*. [18 June 2003] (http://www.guardian.co.uk/globalwarming/story/0,7369,426816,00.html).

Ray, Paul and Sherry Ruth Anderson. 2000. *The Cultural Creatives: How 50 Million People Are Changing the World*. New York, NY: Harmony Books.

Ray, Paul and Sherry Ruth Anderson. 2005. "Cultural Creatives: Frequently Asked Questions." [5 August 2005] (http://www.culturalcreatives.org/faq.html).

Ray, Paul. 2005. Email correspondence. [3rd April].

Raskin, Paul, Tariq Banuri, Gilberto Gallopin, Pablo Gutman, Al Hammonnd, Robert Kates, Rob Swart. 2002. *Great Transition: The Promise and Lure of the Times Ahead*. Boston, MA: Stockholm Environment Institute.

Reich, Simon. 1998. "What is Globalization? Four Possible Answers." Report to the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies.

Rochon, Thomas. 1998. *Culture Moves: Ideas, Activism, and Changing Values*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rochon, Thomas and David Meyer. 1997. "Introduction: The Nuclear Freeze in Theory and Action." In Thomas Rochon and David Meyer, eds. *Coalitions and Political*

Movements: The Lessons of the Nuclear Freeze. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers: 1-24.

Rockridge Institute. 2004. "Creating a Progressive Values Movement." [3 January 2006] (http://www.rockridgeinstitute.org/research/rockridge/valuesmovement).

Rose, Fred. 2000. *Coalitions Across the Class Divide: Lessons from the Labor, Peace, and Environmental Movements*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Rosenau, James. 1988. "Learning in East-West Relations: The Superpowers as Habit-Driven Actors." In M.D. Intriligator and H.A. Jacobsen, eds. *East-West Conflict: Elite Perceptions and Political Options*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press: 19-44.

Rothman, Jay. 1996. "Reflexive Dialogue as Transformation. *Mediation Quarterly*. 13(4): 345-352.

Rucht, Dieter. 1989. "Environmental Movement Organizations in West Germany and France: Structure and Interorganizational Relations." In Bert Klandermans, ed. *International Social Movement Research: Organizing for Change: volume 2*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Schmitt, Carl. 1996. *The Concept of the Political*. George Schwab, trans. Chicago, ILL: University of Chicago Press.

Schwartz, Peter and James Ogilvy. 1979. *The Emergent Paradigm: Changing Patterns of Thought and Belief*. Analytical Report no. 7, Values and Lifestyles Program. Menlo Park, CA: SRI International.

Seidman, Steven. 1994. *Contested Knowledge: Social Theory in the Postmodern Era*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Shellenberger, Michael and Ted Nordhaus. 2005. "The Death of Environmentalism," [7 November 2006] (http://www.grist.org/news/maindish/2005/01/13/doe-reprint/index.html).

Sheller, Mimi. 2003. "The Mechanisms of Mobility and Liquidity: Re-thinking the Movement in Social Movements," [7 July 2006] (http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Sheller-Mechanisms-of-Mobility-and-Liquidity.pdf).

Singh, Rajendra. 2002. *Social Movements, Old And New: A Post-modernist Critique*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Smart, Barry. 1985. *Michel Foucault*. Chichester and London and New York: E. Horwood.

Smith, Dorthy. 1990. *Texts, Facts and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Smith, Jackie. 2001. "Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements." *Mobilization: an International Journal* 6 (1): 1-20.

Smith, Jackie, Ron Pagnucco, and Charles Chatfied. 1997. *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics*, eds. New York, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Snow, David and Robert Benford. 1988. "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization. *International Social Movement Research.* 1: 197-218.

Snow, David and Robert Benford. 1992. "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest." In Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds. *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press: 133-155.

Snow, David and Robert Benford. 2000. "Clarifying the Relationship between Framing and Ideology." *Mobilization: An International Journal*. 5(1): 55-60.

Snow, Nancy. 2002. *Propaganda, Inc.: Selling America's Culture to the World*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: Seven Stories Press.

Spence, Gerry. 1993. *From Freedom to Slavery: The Rebirth of Tyranny in America*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Staggenborg, Suzanne. 1986. "Coalition Work in the Pro-Choice Movement: Organizational and Environmental Opportunities and Obstacles." *Social Problems*. 33(5): 374-390.

Starhawk. 2001. "Quebec City: Beyond Violence and Nonviolence. Anarchist Opinion: Essays, Rants & Criticisms." [7 July 2002] (http://www.infoshop.org/rants/starhawk_qc.html).

