

From offence to defence:
The Australian Global Justice Movement and the impact of 9/11

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CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORSHIP/ORIGINALITY

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree, except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signature of Candidate

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- An earlier version of the discussion of movement-relevant research from Chapter 2 was published in a special issue of *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (Vol 1/2) as ‘Thinking and Theorising About Activism: Who and How?’. The volume arose from an earlier conference, *Other Worlds 2: After the Neo-Con Men*, and I appreciate the assistance of co-organisers and co-editors Associate Professor James Goodman, Dr Christina Ho and Dr Heather Formaini. Thank you also to the two anonymous referees for feedback and suggestions.
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Abstract

This thesis examines the trajectory of the Global Justice Movement (GJM) in Australia and the impact of the 9/11 attacks, in particular focusing on the period 1999- 2002. The questions of the dramatic rise and, as many argue, fall of the movement are assessed. While some have argued 9/11 was the death of the Australian GJM, others believe it didn't constitute a significant setback. This thesis therefore inquires into the extent to which these arguments about a 'setback' provide an accurate account of conditions and circumstances of the GJM in Australia post 9/11. In this sense, the research is at once concerned with the question of the development of the movement in Australia and the wider neoliberal global context the movement was a part of.

This thesis considers the complexity of factors that shaped the trajectory of the GJM in Australia and argues against the simplistic notion that the 9/11 attacks *caused* the collapse of the movement. Rather, it argues there are key internal and external factors that negatively impacted on the movement and fundamentally altered its shape in the period after the attacks. While these factors are not in practice separate, and are part of the global environment the movement found itself in, it is useful to delineate them analytically so their particular shape and impact can be clarified.

Significant attention is paid to the activities and insights of the activists interviewed for this research, and their understanding of the course of the movement. It is argued that although there was a spread of views amongst the activists, their understanding of the impact of 9/11 crystallised as two tendencies (to be called Campaigners and Networkers). It is argued that the particular reflexive activity, or praxis, of the Networkers, provided them with a more holistic appreciation of the movement and the impact of the attacks. The thesis uses the work of Antonio Gramsci to analyse these two tendencies, arguing that his concept of an organic intellectual offers a useful way for understanding how such differentiation developed and its significance.

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Acronyms and terms list

9/11	The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington on September 11 2001
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions
AFTINET	Australian Fair Trade and Investment Network
AFL-CIO	Umbrella organisation for trade unions in the USA
ATTAC	Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens
AWOL	The grouping Autonomous Web of Liberation
CACTUS	Campaign Against Corporate Tyranny United in Solidarity
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
DAN	Direct Action Network
FNS	Food Not Scabs
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
G8	Self appointed group of eight leading economies (USA, UK, Canada, Japan, Russia, Germany, France, Italy)
G20	Finance ministers and central bank governors from 19 leading economies and the European Union.
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GJM	Global Justice Movement
GLAM	Gays and Lesbians Against Multinationals
GLBTI	Gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and intersex
IMF	International Monetary Fund
j18	The signifier of the ‘Carnival Against Capitalism’ protests and actions on June 18 1999
m1	The signifier of the demonstrations and actions on May 1 2001 and May 1 2002 in Australian capital cities, and elsewhere globally
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investment
MUA	Maritime Union of Australia
n30	The signifier of the demonstrations against the WTO Conference on Seattle, beginning 30 November 1999
NGO	Non-government organisation
NSMT	New Social Movement Theory
NVivo	A data analysis software program, designed for researchers
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PGA	Peoples’ Global Action
PPT	Political Process Theory

QuACE	Queers United Against Capitalist Exploitation
QUEER	Queers United to Eradicate Economic Rationalism
RMT	Resource Mobilisation Theory
RTS	Reclaim The Streets
s10	Signifier for the park based festival and public forums held on 10 September 2000, as counter events to at the Summit of the Asia-Pacific World Economic Forum
s11	Signifier for the blockades and protests at the Summit of the Asia-Pacific World Economic Forum on 11 September 2000
TCFUA	Textiles, Clothing and Footwear Union of Australia
VTHC	Victorian Trades Hall Council
WEF	World Economic Forum
WSF	World Social Forum
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Introduction

Remember the antitrade demonstrations? They were the top item in the news before terrorists attacked the World Trade Centre. Now they have receded to the netherworld where we have tucked all the things that seemed important then.

Wall Street Journal editorial

‘Adieu Seattle?’ – 24 September 2001¹

Francis Fukuyama (1992) declared in the closing decade of last century that the fall of the Berlin Wall signalled ‘the end of history’ and the absence of meta-narratives that could challenge neoliberal hegemony (Encel 2002; McDonald 2002). For ruling elites, Margaret Thatcher’s assertion ‘there is no alternative’ was unquestioned (Wallerstein 2003: 32). Yet barely a decade had passed before Teamsters and Turtles met on the streets of Seattle in a movement that challenged the paradigm Fukuyama had outlined, and not much longer before an extremist fragment of political Islam took such dramatic action that their message about American hegemony would become a defining point for a generation.

For a brief moment between the anti-World Trade Organisation (WTO) protests in Seattle and the September 11 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, a global social movement stood on the world stage to argue that ‘another world is possible’. Protests at various summits of the global elite focused the political debate in the developed world on questions of equity and justice, issues that had long confronted the Global South and those who experience the negative impacts of neoliberalism. The events in Seattle have been described as protests that would no longer allow ‘business as usual’ to be conducted, and similar demonstrations followed across the globe: 26 September 2000 in Prague against the IMF and World Bank; June 2001 against the EU Summit in Gothenburg Sweden; 20 April 2001 in Quebec City against the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) Summit; and the largest of all the protests at the G8 Summit in Genoa on 20 July 2001.

In Australia it was on 11 September 2000 in Melbourne, in protests against the Summit of the Asia-Pacific World Economic Forum (WEF), that local activists took their turn. Called s11 by the movement, and involving a blockade of the Crown Casino to stop delegates accessing the venue, it publicly displayed a large network of people concerned

¹ Quoted in Dan Hind, *The Threat to Reason: How the Enlightenment Was Hijacked and How We Can Reclaim It* (London: Verso, 2007).

with the issues of globalisation, free trade, labour rights, the erosion of democracy and the power of multinational corporations. It was in this moment that the Global Justice Movement (GJM) in Australia cohered and developed its collective identity. Some argued this was a new kind of activism and politics (Klein 2000b; McDonald 2006) based as much around culture and self-expression as it was around issues and agendas. Others saw this as the return of something not so much new, but a newly re-invigorated and a contextually specific return to 'first principles' (Sparrow 2000: 20; Wallerstein 2002). At that time, it was near impossible to pick up a major Australian newspaper without it containing articles about the concerns of the new 'anti-globalisation' movement².

A year after 9/11, to the day, four United States domestic planes were hijacked and flown into symbols of American power. The repercussions of these events were far-reaching, and in their wake wars have been launched, democratic rights curtailed and the geopolitical situation fundamentally altered. In regards to the impact on the GJM, Noam Chomsky (2001: 19) said the attacks were:

a setback for the worldwide protests against globalisation ... [as] such terrorist atrocities are a gift to the harshest and most repressive elements on all sides, and are sure to be exploited to accelerate the agenda of militarisation, reversal of social democratic programs, transfer of wealth to narrow sectors.

The GJM in Australia is not necessarily the longest surviving social movement of recent years, or even the most high profile, but its anti-systemic nature makes it of critical interest to activists and academics alike. The GJM's increasing coherence and collective identity, in the wake of Seattle and 9/11, saw a break from the social movement activity of previous years, with the formation of a movement beyond the nation state and encompassing a critique of the world economic system.

The aim of this research, in its most simple expression, is to examine activists' understanding of the trajectory of the GJM in Australia and the impact of the 9/11 attacks. Much has been written about the GJM internationally, but far less so about its Australian section. This thesis hopes, in part, to fill that gap. Importantly, the questions of the dramatic rise and, as many argue, fall of the movement are still pertinent in the minds of activists today. Most analysis of the GJM in Australia was conducted before or soon after

² The name 'anti-globalisation movement' was not popular with those involved in the movement, and for the purpose of this research the term 'Global Justice Movement' is used instead. A more extensive discussion of this can be found in Chapter 3.

9/11, when the impact of the event and path of the movement were still unclear (Burgmann 2003: 326; Couch 2003; Grenfell 2001). While many activists argued 9/11 was the death knell of the movement, others believe its impact did not constitute a significant setback in Australia at all (Couch and Sullivan 2006). A key task is therefore to inquire into the extent to which these arguments about a 'setback' provide an accurate account of conditions and circumstances of the GJM in Australia post 9/11. In this sense, the research is at once concerned with the question of the development of the movement in Australia and the wider neoliberal context the global movement was a part of.

This thesis considers the complexity of factors that shaped the trajectory of the GJM in Australia and argues against the simplistic notion that the 9/11 attacks *caused* the collapse of the movement. Rather, it argues there are key internal and external factors that negatively impacted on the movement and altered its form and shape. While these factors are not in practice separate, and they are part of the global environment the movement was located within, it is useful to delineate them analytically so their particular shape and influence can be better clarified. Significant attention is paid to the activities and insights of the activists interviewed for this research, and their understanding of the course of the movement. It is argued that although there was a spread of views amongst activists, their understandings of the impact of 9/11 on the GJM crystallised as two tendencies (to be called movement Campaigners and Networkers). It is argued that the particular reflexive activity, or praxis, of the Networkers provided them with a more holistic appreciation of the movement and the impact of the attacks. The thesis uses the work of Antonio Gramsci to analyse these two tendencies, arguing that his concept of an organic intellectual offers a useful way for understanding how such differentiation developed and its significance.

Chapter One provides a historical overview of theoretical approaches to the study of social movements. The chapter considers what is a social movement, and in examining definitions argues that movements are best considered as a mediated expression of societal conflict. It is argued that the GJM represented a challenge to the dominant social movement theories, and one that cannot be answered from within those paradigms. A research framework is developed from this analysis, from the traditions of Marxism and in particular Gramsci.

Chapter Two outlines the methodology of the thesis. The process undertaken to characterise the GJM in Australia is described and the key methods explored.

Consideration is given to how movement-relevant theory might be developed through a thesis such as this, and the position of the author as a previous participant in the movement is examined.

Chapter Three reviews the origins of the GJM internationally and is set down in two parts. The first considers the socio-economic context behind the movement (in particular the impact of the Washington Consensus, globalisation and commodification) and relates this to the campaigns that first started to express opposition to neoliberal social change in a visible way. The second part explores the nature of the movement from the view of participants and through relevant literature, establishing its character and distinctiveness. The movement is understood as a counter-hegemonic movement that developed a number of critiques through the 1990s, in the political space provided by the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the establishment of neoliberalism.

Chapter Four presents analysis, based on both relevant literature and interviews with key activists, of the formation and manifestation of the GJM in Australia. Through the voices of the interviewees we hear how the movement developed from particular antecedents, how it understood itself, and what the common concerns and aims were. It is argued that the movement is best understood as a ‘differentiated unity’ and that the vehicle of s11 provided a ‘break’ within what had been a more continuous trajectory of social movement activity, whereby a unique collective identity for the GJM was able to be established and cohered. The role of the dynamic between the institutional and extra/anti-institutional components of the movement is considered.

Chapter Five examines interviewees’ understandings of the impact of the 9/11 attacks on the GJM in Australia. It is argued that, for the purpose of analytical clarity, these issues are usefully delineated as externally driven material and ideological factors, and internally focused organisational and ideological issues. There is debate amongst the interviewees about the degree to which, or in what sense, the movement was altered. While the proposition that 9/11 *caused* a collapse of the movement is viewed as overly simplistic, it is argued by the interviewees that the form in which the GJM remains in Australia today is different to the period under examination (1999-2002). An important observation of the research is then raised: that the activist interviewees’ understanding of the impact of 9/11 crystallised as two tendencies and that this was related directly to ‘how’ they engaged as an activist within the movement. These two groups are described

as Networkers and Campaigners, and Gramsci's conception of the organic intellectual is adopted to situate this observation within the research.

Chapter Six returns to the analysis discussed in Chapter One, that social movements are usefully viewed as an expression of deeper social forces in conflict over a longer timeframe, and that this is demonstrated by the GJM in Australia. Utilising Gramsci's notion of the organic intellectual in relation to the Networkers and Campaigners, the question of the role of a strategic/discursive centre within the movement is considered. The most common observation by interviewees regarding 9/11 was that when difficulties and debates arose, the form of the movement with an absence of a democratic discursive centre constrained its ability to deal with those challenges. It is argued that Gramsci's understanding of counter-hegemony and the role of the 'party' offer insights into this dynamic, and may provide useful conceptualisations for the trajectory of the GJM in Australia.

In the **Conclusion**, a hope that the research proves useful for both academics and activists interested in the GJM in Australia is stated and possible dimensions for further research raised. It is also suggested that lessons for social movement activists can be drawn from the process of retreat and regroupment, as much as from victories and growth.

Chapter 1: Studying totality

While researchers have emphasised that the process of defining social movements is a nebulous and difficult one (Annetts et al. 2009: 7), it is not a task that should be put aside. In this chapter, a framework for understanding social movements, and in particular the GJM, is established. The question of how social movements relate to society's 'totality' is considered, and an account of the history of social movement literature will move from the nineteenth century to the present.

Marxism is introduced as the first significant theory of social movements, giving way (at first) to crowd behaviour and psychological approaches and then to the academic discipline of social movement studies. The two significant streams of sub-analysis within the discipline are overviewed: New Social Movement Theory (NSMT) in Europe and Resource Mobilisation Theory (RMT) and Political Process Theory (PPT) in North America.

Key critiques of contemporary social movement analysis and a re-evaluation of the Marxist approach to social conflict are presented. It is argued that a dialectical Marxism, based on an appreciation of societal totality and Gramsci's understanding of social movement strategy, offers the best framework for analysing the GJM and the research undertaken in this thesis.

Putting roots down with definitions

Reflecting on what a social movement 'is' forms a critical component of this research. This is because, in considering definitions, investigative assumptions gain clarity and a focus is given to what a researcher values as important. It also makes clear what recedes and is de-prioritised in any work.

Nick Crossley (2002) considers this question at length and notes that while each movement has features in common with others, no feature is 'sufficiently inclusive and sufficiently exclusive to demarcate and identify the set' (p 2). He ultimately contends that this is, in part, because such definitions rest on arbitrary terms like 'protest' and 'activist', which 'belong to our everyday language and derive meaning from their diverse uses in

specific contexts ... [obeying] the “fuzzy logic” of [a] social practice’ (ibid)³ that is constantly under transformation and renovation. However, surrendering to such fuzziness downplays the role for, and centrality of, theory in the study of social movements.

In general terms, social movements have been defined in reference to key features, such as:

- at least occasional mass mobilisation
- tendency towards a loose organisational structure
- spasmodic activity
- working at least in part outside established institutional frameworks
- bringing about social change (or perhaps preserving aspects of the social order) as a central aim (Scott 1992: 132).

While most movements would clearly ‘tick’ each of these boxes, historically and more recently such definitions have attracted criticism for being too instrumental and reductionist. An earlier alternative to this approach drew a distinction between social movements and social movement organisations, stating that ‘a *social movement* is a set of opinions and beliefs in a population representing preferences for challenging some elements of the social structure or reward distribution, or both, of a society’ (McCarthy and Zald 1977). In this framework ‘a *social movement organisation* is a complex, formal, organisation that identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a counter movement and attempts to implement these goals’ (p 1218). However, this approach is awkward as there is a failure to emphasise social movement organisations, and social movements, as both an expression of wider social relations and an act of agency seeking change over a particular question.

In commencing their four-volume collection of historical writings on social movements, and focusing less on a set of criteria, Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper (2007: 1) state the following:

³ Here Crossley is referencing Pierre Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of ‘fuzzy logic’, which argues that the social world has a constantly changing nature. Bourdieu is concerned that social scientists have a tendency to systematise social phenomena, or prioritise those aspects they can systematise over those they cannot. In the case of social movements, this can show certain phenomena as constant over time (such as a definition of ‘protest’) where they may indeed not be.

Social movements are collective, organised, self-conscious, and sustained efforts by ordinary people to change or preserve some aspect of their society by acting outside the normal routines and institutions of governance.

Similar to the definitions above, they capture in this understanding the key element of what social movements are – organised formations that do things (i.e. act on society) – but they achieve this without diminishing the self-conscious and political element of a movement's work. They do not fall into the trap of seeing movements as amorphous masses without clear direction, or as organised formations that follow great leaders (Barker et al. 2001b). They offer a contemporary sharpness that distinguishes the mindful nature of social movements from their appearance, and place emphasis on the deliberateness that movements exhibit in their actions. They see movements as organised, but not simply organisational. Yet even with this approach there are conceptual limits. Without emphasising that movements reflect underlying social relations *and* are spaces where the conflict inherent in such relations is actively played out, in a way that can transform the locus of hegemony within that society, there is a diminished ability to see movements as more than a linked series of events or developments between interested parties and society over particular questions.

It is essential to view social movements as an arena of contestation and dialogical relations, with an emphasis on their dynamic internal space where broader contradictions and tensions are articulated. This is because to view social movements in a primarily instrumental sense is to possibly see them removed from societal totality and to analyse them as separate entities from the political and economic structures that envelop them. There is the potential trap of reifying social movements, seeing them as merely things and not for their more inherent nature or essence. It is not that these approaches fail to recognise a two-way relationship between movements and society; it is that they do not consider that movements themselves are an expression of a wider totality and as such contain within them those underlying conflicts (which is the dynamic central to both movement agency and societal change).

In this regard, a dialectical tradition of Marxism offers a useful approach. While some have argued that Marxism has 'limited utility in developing explanations of most social movements in capitalist society' (Muetzelfeldt 1985: 67), often this has been a result of understanding Marxism as a mechanical body of theory and believing that the aims of

contemporary movements (such as the gay and lesbian rights movement or environmental movement) differ 'from the interests of the working class as...identified in orthodox Marxist models' (ibid). This argument was given weight, in particular, because of the mechanical formulations of the Communist movement in the wake of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution and the rise of Stalinism. Influenced (and often directly controlled) by the rise of a new ruling elite inside Russia, the 'official Marxism' of the Communist Parties in the West downplayed notions of collective agency and consciousness in favour of a fatalistic view of social change. It also tended towards crude economism, in part reflecting the drive to rapid industrialisation within the Soviet Union and in part an adaptation to mainstream trade union politics as Communist Parties' commitment to revolutionary transformation was reduced to a mere paper claim (Birchall 1974).

In a dialectical approach, however, we should not approach movements as external to the more fundamental structures of society, rather as an expression in a mediated form of the class conflict inherent in capitalist society's composition. In this vein, the expression of underlying socio-political conflict that results in a movement for gay marriage rights or to stop the destruction of native vegetation may be an expression of the same underlying conflict as a movement that is seen to be more typically 'working class'. It is not that the structural contradictions of contemporary capitalism always lead to their being directly expressed in social movements, or a social movement of a particular kind, it is a more complex process. As Colin Barker and John Krinsky (2008: unpublished work) describe them:

Movements [are] active crystallisation out of both 'dominant' and 'subaltern' cultures. They involve a self-selection of persons-with-themes who collectively resolve, in some sense, to confront some larger or smaller issue posed within their social-cultural-political formation. Movements represent a collective focusing of attention and energy on transforming, more or less, the parameters of a specific question, in opposition to other forces: dominant or subordinate classes, parties, movements, states, etc. Movements arise out of, but are not identical with, the social networks which individuals and groups form amongst themselves within social-cultural-political formations: they represent a further level of organisation.

In approaching the analysis of movements through a focus on the question of hegemony, social movements become an expression of the encounters between different dominant and subaltern groups in society concerning predominant ideas. The line of antagonism over the particular issue may be between the movement and dominant social groups, but

the line of antagonism in terms of class conflict is also inside the movement driving the development of counter-hegemonic organising. In this framework, social movements are not the same as dominant or subaltern classes: they are both a further level of organisation and a further level of mediation of the struggle over hegemony.

This thesis has deployed an understanding similar to that of Barker and Kinsky, and arising from Gramsci's understanding of modern social movements⁴. Social movements are: *organised expressions of societal contradiction initiated by dominated actors concerning the endeavors of hegemonic actors, involving self-conscious and strategic activity, which alters (and in turn is altered by) society. They arise out of the tensions of contemporary capitalism, presenting social conflict inherent to the economic and social system in a mediated form.*

Early theories and the role of Marxism

Modern social movements have their roots in the birth of capitalism in many ways. The rapid industrialisation in Western Europe, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, had a profound impact on the socio-economic and cultural conditions of those societies. This was a revolution not just in how society produced and was governed, or what new technologies were developed, but one in which the entire social order was remade. New ways of working transformed societal composition, human labour, family life and the public-private divide (Engels 1948). It was from these socio-political conflicts that movements blossomed, and in the contemporary language these were movements 'for a better world'. Conflicts between 'mass society' and rulers were in particular over resources, as many who once worked the land for their sustenance moved to cities to work in factories and industry (Harman 1999: 319-23).

The study of social movements into the early part of the twentieth century was not a distinct area of political thought but variously bound up with what we might now call the disciplines of sociology, philosophy, economics and history.

Marxism can be seen as one of the first narratives about social movements and social action, and 'workers' movements as the first modern social movement' (Scott 1992: 128)

⁴ As explored briefly below and in more detail in following chapters (in particular Chapter 6).

with an agenda of laying claims on rulers. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (1998: 34) declared that ‘the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles’ and set the scene for the development of a politics that argued the class nature of industrial society created underlying class conflicts and social contradictions that could not be resolved within that economic system. They argued that the underlying forces in contradiction would either lead to ‘communism or the common ruin of the contending classes’ (ibid: 35). While interpretations of Marx have been criticised as being too deterministic, in suggesting communism was inevitable, Marx was in fact arguing that a society’s path is not set and that a ‘socialist victory’ of the working class is not automatic. Marx argued that how the class and societal conflicts will play out is actually quite unclear, but what is inevitable is the expression of deep-rooted social conflict in the form of social struggle. It was not a process of the conflict between the working and ruling classes playing out ‘head to head’, but a more complex and sublimated expression of the clash of underlying interests.

While the *Manifesto* was a polemical work that sought to lay out the program of the German Communist League, who commissioned it, perhaps Marx’s key works for social movement scholars are *The German Ideology* (1976) and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1973). In *The German Ideology*, Marx draws an outline of his theory of historical materialism. He locates the development of social conflicts in the contradiction between the productive forces and the forms of intercourse (social relations) that emerge from them. These conflicts, which he sees as the basis of revolution, include ‘various subsidiary forms, such as all-embracing collisions, collisions of various classes, contradiction of consciousness, battle of ideas, etc., political conflict, etc’ (1976: 83). However, it is in *The Eighteenth Brumaire* that Marx most famously applies this conceptual framework to the study of actually occurring social movements. He writes (1973: 145):

Men make their own history, but not of their own free will; not under circumstances they themselves have chosen but under the given and inherited circumstances with which they are directly confronted. The tradition of the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the minds of the living. And, just when they appear to be engaged in the revolutionary transformation of themselves and their material surroundings, in the creation of something which does not yet exist, precisely in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they timidly conjure up the spirits of the past to help them, they borrow their names, slogans and costumes so as to stage the new world-historical scene in this venerable disguise and borrowed language.

For all the subsequent criticism of Marx's allegedly crude focus on class, *The Eighteenth Brumaire* is a stark demonstration that a dialectical and historical materialist method can be anything but reductionist. In the pages that follow the above quote, he pulls together a complex account of the clash of a myriad of individual and collective actors, organised in parties and movements, whose basis in fundamental class contradictions is mediated by the complex historical development of French society to that point. Marx shows how movements are not just limited in their outlook by the material realities of the society from which they emerge, but that they can also act beyond the bounds set by those inherited ideas. While he shows how ideas can become a material force in the course of struggle, he insists on relating those developments to wider social change.

From Marx, a series of theorists developed an analysis of social movements, including Rosa Luxemburg, Georg Lukacs, Louis Althusser and Gramsci, that variously extended and rejected his ideas. Within the *Prison Notebooks* (1971), Gramsci paid particular attention to the question of how the dominant ideas of a society (hegemony) can come to be transcended within that society and the role that individuals and groups can play as the strategists of social change. The question of structure and agency in the study of social movements has long been the subject of intricate debate – meaning the debate as to the extent that social movements can be seen as expressing systemic forces. Developing from this, the question of whether social movements reflect the inherent structures and socio-cultural frameworks of society and, if so, how they come to exercise an agency that can transcend and change those same structures has been key. Gramsci's focus on the role organic intellectuals play – arising from within a dominated class as strategists of a counter hegemony – offers important insights into the question of social movement strategy, in particular when considered alongside his proposal of the Modern Prince⁵.

Alternative theories of social movements

Marxists have generally seen movements as made up of rational actors, yet this has not always been the case for those studying them. Prior to the 1950s, outside Marxism, social movements were largely seen as an expression of societal dysfunction and the individuals involved in them as irrational or psychologically damaged. Sigmund Freud's *Group*

⁵ By Modern Prince, Antonio Gramsci is referring to an organisational form of the working class that in the early twentieth century takes the form of a Communist Party. Gramsci sees this party as both emerging from subaltern movements and playing a leadership role within them. This framework is explored in greater detail in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

Psychology and Analysis of the Ego (1922?), and French critic Gustave Le Bon's *The Crowd: A Study in the Popular Mind* (1903) were both works particularly concerned with studying the belief systems and ideas of the individuals involved in events of collective behaviour (Maddison and Scalmer 2006: 18-19). These theories sought to explain society as a collection of individuals each with their own psychology, rather than society being a totality in which there is individual differentiation. The study of social movements was not alone in this course, as methodological individualism was a common frame used in the social sciences at this time and which we can see, for example, in the development of neo-classical economic theory (Callinicos 1999: 130-31).