Starhawk. 2002. *Webs of Power: Notes from the Global Uprising*. Gabriola Island, British Columbia, Canada: New Society Publishers.

Starr, Amory. 2000. *Naming the Enemy: Anti-Corporate Movements Confront Globalization*. New York, NY: Zed Books.

Stiglitz, Joseph. 2002. *Globalization and Its Discontents*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company.

Straus, Tamara. 2001. "Baby Steps to a Global Revolution? An Interview with Juliette Beck." In Kevin Danaher, ed. *Democratizing The Global Economy: The Battle Against the World Bank and the IMF*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press: 156-163.

Strauss, Anselm. 2001. Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists. 10th ed. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Stryker, Sheldon. 2000. "Identity Competition: Key to Differential Social Movement Participation? In *Self, Identity, and Social Movements,* eds. Sheldon Stryker, Timothy Owens, and Robert White. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press: 21-40.

Sullivan, Robert E. 2002. "World Social Forum Opens with an Attack on the American-led War on Terrorism. *Common Dreams: News Center*. [17 March 2003] (http://www.commondreams.org/headlines02/0131-01.htm).

Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social movements, Collective Action, and Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Tarrow, Sidney and Doug McAdam. 2005. "Scale Shift in Transnational Contention." In Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, eds. *Transnational Protest and Global Activism.* Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield: 121-50.

Taylor, Rupert. 2002. "Interpreting Global Civil Society. *Voluntas*. 13(4): 339-347.

Taylor, Rupert and Kumi Naidoo. 2004. "Taking Global Civil Society Seriously." In Rupert Taylor, ed. *Creating a Better World: Interpreting Global Civil Society*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian, Inc.

Taylor, Verta. 1997. "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance." In Doug McAdam and David Snow. *Social Movements: Readings on Their Emergence, Mobilization and Dynamics*. Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury Publishing Company.

Taylor, Verta and Nancy Whittier. 1992. "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization." In Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds. *Frontiers of Social Movement Theory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Tilly, Charles. 2003. "Contention Over Space and Place." *Mobilization: An International Journal*. 8(2): 221-225.

Tormey, Simon. 2004. *Anti-capitalism: A Beginner's Guide*. Oxford, England: One World Publications.

Total Liberation Project Evergreen State College. 2002. [6 June 2003] (http://www.geocities.com/ringfingers/totalitiy2.html).

Turner, Ralph. 1994. "Ideology and Utopia after Socialism." In Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston, and Joseph Gusfield, eds. *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Philadelphia, PN: Temple University Press.

Tyler, Patrick. 2003. "A New Power in the Streets. *New York Times*. [16 Feb. 2003] (http://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/17/international/middleeast/).

Urban, Nancy, Alyssa Wulf, and Anat Shenker-Osorio. 2006. "The Value of Values." [9 March 2006] (http://www.rockridgeinstitute.org/research/rockridge/valueofvalues).

Voss, Kim and Rachel Sherman. 2000. "Breaking the Iron Law of Oligarchy: Union Revitalization in the American Labor Movement." *American Journal of Sociology*. 106(2): 303-349.

Wallach, Lori and Michelle Sforza. 1999. *Whose Trade Organization?: Corporate Globalization and the Erosion of Democracy*. Washington DC: Public Citizen.

Warkentin, Craig. 2001. *Reshaping World Politics: NGOs, the Internet, and Global Civil Society*. Landham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Webb, E., D Campbell, R. Schwartz, L. Sechrest. 1966. *Unobtrusive Measures*. Chicago, Ill. Rand McNally.

Welton, Neva and Linda Wolf. 2001. *Global Uprising: Confronting the Tyrannies of the 21st Century – Stories from a New Generation of Activists*. Gabriola Island, Canada: New Society Publishers.

Werbach, Adam. 2005. "Is Environmentalism Dead?" [7 November 2006] (http://www.grist.org/news/maindish/2005/01/13/werbach-reprint/index.html).

Williamson, John. 2002. "Did the Washington Consensus Fail?" Outline of Remarks at CSIS. Washington DC: Institute for International Economics, November 6.

Wilson, Edward O. 2003. *The Future of Life*. New York: Vintage Books USA.

World Social Forum. 2003. Website. [7 March 2004] (http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/home.asp).

World Social Forum. 2004. "Who We Are." [23 June 2003] (http://www.wsfindia.org/whoweare.php).

X, Andrew. 1999. "Give Up Activism." In Reflections on June 18, ed. Reclaim the Streets. [3 January 2004] (http://www.infoshop.org/octo/j18_rts1.html).

Young, Dennis and Bonnie Koening. 1999. "Strategy and Structure in Managing Global

Associations." *Voluntas*. 19(4): 323-343.

Young, Iris Marion. 1990. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton
    University Press.

Zald, Mayer. 2000. "Ideologically Structured Action: An Enlarged Agenda for Social
    Movement Research. *Mobilization: An International Journal*. 5(1): 1-16.
Zald, Mayor and John McCarthy. 1987. "Social Movement Industries: Competition and
    Cooperation Among Movement Organizations." In Mayer Zald and John
    McCarthy, eds. *Social Movements in an Organizational Society: Collected
    Essays*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Zimmerman, Marc. 1995. Psychological empowerment: Issues and illustrations.
    American Journal of Community Psychology. 23:581-599

Zohar, Danah and Ian Marshall. 1994. *The Quantum Society: Mind, Physics, and the New
    Social Vision*. New York, NY: William Morrow and Company, Inc.

APPENDIX I

INTERNET SURVEY

Unity in Diversity: Organizations associated with the Global Democracy Movements' (or Progressive Movement's) Capacity to Unite?

CONSENT LETTER FOR PARTICIPANTS

Oklahoma State University

(Please print a copy for your records)

You are invited to participate in a research study on how Global Democracy (Progressive) Movement Activists view their role in the movement itself as well as how these activists'involved perceive their capacity to grow and unite as a social force to promote change. The questions are focused, not on the individual level, but on the organizational level. You have been selected as a person I should interview because of your position as an activist representing an organization that has supported Global Democracy (Progressive) Movement activities and protests.

This study's goal emerged from talking with activists and reading their scholarship in response to the need to understand the Global Democracy Movement and subsequently move forward. For example, the book *Liberating Theory* (1986) by activist scholars Michael Albert, Leslie Cagan, Noam Chomsky, Robin Hahnel, Mel King, Lydia Sargent, and Holly Sklar resonates with me. These authors combine and transcend various theories of history – Marxism, Anarchism, Feminism, and Nationalism – to develop an alternative framework they call *complementary holism* in order to oppose modern oppressions while together formulating a common vision. Although these authors could not agree to get back together to formulate solutions, I see the Global Democracy Movement as a new opportunity to revisit this possibility of understanding the movement's capacity to unite as a social force social change and formulating a common vision for the future.

This study will be helpful for participants to reflect on the Global Democracy Movement and help scholars and activists understand the challenging factors that both bring this movement together as well as obstruct its capacity to unite.

My name is John Wood. I am a doctoral candidate in environmental science at Oklahoma State University and I am conducting surveys through an Internet web-page interface and then will follow up with a telephone interview to understand the questionnaire answers as well as to explore some questions in greater detail. The Internet web-page questionnaire will take approximately an hour and the follow up telephone interview may also take an hour, depending on your willingness to speak to these issues. You may choose to participate in the survey through the Internet web-page interface and later refuse to be interviewed on the telephone.

During the telephone interview, I will take notes for later analysis. With your permission, the interview will also be audio-taped to help in the note-taking process. At the conclusion of the transcription process, the tapes will be erased. In order to protect your identity, I will assign pseudonyms for you and codes for your organization, which will appear on the transcripts. All information collected will be kept confidential, and the list indicating your actual name will be kept in a secure place by the faculty directing the study and then destroyed once the research is finished. Other than myself, no one else will be made aware of your identity. I will take extra precautions to protect identities by storing the code sheet separately from the tapes themselves to prevent outsiders from discovering identities from the tapes. The study may result in published articles, a dissertation, and/or presentations at professional conferences. Any reporting that arises from this research project will not identify individuals.

If you choose to participate in the study, you are free to withdraw at any time. You may also decline to participate. You will not be penalized for withdrawing or declining. If you withdraw from the study, the tape will either be quickly destroyed or it can be sent to you at your request.

There is no monetary compensation and you will not incur any financial cost for participating in this study.

I understand that participation is voluntary and there is not penalty from refusal to participate in this study and you can withdraw your consent at anytime even after the interview has been conducted by notifying me. If you have any further questions or concerns, please contact me at (405) 372-6178 and/or email me at greenwoodjr@hotmail.com. Please keep the attached copy of this letter for future reference. If at any time during this study you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, you may contact Dr. Carol Olson, Chair, University Research Compliance, 415 Whitehurst, Stillwater, OK 74078, 405-744-1676, colson@okstate.edu.

Thank you for your participation in this study.