In a similar vein, in the 1950s and early 1960s in North America, a series of explanatory frameworks were developed that saw social movement events as disruptive and dysfunctional. The lines of questioning in sociology were not concerned with the study of social movements *per se* and did not accept that the form and structure of society had led to them. It was argued that these events of 'collective behaviour' were the result of the breakdown of society, its atomisation and a more generalised insecurity experienced by people. This Durkheimian 'focus on the psychology of anomic social disconnectedness and malintegration' (Annetts et al. 2009: 60) within the then new societal structures saw politics as the world of political parties and lobbyists, with social movements occupying the same space as riots and crazes. As argued in *Activist Wisdom* (2006), the contribution of theorists such as Parsons and Kornhauser was not so much in proposing a theory of social movements as in developing a framework that saw movements and other forms of collective behaviour as the result of deep problems that were a threat to the reasonable order of things (ibid: 19)⁶.

Marxism had sat outside these developments, but had suffered marginalisation within the Western academy of the Cold War period. However, problems of structuralism underwent a brief resurgence as the movements of the 1960s and 1970s grew and began to have impact. But inadequacies were perceived in the theoretical tradition and criticisms inside the academy met with the concerns of social movement actors themselves after the

⁶ Talcott Parsons argued that the certain functions performed by institutions and the family were necessary for the good order of society, and events of 'collective behaviour' (of which social movements were only one sub-set) were a threat to these. See: Talcott Parsons, *Sociological Theory and Modern Society* (New York: Free Press, 1967). William Kornhauser developed the Mass Society Theory, also within a functionalist paradigm, partly in an attempt to explain the totalitarian and undemocratic regimes in Germany under the Nazis and in Italy under Mussolini. It was argued by him that it is the fragmentation of society that leads to such events. See: William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society* (London: Routledge, 1960).

failure of the movements of the late 1960s to deliver on their perceived emancipatory promise (Callinicos 1989: 4) and to treat non-worker social movements seriously. Additionally, events such as the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 saw many Marxist theorists and activists walk away from their support for the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the theory perceived to be behind them.

The Atlantic divide

The study of social movements since the 1960s has developed as a distinct area of academic inquiry. This has come to be known as Social Movement Studies, and is often articulated as developing along two paths: the North American approaches of RMT and PPT and dominant European framework of NSMT (della Porta and Diani 1999; Hosseini 2010; Maddison and Scalmer 2006). These approaches, while having changed and developed, still prevail in the study of movements today.

The distinction between the approaches has been articulated as European theorists being concerned with *why* social movements eventuate and their North American counterparts being particularly concerned with *how* movements develop and operate (Burgmann 2003: 12). Melucci has put it articulately by referring to the European models as ‘actors without action’ and resource mobilisation theories as ‘actions without actors’, alternatively as ‘those that emphasise movements as the emergence of new meanings and those that emphasise movements as collectively organised actions. The first places an emphasis on ideas; the second on organisation’ (quoted in Gusfield 1994: 60). It is worth noting that Melucci was also critical of Marxism in this vein and felt there was a connection between it and the European models that developed in its wake. Melucci’s overall distinction is useful, as it emphasises the strengths and weaknesses of both approaches (as discussed in detail later in this chapter).

While not all theorists fall neatly into this categorisation, and others have sought to meld these approaches or take a third path (Eyerman and Jamison 1991), it summarises the dominant themes of the literature from the 1970s onwards (Maddison and Scalmer 2006: 21).

- **North America – social change and pluralism**

In rejecting a functionalist framework, American theorists began to develop new explanatory models for the movements that appeared from the 1960s onwards (Burgmann 2003: 7-8). In part this change in approach – from a framework of dysfunction to rationality – was seen as driven by the large number of activists from the middle classes who joined such efforts. This was especially so for those in colleges, and with college educations, who were heavily involved in the civil rights movement and anti-Vietnam War movement (Annetts et al. 2009: 61; Goodwin and Jasper 2009: 5). It was no longer plausible to see social movements as operating outside ‘normal’ society, involving only the dysfunctional. The apparent ‘validity’ of these new actors pushed conceptual frameworks in a direction that emphasised reason and the engaged pluralism of the American democratic system. The development of modern pluralism by American political sociologists and public policy makers was key (Annetts et al. 2009: 59-68), as it emphasised the diverse nature of power in society and its diffuse and distributed character. In this context, business, unions, community organisations and social movements are constituent parts of a society with differing interests, yet where no single body holds such significant power that they dominate the others. It is accepted, in particular by RMT, that ‘society is perceived *a priori* as consisting of a plurality of grievance-defined aggregated groups that approximate latent social movements’ (ibid: 63). In this context, the state plays the role of a neutral arbiter when disagreement or contestation occurs and this ultimately results in an outcome that is in the more general public interest. In this dominant framework, the emphasis in social movement analysis was to see movements as rational expressions of interests in society. Theory then followed, which assessed how movements mobilised and the processes of mobilisations.

RMT, which focuses on the process of mobilisation, was formulated initially by John D McCarthy and Mayer N Zald (1977) and developed from Mancur Olson’s 1965 work *The Logic of Collective Action* (Goodwin and Jasper 2009: 6). At that time, in offering their ‘partial theory’, McCarthy and Zald (1977: 1212) noted their desire to develop a framework attentive to the breadth and sources of resources available to movements and their participants, as well as ‘the relationship of social movements to the media, authorities, and other parties; and the interaction among movement organisations’. In their view, ‘past [frameworks have] normally assumed a close link between the frustrations or grievances of a collectivity of actors and the growth and decline of movement activity’ (ibid). They argued, inquiring into whether this is in fact the case, that a focus on resource mobilisation moves analysis away from merely social and

psychological motivations for people becoming involved in movements and towards an approach that can be ‘more easily integrated with structural theories of social process’ (ibid). Their emphasis rested on rationality of actors, not in relation to the nature of a movement’s grievance alone, but also in assessing the costs and benefits of taking action. This is what Goodwin and Jasper (2009: 6) refer to as the ‘economic turn’ of social movement theory⁷.

PPT, which is primarily attentive to the external factors impacting on movement development, was the second key framework from North American scholars, and developed from and alongside RMT. Focusing on the political environment movements operate in, its emphasis is on the ‘indigenous internal organisational resources and mobilising structures [that] must also exist if a successful mobilisation is to occur’ (Annetts et al. 2009: 64). This context of opportunity was taken up and extended by Douglas McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and (the recently deceased) Charles Tilly. Conceptual tools such as ‘framing’, ‘micro-movement mobilisation’, ‘cycles of protest’ and ‘repertoires of action’ arise from this theoretical trajectory and each highlight an aspect of how movements take action. For example in discussing repertoires of contention, the ‘how’ of movement protest, Tilly (quoted in Tarrow 2008) famously argued that:

Claim-making resembles jazz and *commedia dell’arte* rather than ritual reading of scripture. Like a jazz trio or an improvising theatre group, people who participate in contentious politics normally have several pieces they can play, but not an infinity... Within that limited array, the players choose which pieces they will perform here and now, and in what order.

For Tilly, a movement’s repertoire will vary over time and in different contexts. In considering this issue shortly after Tilly’s death, Tarrow (2008: 237) contends such variation and adaptation occurred for three main reasons:

1. Regimes permit some performances, forbid others, and tolerate still others; that constrain actors to shy away from some performances, choose others, and innovate between the two.
2. The history of contention constrains people’s choices (ibid). You are more likely to call an episode revolutionary if your country has experienced one in the past than if it never experienced one.
3. Changes in political opportunity structure encourage some actions, discourage

⁷ Goodwin and Jasper refer to the development of PPT as the ‘political turn’ and this was, in the 1980s, followed by the ‘cultural turn’ which emphasised ‘framing’ and ‘collective identity’. See Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper, *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts* (West Sussex: Blackwell, 2009).

others, and give people the opportunity to innovate on known scripts.

While it is not easy to disagree that each of these factors occurs, this framework tends towards the banal in that it lacks a desirable dynamism that appreciates that sometimes action outstrips theory and that contradictions in social structure create a situation where people act *even though* their consciousness may lag. Action can, for that reason, occur outside purposive planned rationality. Further, accumulated wisdom can also hold back struggle rather than progress it, particularly where the lessons learned are those that come at the hands of defeat and repression. Ultimately, the shortcoming of the North American models is that they are silent on the social structures that drive social movements, and for this reason are unable to consider the complex situations in which social movements arise and act.

It is noteworthy that most common ground between the North American and European approaches has been with PPT, whereas RMT has largely been ignored and disparaged (Annetts et al. 2009: 68).

- **Western Europe – structuralism and post-Marxism**

In commencing their discussion of the development of social movements Sarah Maddison and Sean Scalmer note France was the home of dissent, with its history of revolution and workers' action (2006: 27). Conversely, it was also the home of the first modern police force in Paris in 1667, an organisational arm of the state with a significant history of repression of social struggle. Within Europe, Marxism had long been a significant theoretical tradition within social movements and the academy, and the movements of the 1960s and 1970s heralded resurgence in its popularity and application. In extending and developing Marxism, theorists in the Frankfurt School and others such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Louis Althusser led a period of theoretical fervor, in relation to social movement study and theorisation.

Struggles around civil rights, peace, gender equality and sexuality were blossoming, alongside struggles for industrial rights and economic equality. France in May 1968 saw these struggles develop to a point that many describe as a potentially revolutionary situation (Harman 1999: 581-82), when anger at police repression of protests at the

Sorbonne⁸ became more generalised. Spreading quickly, that month saw general strikes, worker occupations of factories and a night of barricades erected on the Paris Left Bank to hinder police retaliation against protesters. While the Charles de Gaulle government was for a period paralysed by the movements, concessions around industrial issues and fresh general elections ensured its survival. It was in this context, and in direct conversation with the student protesters, that academics such as Alain Touraine were working. Akin to some of the key early social movement theorists in the United States, Touraine was in this way ‘of the movement’ and the impact of the events of 1968 was to shape him and French social movement studies for the coming decades.

While situated initially within the field of sociology and the dominant frameworks of Marx, Durkheim and Weber (Annetts et al. 2009: 69), the trajectory of social movement analysis in Europe moved from these traditions to elsewhere. Waning industrial struggle and the defeat of the movements of the period saw researchers and activists question previous assumptions about the relationship of social movements to the economic systems operating under capitalism. The development of the NSMT framework was to take social movement studies in a quite different direction to that in North America, and also the dominant approaches that had come before in Europe. Delineation was made between old and new social movements. Old movements were seen as based on class and took the form of labour movement struggle, whereas new movements were those that flowered around questions of culture and identity. Their development was seen as positive, and reflective of wider changes in societal structure (Burgmann 2003: 17). It was not just that academics took this view, many activists themselves felt ‘that their identities, goals, and modes of association [were] historically new vis-à-vis the Old *and* New Lefts’ (Cohen 1985: 663).

Theorists argued the movements were new in a number of ways, in that they were: critical of old ways of organising and in rejection of them; a result of fundamental changes in society and in particular the rise of the middle class; concerned with the question of identity and cultural place (recognition) as opposed to economic questions around distribution of wealth (redistribution)⁹, focused on subjective aspects of collective action,

⁸ Regarding conditions at the university.

⁹ For a contemporary analysis of these competing concerns see Nancy Fraser, ‘From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a ‘Post-Socialist Age’’, *New Left Review*, 1/212/July-August 1995 (1995), 68-93. For an analysis by her incorporating the new global justice struggles see also Nancy Fraser, ‘Reframing Global Justice’, *New Left Review*, 2/36 (November/December 2005 2005), 69-88.

and uninterested in seizing state power or operating only in reference to the state (Burgmann 2003: 18-19).

Within this general paradigm, the most significant theorist remained Touraine (1971, 1981), who, in announcing the death of the old revolutionary actor (the working class), sought in the modern social movements a 'new' one. For him, there had been a shift in capitalist society from an industrial period to one based around knowledge and technology and this had also resulted in shifts in political action. Whereas old movements were concerned with questions of production and distribution, at a time when larger numbers of people were involved within those processes, Touraine argued that new social movements were concerned with symbols and self-understanding as their work was increasingly focused on knowledge industries (Goodwin and Jasper 2009: 13). The new social movements, in this way for Touraine, reflected a series of subordinated classes and the usurping of the role of the working class in the questions of social organisation *and* social change. The theory developed in a direction that was post-Marxist, and changes in society were linked to changes in technology and communication, which resulted in power not resting with those who control capital but those who hold and control information. Others argued that the classes were dispersing, through the development of a society that involved increased social mobility and generalised social capital. Perhaps the key proponent of this view has been Alberto Melucci, who revised his earlier thesis that the nature of class conflict was simply reconfiguring itself (1980) to argue that 'classes as real social groups [were] withering away' (1995a: 177). While his work may be considered post-Touraine, it was constructivist at its core.

Part of this theoretical development, within the academy as within the field of social movement action, was a reaction against a number of perceived failures of the workers' movement. The new environmental movement was critical of labour unions' acceptance of the priority, or even aim, of economic growth, and concern was expressed at the emphasis on employment ahead of environmental considerations. Other movements viewed the workers movement as complicit in oppression, such as racism, and inattentive to questions around gender. While this is not exclusively true, and certain workers' struggles did take up these questions, such issues were not generally at the centre of their work¹⁰.

¹⁰ For analysis of some of the movements in Australia that took up the questions of gender, race, sexuality and the environment, see the autobiography of Jack Mundey, *Green Bans and Beyond* (Sydney: Angus and

Areas of sub-analysis within NSMT have sought to examine the link between structural changes within the capitalist economy and the growth of the ‘new’ movements around culture and identity. In this context, the neo-Marxist or neo-Gramscian approaches have been ‘more structuralist and less subjective’, as opposed to the ‘culturalist version[s], which [are] more concerned with the subjective aspect and less deterministic’ (Hosseini 2010: 35). These debates have, as mentioned earlier, been linked with the question of structure versus agency in social movement action and the cognitive processes that take place to result in reflexive activity.

Critiques of the dominant approaches

In recent years, a number of scholars have articulated concerns regarding a crisis within social movement studies (Barker and Dale 1998; Bevington and Dixon 2005; Flacks 2004; Goodwin and Jasper 1999a, 1999b; Jasper 2004). While such claims of crisis are frequently made within the social sciences, in this context some of the most respected theorists have begun to identify limitations with their own work.

As detailed earlier, PPT has explored the political environments that movements face. Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper (2004: 4)¹¹ argue that although the original proponents of PPT intended to provide a ‘causally adequate universal theory or “model” of social movements’ there are major limitations to the American model. They contend the theoretical tools have been overextended, and key concepts are ‘tautological, trivial, inadequate, or just plain wrong’ (ibid)¹². In agreement regarding the ‘political opportunity’ model, Bevington and Dixon (2005: 187) joke that effectively anything that assists a movement in mobilising can be included and the concept is overextended to such

Robertson, 1981). Also see, for its discussion on the gay and lesbian movement and Black movement’s relationship with the trade unions, Verity Burgmann, *Power and Protest: Movements for Change in Australian Society* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1993).

¹¹ Originally published in 1999 in *Sociological Forum*, this article provoked a heated debate. The original article, several responses and rejoinders, as well as other related material, were also published collectively in 2004 in book format.

¹² See also Maddison, S. & Scalmer, S. (2006) ‘Theory and History’ chapter in *Activist Wisdom*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney. This chapter provides an overview of the nuances of PPT and concerns with it. The discussion includes an analysis of previous attempts to broaden the main theoretical concepts, such as through the introduction of concepts of master framing and contention.

a degree that it could include the sun itself¹³. Little clarity is gained when such theoretical constructs are deployed so widely, but conversely a narrowing of the application does little to conceptualise why opportunities present themselves in particular times and places. The construct also doesn't allow for a window into the broader dynamic nature of movements, which are seen as tending to only do particular things in particular circumstances.

Goodwin and Jasper's fundamental argument is that this leads to a 'structural bias' within PPT that privileges structural 'openings' that lead to mobilisation, and pays little regard to the manner and process by which activists develop an appreciation of opportunities and move to take them. Additionally, in an attempt to develop theory that can be made applicable to all (or many) social movements, there is a privileging of the structures and factors that are consistent across time and circumstances. This, in the view of Goodwin and Jasper, overemphasises factors outside of the control of movements and downplays those that are. Ultimately it ignores that movements can and do create openings themselves (ibid), as well as make errors and miscalculations, causing a contraction of opportunities. In emphasising factors consistent across time and circumstance over others, they conceptually limit an appreciation of movements as an expression of a dynamic of conflict within society where the process of dissent is linked between those who protest and the structures and individuals who protect the current ways. Neither move without altering the course of the other.

Additionally, while it is generally argued by political process theorists that there is an ultimate separation between structure (master frames, opportunities) and culture (perceptions, meaning and emotion), Goodwin and Jasper argue that 'cultural and strategic processes define and create the factors usually presented as structural' (1999a: 52). Without a theoretical context that allows for the interplay of all these dynamics, there is limited ability to appreciate the symbolism of events and actions and how these may shape the progress of a movement or the action individual activists consider taking. Importantly, the strategic factors that activists consider (in deciding what they will do and how they will do it) are downplayed and their agency is concealed.

¹³ While at first glance this may seem absurd, I have repeatedly heard arguments amongst activists in Australia that the warm weather is a factor against effective social movement mobilisation, as it leads to political apathy.

The main proponents of PPT have accepted many of these criticisms and since their initial development the relevant theoretical areas have been recast and refined in response to criticism and the trajectory of movements themselves (McAdam 1999; McCarthy and Zald 1987; Tarrow 2008). In their 2001 book *Dynamics of Contention*, Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilley sought to address the shortcomings of their previous work. They argue that ‘the static, individualistic, and often reified character of previous analyses – including [their] own – bars the door to dynamic, interactive analyses of mobilisation and demobilisation’ (quoted in Goodwin and Jasper 1999a: 188). However, rather than looking to social movements themselves in order to address these shortcomings, they propose a framework that analyses social movements alongside other forms of societal conflict such as industrial disputes, wars and interest group politics. They propose an attempt to look for ‘causal analogies’ across time and place for common causes of mobilising mechanisms. Such an approach becomes more concerned with what makes these events similar, preoccupied with the comparisons between movements and other events that arise from societal conflict rather than developing an understanding of how movements themselves develop and what their deeper antagonisms are. Unfortunately, the ability to develop a detailed theoretical framework through which to analyse movements is somewhat lost in such an approach, and potentially the project could involve behaviourist asocial theory building. Given the development of PPT and RMT were the key step in rejecting psychological approaches, such a project is a step backwards.

Goodwin and Jasper’s critique of PPT has led others to claim that they eschew any real role for theory in the analysis of social movements, with some labelling them as anti-theory (Bevington and Dixon 2005: 187). This is because Goodwin and Jasper clearly believe in a far narrower role for large-scale theory than those who they criticise, and as a result there is little ultimate satisfaction to be found in the conclusions of their critique. The authors do not propose an alternative paradigm but a preference for ‘causal explanations based on small-scale mechanisms and middle-range theories over explanations with pretensions to universality’ (Goodwin and Jasper 1999b: 107)¹⁴.

Critiques have also been made of NSMT, arguing it has focused too greatly on the question of the relationship between movements and the relevant cultural and historical conditions, while ignoring questions of strategy and decision-making (Barker et al.

¹⁴ Writing under a pseudonym of ‘Jaswin’.

2001b: 3). However, unlike the North American approaches, the structures that give rise to and drive social movements are considered. Marxists Colin Barker and Gareth Dale (1998) argue that the idea of ‘new’ social movements developed as a rejection of the ‘old’ movements, without much evidence that a concomitant structural change in society has occurred. In effect, theorists have read backwards from observing these new movements, rather than seeing society and history as a totality and developing dialectally (with no fundamental break into post-capitalism, but rather the establishment of a new epoch of neoliberal capitalism)¹⁵. Ideas related to class and industrial struggle are presented as no longer relevant, with the ‘new’ movements demanding not simply new theoretical tools but the rejection of Marxism *per se*. They argue this is based on a mistaken view that the concepts of class struggle and social movements are the same, and on the erroneous premise that the labour movement is an expression of the interests of the working class alone:

Far from being ‘reduced’ to simple expressions of class interests, social movements (‘old’ and ‘new’ alike) are best understood as themselves sites of contestation and dialogical relations. Their internal debates and tensions are vital elements in their very definition. Within them occur conflicts between radical and moderate wings, between various parties and other organised tendencies. Hence statements about movement ‘aims’, or about their ideological stances or bases of social support, always risk being simplistic. (ibid: 78)

Barker and Dale express a concern that new social movements have been treated as a ‘unitary group of phenomena’, yet they do not share characteristics that distinguish them from ‘old’ social movements apart from their occurrence in a similar time period where industrial struggle was weak. They suggest that the core concerns of the ‘new’ movements around culture and identity were also contested within the ‘old’ movements, and of course in the societies in which those ‘old’ movements operated. They argue for a reinvigoration of the connection between the dynamic that produced class struggle and the dynamic that produces ‘new’ social movements, for a re-assertion of the role of capitalist dynamics in social movement analysis. Their framework attributes the greater prominence of the ‘new’ not to a weakening of the class struggle (which is quite different, they argue, to a retreat of workers’ industrial struggles) ‘but an alteration of its form of appearance, a shift in the balance of forces and the intensity of collective action’ (ibid: 83).

¹⁵ Akin to the economic framework outlined by David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Della Porta and Diani (1999) suggest that the dichotomy on either side of the Atlantic has developed because of the focus of scholars on the local intellectual traditions and the prevailing tendencies within the local movements. Put more directly, that European Marxism has led to NSMT and American Pluralism to PPT and RMT. Della Porta and Diani argue the significant growth in research about social movements has led to increasing contact between North American and European scholars and ‘opportunities to compare the merits and limitations of the various paradigms’ (1999: 14) in an attempt to synthesise the theoretical perspectives. While clearly these trajectories have been reflective of dominant intellectual traditions and societal developments, in each of these cases there is a ‘political reductionism’ taking place and social movement formation is viewed as a process where ‘collective actors [seek] inclusion into a political marketplace’ (Melucci quoted in Nilsen 2009: 111). In this sense, NSMT is not dissimilar to the American models, as it simply ends in a form of pluralism around the contestation of identity and culture that (in the eyes of some) may have a more radical sheen. The voice of integration has, also, not been without its critics, who argue such a view lacks an understanding that there are real disagreements within the academic field with regard to conceptualisation (L. Cox 2001). Further, and perhaps more importantly, it also fails to recognise that these disagreements are also political ones.

Reconfiguring the analytical space

The development of the GJM has been a challenge to the established academic body of work on social movements. The North American and European models of social movement analysis give rise to a ‘displacement of those aspects of social movement activity that concentrate on...those conjunctures in which social movements come to pursue anti-systemic projects that give rise to epochal changes in world history’ (Nilsen 2009: 111). This is perhaps more true of PPT than NSMT, but with the arrival of just such a movement both predominant theoretical trajectories appear to have been out-flanked by history. Even a decade after Seattle, it seems fair to observe that research conducted on the GJM remains limited with only a small number of social movement researchers working to establish theories equipped to deal with new developments (L. Cox and Nilsen 2007). Most research has tended to be of a descriptive nature, focusing on the mobilising events and the issues that concerned protesters rather than developing new

middle range and large-scale theories regarding the movement itself or the contemporary social movement tradition.

There have been some notable exceptions to this, including Kevin McDonald (McDonald 2006) and Michel Wieviorka (Wieviorka 2005) although their direction is quite divergent from the theoretical focus of this research. In the case of Wieviorka, his attempts to theorise the development and growth of the GJM talks of a new subject emerging that is personal-individual, as opposed to political as in the French Revolution, social as in working-class movements or cultural as in new social movements (ibid: 11). Strangely though, he deploys this analysis of a new individual subject without seeming to recognise the incongruity of this with the movement's critique of the nature of individualism under neo-liberalism. It seems likely that he has confused the potential for a multitude of individual subjectivities to find greater space for their active expression within the context of the GJM, with the transcendence of collective identities. In addition, Wieviorka's acceptance of notions of the decline of the nation state (ibid: 9) most likely underpins his search for a new relationship between individual subjectivity and the sphere of the political, as nation states have classically been the focus of political activity and demands.

It is not simply that theorists missed that the GJM occurred, or did not think the protests important, it is rather that the nature of the GJM does not fit easily within such frameworks and in some cases theorists do not consider the GJM an actual social movement (but rather a cycle of protests around particular grievances). The focus of the dominant theoretical frameworks is on the engagement of social movements with the institutions of society – where demands are made of the state or other players in the context of a particular (and usually national) grievance. In this sense, in relation to the GJM, researchers were more likely to focus on the campaigns over the question of trade and poverty as expressed through longer-term institutionalised forms such as ATTAC (Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens) and Jubilee 2000. Thus the phenomenon is interpreted not as a 'global justice movement' but as a transnational network across national borders (Keck and Sikkink 1998). This focus of researchers has overlooked the global and 'total' in the GJM, instead focusing still on the national and sectoral. Alternatively, the extra-institutional and anti-institutional forms and work of the movement are more likely to be understood as groups of people who organise a series of protests with similar targets (i.e. not a social movement). This issue is one that

is returned to in Chapters 3 and 4, when the interaction between the institutional and extra/anti-institutional elements is considered further.