Sincerely,

John Wood	Advisors: Dr. Patricia Hipsher
Doctoral Candidate, Environmental Science Oklahoma State University 424 w. 3rd Apt. 6. Stillwater, OK 74074 greenwoodjr@hotmail.com (405) 372-6178	Associate Professor Political Science, 517 Math Sciences, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK 74078 hipshep@okstate.edu **Dr. Beth Caniglia** Assistant Professor Sociology, 006 Classroom Building, Stillwater, OK 74078 canigli@okstate.edu

Please indicate whether or not you wish to participate in this project by Clicking either "I wish to participate," which will take you to the Internet survey, or clicking, "No Thanks," which will exit you from the survey. Please choose the statement below that you feel most comfortable with.

If you wish to participate in the study, *Unity in Diversity: Global Democracy Movement's Qualitative Capacity to Unite?***, have read this consent form, agree to be audio-taped in a follow up interview, please click: "I wish to participate" below.**

I wish to not participate in the study, *Unity in Diversity: Global Democracy Movement's Qualitative Capacity to Unite? ,* and have read this consent form, please click: "No Thanks" below.

I wish to participate   No Thanks
Internet Questionnaire
Unity in Diversity: Global Democracy Movements' Qualitative Capacity to Unite?
   I.

As an activist/scholar, I find that teaching and research is activism in itself. Therefore, I want to do my part by inviting you to participate in a research study on how Global Democracy (Progressive) Movement activists see their role in the movement. I believe that activist-scholars can lay the conceptual frameworks that activists in the field can later utilize to facilitate a stronger social movement. This research's goal is to evaluate movement activist's perception of their role in the movement, and how activists' involved perceive their capacity to grow and unite as a social force to promote change. The questions are focused, not on the individual level, but on the organizational level.

This survey's priority is to understand your organization's point of view. Although many activists would find it more accurate to describe the Global Democracy (Progressive) Movement, also known as the Antiglobalization Movement, as a "movement of movements, for simplicity sake, I treat it as a single movement.

You have been selected as a person I should interview because of your position as an activist representing an organization that has supported Global Democracy (Progressive) Movement activities and protests.

Your responses to these questions are completely confidential; I will never publish the name of your organization or your name. I will use your answers to illustrate patterns that may emerge throughout the interviews I conduct. Please, feel free to comment beyond the scope of any given question I present. I am interested in any stories or examples you might want to share as well as further information if you feel I am not asking enough detail or the right questions. If you would like a copy of the results of this dissertation, please let me know.

Please, contact me at any time – 405-372-6178, or greenwoodjr@hotmail.com -- if you have any questions or just want to talk with me.

Thank you,
 John Wood

A. The first section asks about what scholars call framing, or the way in which your organization views the problems and solutions associated with globalization.

   1) What organizations or actors (organizations, or types of organizations) would your organization consider friends or allies? Please explain as best you can why?

   2) What organizations or actors (organizations, or types of organizations) would your organization consider the enemy or opposition? Please explain as best you can why?

3) What kind of tactics does your organization most employ? (Check all that apply).

☐ Direct Action   ☐ Marches
☐ Blockades   ☐ Street Theater   ☐ Others, please explain
below

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                             ▲ │
│                                             ░ │
│                                               │
│                                               │
│                                               │
│                                               │
│                                             ▼ │
│ ◄ ░                                         ► │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

4) The phrase: "Another World is Possible," seems to be popular among movement activists, does it mean anything to your organization?

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                             ▲ │
│                                             ░ │
│                                               │
│                                               │
│                                               │
│                                             ▼ │
│ ◄ ░                                         ► │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

5) I have observed that a primary emphasis of the Global Democracy Movement is to end a variety of oppressions. Obviously, every organization probably cannot address every one of these effectively. How would your organization prioritizes in addressing each of these oppressions? Please rate each oppression with a number from 1 through 8. The number 1 as the most important and 8 as the least important. If your organization finds that certain oppressions are equal, please note this in the dialogue box below (as well as make equal scores in the boxes). If there are oppressions not expressed, please note this below as well.

☐ Sexual orientation ☐ Class ☐ Race ☐ Nationality ☐ Ethnicity
☐ Ecological ☐ Gender ☐ Pluralist

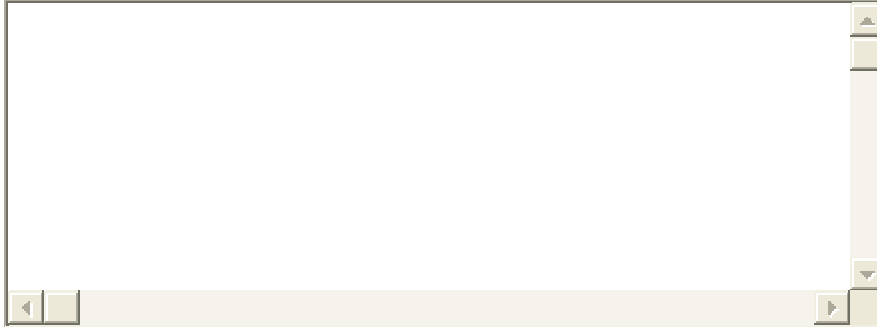**B. This second section relates to how your organization portrays itself.**

6) Many organizations associated with the movement oppose hierarchical decision making because it seems inconsistent with their opposition. How does your organization embody those principles it espouses?

7) How has the 9/11 tragedy changed your organization's or other organizations' involvement in the Global Democracy Movement? If so, can you explain any changes?

8) Is there an underlying philosophy or philosophies that influences how your organization portrays itself to other organizations? If so, can you describe it or them?

[text box]

9) What do you think is the proper role of an activist? i.e. involvement in protest? At home? (Check all that apply).

☐ Protests domestically   ☐ Protests Globally
☐ Activism at home   ☐ Community Service   ☐ Others, please explain below

[text box]

C. This third section relates to how your organization organizes internally and externally in relation to other like-minded organizations.

10) What kind of decision-making process(es) does your organization employ internally? (Check all that apply).

☐ consensus   ☐ majority rules   ☐ top-down decision making ☐ by committee
☐ others, please explain below

[text input box]

11) What would you say is the most successful kind of communication process your organization employs to align with other organizations? (Check all that apply).

- ☐ conferences ☐ email listservs ☐ spokescouncils ☐ in person
- ☐ telephone ☐ others, please explain below
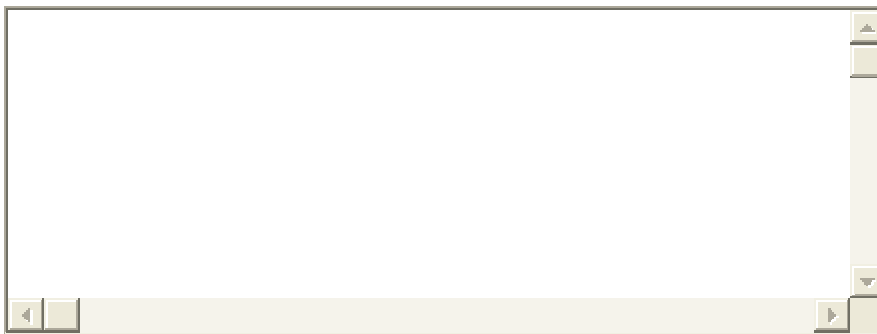
[text input box]

12) What is your instinct, do you see the movement as being fractured, or united? If fractured, please go to question 13, if united, skip to question 14.

[text input box]

13) Although you see the movement fragmented, do you seeing the movement having the capacity to come together?
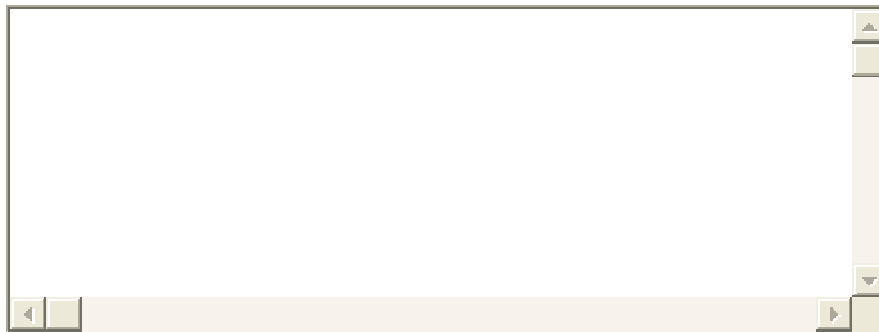
Why or why not?

14) Can you explain what the cause for it being united? In other words, what is bringing them together?

15) In your opinion, what specifically are the largest barriers to uniting the movement?

D. The fourth section involves only one question, and it explores how your organization and the movement itself views itself and learns from itself.

16) What social movement scholarship or writings, if any, (i.e. authors) are you or others in your organization reading and discussing?

E. The fifth and final section explores protest related areas.

17) At protests, there are a variety of activities needed for a successful event. Would you say that there is a division of labor in the movement? If so, can you describe some barriers to working together?