Perhaps the most significant academic works developed in connection with the GJM are Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's *Empire* (2001), *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (2004) and most recently *Commonwealth* (2009). *Empire*, written before the full emergence of the GJM, recast anti-neoliberal struggles within a Marxist frame. This work is both a return to Marxism for social movement analysis, and a rejection of aspects of it. It argues the existence of a new epoch of capitalism and could not have arisen from within PPT and NSMT, but only from outside it, in reference to political/historical sociology and political economy. It emphasised the universal nature of capitalism and imperialism, and 'analysed the structural tendencies of the expansion, restructuring and new efficacy or sovereignty at the global level' (Negri 2006: 41). It was also the key text of this time to break out of the academic world and be read widely by activists. In *Multitude*, Negri and Hardt developed their ideas with a focus on the question of what particular forms of human agency might generate openings and create social change. While traditionally for Marxism the political subject was the organised working class, *Multitude* proposed that there is a new political subject emerging in opposition to Empire (and to immaterial production¹⁶) and which they name counter-empire. The final of the trilogy, *Commonwealth*, articulates the project of resistance of Multitude against Empire both 'within and against' it (Hardt and Negri 2009: vii). For them, resistance is taking the form of a 'Becoming-Prince', a process where the Multitude is 'learning the art of self-rule and investing lasting democratic forms of social organisation' through sharing and participating in the 'common'¹⁷ (ibid: viii). Although there is much to admire in Hardt and Negri's work, not least of which is the breadth of their project and underlying framework of an integrated but internally contradictory totality, the anticipation of the preface to *Commonwealth* titled 'The Becoming-Prince of the Multitude' fails to be realised. Their promise that a contemporary project of political transformation will be opened up and made firm, ultimately sees only a nebulous guide which articulates

¹⁶ The works from within the social movement studies academic discipline that come closest to such a view are Alain Touraine, Alain Touraine, *The Post-Industrial Society: Tomorrow's Social History Classes, Conflicts and Culture in the Programmed Society* (New York: Random House, 1971). in his conceptualisation of a 'programmed society' and Alberto Melucci, Alberto Melucci, *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). with the 'information society'.

¹⁷ For Hardt and Negri the 'common' or 'commonwealth' is not simply the material aspects of the world we all require (land to grow food, the air, water) but also, and they say more importantly, the results of social production such as knowledge, language and information.

conclusions such as the ‘revolution must simultaneously be both insurrection and institution, structural and superstructural transformation’ (ibid: 367).

In returning to Marx’s legacy, this thesis deploys a framework that emphasises the interplay between the ‘social movement’ and ‘the rest’ through an understanding of historical materialism and the dialectical method. Contra to Hardt and Negri, the logic of capital is not viewed as having entered a new epoch, and the relationship of domination between capital and traditional labour is viewed as continuing (Callinicos 2003a). The path provided considers and analyses social movement development and action not as disconnected phenomena simply interacting with society, but as an expression of social and class conflict (through the labour/capital antagonism) that is part of an integrated totality. In *The Algebra of Revolution* (1998), British Marxist John Rees reflects that ‘totality refers to the insistence that the various seemingly separate elements of which the world is composed are in fact related to one another’ (p 5). This is not necessarily a unique approach, with many conceptual frameworks, including some religions, having such an all encompassing view of society that emphasises interconnectedness and the whole (ibid). What distinguishes Marxism from this view of a static totality, as presented by Rees and utilised in this thesis, is an approach based on a dialectical method where the emphasis is on the totality’s *internally contradictory* character. As Michael Lowy (2003: 3) argues:

this method...does not, of course, mean trying to grasp the *entire* reality (which is obviously not possible) but grasping this reality through the *methodological category* of totality, for which infrastructure and superstructure, thought and social settings, theory and practice, ‘consciousness’ and ‘being’ are not separated into watertight compartments congealed in abstract oppositions, but (while recognising their relative autonomy) are dialectically linked together and integrated in the historical process.

Marx’s framework is that capitalism creates crisis as a result of its central processes of competition and exploitation. This dynamic engenders, permanently, resistance, which takes not only the form of practical struggle but of theoretical critique on the part of the dominated groups. Movements should not be appreciated separately, but considered in their interconnectedness and through their expression of social contradiction. In Marx and Trotsky’s idiom, the world exists as a ‘differentiated unity’ (Rees 1998: 72) rather than a collection of distinct and disconnected observable facts. In this vein, both totality and mediation are understood as part of the one expression of active discontent. Given the

‘global’ nature of the GJM, this approach is particularly useful as the frame for this research and more appropriate than the current dominant frameworks.

In summary, there are a number of important observations to make about the current state of social movement inquiry as it impacts on this research project. Firstly, the difference between the main strands of social movement theory and a dialectical approach is that they fail to see social movements as both embodying the inherent conflicts of society (as a direct but mediated expression of class conflict) and as an exercise in agency (of counter-hegemonic action in relation to dominant groupings). Through Marxism, and in particular Gramsci, there is a path between the historical binary of structure/agency. Movements are not simply an expression of societal structures (i.e. classes, genders or other subaltern groupings), but of the conflict central to class struggle that, within it, embodies the agency and ability to create possibilities outside the current structures (i.e. hegemonic relations).

Secondly, and inseparably, contemporary social movement inquiry tends to treat society as relatively static in order to understand what is occurring within the movements, as if the movements are totalities unto themselves – as opposed to being part of a wider, internally contradictory and dynamic totality that is always moving (Barker and Krinsky 2008). This distances such theories from the experiences of the social actors within them, who after all emerge from changing material circumstances and ideas within society.

Thirdly, the main theories have tended to start from the basis that analysis based on notions of class struggle are outdated or inapplicable to the new movements. It is of course true that the Marxism dominant after the rise of Stalinism was a mechanical and totalitarian version. While the new movements do not show ‘pure’ class compositions, this does not invalidate a Marxism that appreciates the possibility that labour/capital social structures and class conflict underpin and mould the type, nature and dynamics of all social movements.

A fourth difficulty is located within the sphere of academia more broadly, in that along with much mainstream social science, these theories have tended to see their task in passive reflection of existing reality. On the one hand, this can mean a disinterested and apolitical analysis of phenomena that are by their nature all about interest and political agency, which thus tends to devalue a movement’s importance to its participants. On the

other hand, it can represent a reductionist method that tries to isolate variables in a mechanistic or static way, thereby diluting the rich and complex reality both within and outside the movement being studied.

Finally, there is potentially a breach between activist theory and practice within mainstream academic analysis. A passive stance towards activist practice could have the effect of setting strict limits on the depth and breadth of inquiry, as it reflexively accepts the current structures of society. It thereby restricts the outlook of social movement theorists to what has come before, not the possibilities of what may be created by the movement's actions. It is no surprise then that the period of retreat of social movement activism from the late 1970s to the turn of the century was accompanied by a greater conservatism in the outlook of academic social movement thinkers. Nor should it be unexpected that the re-emergence of radical social movements in recent years has driven the reappearance of arguments to create movement-relevant work (discussed in Chapter 2) that place activist and movement praxis at the centre, and alongside this a reinvigoration in Marxist frameworks in which to understand such movements.

In response to these issues, this thesis deploys a number of key concepts and approaches. As discussed already, movements are seen as forming part of a dynamic totality that expresses underlying class conflict in a complex, mediated, and often indirect fashion. Further, the thesis looks to Gramsci's writings in order to establish an understanding of how anti-systemic movements cohere, develop and transform themselves as they act. In this process, they move from mounting a partial challenge to the social system to then increasingly presenting a totalising alternative that can challenge for social hegemony. Yet to do this, a movement must overcome its internal unevenness and fragmentation, as a differentiated unity, and can only do so through the crystallisation of organic intellectuals from within its ranks who become conscious of the need to play a role as a collective force that understands the movement's potential and seeks to direct it to fulfil that potential.

Chapter 2: Between activism and the academy

The recognition by Bevington and Dixon (2005) that a good proportion of social movement research is not relevant to the movements it concerns itself with, is an important observation. Few activists feel compelled to keep up with academic developments, and as has been rhetorically asked: ‘Why would they?’ (Maddison and Scalmer 2006: 39). Sections of the literature have become abstracted from the questions confronting activists and the experiences they have in social movements. Conversely, such a dynamic leaves important and useful work conducted by other academics lost to social movement participants, regardless of whether such distance arises through disengaged methods, idiosyncratic language, or the different modes of information dissemination of activists and academics. In acknowledgment of these observations and the question of ‘movement-relevant theory’, this chapter presents the methodology and methods used in this research. Attention is given to the limitations of the study, and to the role of the author as both researcher and activist in the GJM.

Towards more movement-relevant research

The realignment of social movement analysis after the 1960s came about, in part, because theories were remade as researchers listened to activists¹⁸. There are again calls for a similar readjustment and this has been articulated in various ways by Richard Flacks (2004), Jeff Goodwin and James Jasper (2004), Douglas Bevington and Chris Dixon (2005), and Sarah Maddison and Sean Scalmer (2006). Each highlight that activists are not rejecting the literature because of any particular failing on their part, or a limitation in terms of the issues that concern them, and that in fact:

...activists are hungry for insight into the practices and experiences of organisers, into how collective

¹⁸ Maddison and Scalmer note in particular that Touraine and his students treated activists with respect and understood ‘real knowledge of the social situation’ was possessed by them (Dubet, cited in Sarah Maddison and Sean Scalmer, *Activist Wisdom* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2006). The events at the Sorbonne and elsewhere in Paris were seen as an opportunity to engage directly within the movement, to hear from activists and engage in producing knowledge for that movement. Across the Atlantic, John McCarthy and Mayer Zald wanted academics to do similarly and concerned themselves with the questions confronted by social movements (ibid).

and personal commitment can be sustained, into relationships between day-to-day activism and ‘long-range vision’, into problems of intra-movement contention, organisational rigidity and democracy, etc. (Flacks 2004: 146-47)

Each argue that it is possible to re-imagine social movement research as more movement-relevant, and some propose a movement-engaged methodological approach to achieve this. For Bevington and Dixon, such a methodological framework would be ‘ground up’ and involve ‘direct engagement with movements in the formulation, production, refinement, and application of the research’ (2005: 197-201). Rather than seeking some form of constructed ‘distance’ from movements, they see that it is the ‘researcher’s connection to the movement [which] provides important incentives to produce more accurate information, regardless of whether the researcher is studying a favoured movement or its opponents’ (ibid: 190). It is through such direct engagement that theories can be refined and reflected on, and the research is not simply informed by the movement but accountable to it¹⁹.

It is only through close observation of the debates inside a movement that a researcher can identify key concerns, as not only will an appreciation of the discussions allow initial framing of a research topic, but it will also uncover insights of movement participants as analysis is completed. Even in research such as this, where an in-depth dialogue occurs between the researcher and interviewee within the interview itself, an appreciation of the development of wider debates is mandatory to ensure the most appropriate questions are being explored and new movement issues can be incorporated. This is not to say that activists alone are capable of generating useful research questions; academics do this also. At times activists can be too close to the day-to-day pressures of what needs to be done in a particular campaign or movement, resulting in important questions being obscured. However, even where a question arises outside a movement, it is best considered while inside an active dialogue with movement participants.

Key to the argument prosecuted by Bevington and Dixon is that such a dialogue should seek to ensure that the product of the research is useful and helpful for movement participants. In this way the approach of the research is dialogical – through initial

¹⁹ While in some aspects this approach may be similar to participatory action research, it differs in that the results and findings are not arrived at ‘together’. While direct engagement with movements is necessary, activists are not co-researchers and do not control the final product of the research in that specific methodological manner.

interviews that involve a dialogue between the researcher and interviewees, as well as a back and forth with interviewees and movement participants over the course of the research. This occurs in much the same manner as others argue occurs within movements, as ideas are debated and argued for (Barker et al. 2001a). A researcher's 'preliminary analysis' is delivered to the movement, to ensure key issues are not ignored or inappropriately accentuated, while also being tested for 'utility and accuracy'. Criticisms should be adequately reflected on. Although criticism alone is not enough to 'negate the movement-relevant character of such work' (op cit: 199), on the other hand the simple fact that a researcher shares key concerns of a movement is not sufficient to produce movement-relevant theory.

The questions explored by this research arose for activists in the period after 9/11, as they individually and collectively assessed the state of social movement activism and the GJM in Australia in particular. Activists were keen to understand more deeply what had occurred to result in the success of s11, and in particular why the movement appeared to have 'disappeared' (at least from the public eye) after 9/11. Activists wanted to know where the GJM in Australia came from and where it went. In developing and executing this research project, opportunities have been sought to progress key ideas and theoretical concepts with both interviewees and other activists. In that sense, the interviews were not the end of a dialogue but the start. The research was presented in a number of activist and academic forums seeking feedback as ideas and results were analysed.

Notes on methods

The opening question for this research was: *How do we understand the trajectory of the GJM in Australia and the impact of 9/11?* The project utilised the s11 protests and the 9/11 attacks as critical events in an exploration of how activists understood the development, growth and change of the movement. The project analysed 15 activists' experiences, opinions and points of view to draw out agreement and divergence and to illuminate the research question. The project was conducted using semi-structured interviews with movement participants, all of whom were active in the GJM in Australia from 1999 to 2002. These interviews were followed up with informal discussions by email, phone or in person as necessary.

This method was identified as the most appropriate for four reasons. Firstly, the research concerned a loosely organised movement whose high point was short-lived and is now past, which made methods of field observation difficult (Blee and Taylor 2002, p. 93). Secondly, the issues canvassed were difficult to explore through structured questionnaires as the research examined a complex phenomenon in an effort to develop a theoretical framework for certain of that phenomenon's processes (Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002, p. xv-xvi). The ability to go back and forward over particular aspects, actively reframing consideration of questions after answers, was considered essential. Thirdly, it was felt that the personal and political history of activists and their interaction made focus groups an inappropriate method. There was concern interviewees might not be forthright and frank about their thoughts in front of other activists, in particular diminishing their ability to self-reflect and self-criticise²⁰. Finally, the size of a Masters thesis, and the relative costs and time involved in a multi-method approach, was also a relevant consideration.

As the GJM in Australia was not a social movement with membership lists (Burgmann 2003: 283), and given the imperfect knowledge of the researcher of all constituent elements, it was felt a more transparent understanding of the movement and its composition was crucial in order to conduct the research and to determine whom to interview. A process of 'mapping' the GJM in Australia was undertaken to address this, and an excerpt of the GJM map appears at Illustration A overleaf (the full 'map' is located at Enclosure A due to size)²¹.

The map was developed to reflect the widest conception of the movement, as opposed to a notion of the movement that focused primarily on the institutional or extra/anti-institutional elements alone²². The map was initially constructed from an extensive personal knowledge base. Then, as a way to identify and limit any bias, meetings were held with seven activists with different knowledge areas in order to add to and clarify the map in something of a 'snowballing' technique. The map was clarified and expanded as a

²⁰ While this is also a possibility and risk in relation to the dynamic between the interviewee and researcher (where, as in this case, they have been an activist in the same movement), it was believed it could be better managed in that setting.

²¹ The full map has the names of the interviewees and other activists removed, to ensure anonymity. The map lists certain groups and networks multiple times, at each event or initiative they were involved in.

²² Institutional elements include churches, unions, electoral political parties, and NGOs. Extra/anti-institutional elements include affinity groups and networks involved in organising protests, radical environmental organisations, as well as groupings of socialists, anarchists and autonomists. The distinctions and dynamic between non/anti-institutional and institutional elements are explored later in the thesis.

result of the formal interviews, and through reviewing relevant literature and activist materials.

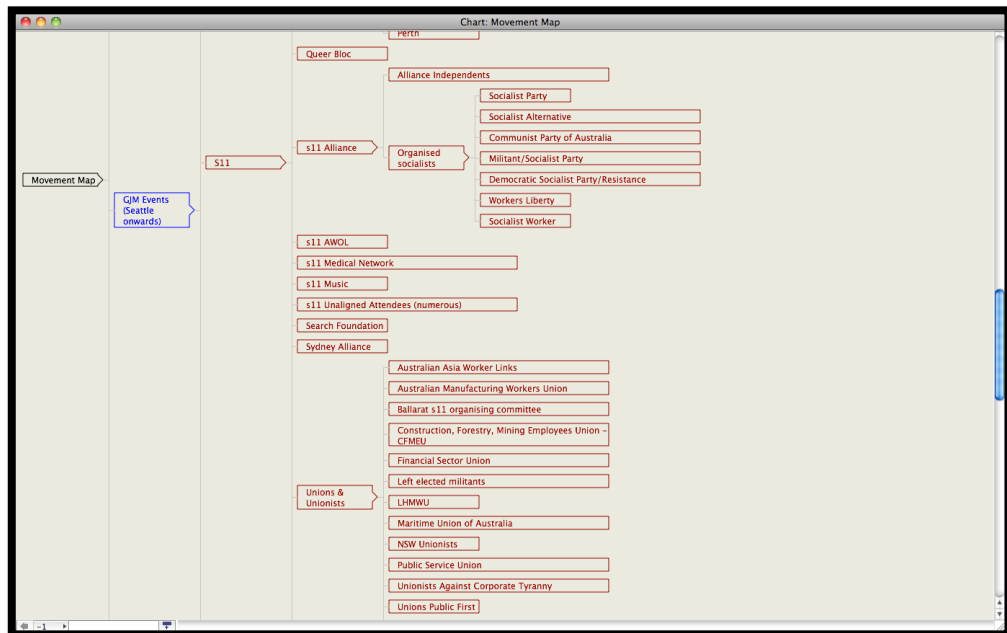


Illustration A: Screen shot of map of the GJM in Australia (non-identified)

The map ‘illustrates’ the movement along a number of trajectories: movement antecedents; post-Seattle movement events; campaigns and initiatives; and movement independent media. The map is one way to delineate who was in the ‘melting pot’ of the GJM in Australia in 1999–2002. While not agreeing with the implication drawn by Naomi Klein (2001) from her descriptor a ‘movement of movements’, the GJM in Australia *could* be articulated as just that²³. The GJM was a coming together of a number of distinct issues and campaigns, but in merging it also became something larger than the sum of its parts. In that moment, or more likely series of moments, it qualitatively changed the political situation and dynamic as well as itself internally.

Primarily the map was to ensure an appropriate range of activists was asked to participate in the interviews – in effect that the network sample was the most useful and fitting it could be. In determining whom to interview, activists were associated with branches and sections of the map and individuals who could be approached for an interview

²³ For Klein, the phrase ‘movement of movements’ is not simply descriptive but an articulation of how resistance occurs in relation to globalised capitalism. The articulation draws on the frameworks of the Zapatistas (‘One No and 1,000 Yeses’) in particular, but also finds an echo in Hardt and Negri’s Multitude (resistance is everywhere). This is counter posed to the framework deployed in this research, and discussed in the following chapter, of the movement being a differentiated unity.

distinguished (see Illustration B below). These individuals were ‘reflexive activists’ (Maddison and Scalmer 2006: 7).

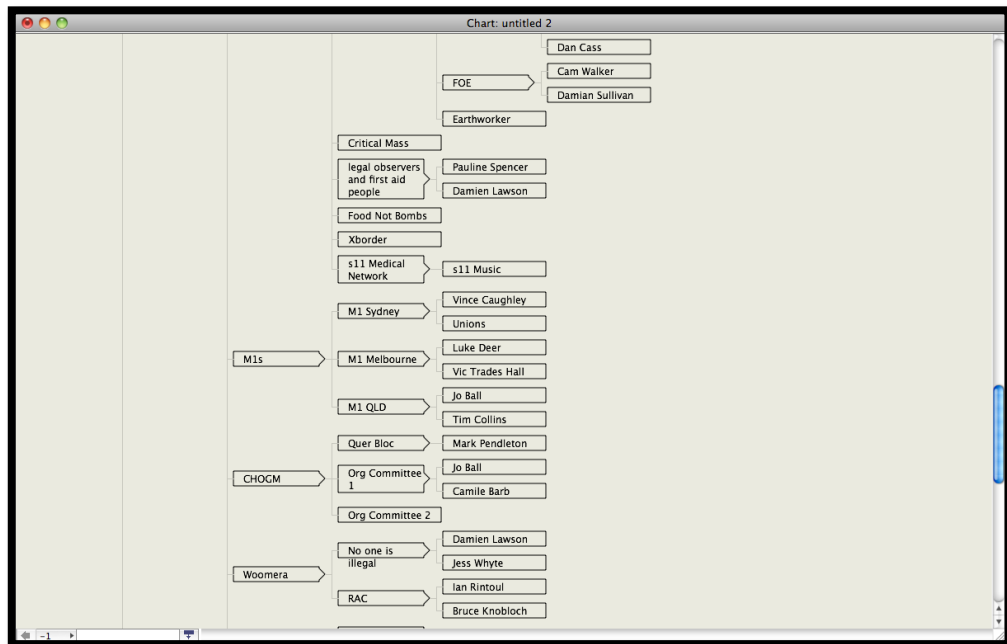


Illustration B: Screen shot of map of the Global Justice Movement in Australia (activists identified)

While people approached were sometimes nominated spokespeople for events or organising committees, in general official leaders of organisations were excluded, because of a concern they would simply give an organisation’s ‘line’ (Blee and Taylor 2002, p. 93-94). For example, in choosing whom to interview from the union movement I approached Henry, a former key official rather than a current one, to minimise a concern that the person would be constrained by the perspective of the organisation they were involved with. Despite being cognisant of this issue, one interviewee, Margaret, did stand out as often phrasing views in terms of ‘we’ rather than ‘I’ and was clearly at pains to represent the view publicly put by her organisation (rather than her personal one). Interviewees were chosen across a diversity of backgrounds, hopefully reflecting the circumstances more generally of people involved. Activists from multiple locations, men and women, older and younger, students and unionists, anarchists and socialists, environmentalists and queer activists were interviewed. And finally, a cross section of activists who were involved in single-issue campaigns²⁴ as well as those who sought to

²⁴ Meaning largely involved in one particular campaign or aspect of the movement, such as the movement to forgive debt or the movement for fair trade.

work between organisations and sections of the movement were identified²⁵. It was hoped that this would present a range of views on how and why such disparate forces worked (or didn't work) together. While seeking a sample from across the network, it was in effect a 'purposeful sample' and not a 'probability sample' that was identified (Hackett and Carroll 2006: 165). This was out of a desire to speak with key activists who could provide rich practical and theoretical information.

The map was created using an electronic notes program, called Tinderbox, which allowed the creation of relationships between 'containers' and the insertion of notes and information inside them. As the map was built, relevant information was recorded inside component parts, including notations of an individual's involvement or links to activist writings associated with an organisation. In this way, the map allowed the collection and retention of data relevant to the movement more generally and saw the map function in two dimensions, with details of the movement across the screen in one dimension and detailed notes and information able to be drilled into behind each component²⁶. The flexibility of the program allowed components to be moved (or promoted or demoted along a branch) which avoided premature commitment to a structure and the ability to modify and improve the map over the life of the research project.

From 17 initial invitations, 15 interviews were ultimately conducted²⁷. Initial interviews were often followed by further discussions with interviewees, ranging from short conversations to clarify meaning when transcripts were reviewed, to more lengthy discussions during analysis. Interview themes and prompt questions were revised after each block of three to five interviews, largely to facilitate a more effective dialogue. The final version of the interview themes appears at Appendix A. Full transcripts were produced, and extensive analysis was completed both 'by hand' (in reading the full interviews) and with the assistance of the qualitative data analysis program NVivo. However semi-structured interviews are not without challenges, in particular the difficulty of generalising results across or between movements. In regards to this, the use of NVivo was of assistance in identifying key themes across the activists, most

²⁵ It is important to note that the groupings involved in one section or across multiple sections did not correspond to the Campaigners and 'movement Networkers' delineations discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

²⁶ See also the discussion of this particular use of Tinderbox for this project, on the website of the company that produces the program: <http://www.eastgate.com/Tinderbox/Using/SocialInquiry.html>

²⁷ One person did not respond to the invitation, the other was then employed by an NGO in remote Africa and we were unable to get a VoIP link effectively working.

particularly the insights related to the role of Campaigners and Networkers developed in Chapters 5 and 6. Working with both transcripts and the ‘code and retrieve’ process, it was hoped the issue of fragmentation would be minimised (Bryman 2004: 419) and there would be both ‘closeness’ and ‘distance’ with the data (Bazeley 2007: 8).

Another difficulty with semi-structured interviews is the enmeshing of views with personal emotions and experiences, further complicated in this project by several of the interviewees having an existing activist relationship with the author. While being an insider has benefits, including access to activists and the ability to build rapport and trust (Blee and Taylor 2002: 97), there are a number of difficulties and risks as well. These issues had to be accounted for in choosing interviewees, conducting the interviews and analysing the data, and included:

- Limitations arising from assumptions linked to an insider’s experience.
- The impact of previous relationships with interviewees, modifying both what is asked and what is disclosed.
- Concern on behalf of the author about how the research findings might be perceived by one’s ‘activist’ peers.

In conducting the research, constant attention was paid to each of these issues, but it would be erroneous to say the final product would be immune from them.

An additional use of the map was to assess how activists, and in particular the interviewees, were involved over time in various sub-parts of the movement and its antecedents. This allowed an assessment of the interaction of elements of the movement (campaigns, organisations and individuals) and confirmed the wide variety of paths activists took. As discussed in the previous chapter, social movements are not static organisational forms: they are dynamic and ever-moving.

The map is ultimately a visual illustration of a movement many activists describe as amorphous. While not as detailed or technical as the maps produced in social network analysis, it offered grounding from which to better understand the movement itself and frame the project.

Who were the interviewees?

The research utilises pseudonyms for interviewees, in order to afford anonymity.

Although not all interviewees requested I use one for them, others did, stating that the use of a pseudonym gave them confidence to speak their mind and not be concerned about potential consequences in giving a particular view.

Obviously, the place, interests and history of an activist is important. In light of this, the following are short overviews offered to situate each of the interviewees.