18) During the Seattle protest, as well as, with subsequent protests, the Internet was helpful in getting activists to the protest itself, however, since there is a variety of organizations with different prioritizations of goals and strategies, do you see a concerted effort at working together strategically?

19) At protests, there are often trainings on strategies where new activists can learn how to effectively protest. How important would you say these trainings are to the movement?

[ ]

F. Thank you very much for taking time from your day to answer these questions with me! I have one final question to ask:

20) Would you be willing to participate in Part II of this research with a follow-up phone interview? It would take approximately and hour at your convenience. Your contact information and availability will be strictly confidential, following Internal Review Board criteria as explained in the consent form. This information will allow me to match this survey with the follow-up interview.

[ ]   Yes! My contact information and best time to get a hold of me is:

[ ]

[ ]   No, Thank you! However, at least place an identifier in the box above, so I can tell who you and know who to approach or not approach in the future.

Submit   Reset

APPENDIX II

PHONE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Unity in Diversity: Global Democracy Movements'
  Qualitative Capacity to Unite?

Hi, my name is John Wood. I'm a doctoral candidate at Oklahoma State University. I've already talked to you before with my survey over the Internet. Is it ok to ask you some follow up questions regarding the Global Democracy Movement? *Yes ?*   *No?*
It might take as much as 45 minutes or more depending on how much we talk. Is that ok?
    II.   Yes? No?

The questions I ask you are focused, not on the individual level, but on the organizational level.

This survey's priority is to understand your organization's point of view. Although many activists would find it more accurate to describe the Global Democracy Movement, also known as the Antiglobalization Movement, as a "movement of movements, for simplicity sake, I treat it as a single movement.

You have been selected as a person I should interview because of your position as an activist representing an organization that has supported Global Democracy Movement activities and protests.

So you know, your responses to these questions are completely confidential; I will never publish the name of your organization or your name. I will use your answers to illustrate patterns that may emerge throughout the interviews I conduct. Please, feel free to comment beyond the scope of any given question I present. I am interested in any stories or examples you might want to share as well as further information if you feel I am not asking enough detail or the right questions. If you would like a copy of the results of this dissertation after I complete it, please let me know.

Is it still ok to ask you questions? *Yes? No?*

Ok, let's start.

A. The first section asks about what scholars call framing, or the way in which your organization views the problems and solutions associated with globalization.

1) I know there are many criticisms in the world today. However, I want to know, according to your organization, what is/are the primary problems do you target?

2) According to your organization, beyond these problems you have described, what or who would your organization view as the primary cause of the problems associated with globalization?

3) Does your organization see itself in a fight, if so, what is it fighting for?

4) Who or what would your organization say it is fighting against?

5) Do activists in your organization point to a primary problem or oppression associated with globalization, or do they seem to see these problems and oppressions as interrelated?

6) Based on your experience, can you provide an example or story of the kinds of strategies and tactics your organization best employs to fix, or otherwise oppose the problem(s) your organization has identified?

7) Overall, has your organization changed its strategies and/or tactics because of experience gained from past successes and failures? If so, can you provide examples or a story in which your organization has learned from past experience?

8) What is your organization's vision for fixing the problems associated with globalization?

B. This second section relates to how your organization portrays itself.

9) In my experience, I have oftentimes noticed that other activist organizations do not seem to agree with each other in regards to a common focus. Can you relate what ways your organization has utilized campaigns that have most effectively created alliances focused on a common campaign? Can you provide examples?

10) Sometimes organizing campaigns are not as effective as we would hope them to be. In your experience have you found some campaigns that did not seem to resonate, or did not seem to work, in motivating other organizations to align with you? Can you provide any story examples of how your organization was able to align or otherwise learn from this process?

11) Since outside forces often influence organizations, such as those involving 9/11 tragedy, would you say that your organization has had to change how it portrays itself in response? If so, can you provide a story or example that shows this change?

12) The Global Democracy Movement is composed of a diversity of groups that do not always agree on what the problems are and how to go about addressing them; however, can you relate a story describing how your organization or others have successfully traversed barriers and accomplished something that helped unite the movement, in other words, got them on the same page?

13) Can you describe a story about how your organization or others could not successfully get over barriers and help unite the movement?

C. This third section relates to how your organization organizes internally and externally in relation to other like-minded organizations.

14) If your organization has experienced internal decision-making problems, can you provide examples of how your organization worked through them in response?