Amanda was involved in queer and student organising, and was a member of a socialist organisation. She has family responsibilities, and was in her mid-20s when s11 occurred²⁸.

Brendan saw his involvement in the GJM as inseparable from his Christian faith. He was in his early 20s and was involved in a major NGO.

Chris was involved in many of the GJM components including around fair trade, student organising and the environment. Chris was in his mid-20s when s11 occurred.

Claudia was a student activist in her early 20s, and later a union organiser working on social justice issues. She was a key organiser for a number of high profile GJM protests.

Debbie has a lifetime of activist work in church-based and non-government organisations.

Giulietta was an autonomist activist involved in social centres and other projects. She was in her early 30s in the relevant period and participated in an affinity group at s11.

Henry was a middle-aged union leader who was heavily involved in working with many elements that organised the s10 and s11 events in Melbourne.

²⁸ All ages given are for the period 2000-2002.

Luke was in his early 30s when he was a key organiser of the s11 blockades and Easter protests at Woomera.

Margaret works on trade issues and other social and public policy matters. Within the movement, she played a key role around fair trade and multilateral trade negotiations.

Mark was a socialist and active union delegate. In his early 30s, he was deeply involved in what he calls the ‘anti-capitalist’ elements of the GJM.

Timothy was a young activist involved in the s11 AWOL grouping.

Mike worked for one of the unions that supported GJM movement activity in Australia, and he was involved in organising s11 and m1 activities.

Paul was a high-profile activist on the Left, and in particular in the environment movement. At the time of s11, he was in his early 30s.

Sam was a middle-aged politician, who has been involved in a range of activist campaigns.

Simon was a young, unaligned activist. Prior to his graduation he was active in the GJM in a number of ways, including in the activist grouping CACTUS.

To summarise the backgrounds of the fifteen activists:

- Six were female and nine were male.
- Seven mainly resided in Melbourne, another seven mainly in Sydney, and one in Brisbane.
- Five were aged between 18 and 25, five between 26 and 35, two between 36 and 45 and three aged over 45.
- Eight were primarily involved in non/anti-institutional elements of the movement, and five primarily in the institutional elements. Two were involved more equally in both elements.

Chapter 3: The Global Justice Movement

Our resistance will be as transnational as capital²⁹

I used to think these kids talking about the environment were just wingnuts.

Now I think they are part of the big 'us', the us that's going to have to change the world.

Doug Sabin, Seattle Protester³⁰

The protests at the Seattle Summit of the WTO on 30 November 1999 were a turning point for social movement activity in the developed world (Cockburn et al. 2000; Starr 2000). Building on a number of campaigns through the previous decade – regarding third world debt, corporate responsibility, environmental justice and fair work – the demonstration saw the formation of a political movement critical of a number of global systemic processes and structures³¹. The protests involved a blockade of the WTO meeting venue to prevent delegates accessing the building, and a large labour march. For a number of reasons, including the impact of the demonstrations, the summit talks collapsed.

This chapter overviews the development of the GJM internationally and the events at Seattle, and is set down in two parts. The first considers the socio-economic context behind the movement, in particular the impact of the Washington Consensus, globalisation and commodification (both the production of commodities for markets and the commodification of identity). It relates these intellectual currents with the campaigns that first started to express opposition to social change in a visible way. The second part will explore the nature of the movement, what it was called and its coherence and objectives.

²⁹ A slogan commonly heard at GJM protests, and as quoted in: Starr, Amory (2000), *Naming the Enemy: Anti-Corporate Movements Confront Globalisation* (Sydney: Pluto Press). Starr indicates the slogan first became popular at the j18 protests but that she was unable to establish its origins.

³⁰ Kimber, Charlie (2009), 'Voices from the Seattle Protests', *Socialist Worker UK*, 24 November 2009. (Interviews from the 1999 protests published on the tenth anniversary)

³¹ Many authors have made the point that Seattle was not the beginning of the GJM in either the Global North or Global South: see Jen Couch, 'This Is What Democracy Looks Like: The Genesis, Culture and Possibilities of Anti-Corporate Activism', PhD (Victoria University, 2003). for a discussion of this. However, it is clear that Seattle was seen as a key ignition point, given it occurred in the heart of American capitalism in Seattle, famous for its concentration of technology firms, and because it was successful at preventing the WTO from meeting in the initial stages of the meeting. Importantly, there was also a history to the movement in the developing world, with the Zapatista struggles in Mexico and protests against the IMF in Brazil. This thesis, however, is an exploration of the movement in Australia, and focuses on the movement through that context.

The approach in the first section sets out the wider social developments that provoked the emergence of a new movement, looking in detail at those changes as well as how thinkers and activists responded to them. This helps make sense of the movement that eventually took shape in its historical setting, which was one of the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s. Linked to this is a discussion of the historical trajectory of various campaigns and movements that laid the ground for the GJM and a description of the novel form and content embodied in it at its moment of emergence in Seattle.

The second part of the chapter considers those novel characteristics in more detail, as they develop from Seattle. It especially focuses on the controversy over what the GJM's name should have been and how that reflects on the nature of the movement's aims and actions. The controversy is in part settled by recognition of the movement's internal differentiation and diversity, but is also addressed in terms of what made it a differentiated unity – united by a set of political and strategic preoccupations in theory and action. This chapter will provide the context for Chapter 4, which explores the arrival of the movement in Australia and its trajectory locally. In these two chapters, we will begin to hear from the interviewees who participated in this research.

PART A: THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

Growing critiques of neoliberalism

There were three critical elements to the socio-economic context behind the development of the movement, and its 'arrival' in the Global North at Seattle. While usefully described in shorthand as 'criticisms of neoliberalism' (Ayres 2004), three distinct paths are found in: critiques of the Washington Consensus (Kiely 2005a, 2005b); critiques of globalisation (McNally 2006); and critiques of commodification (Hennessy 2000; Klein 2000a).

John Williamson coined the term the Washington Consensus in 1989, to describe an economic and development model of ten 'items' that Williamson believed the Washington elite was in agreement about, and that should be implemented in almost all Latin American countries. The criteria included trade liberalisation, fiscal discipline, and

privatisation and deregulation of state run sectors (Williamson 2003: 10). This agenda is generally understood within the GJM as the one promoted by the Bretton Woods institutions³² and endorsed by Western Governments (Ellwood 2001). However, in the wake of the Asian Financial Crisis, this consensus came under criticism from both above and below. Previous influential advocates, such as Harvard Economist and former advisor to the IMF Jeffrey Sachs, and former Chief Economist of the World Bank Joseph Stiglitz, became increasingly and publicly critical of the implementation of the agenda (Stiglitz 2002)³³. The criticisms were on the basis that not only had the agenda failed to deal with the extreme poverty and social disadvantage in the South, but that it had been responsible for exacerbating the problem. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Tiger Economies, where ‘more of the same’ was being promoted as an appropriate cure, resistance to the consensus grew amongst activists in various countries (Callinicos 2003b: 8).

Rubens Ricupero (1998), Secretary-General of United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, noted the growing dissent in his address to the WTO in Geneva the year before Seattle:

Inequality inside, and among, nations has not been reduced. Trade is certainly not to blame for the failure of the twentieth century to solve this burning problem. But, at a time of global trade liberalisation, the existence of mass unemployment, job insecurity and acute inequality undoubtedly has had something to do with the malaise – even backlash, in places – against trade and investment liberalisation that we have noted in various quarters. Such preoccupations have shown their face in such diverse fora as the US Congress’ debate on ‘fast track’, the OECD negotiations on a plurilateral investment agreement, and the protests and demonstrations of recent days here in Geneva.

Dissent was growing outside governmental and global structures, from movements in the developed world such as Jubilee 2000 and in the developing world such as the MST (the

³² The Bretton Woods institutions are the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which later became part of the World Bank, named for the New Hampshire hotel where 44 World War II Allied Nations created them in 1944.

³³ I note that Williamson and others have argued that the consensus he first described is not what is now called the Washington Consensus. He argues that two alternative meanings are to equate his term with neoliberalism or to describe them as the policies collectively pursued by the Bretton Woods institutions, the Inter-American Development Bank, the US Treasury and the US Federal Reserve. He argues that the term is most commonly used to mean the latter. I would argue the commonly held understanding within the GJM is to see it as both these things, as I do not believe within the movement there is a delineation between ‘neoliberalism’ and the agenda pursued by the above bodies in the manner in which Williamson would articulate.

landless peasants movement in Brazil) and Via Campesina³⁴. While these organisations had specific aims – such as debt forgiveness or land justice – they were also enmeshed in a growing critique of the Washington Consensus, or what is often called neoliberalism.

The end of the long post-war boom, with the economic crisis of the 1970s, had created a questioning of what might be possible in terms of economic growth and stability. The resolution to this dilemma came in the form of the replacement of (the only just discredited) neo-Keynesian framework with a neoliberal agenda that sought to reconfigure the global economic system ‘through the adoption of politics that would attract investment, boost trade and promote long term growth’ (ibid). The 1980s was a period in which a neoliberal economic framework was established around the rolling back of the welfare state, the privatising or corporatising of public services, the entry of the market into sections of the economy previously run by government (or the not-for-profit sector), and the breaking down of protectionism. As detailed above, in relation to the developing world this took the form of the Washington consensus and was imposed in part from the outside. However a similar project – known as Thatcherism in the UK, Reaganism in the United States and Economic Rationalism in Australia – existed in the North and was implemented by governments with political consent (Harvey 2005: 39-40).

One interviewee, Mark, summarised the socio-economic situation that lay behind the growth of the GJM as follows:

I think for a start it's a reaction to a whole series of policies that began being implemented by western governments in the 1980s in particular, what we probably now call neoliberalism. [The GJM] is the people's response to these policies of privatisation and handing over to market whims a whole lot of things which are really core to society, things which we would in the past have expected a government to do. ... Thatcherism, Reaganism, a whole series of policies reversed the economic trends like Keynesianism and government intervention in the market and just said 'let it rip'. And this didn't really have a [good] impact on people's lives, it didn't make people feel like they were more secure, that society was getting better, that their lives were getting better, that the future looked rosy, in fact I think it had the opposite effect. [In the developed world] I think all these things came to a head in a very visible way around the Seattle World Trade Organisation meeting. It kind of exploded and at first [it] wasn't a coherent set of demands, but it was a series of

³⁴ Via Campesina are a global network of peasants, small and medium producers, landless, indigenous people, agricultural workers and others who promote and campaign around issues of gender parity, social justice, sustainable development and fair economic relations. A detailed history of the organisation/movement can be found in Chapter 5 of Reitan, Ruth (2007), 'Global Activism', ed. Barry K Gills *Rethinking Globalisations*; (London: Routledge).

reactions to these policies that had been going on for 20 years. It made people angry and I guess that was really the first visible sign that there was definitely a mood of change in the air.

The 1990s saw an unprecedented shift in the economic dialogue in both mainstream debate and the academy, and it was talk of globalisation that dominated (Kiely 2005b, p. 1). The term ‘globalisation’ was used to reflect a range of processes and claims regarding the economic, political, cultural and technological transformations within society. As Amory Starr (2000) details, various definitions and understandings abound and an appreciation of the question reflects the political position and general discipline of the person (ibid: 5-6). For some, globalisation is bound up in the rapid technological advances related to the Internet and satellite circulation of news and culture. Others see it as related variously to economic interconnectedness or global governance.

The term ‘globalisation’ in the GJM incorporates not simply the greater interconnectedness of the world economy or technology, but describes a process whose particular trajectory is underpinned and coloured by the contested carrying out of the neoliberal and ‘free trade’ project. This is a project that was, as discussed above, facilitated largely by the governments of the Global North and institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and WTO (della Porta et al. 2006: 3). This is sometimes called ‘corporate-led’ globalisation, but this term is problematic as it ignores or fails to appreciate the ongoing role of the nation state in the globalisation agenda and so the term ‘globalisation from above’ has sometimes been utilised by writers (Grenfell 2001: 234; Kiely 2005b: 34).

Callinicos (2003b: 144) argues that the debate around globalisation is also about the contestation of the phenomenon along two dimensions – an explanatory debate around what it is and the extent to which it is occurring, and a normative one as to whether it is ‘a good thing’. As he points out, the views on one axis do not imply a certain view on the other. For example, many in the movement accepted the claims about the extent of interconnectedness of the world economy (for example, that capital can rapidly shift jobs from the North to the South) and others rejected them. However, this disagreement mattered little when both camps could agree as to the negative impacts of globalisation and ‘condemn it morally and politically’ (ibid). For example, regardless of whether activists were for fixing or abolishing the WTO (called the ‘fix it or nix it’ debate), they equally could see a place for themselves in the movement, at least initially when the

movement was forming and rising. This is an important insight, as it demonstrates how somewhat disparate forces, in terms of an understanding of what globalisation actually is, can join forces in a campaign against its excesses and repercussions.

These excesses were seen by the movement to be symbolised by things like the growing gap between rich and poor. A report, which was often quoted by activists involved in the movement, was released by the United Nations Development Program in 1998 and noted that the world's 225 richest people had a combined wealth of a trillion (US) dollars, and that this was equivalent to the combined annual income of the world's 2.5 billion poorest people (United Nations Development Program 1998: 30). The excesses were also seen at the individual level, and symbolised in the obscenity around the production of commodities in the Global South for consumption in the Global North. As a worker in a Nike factory in El Salvador detailed:

We are paid 42 colones a day, which is the minimum wage (which I am told is \$4.80 per day). When I saw the price of this Nike shirt which would be more than 650 colones in El Salvador, I couldn't believe it. It is very unjust because they pay us cheaply to make a very expensive product (O'Brien 2001: 71).

The production of goods for largely Northern markets was also tied up with growing critiques of the commodification of identity. Released just after the Seattle demonstrations, Naomi Klein's book *No Logo* (2000a) was in part an acknowledgement of the coming GJM (as it was conceived of and finalised before Seattle) and in part a cohering force for the activists involved. In *No Logo*, the movement found a theoretical scaffold for many of the concerns that were articulated in demonstrations. Klein was a sought-after speaker, and would later take her message to quite disparate elements of the movement³⁵.

Klein focuses in her book on the question of branding and the corporate multinational agenda of lifestyle creation, reflecting on the paradox this creates when one considers the outsourcing and sweatshop labour used to create the products. Klein sees this dilemma as inextricably linked to the practices of multinational corporations, who seek the greatest

³⁵ For example, I saw Klein speak on two occasions. First was to a room of approximately two thousand committed revolutionary Marxists and hangers-on in London in July 2000, and the second was a few years later at a fund-raising event for 3CR community radio in Melbourne to a collection of older community activists (while she was on a high profile tour of Australia). At the first meeting, I had only the most general idea of who Klein was, but by the second occasion she was almost a superstar and barely a person I knew had not read her book or watched a recorded talk of hers on the Internet.

profit through the lowest overheads. Klein argues that, while once the resistance to the practices of multinationals was from protectionist quarters, which sought to protect local profits and industries, 'connections have formed across national lines...[where] ethical shareholders, culture jammers, street reclaimers, McUnion organisers, human rights hacktivists, school-logo fighters and Internet corporate watchdogs are ... demanding a citizen-centred alternative to the international rule of the brands' (ibid: 445-46).

Klein also identifies in *No Logo* a change to activist strategy – in the move away from identity politics to anti-corporate politics. A local example of this was in the shift that occurred in lesbian and gay activism and organising. While radical gay and lesbian activity in the 1980s and early 1990s often used cultural disruption as a repertoire of action (such as reclaiming the word 'queer', guerilla theatre and kiss-ins), the growing GJM saw the formation of anti-corporate and anti-capitalist gay and lesbian groups such as Queers United to Eradicate Economic Rationalism (QUEER). These groups expressly rejected identity politics and cultural disruption as a means for achieving change³⁶. In a clear comparison 'where Queer Nation wore co-opted GAP shirts [reading GAY], [the] new groups are actively involved in the Fairwear campaign and other campaigns to eliminate sweatshops [that are] a core basis of the GAP brand's success' (Pendleton 2001)³⁷. One of the most 'elegant' examples in Australia of the emerging hacktivist practices was in the lead-up to the s11 demonstrations, and also involved Nike, where the corporation's international website was diverted to the organising portal for the blockade of the Melbourne WEF meeting (Burgmann 2003: 295).

Movement antecedents

If the intellectual critique of developments in the global economy was a key thread behind the GJM in the late 1990s, a line can also be drawn in terms of major acts of mobilisation and resistance to the neoliberal order. Prior to Seattle, there were a number

³⁶ For a lengthy consideration of the development and politics of these groups see: Humphrys, Elizabeth (2007), 'with their bodies on the line': Activist Space and Sexuality in the Australian Alter-Globalisation Movement', *Queer Space Conference* (University of Technology Sydney: University of Technology Sydney) www.dab.uts.edu.au/conferences/queer_space/proceedings/.

³⁷ In Australia, within the gay and lesbian movement, this question of the commodification of 'gay' was particularly advanced. The corporatisation of the Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras (and the New Mardi Gras) was particularly criticised by activists, who felt their identity was being used in order to promote major corporations like Qantas, Stolichnaya, Telstra and Volvo. In addition to Pendleton, see Schembri, Michael (2002), 'Comment on Queers, Anti-capitalism and War', Word is Out, (2). <pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/23857/20020430/www.wordisout.info/archive/02schemb.pdf>, accessed 17 May 2005.

of demonstrations that began to cohere the movement, even if mainstream media and governments largely ignored or misinterpreted them (de Armond 2001: 202)³⁸. While these protests highlighted questions around economic progress and global inequality, key tenets of GJM discourse, activists were not yet identifying as part of a global movement as such. The importance of these events arose from different forces beginning to act on the same issues and with the same targets, as groups as disparate as Jubilee 2000³⁹ and Reclaim The Streets became involved (Klein 2000a: 311 - 23).

Writers have highlighted the **Zapatista uprising** for its role in inspiring GJM activity and articulating concerns important to both the developed and developing worlds (Chomsky 1999; Couch 2003). The Zapatistas announced themselves on the world stage on New Year's Day 1994, delivering an invitation to attend an intercontinental meeting in July that year and linking their struggles in Chiapas with concerns elsewhere. This deliberate effort at connecting struggles is articulated in Subcommandante Marcos' words in closing that later aforementioned intercontinental meeting:

Who are they who dare to let their dreams meet with all the dreams of the world? What is happening in the mountains of the Mexican southeast that finds an echo and a mirror in the streets of Europe, the suburbs of Asia, the countryside of America, the townships of Africa, and the houses of Oceania? ... May the ... continents speak and everyone listen. May humanity suspend for a moment its silence of shame and anguish.

May humanity speak. May humanity listen. Each country, each city, each countryside, each house, each person, each is a large or small battleground. On the one side is neoliberalism with all its repressive power and all its machinery of death; on the other side is the human being. In any place in the world, anytime, any man or woman rebels to the point of tearing off the clothes that resignation has woven for them and cynicism has dyed grey. Any man or woman, of whatever colour, in whatever tongue, speaks and says to himself, to herself: Enough is enough! *Ya Basta!*
(Notes from Nowhere 2003: 34-35)

³⁸ At the G8 Summit demonstration on May 16 1998 in Birmingham, England, approximately 70 thousand protesters participated and over 30 Reclaim The Streets (RTS) actions occurred in other locations. See <http://cases.som.yale.edu/jubilee/index.php?page=6&subMenu=> for a summary of the Yale University School of Management Case Study on Jubilee 2000 and the Birmingham protest. The j18 protests in 1999 followed from this, with actions in the financial districts of over 60 cities, in 40 countries, coinciding with the G8 Summit in Cologne, Germany. See ABC Radio National interview and report 19 June 1999, Alexandra de Blas (in interview with Greens MP Lee Rhiannon, www.abc.net.au/rn/science/earth/stories/s32088.htm). Interestingly, Rhiannon notes that this movement is growing and that continuing protests are likely about the issues involved in demonstrations.

³⁹ Jubilee 2000 was an international movement formed to demand the forgiveness of third world debt, which successfully involved unions, churches and other non-government coalitions not usually known for their militancy and engagement in public street protests.

From the intercontinental meeting, Peoples' Global Action (PGA) emerged: an organisation with the priorities of 'rejection of the multilateral trade system, destroying (not reforming) the WTO, direct actions (not lobbying), and being a "basically democratic" organisation' (Starr 2000: 101)⁴⁰. The Zapatistas were particularly important in the development of the Italian movement in relation to the organisations Ya Basta! (its name taken from the Zapatista call for 'enough') and the Tutti Bianchi (the White Overalls). The writings of Marcos informed a particular strand of the movement via his particular critique of neoliberalism (S. Wright 2000).

Others have emphasised the growing **protests in the North regarding the actions of multinational and transnational companies**. The actions of Nestle in relation to baby formula marketing (Klein 2000a: 336; Sethi 1994) and the role of Shell in Nigeria (Newell 2000: 130; Notes from Nowhere 2003: 196-201) were particularly significant in drawing attention to exploitation by multinationals in the South. Another crucial element of the pre-Seattle anti-corporate movements was campaigning against the practices of McDonalds, in particular the focus generated by José Bové and other French farmers in their dismantling of a McDonalds' store due to open in Millau (Reitan 2007: 161) and the McLibel case in the United Kingdom where McDonalds sued two activists for defamation (Klein 2000a: 330 & 89). In both cases, the court processes around the events were used to take the message about McDonalds' labour and environmental practices into the global spotlight, with the company initially unable to see the assistance they were lending to the activists' causes by having their views publicised so widely.

With a focus on how the movement developed in the US and the **coherence of forces at Seattle**, Frederick H Buttel argues in his article 'Some Observations on the Anti-Globalisation Movement' (2003) that there were four key events and phenomena that preceded the movement:

- Firstly, certain decisions by the WTO in the late 1990s on the question of limits on trade in relation to processes with negative environmental consequences⁴¹. Buttel argues that decisions resulting in

⁴⁰ PGA was one of the main groups that organised the j18 demonstrations, along with Reclaim The Streets and others. Activists involved in organising for j18 recall that the name was chosen as no agreement could be reached on a name for the demonstration. See an article from the movement magazine *Do or Die*, that traces the development of the movement and the j18 protests: Anonymous, 'Friday June 18th 1999: Confronting Capital and Smashing the State!', *Do or Die*, /8 (1999): 1-12.

⁴¹ Buttel gives a number of examples including the ruling in favour of Venezuela and Brazil in relation to their complaints of trade restriction in relation to the US ban on imported gasoline (where the gasoline exacerbates air quality problems) and a ruling against the US bans on shrimp imports where the fishing practices are carried out in a way that causes certain negative environmental consequences (such as the death of sea turtles).

the invalidation outside a state of environmental protections made within a state, resulted in an implication that the green movement would need to address this and develop targets at the global level.

- Secondly, that the admission in 1996 by American celebrity Kathy Lee Gifford that her clothing line was manufactured in sweatshops in Honduras, combined with revelations regarding the practices of key footwear producers such as Nike and Reebok, lead to a high profile movement against these practices (in particular at American Universities and Colleges).
- When the Asian Financial Crisis progressed and it appeared the IMF was privileging the protection of investors over the living standards of the majority of residents in the Global South, a crisis of legitimacy opened up. This crisis of legitimacy was not just for those that would later be involved in the movement, but for the governments and bureaucracies of those nations who would later be inside the talks at the Seattle summit.
- And finally, the crisis that resulted for the WTO by the ban in Europe of genetically modified foods (against the rules of the WTO which allowed little legal basis for excluding such products), combined with the reaction from US farmers and agricultural organisations, assisted in forging coalitions important at the Seattle demonstrations (summarised from Buttel 2003: 102-04).

While Buttel provides an acceptable analysis of the events mentioned, his criteria and explanation are quite arbitrary. In seeing the development of the movement as a series of linked events alone, he misses insights as to how concerns around trade, multinationals and global governance developed and dovetailed at Seattle. He underplays the importance of the more general growing dissatisfaction with neoliberalism itself. It is this socio-economic context behind the activist context that provided the social basis for the movement in the South and, as the movement grew, the North. The trajectory to Seattle for those involved in the labour movement can also be found in the rejection of two decades of wage constraints, worsening working conditions and breaking of trade union organisation (Chomsky 1999; Harvey 2005, in particular Chapter 6). Similarly, and this is discussed later, the trajectory of the GJM in Australia can be related to similar phenomena (Burgmann 2003; Grenfell 2001), even if the labour movement is perhaps best viewed as a movement follower rather than initiator.

There is a further development to be considered in **disappearance of the geopolitical binary** represented in the politics of the Cold War era (Callinicos 2003b: 1-11).

Table 1: Emerging frames of the Global Justice Movement

Dominant Above Frames (hegemonic)	Emerging Below Frames (counter-hegemonic)
1. Global North 2. Undemocratic Globalisation (through the WTO, IMF and WEF) 3. Corporations 4. Western multinationals 5. Universalised dominance of neoliberalism	1. Global South 2. Globalisation from below (GJM, WSF, etc) 3. Consumers 4. Exploited workers (especially in the South) 5. Universalising potential of counter-hegemony

After the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the global political space changed as the dominant frame of the East/West lost its relevance. In this period, a number of frames emerged which highlighted questions of power and dominance, illuminating the more fundamental geopolitical relations related to capitalism and called here the above/below frames. When 9/11 and the War on Terror occurred, a new geopolitical binary of the so-called ‘clash of civilisations’ was utilised by global elites: a binary between the civility of the west/incivility of terrorists, those that harbour them, and the axis of evil (Bottici and Challand 2006). This new binary was used both to demonise the uncivilised and to attack the GJM (Sandall 2002: 119). In the decade or so in between these two dichotomous frames, as neoliberalism asserted itself across the globe, critiques developed revealing power relations intrinsic to global economic organisation under capitalism and in particular the epoch of neoliberalism.

As illustrated in the table on the previous page, these frames are centred on questions of denial of democracy, oppression and exploitation. In the absence of the veil of the Cold War binary, and under the weight of intensifying economic reforms, relations of exploitation revealed themselves more fundamentally.

The Emerald City awakes (to the smell of tear gas)⁴²

When talking of ‘Seattle’ or the ‘n30’ protest, activists are referring to the demonstrations built to coincide with the WTO Ministerial Conference in Seattle over the course of three days from 30 November 1999. The summit itself was termed the Millennium Round, and

⁴² Seattle’s nickname is the Emerald City.

sought to commence a new series of trade negotiations. Even before the commencement of the conference there were problems, as developing countries voiced their concerns regarding the dominant approach to trade negotiations. In their view, the process was dramatically in favour of the interests of the Global North and the multinational companies they auspice⁴³. Despite enormous pressure to progress negotiations a revolt was brewing, and ultimately dissent inside the conference was bolstered by the actions of protesters on the streets blockading, which saw the talks collapse (Vidal 1999). For some, the collapse was chiefly the result of internal ructions. But others, including the conservative think tank, The RAND Corporation, point to the inability of the police to control the demonstrations and blockade on the first day (which resulted in the venue being shut down) as the key issue that sealed the summit's fate (de Armond 2001). What appears a more likely explanation is that the size and surprise of the blockade, and the symbolic victory of the summit being stopped on the first day, worked with the internal disagreements to see the talks fail.

From the words of a demonstration placard – ‘Teamsters and Turtles: together at last’ – we can also see another key element of the protests (Buttel 2003: 104; Meyerson 1999). The slogan is of course a literal one, describing the coming together of students dressed as sea turtles and monarch butterflies and members of the Teamsters Union⁴⁴, in witness to the formation of a new coalition in the United States between unions and environmental organisations. This coalition was an important development, even if it was more of a political coalition than a practical one (Starr 2000).

Of course the Seattle protests did not emerge spontaneously, even if the unexpected took place. The blockade of the venue occurred on the back of significant preparation in preceding months across the United States and Canada, with the Direct Action Network (DAN) organising a range of elements to play different roles in the protest. While a minority of protesters engaged in blockading, several thousand more were involved in protecting them, and another several thousand in the People's Assembly rally (de

⁴³ Protests had been occurring in the South over a longer time period than in the North, and in particular after the collapse of the Berlin Wall. The IMF Riots and other demonstrations raised the issue of the impact of structural adjustment programs, usually implemented as a requirement of the IMF and World Bank in return for loans to developing nations. See in particular: John Walton, *Free Markets and Food Riots: The Politics of Global Adjustment* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994).

⁴⁴ The Teamsters are one of the largest trade unions in the USA. In the lead-up to Seattle, there was also an important alliance formed between Steelworkers and the environmental group Earth First! Post-Seattle this coalition formed the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment. See Cockburn, Alexander, St. Clair, Jeffrey, and Sekula, Allan (2000), *5 Days that Shook the World* (London: Verso).

Armond 2001: 209-10). A significant other force at the demonstrations was AFL-CIO⁴⁵ labour march, which was held separately from the DAN events. Despite the efforts of the AFL-CIO and the police to keep the DAN events and the labour march separate (ibid: 203), many trade unionists broke from their sanctioned event to join the blockades⁴⁶. It was an important signal to the movement globally that previously disparate or hostile social forces were willing to work together (Klein 2000b: in particular pp. 8-15; Meyerson 1999; Reitan 2007). There were many organisations and campaigns that took part in the protests: sweatshop activists, church groups, students, fair trade watchers, climate change activists and even those committed to property damage and involved in attacks on stores like Gap and Nike. An affinity group⁴⁷ model of organising for the blockades allowed for direct participation in organising with groups able to work in clusters or through the Spokescouncil⁴⁸, in a model that activists stated was democratic and reactive (Starr 2000: 115).

If the formation of coalitions was one important development at Seattle, another was that the new movement had a growing focus on the general or systemic rather than simply the sectional or symptomatic. In this sense, Seattle saw a general critique develop about corporate power itself, as opposed to the symptoms of corporate power identified in individual campaigns. Seattle was the arrival of a *global* justice movement whose concerns went beyond single issues to encompass critiques of the world system (Callinicos 2003b; Wallerstein 2002).

For the activists interviewed as part of this research, there was no denying the importance of such a large and successful demonstration occurring within the United States and gaining the attention of the mainstream media. Luke recalled it like this:

Obviously all these things [had] been going on before ... but the attention that they got in Seattle is the significance, and that [the protesters] went right to the centre of the global media spectacle and

⁴⁵ The AFL-CIO is the umbrella organisation for trade unions in the United States of America.

⁴⁶ This was a dynamic to be repeated, on a smaller scale, less than a year later at the s11 demonstration in Australia.

⁴⁷ See overview of the affinity group model of organising written by prominent Seattle protest organiser Starhawk: <http://www.starhawk.org/activism/affinitygroups.html>

⁴⁸ A succinct description of a spokescouncil organising model is provided on the Australian Climate Camp 2009 Website: 'Spokescouncils are designed to facilitate real and efficient grassroots democracy on a mass scale. People participate in the meeting via a 'spokesperson' (delegate) from their 'affinity group' (a group of people that come together for one or more shared intentions). The spokesperson acts on behalf of the group in a 'council' (meeting) with spokespeople from other affinity groups (hence the term 'spokescouncil'). The group may decide to rotate their spokesperson but there is only ever one spokesperson for each group'. See www.climatecamp.org.au for further information.

therefore entered the public agenda in the developed world for the first time in a really significant way. There were certainly precursors [both] in terms of the tactics ... and strategies in bringing those movements [represented at Seattle] together – there were protests such as the j18 Reclaim The Streets protest – but really it was Seattle that pushed it onto the global public agenda. I think that was the first time people started talking about a global movement, even though there had been protests going on about the WTO before and large-scale protests in Latin America against neoliberalism. But they just didn't have the attention in advanced capitalist countries ... and so they weren't thought of as a movement.

Not everything about the demonstration was new, but its reach into the global media was. On 1 December 1999, Seattle residents awoke to footage of tear gas and police chasing protesters until late the previous evening. But this time the news media of almost every country was also trained on their hometown.

Seattle was also important because it drew together various arms of the movement – in particular the movements from the South and the North. An important figure at the Seattle WTO Summit was Vandana Shiva, who provided a viewpoint from the developed world by speaking directly to the summit participants as well as the activists outside protesting (Shiva 2000b, 2000a). Walden Bello, from Focus on the Global South, also attended and would later have a key impact on the movement in the North providing intellectual coherence and taking part in the discussions about movement form and strategy (see Bello 2001b, 2001a; Bello 2002). These figures articulated the shared concerns about global issues around trade and justice. Seattle also drew together institutional elements with the extra/anti-institutional elements involved in global solidarity campaigns and new modes of campaigning.

In this way, campaigns involved in raising political grievances that were often viewed as peripheral suddenly moved to the centre of political debate. What were previously thought of as more marginal or national concerns on the globe's fringes, had a distinctly urban representation and had moved (or marched) to the heart of the Global North and Global South's political considerations. The bodily blockading of conference venues and physical structures was employed as a tactic to halt meetings of elite organisations, but also to symbolically deny global elites an ability to traverse geography at will. Perhaps because the logic of the GJM is to move towards challenging the system at its heart – by challenging financial institutions, multinational corporations and global governance structures – it also increasingly encroached on urban spaces. This new urban character was underlined by the use of urban streetscapes as fields of contestation, and through

chants such as ‘Whose streets? Our streets!’ and ‘This is what democracy looks like’, where a shared affinity was growing even if there was not a formal strategic alignment. These same Seattle slogans would again be heard at s11 ten months later, underlining the global nature of the movement (Bramble and Minns 2005).

PART B: THE NATURE OF THE MOVEMENT

The idea that the protests of Seattle, and then later Melbourne, Prague, Quebec City and Genoa, constituted a social movement is not uncontested. Some analysts approach the phenomenon as a ‘cycle of protests’ rather than a movement. Prior to Seattle, leading social movement theorists were recognising emerging concerns in a ‘globalising world’ that ‘transcend national frontiers: the internationalisation of markets, nuclear fallout, the greenhouse effect, the destruction of the ozone layer, famine, poverty, international migration on a world-scale, women’s and minorities rights’ (della Porta et al. 1999: 21). They noted the challenge and opportunities this presented, with new tactics and democratic organising repertoires needed. Yet even when such organising and actions occurred, some have still denied the existence of a movement or, and as is more common, not seen it as significant or important (L. Cox and Nilsen 2007). This view appears to arise from a narrow understanding of the constitution of the movement, of which those protests were the most visible form. A failure to see beyond the institutional elements that mobilised for those events, or to see the wider internal differentiation, rendered the extra- and anti-institutional elements invisible and resulted in highly instrumentalist approaches by some authors (perhaps exemplified in della Porta 2007). A failure to see the overall development of the protests and constituent campaigns in their historical and political circumstances obscures the movement’s constitution as a differentiated totality. The GJM developed and maintained a collective identity, despite that differentiation, and is best understood as a global movement that is anti-systemic in character (explored later in this chapter).

Ripples from Seattle

A protest wave proceeded from Seattle and as the wave developed, the question of what these protests were about and who was behind organising them was openly debated within the movement and outside it. The debate about what to call the movement was

central to determining its identity and course of action, and is detailed in much of the GJM literature (Burgmann 2003; Buttel 2003; Starr 2000). Amongst the interviewees, the answer to the question of ‘what name’ was dependent on their location and particular activist work. It reflected their political perspective of what change they felt was needed or possible, and while those I interviewed were often regretful that there was no shared name they appreciated that this arose from real political differences. This diversity was one of the most celebrated aspects of the new movement:

Debbie: Gosh, [it was known by] a number of names actually. I suppose I think of it in terms of the global justice movement – the restructuring of the economic system, the world economic system, and changes to the world economic forums and bodies. ... There are so many terminologies though [and] my daughter actually told me another [name] the other day that I hadn’t [heard] and it meant nothing to me. So in a way it’s a pity that we have not been able to sit with some communally understood terminology...but then perhaps the movement is so broad that we are talking about different things to different groups.

Government officials, who paid increasing attention to the movement as it grew, spoke of the ‘anti-globalisation’ movement (The Australian APEC Study Centre 2001). However, this name was used partly to disparage, by insinuating the movement was against internationalism and progress as such (Buttel and Gould 2004: 40-41). As Burgmann argues, the choice of this term allowed the ‘neoliberal globalisers’ to ‘more easily present a false dichotomy [between the] supposedly progressive cosmopolitan embrace of the global market or [the] regressively xenophobic and protectionist nationalism’ pursued by the anti-globalisation protesters (Burgmann 2003: 247). Therefore, not everyone sat comfortably with the anti-globalisation label, and this was certainly the case amongst the activists interviewed:

Mike: Well at the time it was [the name] anti-globalisation [that we used], with a realisation that that was a problematic term sort of by definition. It’s problematic to define yourself by something that you’re not, rather than something that you are.

Brendan: Well we always called it the anti-globalisation movement and in one sense that’s the least accurate...but it’s also, to me, the most recognisable name of that particular [period]. So I still sort of say anti-globalisation or anti-corporate globalisation.

These feelings were not confined to Australia. Susan George, a key figure in the French movement and founder of the organisation ATTAC, stated to the World Social Forum (WSF) in Porto Alegre in 2001:

It's also profoundly irritating and just plain wrong that the press has labelled us the 'anti-globalisation movement'. Let's make it clear we are pro-globalisation. We are in favour of sharing friendship, culture, cuisine, travel, solidarity, wealth and resources worldwide. We are above all 'pro-democracy' and 'pro-planet', which our adversaries are most clearly not.

Others felt that the movement was best termed 'anti-capitalist' and this name was used in certain activist circles in Australia, in a similar vein to that outlined by Callinicos when he states 'the movement is best described as anti-capitalist...not because a majority of activists think it possible or desirable to replace capitalism altogether' but because 'it does not simply campaign over specific grievances or issues...but is motivated by a sense of the interconnection between an immense variety of different injustices and dangers' (Callinicos 2003b: 15). What Callinicos is arguing, is that for a movement to be against capitalism (and in the case of this movement specifically neoliberal capitalism) it does not have to be revolutionary or socialist. Amanda stated:

I usually call it the anti-capitalist movement. I think that is because amongst the people I know it is the name they call it. I know that there were actually big debates at the time about whether it was an anti-capitalist movement, a movement that was more generalised [in its critique of the] system.

Ultimately, many of those interviewed gravitated to what they saw was a more neutral descriptor, that of the GJM. Paul's response was typical:

Paul: I would generally say global justice movement.

Elizabeth: And why would you use that one?

P: Because it doesn't it confine it too much to say it's just around [trade] negotiations or it's just around trade and it implies solidarity. And it implies a North/South dimension which, you know, I think a lot of the summit hopping was very much a Northern phenomenon so I like the fact it kind of also places it in the majority world.

E: And do you avoid trying to use the term anti-globalisation?

P: Yes...I guess it's just a framing thing, really. We've got a positive vision and so we shouldn't just always set ourselves up as being against something when actually, you know, the 'yes' is much bigger than 'no'.

This concept of many voices saying 'yes' to a variety of different futures, or creating a positive rather than a negative master frame⁴⁹ within the debate (against the 'no' to the

⁴⁹ Framing is the process within social movements where certain ideas and beliefs are developed into collective action concepts or dialogues, which create meaning for both participants and observers/potential participants and justify social movement claims. Snow argues that master frames were originally conceptualised as similar to ordinary social movement frames, but which have expanded scope and influence

contemporary political system) was important (Kingsnorth 2003). The distinction saw corporations and western governments as the minority, creating problems experienced by the majority of the world. The idea of the majority/minority operated on a number of levels including both a reference to the developing/developed world and to the distinction between ruled/rulers. In the latter sense, movement participants drew a distinction between two types of globalisation – globalisation from above (by corporations and governments) and globalisation from below led by and moulded by ordinary people (Brecher et al. 2000; della Porta et al. 2006). It also linked with the conception held by many GJM participants that this movement was in transition from campaigning ‘against’ something (and on the defence) to arguing for a differently structured society (on the offence) (Humphrys 2007a). There was a contestation of Fukuyama’s thesis that the new era would involve globalisation victorious and the universal acceptance of liberal social and economic organisation (Fukuyama 1992; McDonald 2006: 5). Rather, activists argued they were not passive participants in this process but engaged majority subjects. As journalist Richard Salmons argued in a special newspaper supplement printed just prior to s11: ‘Whether protests are large or small, Seattle Man⁵⁰ is guaranteed to influence the way the World Economic Forum is seen around the world. And he is a reminder to Davos Man⁵¹ that the elite still has a long way to go to sell globalisation to the masses’ (Salmons 2000: 10).

This thesis has used the term ‘global justice movement’ for two reasons. The name is generally accepted in the movement, and in general the interviewees used this term as short hand, even when they had expressed a personal preference for another name when directly asked. Secondly, unlike the terms anti-capitalist movement or anti-globalisation movement, the use of the name GJM did not generally engender antagonism or opposition amongst interviewees, and in that sense was a non-oppositional identity.

Only one interviewee, Margaret, expressed a view that no movement as such existed regardless of what name it was given. However, she did state that the descriptor

to the extent that ‘they colour and constrain the orientation and activities of other movements within cycles of protest’. See Snow, D.A. 2004, ‘Framing Processes, Ideology and Discursive Fields’, in D.A. Snow, S.A. Soule & H. Kriesi (eds), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, Blackwell, Malden.

⁵⁰ Meaning the new movement that exploded at Seattle.

⁵¹ Meaning the WEF, who hold their annual meeting in Davos, Switzerland.

‘movement of movements’⁵² was an appropriate way to describe the activity in the period from Seattle 1999 to m1 2002:

Margaret: I don’t think there was a single movement. Like all of these things there were various political groupings who had their own agenda, and there...were broader networks like ours that were trying to have specific input. We saw our major role as trying to put counter ideas particularly about trade to be the ideas that were being presented at the World Economic Forum. There ... were some communications between people but ...I don’t think you can describe them as a unified movement.

Elizabeth: Naomi Klein described it, at one point, as ‘a movement of movements’ rather than a movement *per se* ...

M: I think that’s more accurate.⁵³

The coherence of the movement

The GJM is best understood as a differentiated unity, where, as discussed previously, coherence was established through the ability to condemn the current global system morally and politically. Additionally, while there was no common program or manifesto in the traditional sense, there was generally a consistency about what activists interviewed saw as the movement’s aims:

Timothy: I mean some of the very basic ideas are a repulsion or critique of corporate power and the idea that corporations have too much power...and that this situation isn’t conducive to democracy. There’s some kind of fundamental issue with democracy going on...and then I think most would agree that this kind of system has dire or serious environmental implications.

Paul: Some people obviously articulate one or the other [of the elements] of the movement and some people have the big picture of them all. I think most people would say it was about the environment, jobs, community and control.

⁵² Klein, N. 2000, 'The Vision Thing', *The Nation*, 10 July 2000, <www.thenation.org>.

⁵³ On a number of questions Margaret’s position stood aside from that of the other interviewees, and it appears this was largely because her activity and interests within the movement were focused very closely on her campaign area and the action it took (in her case regarding fair trade). Her fair trade ‘movement’ was also a transnational advocacy and activist network that was not in itself a global campaign or social movement. While a number of activists were involved heavily in only one area or campaign, and did not see themselves as involved with or responsible for building the movement as a whole, Margaret was perhaps the most acute expression of this (although clearly still part of a continuum involving all those interviewed).

Reflecting the socio-economic underpinnings explored earlier in this chapter, some interviewees saw that the aim of the movement was to stand up against the neoliberal project:

Simon: I'd say [it's about] social justice, equality, economic equality, an equality of opportunity... environmental sustainability, human rights, the distribution of power, [and the] centralising of [power]. I see it being about reining in the excesses of capitalism, basically. ... It was mostly around the big international financial institutions, so it's more I think, anti-neoliberal is probably one of the better [descriptions]. Not necessarily anti-capitalist, but definitely anti-neoliberal and [it] had a big anti-American flavour to it, because America is seen to be the driving force of neoliberal capitalist ideology.

Most people interviewed also expressed the view that the movement was different to others in recent times, perhaps not seen since the movements of the 1960s, in that it had this 'anti-systemic' quality about it (Wallerstein 2002).

Ray Kiely (2005b: 166-76) argues that there are five key concerns of the GJM, in that activists believe globalisation leads to:

- (i) intensified exploitation
- (ii) an increase in social inequality
- (iii) (or at least fails to alleviate) political inequality
- (iv) cultural homogenisation
- (v) (or intensifies) environmental destruction

While Kiely's outline is somewhat of a neat fit with the views of the interviewees, a sixth category of a 'democratic deficit' needs to be incorporated into Kiely's framework. Kiely's category of political inequality is largely construed as inter-state rather than intra-state power hierarchies⁵⁴. His failure to recognise this key concern of the movement appears to arise from his understanding of the state, which he sees as in a contingent relationship to capitalism (with regard to democratic pressure in particular), as opposed to the state being an instrument of elite rule that mediates contradictory interests within the ruling minority class whilst defending their common interests over those of the ruled. In essence, while employing much of Marx's explanation of the nature of the state, Kiely

⁵⁴ Also absent from Kiely is specific mention of the racial and gender impact of neoliberalism, leaving the frameworks explicit about environmental and class issues and silent on those. Alternatively, organisations such as Via Campesina in the South were explicit as to these questions, with parts of their organisation mobilised specifically over those questions.

rejects Marx's logical conclusion that 'the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie' (Marx and Engels 1998: 37) and emphasises opportunity for reform and regulation. Kiely's approach therefore tends to imagine neoliberalism as wayward democratic government policy rather than, as David Harvey puts it; 'a project to achieve the restoration of class power' (p 16) by explicitly anti-democratic means and a 'political project to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites' (p 19).

A number of interviewees also described the movement as a break from the past, in terms of its challenge to both contemporary capitalist democracy and authoritarian Left traditions, especially those of Stalinism and Maoism. As discussed earlier, this was made possible because the 'victory of liberal capitalism over the Communist Soviet Union reopened the debate about securing dominant economic interests' (Goodman 1999: 34). The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 gave space to allow the birth of a new radical politics that was less tied to the previously hegemonic Stalinist currents:

Luke: In my mind, [the movement] is young in general, it's young and it's unattached to a lot of the positions of the Left from the last 100 years. It's unencumbered if you like. I think some of the main organisers of these protests and some of the key people in bringing about this type of activity are influenced by Marxism or Socialism or have an anti-capitalist perspective, but [they] came to a sort of political maturity post 1989 and so those debates and arguments of the Cold War and Socialism versus Capitalism [do] not really tie [them] down...

Luke's feelings about the movement were not isolated and activists highlighted the rupture they saw between this movement and the political struggles of the late twentieth century, which emerged in response to neoliberal hegemony that developed in the 1990s.

The 'global' nature of the movement found a unifying frame and effort of solidarity possible in the aftermath of the Cold War. The fall of the Berlin Wall exposed the politics inherent to global structures, based on global capitalism, and the GJM is a reaction against that in the period after 1989. Social movement activism moved over time from only national struggles, in the shadow of an East/West frame, to encompass an anti-neoliberal frame where collective identity is forged in the experience of that economic system. The new global movement, experienced as a differentiated whole, allowed the space for Subcommandante Marcos to be everyone who is negatively impacted on by neoliberalism:

Yes. Marcos is gay. Marcos is gay in San Francisco, black in South Africa, an Asian in Europe, a Chicano in San Ysidro, an anarchist in Spain, a Palestinian in Israel, a Mayan Indian in the streets of San Cristobal, a Jew in Germany, a Gypsy in Poland, a Mohawk in Quebec, a pacifist in Bosnia, a single woman on the Metro at 10pm, a peasant without land, a gang member in the slums, an unemployed worker, an unhappy student and, of course, a Zapatista in the mountains⁵⁵.

In relation to Australia, the neoliberal period of the 1980s and 1990s saw declining wages, a widening gap between the rich and poor and extensive privatisation and corporatisation of local public services (Stillwell and Jordan 2007). Increasing uncertainty around housing and affordability created an environment where people felt little control over their lives, and moreover were concerned things may get even worse. In this context, and inspired by the events in Seattle, the first steps were taken by Australian activists who planned protests and events around the WEF Asia Pacific Summit in Melbourne on 11-13 September 2000. It is this which we explore in detail in the following chapter.

⁵⁵ This is the first section of poem written by Subcommandante Marcos in response to assertions from the Mexican government he is gay, made in an effort to discredit him and the Zapatistas. See: Anonymous, 'Marcos Is Gay', *Green Left Weekly*, November 5 1997 1997.

Chapter 4: The global travels local

No. I was, I'm ashamed to say, holidaying on Stradbroke Island. My daughter says that I diminished her life because of that. No, I wasn't there [at s11].

Interview with Debbie

Using the s11 protests and the 9/11 terrorists attacks as critical events, Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis consider the evolution of the GJM in Australia and survey important campaigns and issues along its trajectory. The opportunities and challenges faced by the movement are explored in their historical context, and the movement's development is considered over three consecutive periods. This chapter examines the first two periods, the first being of the **Australian movement's antecedents** which overviews the relevance of a number of key campaigns and political events that led up to the s11 protests. While the GJM represented a 'break' in social movement activity compared with what came before, a continuous path of movement development can also be traced over the period between the fall of the Berlin Wall and s11. The second period is focused on the time spanning s11 through to the middle of 2001, a time characterised by a **movement on the offence**. The analysis contends that the events of s11 represented the full emergence of the GJM locally, as they simultaneously altered the broader political terrain outside the movement and internally cohered the activists involved. Chapter 5 considers the third period, under the theme of **decline and continuity**. The analysis explores the trajectory of the movement from the Genoa demonstration in June 2001 through the terrorist attacks on 9/11 and then to the present.

Australian movement antecedents

During the 1990s, the forces that were to make up the GJM grew and cohered through certain campaigns, which played an important role in developing ideological and practical links between activists and organisations. In the years prior to s11, there had been a number of struggles on national political issues, within which certain key forces were tentatively collaborating. It was ultimately these links that would form the basis for the success of the s11 blockade of the WEF in its objective of disrupting and preventing access to the venue by delegates (Rundle 2000; Sparrow 2000). While these campaigns may have generally appeared to be independent of each other and traversed a range of

issues (including workers' rights, environmental concerns, indigenous peoples' control of lands, and exploitation by multinational corporations), the forces involved were often made up of networks and individuals that overlapped with each other.

These campaigns were important precursors to the GJM for a variety of reasons, in some cases because of the broader networking between campaign areas, and in others the personal links developed through joint activity. Importantly, and in particular in the case of the protests against the Jabiluka uranium mine, it was the emergence of a critique that took stock not only of a particular national political issue but also of its place within the global economic system. These antecedents are considered in the following framework:

1. Trade and globalisation (Anti-MAI 1997-1999, Fairwear 1996-2000)
2. Community alliance building (MUA 1998, Jabiluka 1998, East Timor 1999)
3. Emerging anti-corporate and anti-neoliberal critiques (Jabiluka 1998, j18 1999)

- **Trade and globalisation**

Focal points in the decade prior to s11 were the issues of trade and globalisation, and in particular the **campaign against the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI)**. Reservations about trade liberalisation and the demand of trade justice had been raised for some time by the NGO sector, and this was increasingly so during the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)⁵⁶ (Goodman 1999). A draft agreement, the MAI, was under negotiation amongst the members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) from 1995 to 1998, in order to establish uniform global rules to administer international investment. In 1997, an unknown public servant released a draft version of the proposed GATT Treaty to Canadian activists and within a few months of the document being made public a campaign had spread across many OECD countries (ibid). Activists in Australia articulated concerns around both the content of the document, which sought to further entrench trade and investment liberalisation within a neoliberal framework, as well as the secrecy of a process that sought to map out a global framework without public scrutiny and dialogue. Under community pressure, the then Foreign Minister, Alexander Downer,

⁵⁶ The Uruguay Round in 1986-94 was the eighth round of negotiations of the GATT, which was established in 1947 and continued until 1993.

established a government inquiry which received 792 submissions⁵⁷ (most opposing the treaty) and the report of the committee was critical of the failure of the Australian government to establish real benefits of the process for the nation.