15) In my experience, communication problems often occur between organizations no matter how often we try to avoid it. If your organization has experienced problems communicating with organizations, can you provide examples of how your organization worked through them or otherwise learned from them?

16) In my experience, even on good days, often it is hard to get organizations to cooperate. Can you provide some examples or stories of organizations not cooperating?

D. The fourth section explores how your organization and the movement itself reflexively views itself and learns from itself.

17) In my experience protests and conferences are good opportunities to network and get to know fellow activists. Do you feel that activists in the field are learning from past experiences attending conferences and protests? If so, how?

18) Many authors, such as Martinez (2000), writes of exclusion in the movement in her article "Where Was the Color in Seattle?" in which she stresses the need to understand the lack of diversity in the 1999 Seattle protest and what can be learned from it. There are other instances in which power and exclusion are debated in the movement, can you provide examples of this?

E. The fifth and final section explores protest related areas.

19) Can you describe instances in which organizations have had to take a back seat to other organization's agendas?

20) It seems that activists engaging certain techniques that are repeated to oppose corporate globalization at protests. Could you say that protests have become ritualized? In other words, how would you describe the continuity of strategies from protest to protest?

APPENDIX III

CODES

Af – How they see alternatives to the current form of globalization.
AWIP – Another World is Possible
Daf – Who SMOs see as their friends and enemies.
    Daf E – Enemies
    Daf F – Friends
DM – Decision making
    DMC – Consensus decision making
    DMMR – Majority Rules
Dpf – How activists employed by SMOs see what problems globalization pose.
    Dcf – Problems – Race
    Dcf Ec – Economics
    Dcf En – Environment
    Dcf M – Militarism
    Dcf Int – Internal to the Movement
    Dcf P – Political
    Dcfh – human rights
    Dcfhi – interrelated
    Dcfr – religion
    Dcfetc – ethnicity
Lp – Learning from subsequent successful and failed conferences and protests.
  LPc – Conferences
  LPp - Protests
Lt – Learning from successful and failed strategies and tactical coordination.
  Lty – Yes
  Ltn – No
Lm – Whether SMO activists see their political spaces as part of a larger social movement,
Mf – How movement actors provide a "call to arms" or a provision of a rationale for collective action.
    Rf - Reframing
Mef – How movement activists see their strategic and tactical effectively challenging power.

MefRP – ritualized protests
O – Oppression
    Ol – Learning
    Op – plural
    Os – strategizing
    OEc – economics
    Ost – students
    Oen – environment
    OI – interconnected
    Ok – kinship
    Oc – community
    Oh – hierarchy
    Oint – internal
Of – focus
Pf – Are movement activists prefiguratively practicing what they preach?
Ppf – How they will go about fixing what they view as problems
    Ppf e – Education
    Ppf i – Inside Tactics
    Ppf o – Outside Tactics
    Ppfc – change
    Ppfco – coalition work
Rl – Reading, writing, and debating about organizing and tactical questions as well as methods of mobilization.
Rd – Debating about power and exclusion within the movement.
    RdAo – Anti-oppression work
Rr – Exploring what is the proper role of the activist.
Tf – Are SMOs in competition, in coalition, see a common enemy, or see themselves as different facets of a larger movement?
Tfu – Uniting
  Tfuv - Values
  Tffu – "for"
  Tfdl – division of labor
  Tfbbc – Communication Problems
  Tfbbcp – Communication helpful
  Tfbbt – Tactics
  TBB – Barriers to uniting
  TBT – Alliances
  TBT – Alliances – Common Enemy

APPENDIX IV

LARGE-SCALE PROTESTS

1999: Seattle, WTO, Nov. 30.

2000: April 16th, Washington D.C., World Bank;; July 29 -- Philadelphia, USA, Republican National Convention; August 11 -- Los Angeles, USA, Democratic National Convention; Sept. 11-- Melbourne, Australia, World Economic Forum; Sept. 26 -- Prague, Czech Republic, World Bank/IMF; Nov. 20 -- Montreal, Quebec, G20 meeting;

2001: Jan. 20 -- Washington, DC, USA Bush inauguration; Jan. 27 -- Davos, Switzerland, World; Economic Forum; April 20 -- Quebec City, Canada, Summit of the Americas (FTAA); June 15 -- Gothenburg, Sweden EU Summit; July 20 -- Genoa, Italy G8 Summit; September 29 – Washington, D.C., Anti-capitalist anti-war protests;