There was success, of sorts, in the campaign when France defected from the process to the newly empowered World Trade Organisation, and countries such as Canada and Australia followed suit. As James Goodman contemplated in early 1999, months before Seattle, 'the MAI, and the campaigns that have erupted around it, may signal a shift in the politics of the global economy' where 'OECD, WTO and IMF elites are blinded by their post-Cold War hegemony... [and] have exposed themselves to ideological assault from the "Third" world, and also from excluded and marginalised groups within their borders' (p 35). Goodman's reflections were of course to be realised dramatically at Seattle and s11, and these marginalised communities did form an alliance out of the MAI process. As Margaret noted in her interview, many went on to establish a national network of individuals and organisations concerned about trade and investment:

We got involved before [s11] in the campaign against the Multilateral Agreement on Investment ... and that's where our network came from. The multilateral agreement ... was a proposal that originated from the OECD, which is the rich country's economic forum, and it was basically a proposal to give increased legal rights to corporations ahead of governments, and to prevent governments from being able to regulate transnational investments. There was a movement against that agreement ... [and] our movement specifically grew out of that. We started focusing on the WTO [because] there were attempts to have a new round of negotiations in the WTO, which were to include investment issues, and services issues which we were particularly concerned about, as well as trade in goods and agriculture.

The key novelty here was not the formation of NGOs or more traditional organisational forms but also the development of an activist network focused on globalisation and the role of multinationals. An important campaign in this regard was the Australian **Fairwear campaign**, launched in December 1996 but gaining prominence in the late 1990s. Fairwear was a coalition of churches, unions and community organisations who came together to take action over the exploitation of outworkers in the Australian fashion industry. An Industry Code of Practice was developed, and a campaign established that built on the educational and campaigning work of the Textile, Clothing, Footwear Union

⁵⁷ Joint Standing Committee on Treaties, 'Multilateral Agreement on Investment: Interim Report', (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1998). The report is available on the Australian Parliament House Website: www.aph.gov.au/house/committee/jsct/reports/report14/report14.pdf -

of Australia (TCFUA) in previous years. Despite their work and a Senate inquiry into outwork, by the year's end only four retailers had signed up to the Code⁵⁸. In order to progress the campaign, the Victorian TCFUA lodged writs in 1998 against more than a dozen major retailers, including the high profile sportswear manufacturer Nike. By early 2000, the campaign had gathered momentum and was increasingly visible in the lead up to the Nike court case in June, where the company admitted to breaches of the relevant award. Although the campaign had started through the TFCUA and churches, it found growing numbers of university students who were inspired by the high profile campaigns around sweatshop labour such as No Sweat in the United States (Klein 2000a; Ross 1997). It is notable that, after s11, some of the most important young activists involved in organising s11 and CHOGM protests worked for the TCFUA on outworker issues, including one of the interviewees for this project. Fairwear activist Debbie came to the GJM from her Fairwear work, and described her path in this way:

Well I [got involved] initially because of my work with the Fairwear campaign and outworkers. I was very aware of the inequity of a global luxury industry, like the fashion industry. ...I saw this global chain and you see how the input from the human being has been so diminished and denigrated that you've got clothing made for just a pittance because the cost of the fabric, in many cases, could be more expensive than the cost of the labour that goes into making the garment. And it distresses me to see that human beings are so diminished that the price of things is placed above their labour and their input and their creativity and their skill. But then the other side of it is ... the free movement of capital and the absolute no movement of human beings, the borders and the walls that are going up and the way in which we just discard the human stories, the persecution and the reasons they fled, we just discard it and expect them to stay there and suffer.

Debbie's story is not unique: with involvement commencing in a particular campaign, then developing new critiques and producing new collaborators, ending in involvement in the wider GJM and/or key events.

- **Community alliance building**

Community alliance building in this era took a particular shape, in the shadow of the re-election of the conservative Howard Liberal-National Coalition government in 1996. That government instituted or continued a number of social, economic and industrial relations reforms that were disputed by sections of the community, and in particular the union

⁵⁸ Witchery, Just Jeans, Target and Ken Done

movement and NGOs, including: a Goods and Services Tax; the Wik 10 Point Plan; waterfront reform; Workchoices; the partial sale of Telstra; and the mandatory detention of asylum seekers.

The forerunner to the GJM cited most often by interviewees was **the campaign against the Jabiluka uranium mine**. It was described as the most important along with the waterfront dispute, and Luke claimed that ‘without Jabiluka...the protests that happened in 2000 would never have happened because [the campaign] brought together people in certain ways and highlighted certain types of struggle’. He argued that they ‘created certain connections which then on the back of Seattle meant that the protest at the World Economic Forum could happen and then that [in turn] triggered off the whole series of other activities which came to be described as the Australia wing of this global justice movement’. The Jabiluka campaign sought to stop the approval and building of a new uranium mine on the land of the Mirrar people, at Jabiluka in the Northern Territory, and gained national prominence in 1998 after the mine was placed back into development after Howard’s election (it had been on hold under the previous Labor Government).

In discussing these ‘connections’ made through Jabiluka, interviewees were referring to two types. On the one hand, a reference to the practical organisational connections in the building of a coalition of environmentalists, socialists, unions, churches and medical health activists (Burgmann 2003: 185). On the other hand, the reference is to the growing agreement over the political questions involved, bringing within a common frame issues such as the dispossession of indigenous communities lands, the role of mining multinationals, environmental concerns about mining and the use of uranium in weapons. In terms of movement tactics, Jabiluka was also important as the skills of blockading were brought to a new generation of campaigners from campaigners previously involved in anti-nuclear work and forest actions. As with Fairwear, the arrival of a layer of new, young activists encouraged and enthused others. Union organiser Mike describes the impact of this new generation of activists on him in this way:

I just got enthused about [s11]. Originally I was like: it’s too soon, I can’t, and I’ve too much on. I was very dismissive. But then I was invited to speak at the Students and Sustainability Conference⁵⁹ [in July 2000], which was up somewhere in Queensland, and I actually just got enthused by the kids. They were all talking about s11 and I just thought we should do something, I was convinced

⁵⁹ The Students and Sustainability Conference is an annual conference for tertiary students, largely run and attended by environmental activists.

by them. So there was a place for youthful enthusiasm, I don't mean to sound at all jaded but that's how it happened. It was new. It was just raw enthusiasm.

One of the reasons Mike was asked to speak at the student conference was because of the increasing engagement between union activists and others since the **MUA dispute** in 1998. The dispute involved the lockout of Maritime Union of Australia members from the Australian waterfront, in a government-backed attempt to de-unionise the industry (Bramble 2008: 189-98). Given the industrial laws in place at the time, which outlawed union pickets in such a circumstance, the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) called for community assemblies and 24-hour vigils to demand the workers' jobs be returned to them. The unions argued the initiative was an attempt to break a historically militant union and the first test of the new industrial relations regime introduced by then Prime Minister John Howard (Trinca and Davies 2000: xiii-xviii), and that there would be implications for all workers should they be defeated. The call for community assemblies was answered by a diverse range of individuals and groups. Paul, who had a long-term involvement in environmental politics, noted that:

The defining high point [of the 1990s] was the 1998 MUA dispute. I still see that as a real high point in community-engaged trade unionism meeting socially-engaged community activism. And that laid the groundwork for the WEF protest being so successful, because there was a really good alliance between trade unionists and other sectors. That wouldn't have happened if there hadn't have been the experience of the community assemblies. The MUA [dispute] led to personal and organisational links that were then really important for making the WEF bigger than it would otherwise have been. So almost like waves piling up...

The MUA assemblies in Sydney and Melbourne were particularly vibrant, with numerous connections made between individuals and organisations/networks who would later play a role at s11 and the m1 protests. For example, a connection between unlikely bedfellows involved the provision of food on the Melbourne community picket lines by a group Food Not Scabs (FNS) (an amalgam of the anarchist group Food Not Bombs and others). One member, Michelle⁶⁰, recalls the initial bemusement of unionists at their presence, and the certainty of many of them that they must be homeless because of the way they dressed. Some Electrical Trades Union members were so concerned they took up a clothing collection. Solidarity was built and misgivings were overcome in the process of struggle, and as she retold this occurred even through very simple things like the secret passing of

⁶⁰ Informal discussion, 2 July 2010, Melbourne.

bacon and egg sandwiches by the MUA cooks to the FNS members who were not vegetarians. The key important element of the MUA dispute in regards to the GJM was such experience in building community alliances.

Union official Henry argued that the campaign seeking **humanitarian intervention into East Timor** in 1999 (to stop the Indonesian military killing East Timorese and destroying property as the movement for independence gained strength) was also important for similar connections being built or built on. He believed the Victorian Trades Hall Council (VTHC) was able to play a coordinating role in convening meetings, providing facilities and operating a social space for people to come together. However, Henry did not want to imply cooperation in any of these campaigns was without its challenges. Growing affinity did not do away with all tentativeness and disagreements. He emphasised it was easier to work together on single issue campaigns with more traditional tactics than during s11, when the blockades were being built:

In Australia, I think the linkages are fragile and...the progressive end of the churches, the organised Left and the union movement...are so thin and vulnerable and defensive at times that...it stops them doing things. They're very cautious about doing things. And there's not that sense of tradition [of working together] either. I think if you looked at the anti-war stuff and East Timor there was a great degree of cooperation between all those groups, but not around the anti-globalisation [work] as much. ...I'm not saying that's totally true as I've always tried to keep a working relationship, but that [distance] manifested itself around s11 [over] the tactics and so on.

Henry argued this tentativeness was particularly acute over the question of blockading and the possibility of property damage and violence on the demonstrations, and the implications of this are explored in Chapter 5.

- **Emerging anti-corporate critiques**

The key location for anti-corporate critiques to emerge in Australia was the environment movement (as far back as the early 1990s, such as in the anti-corporate campaigns against Nestle, Shell, McDonalds and Mitsubishi, as discussed in the previous chapter). The emergence of such critiques was considered by James Arvanitakis and Stephen Healy (2001), who describe the development of '**third wave environmentalism**' in the 1990s in Australia. They characterise the first wave through the 1960s and 1970s as 'anti-business and anti-development', and the second beginning in the 1980s as being an

attempt to mainstream environmental questions through an assertion that economic growth and sustainability are mutually compatible aims. The impact of this particular form of mainstreaming on environmental campaigners cannot be underestimated, and the development of the third wave was in part a reaction against the movement's increasing conservatism and bureaucracy (Burgmann 2003: 237-41). Given there was little evidence that work on sustainability and mainstreaming had achieved substantial gains, it is not surprising environmentalists themselves looked for a separate path that did not give 'credibility to the economic structures pivotal to many current environmental and social problems' (Arvanitakis and Healy 2001: 28). The more radical institutional elements and extra/anti-institutional environmental activists, shifted the debate within the environment movement from more narrowly green issues of recycling, climate change and deforestation to take up broader concerns around the impact of economic growth, indigenous rights and the undemocratic character of contemporary capitalist rule.

The antecedents discussed to this point all centered on a national political issue, even if they incorporated a wider 'global' setting or critique. However, with the development of third wave environmentalism and in the wake of campaigning around trade and globalisation issues, activists began to organise 'anti-systemic' actions in their own right, as the century was drawing to a close. A critical turning point, globally and in Australia, was the **j18 'Carnival Against Capitalism'** protests on 18 June 1999. The protest was timed to coincide with the G8 Summit in Cologne Germany and, while the largest events were in London, the protests in Sydney resulted in a large street festival and Labor Opposition leader Kim Beazley was 'custard pied' for speaking at a Shell conference in Melbourne. In Australia, the events were organised chiefly by PGA (who formed from the Zapatista Intercontinental) and Reclaim The Streets. With Seattle occurring only a few months later, these experiences gave activists confidence to organise something far larger and bolder for the WEF Summit in September 2000⁶¹.

⁶¹ Bramble and Minns have argued that there were three important antecedents to s11, the anti-Hanson campaign (regarding Pauline Hanson's One National Party), Jabiluka and the MUA dispute. No interviewees for this project mentioned the anti-Hanson protests as an antecedent of the GJM. I believe this disjuncture has occurred because their research focused on a number of organising alliances of the movement (s11 Alliance, m1 Alliance and the Stop CHOGM Alliance), which were increasingly dominated by the same socialist organisations that were the backbone of the Anti-Hanson campaign. While interviewees for this project included members of those organisations, none mentioned the anti-Hanson campaign.

The tide comes in

After many months of organising, the forces wanting to take action around the WEF meeting were ready and two ‘sets’ of activities had been planned. A coalition of fair trade organisations, churches, trade unions and others had organised a series of counter-conference events in the form of public meetings and a park-based festival. These events are commonly referred to as s10, for the date the festival was held on. A second series of activists, organisations, affinity groups and radical union officials worked together through the s11 Alliance, the Autonomous Web Of Liberation (AWOL) and a Spokescouncil to facilitate a blockade of the Summit venue from September 11-13⁶². This is what people commonly refer to as s11. The trade unions also, although separately, organised a union rally to march through Melbourne on September 12 to an area adjacent to the blockade⁶³.

s11 was the defining event of the GJM in Australia. The protest, and more specifically the blockade, both shaped the identity of the movement and provided the political ‘break’ required for the movement to become fully emergent. This rupture is explored in the second half of this chapter, in conjunction with an analysis of the events of s10 and the trajectory of the movement in the immediate aftermath of the WEF Summit demonstrations.

While the focus of this research is on the form and trajectory of the GJM, it is only one side of the contested dynamic of neoliberalism and globalisation. It is important to acknowledge that s11 was successful not only because of the development of the movement and its critiques, but because of how the WEF itself was organised and promoted and the reaction that engendered. The choice of Crown Casino as a venue was perhaps itself a misstep, given its disputed development and role as a symbol of the

⁶² The main organising group for s11 was the s11 Alliance, which consisted of a number of individuals and organisations. AWOL was a radical autonomous grouping, and the key focus of autonomist activists. For a discussion of some of the organising processes, see Aggy Kelly and Andrew Blussat, 'Autonomy and the New Global Social Movements', *Arena Magazine*, (2002): 48-50.

⁶³ As mentioned earlier, the growing rapport between the unions and more radical activists was tempered by tentativeness. While certain union organisers wanted the union rally to attend and assist on the blockade, the VTHC and ACTU were too concerned about the direct action and potential for violent engagement with the police to sanction this. The compromise was that the VTHC funded a large stage just away from the blockade on the banks of the Yarra and the rally marched to that point. In truth, many unionists were so angry at the police actions in breaking the blockades that morning, that many did join the direct action. It is worth noting that, while speeches were occurring on the stage, a number of left-wing union officials went through the crowd encouraging people to come to the blockade. Additionally, certain militant unions provided resources to the blockades more directly, including small amounts of infrastructure and first aid.

dominance of private wealth in government planning processes (T. Wright 1997). It was clear the WEF and Victorian Government did not have an eye to the significance of the growing dissent around corporate globalisation in Australia in the lead up to the forum, despite some recognition after Seattle of the community concern regarding lack of inclusiveness and corporate responsibility. As glossy brochures appeared in the mainstream newspapers and politicians spruiked, Australian elites welcomed the WEF unconditionally. Foreign Minister Alexander Downer even called the WEF the 'business Olympics' (Goodman 2000), seeking to harness the sense of community involvement and goodwill that was growing in Sydney in the lead up to the XXVII Olympiad. Whether or not the blockade was likely to be successful in stopping the delegates from attending, central to an understanding of the protests is an acknowledgement of its symbolic role as the face of the agency of neoliberalism, as exemplified by the very public and self-assured way the WEF would meet.

There has been some analysis of s11 and the Australian GJM in the literature, but the field is not as dense as one might expect. Further, much of the analysis is at the level of description and reportage. This is an observation that has been made more generally about the Australian social movement literature (Maddison and Scalmer 2006: 5). The literature regarding the GJM has justifiably paid most attention to the events on s11 (Bila-Gunther 2001; Bramble and Minns 2005; Carlyon 2000; Iveson and Scamler 2000; Mier 2001), often with a particular focus on the police actions at the demonstrations (Grenfell 2001; Griffiths 2000; Heath 2000; Powell 2000) and the role of mainstream and alternative media (Cahill 2001; Meikle 2003; Montagner 2002).

Australian academic Verity Burgmann (2003) explored the development of the movement in Australia in some detail, approaching this through an understanding that the movement is one primarily concerned with the question of neoliberal globalisation. Burgmann argues that the question of globalisation is not simply one of the correctness or otherwise of the current neoliberal frame, but a broader issue of democracy and the impact of the neoliberal project on society, in particular its differential effect depending on a person's class location. She notes that the organised challenge of a 'globalisation from below' was central, meaning the challenge from those feeling most greatly the negative impacts of globalisation. This was an articulate answer to the fatalism of the elite's insistence the world can only be as it is presently (p: 349). Burgmann's book also provides a holistic view of the GJM in Australia, including its development after the decline of movements

of the 1970s as neoliberalism asserted itself, from a perspective that sees class as central to social organisation and conflict⁶⁴.

Tracey Mier (2001) considered the s11 protest in her Honours thesis *The Impact of the Anti-Corporate Globalisation Movement s11*. Her thesis analyses the event, but unfortunately conflates the event of s11 and the GJM itself. Miers' work is one of the few places we can turn for a historical overview of s11, although mostly for its relative length. It does not explore the dynamic that gave rise to the GJM in detail and the complex interplay between the institutional and extra/anti-institutional wings of the movement in its formation and trajectory. Tom Bramble and John Minns' (2005) research examines the s11 events through structured interviews with members of organising bodies for the protests (such as the s11 Alliance and AWOL). The article explores the organisation from the perspective of activists. However, as the authors approached this through the eyes of those involved in central organising collectives, heavily populated by the more radical and revolutionary elements of the movement, the range of responses they received was constrained. Their work ultimately deals primarily with what the s11 organising committees did internally. Although the authors acknowledge the failure of the organising collectives to broaden their reach into other parts of the movement, their methodological framework also leads to an inability to see the extent, form and dynamics of movement networking more generally, or of the complex interplay between processes inside and outside the movement. James Goodman (1999, 2000, 2003) has made an important contribution to the Australian GJM of a slightly different kind. Goodman's writings and work with activists involved in building for the s10 and s11 events assisted them to articulate a growing intellectual coherence for the GJM, and Goodman's work was made available on the key s11 organising website. His work assisted movement cohesion and self-awareness, as well as providing practical materials on issues such as the form and nature of elite efforts around multilateral trade negotiations. Interestingly, Goodman's work was utilised on both sides of the s10 and s11 separation.

⁶⁴ It is worth noting that her book has 'jumped' the academic/activist divide, and was read by a number of those involved in organising the protests and later interviewed for this research. In order to assess what academic literature about the GJM in Australia was seen as relevant to my interviewees, I asked whether there were any Australian authors or academics whose work they read or were inspired by. About three quarters of those interviewed did not name any Australian academics or other Australians they read, many stating they looked for such intellectual work overseas. The remaining named in various combinations Verity Burgmann, James Goodman, Frank Stilwell and John Pilger.

The events on s10 were not unimportant in the development of the GJM, and the large ‘Other Values, Other Voices’ festival that took place in Batman Park near the WEF venue was vibrant. The various counter-conference meetings discussed alternative ideas, and high profile GJM intellectuals such as Vandana Shiva and Walden Bello delivered keynote addresses. However, s10 is best understood as a continuation or extension of the GJM antecedents rather than a political ‘break’. As discussed previously, the more institutional and NGO elements of the GJM had been raising the issue of global justice and organising demonstrations and forums for some time. This was as true globally as in Australia. For Margaret, her involvement in actions around the WEF was a further opportunity to discuss and debate an alternative view of the world, and she did not seek to involve herself primarily with the non-institutional networks mobilising for the blockade:

We were involved more at the level of debating ideas ... [through] our members ... like the unions and various community organisations, ... environment, aid and development organisations, health and welfare type organisations like Councils for Social Service, that kind of thing. ... I also spoke at two conferences which were held in Melbourne – two of the alternative [to the WEF] conferences – one organised by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid and the other organised by a Melbourne group called Public First ...

Margaret argued that s11 was not of key significance in what she called a ‘movement of movements’⁶⁵, and her emphasis was on the importance of institutional bodies such as fair trade organisations and churches, and the structural framework they provided for people to be involved in various ways. She went on to say she did not believe there was a decline of the coverage of GJM issues in Australia after 9/11, but in fact a growth of it. While this view was an isolated one amongst the interviewees for this project, it is perhaps not so isolated within the social movement literature about the GJM globally.

Many researchers in analysing the GJM have focused on these more institutional elements of the GJM such as ATTAC in France or the efforts of the fair trade organisations in Britain (Cassen 2003; della Porta 2007), in particular arguing that it is these institutional elements that have provided continuity for the movement while more radical groupings have fallen away. Although the institutional elements of the movement existed prior to the extra-institutional elements, and clearly a number have lasted well

⁶⁵ Margaret was uncomfortable with the use of the term Global Justice Movement, as she did not believe that such a movement existed. She thought the term first popularised by Naomi Klein of ‘movement of movements’ was more accurate. By this she means the coming together at protests of movements such as those for trade justice, against multinational exploitation, against sweatshop labour, etc.

beyond them, this misrepresents the overall dynamic of the movement and the impact of the extra/anti-institutional elements on shifting the debate both internally and externally at a key point.

Table 2 (below) illustrates the dynamic between the extra/anti-institutional and institutional elements, and the reasons for continuity and discontinuity:

Table 2: Characteristics of Australian GJM elements

Extra-institutional or Anti-institutional	Institutional
e.g. s11 Alliance, AWOL, alternative media activists, affinity groups, CACTUS	e.g. NGOs (OXFAM, AFTINET, etc), unions, religious organisations (Jubilee 2000)
A break: raises new critiques not possible before, anti-systemic Quickly rise and quickly subside Willing to employ new tactics/non-traditional tactics, including direct action and street theatre More radical View institutional forms, in some circumstances, as part of the problem Can exercise agency quickly, and reframe accepted parameters of debate dramatically	A continuity: maintains traditional frames of human rights and justice Stable and ongoing face of the GJM Largely uses pre-Seattle social movement forms of protest and tactics More conservative Overwhelmed by the new movement, unable to understand it, see it as illegitimate Argues for reform to current system, through established and legitimised institutionalised framework

Other than Margaret, those who worked within the institutional elements saw a deeper connection and relationship between the two strands. Brendan saw the necessity of activities on s10 in a different way, arguing:

I initiated s10 because I thought that it was going to be really significant ... I really believed something was about to happen, and also I sensed that there were a whole lot of people who were uncomfortable enough to not want to go to s11 [to take part in the blockades], but were uncomfortable with their own discomfort of not doing anything and so they wanted some other way. Some third way that 'good Christian people' could be involved in – to say something moral but not to get caught up in something that they couldn't control, that was not representing their peaceful spirit. So basically S10, it was called the 'Other Values, Other Voices Festival'. It wasn't 'we hate these values', it [was more] there are other values than the dollar, there are other voices than the dollar and these need to be expressed...

Brendan argued that in 2000 momentum seemed to be with those organising for s11 after the success of Seattle, and yet many people involved in Jubilee 2000 did not see a place

for themselves in a movement that was going to be involved in civil disobedience. He himself did not see an absolute separation between s10 and s11, and perceived it to be simply of needing to ensure activists involved in both elements could express themselves. Alternatively, the two trade union organisers interviewed for this research wanted to emphasise that they sought to actively bridge this gap although they framed the divide as being more between radical and conservative elements rather than institutional and extra-institutional. Like Brendan, they also had a sense that something was moving outside the institutional elements of the churches and unions and they did not want to be left isolated or behind.

Burgmann (2003: 4) argues that the institutional elements and the ‘transnational social movement’ are distinct in that, while they have overlapping concerns and frequently work together on campaigns, they are divergent in their organisation and activist practice. She states:

...the international non-government organisations are the respectable, reforming face of global civil society, and are now courted by the transnational corporations in attempts to ‘legitimate’ these corporations’ activities. By contrast, the transnational social movements are, to varying degrees, much more radical in their demands and less institutionalised in their form, and face opposition from corporations and repression from states, especially those social movements or elements of social movements that participate in the anti-corporate globalisation movement.

While Burgmann is correct to point out the extensive attempts to co-opt the institutional elements by the WTO and other bodies, the nature of a social movement as a differentiated totality suggests that the elements are as linked as they are distinctive, and any apparent hard boundary is more likely to be permeable. Burgmann’s distinction rests on a particular view of social movement structure that is more static than the one adopted here. As Peter Thomas (2009: 137-41) has argued, when reviewing Gramsci’s approach to the relationship between the state and civil society, clear-cut distinctions can serve as a barrier to understanding the complex interplay between these formations. Gramsci posits the notion of the ‘integral state’, both to highlight this overlap and to implicitly mark out that social movements must intervene on both terrains in democratic societies. This is because in such societies the border between state and civil society becomes blurred by the way those state structures and the non-state economic sphere tend to unite. Therefore, to suggest that NGOs, because they interact much more closely with the state, are outside

the GJM is incorrect. This is because it is unavoidable for any movement based in civil society to remain outside interaction with the state.

The coming together of (and at) s11

The s11 events took place over three days from 11 – 13 September 2000. There was a large blockade of the summit venue, Crown Casino Melbourne, on the 11th and 12th and a rally through the streets of Melbourne on the 13th. The blockades were unexpectedly successful on the first day with many delegates not making it into the summit, save ones who slept at the venue or were brought in by boat or helicopter. The protest organisers hailed this as a victory in the media, and there was a great optimism among them. The second day of blockades was almost equally as well attended, but they were met with a massive police intervention to break the lines at both dawn and dusk in order to bus delegates into and out of the venue. During the late morning of the 12th, the official trade union rally marched to the venue, and it is estimated blockade numbers likely peaked around that time at 15,000 – 20,000 (Bramble and Minns 2005: 106-07).

s11 was ‘successful’ in a number of ways: the direct action was well attended; the blockade tactic was successful; symbolically the summit could not proceed as planned; and there was saturation media coverage across the country. Over 200 delegates were unable to attend the first day of the conference, the key dinner was cancelled as many other delegates could not get out of the venue (where they were accommodated), an address by Bill Gates to 500 school children could not proceed, and Australia’s then Prime Minister John Howard was only able to get around the blockade by police boat. As opposed to the more traditional protest forms of s10, the s11 blockades also involved direct action and defiance of ordinary modes of vocalising dissent. While in one sense this may have limited those who chose to attend, as Brendan expressed above, on the other hand protesters were able to take action in an uncommonly collective manner and forge a united identity with fellow blockaders.

Movement identity has always been a key area of interest for social movement scholars because it is key to movement formation and sustainability over time (Melucci 1995b). The GJM already had a number of common aims, it was opposed to corporate globalisation and saw this as a problem created by multinational corporations and neoliberalism (symbolised at s11 by the WEF). What was yet to emerge was a well-

developed internal collective identity *as* a movement. As Flesher Fominaya (2010) points out in her discussion of autonomous group organising in the Madrid GJM, the best understanding of collective identity is not simply in regards to the ultimate ‘product’ of a social movement, but as an internal process (or dialogue) that is common to members. She states, quite relevantly with regard to the GJM in Australia, that this conceptualisation is ‘particularly useful for the study of groups who are in the early stages of developing an emerging collective identity’ (ibid: 380) and for studying the GJM in particular ‘because of the movement’s heterogeneity, its emphasis on diversity being the basis for unity (“the movement of movements”)’.

This is particularly so for elements such as the autonomous and anarchist groupings and collectives, as the movement they are building has a ‘strong anti-identitarian and anti-ideological orientation’ (ibid). As Timothy pointed out:

I think a large amount of what that movement was, was about the construction of identity as well. So there’s a whole bunch of elements going on and construction of identity was a really significant part of it ... and it was about creating subjectivity.

Fominaya contends that for collective identity to be forged, the assemblies of a movement must be ‘*participatory* and *effective*’. In effect, although they are temporary phenomena they have a permanent effect. While s10 was a collective coming together, it had a passive and educational dynamic (Collis 2001). s11, even if it did so only symbolically, delegitimised the summit and legitimised protesters in a direct and involving manner. The organising process adopted – of decentralised affinity groups and organisations working on agreed action through the Spokescouncil – allowed for action that was both participatory and effective. The break was perhaps even more pronounced, as the institutional elements were not ready for the size, vibrancy or impact of s11, despite the similar success and dynamic of Seattle.

The break that came dramatically in the form of s11, which initiated a qualitative shift in the shape and nature of the movement, took place along three dimensions:

- s11 led to clear self-awareness for the movement of a collective identity and a common project.
- There was an immediate impact on public debate as a result of the success and spectacle of the blockades, in turn giving the movement confidence.

- The movement came to view itself as one on the offence (for a better world), as opposed to defence (around particular issues or attacks from elites).

Prior to s11, and even more so prior to Seattle, activists did not necessarily speak of themselves as a movement. But sometimes action outstrips political awareness, and activists took action in a way that ensured the movement cohered and in one sense s11 was the key event that *formed* the movement.

Two related issues arose from the s11 blockades, both of which impacted on the trajectory of the movement. The breaking of blockade lines on the morning and evening of the 12 September saw a number of activists injured in the police manoeuvres. Their concerns about the actions of police (Heath 2000; Rundle 2000) flowed into anger at the coverage of the matter by the mainstream media (Barrett 2002; Cahill 2001; Carlyon 2000). In an environment cynical of the motivations and allegiances of the corporate media, activists were highly critical of the mainstream media coverage of the event.⁶⁶ Activists were particularly concerned police used excessive force, deliberately removed their badges so they could not be identified, and used excessive force to break protesters resolve rather than arresting people to clear the blockade⁶⁷. While the mainstream media was considered problematic by the protesters, the large presence of independent media allowed activists to produce and disseminate their views on the protests (much of which was utilising new forms of distribution) (Meikle 2003; Montagner 2002). The Indymedia platform and network saw activist reporting of s11 delivered to GJM members across the globe, including to those across Europe organising for the demonstrations against the World Bank and IMF in Prague on September 26.

⁶⁶ Because activists were aware of the potential for violent situations to erupt, both from their own experience in organising blockades and from the actions of police at Seattle, organisers had put in place an extensive system of on-site and 24-hour telephone legal assistance using volunteer lawyers, legal students and others. Such was the number of complaints and extent of disquiet, the Victorian Ombudsman conducted a major inquiry. The Ombudsman report on the police actions at s11 was released in 2001 and, while largely upholding the actions of police, detailed significant criticism of certain tactics used during various incidents and of individual and groups of police acting outside management instruction.

⁶⁷ This was both argued by the interviewees for this research, as well as the key organisers of the s11 Legal Support. See http://www.activistrights.org.au/cb_pages/wef_legal_support.php for a detailed view of the police actions from the point of view of the activists.

From defence to offence

Interviewees spoke about the period after s11 as being buoyant, with activists on the ‘front foot’ wanting to take campaigns forward. They initiated a range of actions and, because Australia (unlike Europe and the US) did not host almost constant meetings of the IMF, WEF and WTO, this led to different initiatives. The break that came with s11, where new debates were opened up, continued. Activists described widespread attention in the mass media to protests and issues that were being raised, just as they emphasised the closure of this space post 9/11 (discussed in Chapter 5).

A review of key terms in articles in Australian newspapers emphasises the increased coverage given to the question of globalisation and dissent about corporate led globalisation in that time (see Table 3 following).

Table 3: Penetration of key topics in the Australian Media⁶⁸

Key Term	Anti-globalisation ⁶⁹	Globalisation	Globalisation & protest	TOTAL	Key events impacting ⁷⁰
1998	10	752	32	794	
1999	7	1045	79	1131	Seattle (Nov)
2000	216	2310	523	3049	s11 (Sep), Prague (Sep), Wash/NYC (Oct)
2001	612	2960	647	4219	Québec (April), Genoa (July), CHOGM Brisbane (Oct)
2002	347	1566	272	2185	Woomera (May), Sydney WTO (Nov)
2003	159	1201	142	1502	Washington (April), Cancun (Sep)
2004	109	1129	77	1315	
2005	190	1316	141	1647	Sydney Forbes (Aug)
2006	113	1353	127	1593	Melbourne G20 (Nov)
2007	123	1358	117	1598	Sydney APEC (Sept)
2008	61	1124	47	1232	
2009	54	785	48	887	

This data also perhaps suggests the centrality of the media in the GJM’s frame regarding globalisation, where the decrease in discussion of globalisation within the media signals the death of the anti-globalisation frame.

⁶⁸ These figures are based on searches of the Newsbank database, a complete full-text database of more than 100 local, regional, and national newspapers in Australia (paid advertisements are excluded).

⁶⁹ ‘Anti-globalisation’ was the more commonly used term in the mainstream media to describe the GJM.

⁷⁰ See Appendix B and C for a detailed overview of key GJM events and, in regards to protests and their target.

From this period of opening up, the four examples discussed below offer a sense of the diversity of approaches and initiatives that were at play, and the confidence of the movement in a period of widening collective identity. The four examples illustrated also provide an illustration of the key drivers in the GJM in Australia at that time:

- The dramatic growth of independent media linked to the GJM (Indymedia)
- Dominance of anti-corporate critiques and activity (Nike, GLBTI and queer organising)
- Continued attempts at alliance building (May Day)
- Drawing in of peripheral or marginalised issues and campaigns within the GJM frame (GLBTI and queer organising).

In the wake of s11, the **Australian Indymedia network** grew rapidly. First deployed for Seattle, the platform worked with open-posting code written in Australia in June 1999 to support communication over the protests against the G8 in Cologne (Garcelon 2006: 60). Soon after s11, local Indymedia networks were set up in most capital cities nationally, and conferences and other independent media initiatives were organised. While this community of activists was already growing prior to s11, the success of the event and the debate over the role of the mainstream media in reporting it seemed to further catalyse involvement. Independent media was a key element of the GJM in Australia, in part because the ‘Internet challenges both broadcast media and centralised control of news, while at the same time offering a much more extensive form of public outreach to social movements than any previous technology in the modern period’ (ibid: 56).

However, as Marc Garcelon observes, this sat alongside increasing ‘interest among radical groupings with “anarchic” leanings to try and adapt the Internet to “short circuit” centralised systems of information control’ (ibid). This is an important observation, as autonomist and ‘anarchic’ activists, more than any others, were drawn to working with/within the Indymedia network and platform in the Australian GJM. While organised socialists had produced newspapers and magazines over many years, the emerging Indymedia effort offered a non-hierarchical and decentralised way in which more dispersed elements of the movement could analyse and organise. Some have even argued that elsewhere Indymedia (potentially alongside the other areas of the alternative media community) was an emerging social movement in its own right, as opposed to a media arm of the GJM (Hackett and Carroll 2006: 180; Milberry 2003: 130). While Milberry questions whether such a conception falls short, given the nature of Indymedia was/is not

to separately campaign, instead drawing its issues from the GJM and elsewhere, Hackett and Carroll argue that the Vancouver alternative media community does give the form of a social movement centered on democratic media activism. They argue that the '[e]xtensive linkages between media activist groups and these broader Left organisations suggest that the movement to democratise communication [in Vancouver, Canada] is embedded in, indeed permeated by, a larger field of Left communication' (op cit: 182).

In the first half of 2002 in Melbourne, the 'flavour' of the WEF blockades was continued at weekly Friday night **Nike pickets** of the company's superstore in the centre of the city's shopping district. For a period of a few hours, protesters would blockade the front of the Nike store, stopping shopping traffic, to demand that Nike sign the Fairwear Code of Practice. Police were largely unsure of what to do, and at first did not intervene to remove the demonstrators. Ultimately, after many weeks of the blockades, five protesters were arrested one evening. At the bail hearing, police revealed that the protests were costing the corporation between \$10,000 and \$15,000 every time the store was blockaded (Whyte 2001). The Nike pickets were a wider GJM initiative, related to the exploitation of outworkers and the Fairwear campaign, but not organised within that campaign's official activities. The Nike actions were one of the ways the movement demonstrated the collapsing barriers between the various 'campaigns' of the movement. Something that started as the domain of Fairwear became the domain of the wider movement. Unions other than the TCFUA also sent delegations to support the blockades, and after the arrests the VTHC established a roster for affiliated unions to attend the protest (ibid). The Nike pickets were largely started because activists wanted to establish an ongoing initiative between s11 and what came to be known as m1, and in that way attempt to build the movement through activity and not just ideas.

The **May Day m1** in 2001 saw decentralised actions take place across Darwin, Brisbane, Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne, Hobart and Sydney (Weber et al. 2001). The traditional day of workers' celebration was chosen mostly because of its historical significance, but also because the movement wanted to organise a large-scale public event around the theme of 'anti-corporate globalisation'. In Sydney, events were focused on the stock exchange and symbolically causing disruption to 'business' (Kingston 2001). Action was largest and most diverse in Melbourne, both in type and in organisation, and in that sense there was no 'one' m1 as many groups and campaigns organised events, with most meeting up for a

central rally through the city with the unions⁷¹. There were events outside various corporations and government buildings, over issues including environmental concerns and the mandatory detention of asylum seekers. One of the main direct action events before the rally was a blockade of the stock exchange, over the perceived failure of corporations to act in socially and economically responsible ways. There was enormous diversity amongst those involved and, like Seattle and s11, protesters were coming together in ways not seen before. While bigger and with wider participation, the diverse nature of the movement in Melbourne would also test the limits of collaboration. For example, the union movement wanted to be part of the m1 events and did not want to simply organise a May Day like previous years, but there were concerns that the blockade of the stock exchange would give rise to confrontation with the police. The diversity in action approach – where organisations, networks and affinity groups organised their own events and then came under a common banner for the central rally – allowed for joint action despite difficulties, but, as we shall explore in the next chapter, hinted at organisational brittleness.

Within the movement in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane, there was also an interesting dynamic occurring in regards to the incorporation within the GJM frame of issues and campaigns that were previously seen as peripheral. This was particularly the case with a number of **activist GLBTI and Queer groups**; known respectively as GLAM, QUEER and QuACE (pronounced quake)⁷². For the activists involved in these groups, their activity emerged from their recognition that sexual identity was inextricably linked to the broader structure of capitalist social relations. Posited at the heart of these groups was the contradiction inherent in capitalism, where the system proffers a ‘freedom’ to choose how people live their lives but constrains living in fundamental ways. Many of the activists took their inspiration from works like *Profit and Pleasure: Sexual Identities in Late Capitalism*:

Under capitalism, most people’s lives are laced with contradictions. For most of us, the contradiction of being ‘free’ to work yet barred from reaping the full value of our labor is a very basic one, but it may not be the contradiction we experience as the most distressing. In fact, what

⁷¹ Bramble and Minns state that there were 500 protestors at a blockade of the stock exchange, 1,000 taking part in other actions, and 9,000 in total at a Unity March involving a large contingent of trade unionists, 4000 in Sydney and 1000 in Brisbane. See: Tom Bramble and John Minns, 'Activist Perspectives on the Australian Anti-Capitalist Movement', *Australasian Political Studies Association* (ANU, Canberra, 2002).

⁷² Gays and Lesbians Against Multinationals formed in Sydney (GLAM), Queers United to Eradicate Economic Rationalism in Melbourne (QUEER) and Queers United Against Capitalist Exploitation in Brisbane (QuACE).

we experience more painfully may be the ways this contradiction is both compounded and played out in racist institutional practice, in the shaming effects of homophobia, or in any of the other oppressive ways difference is made intelligible and translated into strategies of exclusion and abjection. (Hennessy 2000: 5)

The development of these groups took the effect of a double movement from periphery to centre. That is, the dynamic of alter-globalisation increasingly led activists to shift from contesting marginal social spaces to launching battles contesting the legitimacy of the system at its heart. This generated an increasing focus on metropolitan urban spaces as the site of struggles, the same space that capitalism and its elites claim for themselves. However, in a second movement, there was a theoretical re-imagining of the concept of struggle, running in parallel with the practical shift from peripheral to core spaces of contestation. Here, the queer activists and thinkers eschewed a focus on identity and otherness, in order to draw the link between the construction and oppression of sexuality with the operations of the economic and social system. Such was the generalising and centralising logic of the GJM: the movement strengthens those who are marginal and different to become central, without requiring them to renounce their uniqueness. While these new groups were descended from the struggles around sexuality that preceded them, they were also a break. As Pendleton argues (2001, 2007), they were inspired by the radical action and positive representation of GLBTI and queer people that was characteristic of the AIDS treatment movement in the US and Australia in the late 1980s and early 1990s, but this was fused with ‘an explicitly anti-capitalist and implicitly Marxist analysis of queer oppression...the core belief being that homophobia is perpetuated by the economic system of capitalism’ (2001: 1). An example of this was the use of ACT-UP graphics from the 1980s, recast in a campaign targeting the multinational pharmaceutical corporations’ restriction on the distribution of cheap HIV+ drugs in Africa.

If we are to return to the definition developed in Chapter 1, social movements are:

organised expressions of societal contradiction initiated by dominated actors concerning the endeavors of hegemonic actors, involving self conscious and strategic activity which alters (and in turn is altered by) society. They arise out of the tensions of contemporary capitalism, presenting social conflict inherent to the economic and social system in a mediated form.

In the period from s11 onwards, we can see the development of just such a movement in Australia. While the local movement had a contingent relationship with the international movement (borrowing and adopting certain elements such as summit blockades), it was also developing its own particular expressions and dynamics. For example, nowhere else in the ‘developed’ world were GLBTI and queer activists and initiatives so central and important to the GJM as in Australia, as discussed above (Humphrys 2006). The movement locally was also devoting significant resources to the campaign against the mandatory detention of asylum seekers. Within the frame of the GJM, such a campaign was recast by activists to consciously highlight the contradiction between the free movement of capital and the lack of free movement of people. In early 2001, a number of activists occupied the roof of the privately-operated detention centre at Maribyrnong in Melbourne, stepping up the tactics used within the campaign to include civil disobedience. In both these examples, we can see the tensions of contemporary capitalism playing out, in mediated ways, where the economic conflict manifests in a mediated form (around firstly the issue of the nuclear family and privatised reproduction, and secondly the rights of people to flee from economic deprivation and repression).

As in any social movement, even one growing in size and confidence, debates take place within the differentiated unity of its composition. Given the diversity of the formation, and the relative innovation of many elements, discussions were often internally focused and around questions of what the movement should be, how it should organise, and what initiatives it should take. Interviewees outlined the key debates as:

- ‘Fix it or nix it’ – whether bodies like the WTO should be reformed or abolished.
- ‘Summit Hopping’ – whether the movement’s protests should focus on large-scale mobilisations at meetings of the WTO, WEF and other global institutions.
- ‘Global versus Local’ – what should the balance or connection be between pursuing global issues and setting down roots in local communities and suburbs?
- ‘A movement of movements’ – whether the movement was, or should be, developing into a single movement, or a movement of movements.

The differentiated unity of an anti-systemic movement does not develop towards greater homogeneity or agreement without disputation; such is its nature as a mediated expression of conflict and contradiction. This is because not everyone in a social movement moves together ideologically. Furthermore, counter-hegemonic movements cannot develop in a simple, linear fashion to a position where they have uncomplicated

internal cohesion, as they are permeated by the ruling elites' hegemonic ideas (which result in internal contestation). This differentiation was being struggled with in the period after 9/11, as the movement went on the offence. The next chapter will explore in some detail the impact of 9/11 on the GJM in Australia, and moreover its impact on its dynamic, differentiated constitution.

Chapter 5: The weight of the event

Just before the WEF [World Economic Forum] happened, we had a meeting here in this room, like the day before it started and it was literally ... there were 100 people in this room, believe it or not. It was hard to believe they fitted in and they were people from everywhere, from the Greens, from socialist groups, from the Left, from local conservation councils and it was this incredible feeling of – oh my God – like I have never seen this many people representing this many constituencies in the one place, focused on one issue ever before.

Interview with Paul.

Oh, it was terrible, terrible – and I think it had quite a significant impact on the Movement. I remember clearly two thoughts that I had when I saw the news footage of the 9/11 attacks. The first one was like one of awe really...and then almost instantly my thought was like you bastards, you fucked it up for us because very quickly from Seattle things went in Australia [from] zero to 100... The impact that Seattle had [as] a catalyst for a new confidence and optimism about change, which was taken up across the [Global North] in a pretty dramatic kind of way Australia included, that momentum was really sort of knocked out of us by those attacks. I think it had quite a disorientating effect and it made people confused.

Interview with Mark.

In the year after 9/11, the Australian GJM was on the front foot, but the impact of the 9/11 attacks was quite profound. Interviewees argued it would be incorrect and simplistic to say that 9/11 *caused* the disintegration of the movement, but they argued its impact was nonetheless overwhelming. The event of 9/11 resulted in a number of external pressures, which alongside internal tensions and weaknesses, had deleterious results.

This chapter will begin by considering some of the internal difficulties the movement faced at its highpoint, when on 19-21 July 2001 approximately 300,000 protesters descended on Genoa, Italy, to protest against the G8 meeting (Callinicos 2003c: 133). The Genoa protests were large and diverse, and in the mould of previous demonstrations. But they were also both far bigger and met with highly organised action from the Italian state. The resulting death of a young protester and serious injuries to a number of demonstrators (ibid) had an impact on the movement locally. The return from Europe that July of between 12 and 15 Australian activists heightened this influence. Within two months of this highpoint, and coincidentally on the anniversary of the 9/11 demonstration

in Melbourne, the 9/11 terrorist attacks took place in New York and Washington. As the governments of the USA, Australia and their allies moved onto a war footing the global political environment was rapidly transformed. The GJM locally had to assess what to do and how to continue with its efforts in this new context.

In light of this appreciation of the state of the movement just prior to 9/11, the chapter then overviews the interviewees' understandings of the impact of terrorist attacks on the GJM in Australia. This chapter will argue that activists understood the impact of 9/11 as being complex, but delineated key *external* (material and ideological) and *internal* (organisational and ideological) factors that played a part in it. While there is not always a neat line between such features, and all could and did co-exist spatially and temporally, such a demarcation allows for a clearer exploration of what was a particularly complicated and contradictory experience. In addition, in analysing the views of activists interviewed for this study, two distinct tendencies emerge amongst them. For the purposes of this research, these will be called Networkers and Campaigners. Campaigners were less likely to have a holistic view of the impact of 9/11 or the possibilities for future political action over similar questions, while the Networkers had a more nuanced and universal appreciation of the overall trajectory of the movement and how 9/11 and the War on Terror was experienced and processed.

It is ultimately argued that the movement as it appears today, and as it continued in the aftermath of 9/11, is in a diminished state to that in the period between 9/11 and 9/11. In addition, the dynamic between the institutional and extra/anti-institutional elements that made possible a broad anti-systemic movement garnering wider community participation has not been re-established. While protests at summit meetings in Australia have continued, these events have been smaller and with a narrower organising base over time, and this was notably the case in relation to protests against the WTO in Sydney in 2002, the G20 in Melbourne in 2005, and the Forbes conference in Sydney in 2006.

The return of the Genoa contingent

In late July and early August 2001, the return of 12-15 Australian activists from Genoa re-emphasised that the debates occurring locally within the GJM had a deep resonance globally. These debates were summarised at the end of Chapter 4, and activists emphasised the key dialogues that were around the cycle of protests at summits (Klein

2002) and the balance between pursuing global issues and setting down roots in local communities. The issue of summit hopping was of particular concern in Australia, as travel to global meetings of the elites was not easy or cheap. As one interviewee observed:

There's an inherent elitism in summit hopping because it implies the ability to fly somewhere or travel somewhere or leave home for periods of time. It was skewed towards people from the North or rich people from the South. So there was a whole debate about well, let's bring it back to our communities and make it real and in a way that's what people do anyway and have always done, which is fight for justice in their workplaces, their homes, their communities. ...and I think there was that limit of concentrating on summits [in that] do we just give undue power to these men in these meetings, I say men advisedly, when perhaps we could be putting our power and hence giving our power to other institutions and ... alternative kind[s] of global civil society forum[s].

In this period Klein also asked 'is this what we want, a movement of meeting stalkers, following the trade bureaucrats as if they were the Grateful Dead?' (op cit: 4). Activists were conscious they would have to find another manner in which to develop the movement, even if alongside such summit protest events. In this environment, activists in Australia were looking to activities like social centres and housing projects as one of the ways forward (Sentas 2002), but with the refugee solidarity movement perhaps the most significant place activists were focusing their energy (Goodman 2009; Maksimovic and Barnes 2002; Stead 2002).

In the wake of the violence at Genoa, the apprehension from some sections of the movement about the nature of activist tactics in blockading venues and confronting police also became more acute. The death of Carlo Giuliani at the hands of the *Carabinieri*, and the presence of live ammunition at demonstrations, was a qualitative shift in risk for participants. At Genoa, the police-initiated confrontations were even directed at pacifists and the Pink Bloc⁷³, not simply those who were seeking to damage property or directly engage police, and the use of *agent provocateurs* unsettled in particular the institutional elements in Australia (Callinicos 2003c: 135; Starr 2006). These elements had previously been willing to sidestep the issue of blockading, as they did with the m1 demonstrations in letting each element of the movement organise as they wished (diversity in action), but became concerned that the violent confrontations with police at s11 would be repeated

⁷³ The Pink Bloc was a non-violent theatrical and creative group, involved in tactical frivolity such as street theatre, an amateur Samba band, dancing and cheerleading routines. See the eyewitness account from US based activist Starhawk: <http://www.starhawk.org/activism/activism-writings/genoa1.html>.

and potentially with more serious consequences. Alongside this, a concern that some local elements were raising the tactic of blockading to the level of strategy within the movement was growing into a more open rupture. As Henry noted in reflecting on s11:

I think there was a fair bit of concern that the organisers of s11, some of the activists had effectively allowed [the violence] to happen. That they engineered it in the sense that they had exposed people and left them vulnerable [on small blockades early or late in the day], and of course the police, the police aren't going to do that when there are 5,000 people there they're going to do it when there are 300. And many of us, that's what we thought was the problem with the whole blockade thing. If you can't sustain it for 24 hours, you should have a blockade for a certain amount of time and then call it off and say to people it's off, otherwise people are going to get hurt. But I think there was a bit of a feeling within the union movement that people had been exposed unnecessarily to that kind of risk.