2002: February 1 -- New York City, USA / Porto Alegre, Brazil World Economic Forum /World Social Forum; March 15 -- Barcelona, Spain EU Summit; April 20 -- Washington, DC (War on Terrorism); June 26 -- Calgary, Alberta and Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, G8 summit at Kananaskis, Alberta; J26 G8 Protests September 27 -- Washington, DC, IMF/World Bank

2003: weekend of February 15 -- Global protests against war on Iraq (pre-war) about 12 million antiwar protesters; March, April -- Global protests against war on Iraq; July 28 -- Montreal, Quebec; September 14 -- Cancún, Mexico -- Fifth Ministerial of the WTO collapses; and October -- regional WEF meeting in Dublin, *European Competitiveness Summit*, cancelled; Nov. 20th, Miami – FTAA; Lausanne, Switzerland, G-8.

2004: April 25th – "March for Women's Lives." In D.C. between 500,000 to 1.5 million protesters.

2005: July 2 to July 8, 2005 – Edinburgh, Glasgow and Gleneagles, Scotland Protests - G8 Summit; September 24 largest demonstrations since the U.S. invasion: more than 300,000 people in D.C. and 50,000 each in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Slogan: "Bring the Troops Home Now! End Colonial Occupation from Iraq, to Palestine, to Haiti, and Everywhere!"

2006: April 26th – "End War Now" in New York City; May 1st Protests over immigration across the United States "Day without an Immigrant"; May 22nd – Grassroots Training and Congressional Advocacy Days.

APPENDIX V

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Friday, October 01, 2004

IRB Application   AS0517

Proposal Title: Unity in Diversity: Global Democracy Movement's Qualitative Capacity to
                         Unite?

Reviewed and   Expedited
Processed as:

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved   Protocol Expires: 9/30/2005

Principal
Investigator(s

John Wood   Patricia Hipsher
424 W. 3rd Apt. 6   517 MS
Stillwater, OK 74075   Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the
rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that
the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45
CFR 46.

☒ The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval
stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol
   must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar
   year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are
   unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the
authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions
about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact me in 415 Whitehurst
(phone: 405-744-1676, colson@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,

Carol Olson

Carol Olson, Chair
Institutional Review Board

VITA

John R. Wood

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Dissertation: UNITY ALONGSIDE DIVERSITY: THE QUALITATIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE MOVEMENT OF MOVEMENTS' CAPACITY TO UNITE

Major Field: Environmental Science

Biographical:

Personal Data: Graduated from Stillwater High School, Stillwater, Oklahoma in May 1989; received Bachelor's Degree, Journalism and Broadcasting (News/Editorial) and a Master's Degree, Political Science from Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, Oklahoma, in 1994 and 1998, respectively. Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Environmental Science (Policy) at Oklahoma State University in May 2007.

Experience: Born in Stillwater, Oklahoma; Raised in Pullman, Washington, Longmont, Colorado, and then again in Stillwater, Oklahoma. Served my country in the US Marine Corps Reserves from 1989 to 1996 and in Operation Desert Fox, Desert Storm, and Keep the Peace from 1990 to 1991. Employed by Oklahoma State University as a Teaching Assistant 1996-97 in Political Science; Teaching Assistant in Mass Communications 1997-98; Research Assistant 1998-2001 in Political Science; Lecturer 2001-05 in Political Science. Professor in Political Science at Rose State College 2005+.

Professional Memberships: Oklahoma Political Science Association, American, Political Science Association, Union of Concerned Scientists, and Sigma Xi

Name: John Robert Wood   Date of Degree: May 2007

Institution: Oklahoma State University   Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: UNITY ALONGSIDE DIVERSITY: THE QUALITATIVE
                        ASSESSMENT OF THE MOVEMENT OF MOVEMENTS'
                        CAPACITY TO UNITE

Pages in Study: 356   Candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major Field: Environmental Science

Scope and Method of Study: The purpose of this study is to examine whether the
        "Movement of movements" has the capacity to unite into a larger movement for
        social change. The study utilized and examined fifty-five Internet surveys and
        follow-up telephone interviews with a semi-semi-structured format.

Findings and Conclusions: Five years after the "Battle of Seattle," multiple protests,
        conferences, listservs, and four World Social Forums, this movement is actually
        fragmented into many movements precariously finding themselves together
        against what many find is a "common enemy." However, there are indications
        that this Movement of movements might transform into a higher level of unity
        greater then what is currently experienced. This transformation needs a
        reconceptualization of empowerment. Therefore, I conceptualize the Relational
        empowerment Strategy to provide a blue print in order to facilitate social change.

        ADVISOR'S APPROVAL: _____Patricia Hipsher_____ _____