Activists advised this debate was particularly focused around the planned counter-protests at the CHOGM meeting in Brisbane on 6-10 October 2001, which was ultimately cancelled for security reasons in the wake of 9/11 (although the counter-protest went ahead in the form of an anti-war demonstration)⁷⁴. Planning began jointly amongst both the institutional and non-institutional elements, including activist collectives, Jubilee 2000, Friends of the Earth and the Australian Manufacturing Workers Union, for activities around the meeting (Boyle 2001). Yet such efforts quickly became fraught and the main organising alliance split into two formations, with the first largely centred on the institutional elements and the latter (the Stop CHOGM Alliance) made up exclusively of radical Left organisations and activists (Bramble and Minns 2002: 12). The disconnection between the views of the relative forces organising around CHOGM was still obvious in one interviewee's assessment, years after, regarding the unwillingness of certain sections to 'want' to blockade the venue:

... there were other groups who had no intention of even demonstrating against CHOGM but were going to have a rally in the park down the road. But even within the [Stop CHOGM Alliance] of people who were, in some way, committed to some kind of active resistance, the debate was actually about a lack of confidence and fear of what the Brisbane police would do. That we weren't going to be able to mobilise 10,000, and if we weren't going to be able to mobilise 10,000, we were going to be marching people into a really dangerous situation, but it became a cat and mouse, like it becomes a cat chasing its tail kind of debate because people like myself used to argue that the way

⁷⁴ It is important to note that in some ways CHOGM was a target of a different kind to the WEF, or bodies such as the WTO, with a heavy participation of governments from the developed world. The body was seen as a less explicit articulation of elite power for this reason, and therefore organisers did not expect a simple repeat of the s11 demonstrations as such. Nevertheless, organisers did expect the protests to be sizeable.

to mobilise people was to not get them to hold hands around CHOGM but to actually you know, get some kind of argument and activity that was about fighting and we were never going to get 10,000 if you just wanted to hold hands around CHOGM.

This interviewee struggled to appreciate the broader dynamic in the movement at that time, and why certain sections were increasingly reluctant to take action that would confront the police openly. Rather than a blockade simply being a tactic to stop a summit meeting, such as at Seattle or s11, in the eyes of this activist blockading was a strategy that would attract more people to be involved in the demonstration and to build the movement more generally. The institutional elements countered that the possibility of violence at blockades was in fact narrowing the participation base amongst their supporters and members. Interviewees argued that the differentiation of the movement, celebrated by many as its strength, was during this time becoming a significant challenge. The organisations and individuals making up the movement in Australia had vastly different ideas about how to build the GJM.

The activists interviewed understood that the trajectory of the movement was not only shaped by the impact of world events but also by pre-existing weaknesses in the movement. As one participant observed:

The reasons for the decline of the anti-capitalist or global justice movement in Australia after the initial outburst [after 9/11] were primarily internal. I think the challenge that we encountered long before [9/11] was how you actualise a form of radical politics that aims at a very fundamentally protective society and I'm not sure whether the external events such as anti-terror laws or the events of September 11, I'm not sure how central they were. I think the movement was in decline before those events.

This interviewee and others spoke of 9/11 hastening a decline, not causing it. Many of those interviewed were meticulous in explaining the influence and effect of the Genoa demonstrations and 9/11 on their efforts, as well as their relationship to other factors. Many were also able to explain the more subtle effects of these events – such as on their own confidence and political beliefs. While the return of the Australian activists who were at Genoa enthused activists locally to organise for CHOGM, it also brought home to local activists that the questions being struggled over here were global concerns for the movement that would not be resolved quickly or easily.

Assessing the impact of 9/11

There has been relatively little written about how the consequences of 9/11 unfolded for the GJM in Australia, save some consideration of the question by Jen Couch (2003) in her PhD thesis *This Is What Democracy Looks Like: The Genesis, Culture and Possibilities of Anti-Corporate Activism* and a subsequent co-authored article (Couch and Sullivan 2006). Couch's PhD research is not specifically about Australia but she implies her views hold locally, and her later jointly-written article clearly relates to the movement in Australia. As is discussed later, Couch arrives at some interpretations that appear in contradiction to the views of activists interviewed for this research. The absence of consideration of the impact of 9/11 is a surprising omission, given the general agreement amongst interviewees that the 9/11 attacks had a great effect on the movement, even if there is a debate as to the nature of those impacts (Burgmann 2003; Curran 2006; Vedelago 2003). It is also unexpected given it was an event and question of particular concern to social movement participants themselves, and generally highlighted by those interviewed as one of great concern and confusion for them.

In the final chapter of her thesis, Couch examines the question of to what extent the aftermath of September 11 caused the movement to collapse. Couch argues that, rather than a catalyst of demise, the events of 9/11 are better understood as 'a moment' when the social movement participants' appreciation of the interplay of social, economic and political interaction 'came of age, and when those who understood civil society began to view [the GJM] not as something solely "Western" but as a truly global struggle' (2003: 220). For Couch, the period after 9/11 is marked by:

the emergence of a transnational citizenship, with the events of September 11 prompting many activists to view their counterparts across borders as fellow citizens with common histories and responsibilities of mutual support (ibid)

Couch ultimately concludes that pronouncements of the death of the movement are premature, and that it 'has become a beacon for activists North to South, in the construction of a "globalisation from below" and the movement's "democratic praxis" has the ability to challenge the discourses of globalisation and create an alternative vision of "what democracy can look like"' (ibid. p. 251). While her view on the question of the impact of 9/11 may have some relevance for some sections of the movement, Couch does not recognise that the impact of 9/11 was felt differently across the

movement in Australia and differently across the globe (even though her interview subjects are primarily drawn from Australia and the US).

Couch conceptualises the GJM differently to how it is understood in this research. She does not consider the movement's trajectory in the Global North and Global South as two entwined but distinct processes and, importantly, views the movement's form in the Global North more 'narrowly'. She sees it as being significantly constituted by the more radical elements and the activities they engaged in (in particular direct action and street protests). In contrast, as discussed in Chapter 4, this research conceptualises the movement as a differentiated unity, with institutional and extra/anti-institutional elements coming together to give it its shape. This second point is perhaps exemplified in Couch's final chapter where she tells the story of how she was due to attend the New York protests against the WEF, being held in New York from January 31 to February 4 2002. Couch notes that 'fighting for global justice had become an extreme sport with a tough-edged street quality ... [s]uch was the level of police repression, that you wouldn't even consider turning up to a protest without the activist 'uniform' of a gas mask, helmet, raincoats and padding' (ibid. p. 213). Through her lens, she articulates the movement as constituted predominantly of elements who were prepared for confrontation with the police at street protests, as opposed to those elements who were not. These underpinnings allow Couch to reach a conclusion that the movement did not decline in the aftermath of 9/11, as there has continued to be demonstrations in Australia largely organised by these more radical elements, such as the protests against the G20 meeting in Melbourne in November 2006, and so set aside the declining participation of the labour movement, churches and NGOs.

Couch also infers that an undermining of the movement in one particular nation is of limited consequence if we can observe that other parts of the global movement have grown. While the GJM in Australia has always 'borrowed' from the international movement, including in terms of coherence and intellectual leadership, the limitations of a movement in one nation cannot ultimately be overcome by the situation in another⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ Couch also argued that any decline in sections of the movement is less significant as it is balanced by the growth of the World Social Forum (WSF) processes. The WSF has, however, faced its own organisational and political problems. The process of establishing an Asia-Pacific Social Forum did not progress, the European Social Forum process collapsed and the Australian capital city social forums struggled to establish themselves as organising and communication tools in the absence of a strong GJM. In regards to the WSF see Boaventura De Sousa Santos, *The Rise of the Global Left: The World Social Forum and Beyond* (London: Zed Books, 2006). Matthew D Stephen, 'Alter-Globalisation as Counter-Hegemony: Evaluating the 'Postmodern Prince'', *Globalizations*, 6/4 (December 2009 2009), 483 - 98.

Secondly, in seeing the movement as defined by what activity people do, Couch misses the change in wider political expression that led to the formation of the movement initially and therefore observes no decline despite its reduction in breadth and failure to diversify its social base (Bramble and Minns 2005).

Conversely, Bramble and Minns (ibid) see the issues of declining numbers and the lack of street protest as key to the decline of the movement, but it was not within their research scope to consider in detail the impact of the 9/11 attacks or the correlation between that event and declining protest numbers. They do argue, however, that the failure of the movement in Australia to diversify its social base led to rapid splintering and fragmentation under the weight of the influence of 9/11.

The decline of the GJM in Australia

While dates are important, and the events of 9/11 presented the movement with particular challenges, it is not as clear-cut as saying the GJM in Australia collapsed because of 9/11 or that the movement no longer exists. This starting point is also an acknowledgment of the ‘numerous ways in which September 11 [2001] has become a metaphor and symbolic turning point’ (Kalantzis 2004: 582) for geopolitical and societal changes, mostly obscuring a more complex circumstance. Clearly ‘the political events following the September 11 attacks in 2001 gave rise to a dramatic shift in the consent/coercion balance of the neoliberal world order’ (Stephen 2009: 487), but there were a range of responses to this across the Global North. In Europe (especially Italy and Spain) the movement more effectively took up the questions of the US invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. However, the movement was unable to do this in the US and Australia, despite a significant and vibrant anti-war movement. This is returned to later.

In relation to Australia, the interviewees argued that the movement declined markedly after 9/11 and its trajectory could not be separated from the event and the subsequent war footing pursued by the ‘Coalition Of The Willing’. In articulating their understanding that the movement ‘declined’, activists were referring to and observing the following:

- The decline in protest numbers in Australia (see Appendix C).
- The narrowed spectrum of participants and organisations in movement protests, with the institutional elements vacating the field.

- Decreased or absent attention to the issues pursued by the movement in the mainstream media (see Table 3 in Chapter 4).
- Internal disagreements in the GJM, resulting in a splintering of the organising alliances and ultimately the movement.

The interviewees argued that the impact of the attacks is usefully understood as both **externally driven** processes and **internally focused** (and largely pre-existing) limitations.

Table 4: External and Internal Factors related to decline of the GJM in Australia

		Externally Driven		Internally Focused	
	A. Predominantly External	Material	Ideological	Organisational	Ideological
1.	Narrowing of space for debate in public sphere				
2.	Violence from state on movement protests				
3.	Legislative restrictions on protest & movement introduced after 9/11				
4.	Decline in size of movement in North America, change to shape of movement in Europe				
5.	Post-9/11 drive to war in Afghanistan and Iraq				
6.	Elites emboldened				
7.	Use of fear by elites				
8.	Dichotomous frame re-established: horizontal frame of 'clash of civilisations' between the civility of the west / incivility of terrorists				
9.	Racialisation of the other / re-emphasis of nationalism				
	B. Predominantly Internal				
10.	Differentiation within GJM / lack of cohesiveness				
11.	Weak nature of movement collective identity				
12.	Lack of flexibility of movement in changed circumstances				
13.	Challenge to frame of 'who is the enemy'				
14.	Incoherent alternative vision to capitalism & imperialism				
15.	Inability to meld anti-systemic analysis & critique of war				
16.	Lack of democratic infrastructure to dialogue problems / challenges				
17.	Disagreement on nature of the political subject (i.e. who can / will change the world)				

As illustrated by Table 4 (above), the predominantly external drivers in this period of change were understood as material and ideological effects, some of which exacerbated internal weaknesses in the movement. For example, the post-9/11 drive to war in Afghanistan and Iraq was principally an external factor, initiated and pursued outside the GJM's sphere of influence, but with internal ideological consequences in that some

movement participants argued their views about who and what was the ‘problem’ with the world were transformed. The internally focused factors at play in the Australian GJM are best identified as organisational limitations and ideological weaknesses. In the post-9/11 environment, some factors that were previously thought of as strengths of the movement became growing problems for the movement, and factors that the interviewees argued it was unable to overcome under the weight of 9/11. Most importantly, the differentiation within the movement (its ‘unity in diversity’) became a barrier to organising, as disagreements about tactics and strategy could no longer be set aside or postponed.

Interviewees argued that not least of the consequences from these external impacts and internal weaknesses was an ideological crisis, where the GJM in Australia was unable to deal coherently with the implications of the War on Terror and unable to articulate a united response across the movement. This resulted in ideological and organisational fragmentation.

Key factors arising from outside

An issue identified a number of times in the interviews was that the space for debate in the media and wider public sphere about the issues involved in the GJM was closed or reduced by the events of 9/11, and more specifically the post-9/11 drive to war by the USA and its allies. Activists talked of the impact of 9/11 being like a blanket over their individual and collective voice, and Mark argued ‘the space had just gone, it was just gone’. He stated that concerns about the capitalist system that had begun to be openly debated in the media no longer appeared, and that this was an incredible shock to him as he had thought the upswing of the movement would be unstoppable:

I think people just assumed in the movement, and certainly I did, that in two years time we’ve come from nothing to you know, some of us were actually on cable TV business shows, debating the rightness of the market. Do you know what I mean? You’re [thinking] in another two years time we’re really going to have brought about some change. I don’t think anyone really saw 9/11 eventuating, but one thing is for sure – it really knocked the stuffing out of the movement.

Giulietta argued that questioning of globalisation continued, but that it was placed within a new frame that did not allow for questioning of the structure of society:

I think that [the current debate is] still about globalisation in a sense, but I think that it's definitely shrunk the space to talk [and what we are left with is] Huntington's Clash of Civilisation thesis. I mean in terms of globalising phenomena it's all become about identity and ethnic, or so called extremist identity. There's nothing there about global capital and its role in constructing this whole war. What we're seeing is institutionalised globalised Islamophobia and the terms of that being the debate, it's a blanket kind of ideological directive about who the enemy is and what nation states need to do to crush the enemy inside and without.

In these comments, Giulietta identifies 9/11 as a trigger to allow a new dichotomous frame of civilisation/terrorism to be asserted, as discussed earlier, obscuring the more complex debates about globalisation and global justice. This argument was echoed by Brendan, who stated:

What effect on an alcoholic does it have to discover a new drink? The War on Terror is 80% fiction and 20% fact, and it's a great way of retreating from that moment of self-discovery that the system, the hyper rational capitalist systems that we've got here do have a flaw of deep inhumanness to them. I think there was a collective understanding about the breakthrough and I think there was a massive shift about to happen and that, you know, when anybody's about to change, there's often a violent sort of urge and I'm not surprised that it happened when it happened, [9/11] the terrorist attacks and I think it basically gave us a comic book, a comic book overlaying on top of what was going to be really interesting prose of self-discovery.

Perhaps the first material impact on the movement in Australia was the cancellation of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Brisbane in October 2001? As discussed above, the movement had been organising for a protest at CHOGM, focusing on justice for asylum seekers, third world debt and the role of corporate globalisation (Ensor 2001; Laurence and Humphrys 2001). Significant effort had also been made to mobilise activists to protest the attendance of Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe⁷⁶. When CHOGM was cancelled, the planned rally and blockade morphed into a protest against the impending US invasion of Afghanistan. However, given the focus of the original protest was no longer there, and although the protests were still in the mould of

⁷⁶ GJM organising in Australia had included significant organising amongst queer activists. See discussion in Elizabeth Humphrys, 'with Their Bodies on the Line': Activist Space and Sexuality in the Australian Alter-Globalisation Movement', *Queer Space Conference* (University of Technology Sydney: University of Technology Sydney, 2007b), Mark Pendleton, 'Looking Back to Look Forward: The Past in Australia Queer Anti-Capitalism, 1999-2002', *Melbourne Historical Journal*, 35 (annual 2007) (2007), 51-71. The potential attendance of Mugabe at CHOGM, who had described gays and lesbians as worse than pigs and dogs, also saw organisations such as Queers United to Eradicate Economic Rationalism (QUEER) and Gays and Lesbians Against Multinationals (GLAM) organise to protest at the meeting.

previous GJM actions⁷⁷, the events were small. Some activists spoke of how, in the immediate aftermath of the attacks, an expectation developed that protests should not occur. Sometimes this was because there was a feeling it would be disrespectful and on other occasions it was because activists were literally afraid of what might happen. This was obviously more pronounced in the US itself, where in New York and Washington the protests against the World Bank and IMF planned for the end of September came under significant pressure to be cancelled. Although the mobilisations ultimately went ahead, they were dramatically diminished in size (Campbell 2002: 10-11). One interviewee noted the feeling amongst US activists he was in contact with at the time:

And people [got] very conservative. I remember like all these mainstream NGOs in the US called off participating in demonstrations and you weren't allowed to demonstrate, it was disrespectful to demonstrate and everyone really quickly came into line in terms of being under attack.

Almost all those interviewed described the fear that was present amongst activists after the attacks. Many saw this as created by the US government and critics of the GJM, as opposed to a fear based on more substantive or 'real' concerns. One interviewee linked the hyper-reality of seeing the towers coming down again and again on television directly to the fear felt by many activists, stating 'it was pretty amazing seeing those two towers come down, it was super incredible, and then there's all the terrible hysteria and you know that does intimidate people to some degree, to a large degree or a lesser degree'. For other activists, their fear came not from the terror attacks themselves but from how quickly the Bush administration mobilised for war. While fear was not the dominant attitude amongst activists I interviewed, it was not rare and many understood that, for those who were not seasoned activists, the situation could be quite frightening. The interviewees who had a more nuanced understanding of the impact of 9/11 on the movement were able to see how this external driver exacerbated the already established tensions in regard to violence on demonstrations and the increasing state repression (discussed earlier), which was in play before the attacks on New York and Washington. As Debbie said, 'I think that it gave America the greatest excuse in the world to spin the biggest fear story they could. I'm sick to death about hearing how the world has changed since 9/11'. For her, 9/11 simply led to more of what had come before: a world similar to that prior to the opening up of debate in the 1990s.

⁷⁷ The protests were colourful and dynamic, with street theatre and visuals present. For example, the anti-capitalist bumblebees performed American Football style 'cheers' to motivate the crowd over its aims for creating a better future.

Many have argued that 9/11 was an excuse to use repression to silence dissent, primarily through increased surveillance and legislative restrictions on political protests (Burgmann 2003: 325; Campbell 2002; Marcuse 2003; Starr 2006). Starr argues that there are two elements to this global dynamic, the first being that protest policing now included ‘criminalisation and pre-emptive attack on protesters’ and the second ‘that the property crimes which some sectors of the alterglobalisation movement occasionally enact was not only being characterised as violence but was also being investigated as “terrorism” ’ (ibid: 61). This conflating of political protest with terrorism was a deliberate strategy of the ruling elites, just as Bush proclaimed ‘you are either with us or with the terrorists’. Bush is often misquoted as saying ‘with us or against us’, but he was choosing his words more carefully in advancing the dichotomy inherent in the clash of civilisations thesis (with no room to neither be with him nor the terrorists). As Luke reflected regarding the elision of dissenting ideas with terrorism:

You know, the day after [9/11], what did people say? Did people kind of celebrate that the Pentagon and the symbol of world economic power was attacked, no! Or did people mourn the incredible loss of life in a multi-cultural city, a quite internationalist, cosmopolitan city which in many ways symbolises some of the really good things about the last several hundred years of change. And then the global elites’ response and the mass media’s response [is] that if you said anything that put in context as to why all Al-Qaeda may have attacked America you were accused of supporting terrorism.

In terms of the elements Starr nominates, and despite the fact that there were also attempts before 9/11 to increase surveillance and policing of protesters (McCulloch 2000, 2001), this became more audacious in Australia over time, as elites became emboldened and began to re-assert their hegemony. For example, prior to George Bush’s visit to Sydney in 2007, police and the government took pre-emptive action in dividing the city into zones and releasing a list of persons who were not allowed to enter certain zones of the city on the basis that they may engage in actions that were illegal or disruptive. These individuals, largely students and left-wing activists, were singled out on the basis of what they *might* do, not what they *had* done, an approach that was in line with legal frameworks established under new anti-terrorism laws (Goodman 2010: 353). At that time, with the exception of the mental health system⁷⁸, there had been limited opportunity

⁷⁸ The mental health framework in Australia allows health practitioners to detain a person who is mentally ill or mentally disturbed and may be a risk to themselves and/or others, with differing arrangements in each state and territory regarding legal oversight of those decisions.

to legally take such preventative action against citizens. The new laws were used to both intimidate protesters with the threat of arrest without charge, and to elide ‘terrorists’, GJM activists and/or political dissenters who were critical of the government’s stance on questions such as the Iraq War and racial vilification of the Islamic community (Devine 2001)⁷⁹.

It was also clear the elites were learning how to better manage protests. The confusion of the police at Seattle had been replaced with highly organised interventions in Genoa, and on other occasions the elites moved venues to avoid protests such as with the 2002 Sydney WTO meeting that was moved from the central business district of Sydney to Homebush (Stainsby 2003). Global elites also increasingly welcomed inside their summits ‘respectable’ movement participants as a way of disrupting unity and appearing to take on board protesters’ concerns.

Internal factors and pre-existing weaknesses

As previously foreshadowed, at the time of the Genoa protests there were weaknesses restraining movement coherence and effectiveness. One interviewee articulated the struggle for direction at the time of the 9/11 attacks:

I think there was already a lot of discussion going on, around ‘well what do we do’? You know with Seattle, Melbourne, Prague, etcetera, etcetera, I think that to a degree that [the summit strategy] had run its course...[and] had kind of come to a logical conclusion and the world’s social forums were kind of still on the rise and people [thought] ‘where do we go now’. So the movement had reached, I would suggest, a high point anyway and given that 9/11 happened at roughly that point, it then kind of knocked it over probably faster than it would have happened for a whole range of reasons. I mean, we had the invasion of Iraq, we had the criminalisation of dissent in a way that hadn’t happened before, and a lot of US foundations stopped funding anti-corporate globalisation work. Like there was a series of reasons why this kind of movement, which was coming off the

⁷⁹ This elision was not a new phenomenon however, and some sections of the community have accepted the argument. On user-driven Wikipedia, the page devoted to defining and outlining the history of the ‘global justice movement’ has been revised and disputed numerous times since the early 1990s. Although partly removed now, there was extensive discussion on the associated talk page about the illegitimacy of the protesters alleging that those responsible for the terror attacks and those who organised s11 were in league together (where a dispute arises over a Wikipedia entry and this cannot be resolved through simple amendment of facts or opinion, a user can create a talk or dispute page where the content is debated. See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talk%3AS11_%28protest%29). While some of this is at the level of conspiracy theory, the more common argument has been that the two sets of people who organised s11 and 9/11 have a common agenda against progress. As another interviewee stated regarding this elision, it ‘was useful for the corporate media, being very hostile to the GJM for obvious reasons, to say oh well clearly it’s over and here’s one more reason why it’s dead’.

boil, suddenly dropped much faster than it would have otherwise. So I think it hastened it, hastened that decline of that particular moment in the movement's history, rather than caused it.

The organisational issues that confronted the movement, which began to express themselves more profoundly after 9/11, included the fact that previously celebrated diversity within the movement was increasingly a barrier to effective organising. There were growing ruptures between more radical and more conservative elements in the face of external pressures, as discussed above, but this was also linked to two intertwined internal issues. Many interviewees spoke of a lack of internal space to debate and dialogue about issues confronting the movement, and this was not only a rupture between the more radical and conservative elements but also within the more radical elements linked in many ways to an ideological disagreement about the nature of the political subject (i.e. the subject that can potentially change society). Some argued that not enough had been done prior to 9/11 to establish trust between movement elements, to better develop the movement's collective identity, and to establish permanent spaces in which to discuss the movement's work. The question of organisation, or the absence of a strategic centre to the GJM in Australia, is discussed further in Chapter 6.

Activists also experienced 9/11 as a challenge to a framework that understood 'us' as the GJM and those impacted on negatively by neoliberalism and 'them' as the elites, the states and transnational corporations. They argued that 9/11 confused the movement about who and what was the enemy they were fighting, and many were unsure how to understand political Islam. Some argued that the Australian progressive movement remains confused about how to deal with Islamism to this day:

Elizabeth: Did [9/11] change what the movement or you thought it needed to achieve or hoped to achieve?

Luke: Yeah, well I think it did... I mean I think for a year after 9/11 there were... people in a lot of disarray about what to think and even what to say and I think people still are. I think people still don't know... how to engage with the problem of Islamic fundamentalism or political Islam. But it's a complete failure actually, and reflects the failure of the Left in the Middle East and globally. ... Political Islam has taken up space in those geographies that the Left used to take up and it's done that successfully because it's internationalist, because it's anti-imperialist and because it's able to relate... in a distorted way to the realities of people in those places. While I think that they're the wrong paths, they also are a real challenge and I think that that contradiction has been really difficult for the Left in the west, or in industrialised countries to fathom and to come to terms with. They know Al-Qaeda's bad but on the other hand they can see that Al-Qaeda's fighting their enemy as well, so how do we deal with that, you know.

While many activists clearly saw themselves as involved in and building a wider movement about globalisation and global justice, it seems that some of the activists were identifying with the movement because of their personal involvement with specific campaigns and as such there was a weak sense of collective identity, especially in the absence of large-scale mobilisations. Without such summit style protests, and in light of the already split organising alliances for CHOGM, there was no place where movement elements could come together to work through either practical matters related to what action to take or larger-scale issues of the movement's collective identity. The previous pre-Genoa debates of 'summit hopping', 'global versus local' and 'a movement of movements' also took on new meaning in this situation as the impact of several ideological factors played out inside the movement, including an inability to meld the movement's anti-systemic analysis with a critique of war and imperialism. As one interviewee articulated:

... 9/11 ushered in this new round of global conflict, and the Left had to learn again how to construct the peace movement or anti-war movement at the same time as trying to integrate that with an anti-systemic or anti-capitalist, anti-corporate power perspective. We haven't done that very successfully...I think they've been able to do that more successfully in Europe, integrate those two perspectives and maintain them.

As this interviewee argues, in some countries in Europe there was a more direct path from the pre- to post-9/11 periods for GJM activists. This path involved a better integration of the frames of global justice and imperialism. But this was not the case in the United States (Callinicos 2003c: 137) or, as argued by interviewees, in Australia. For example, mobilisations across Italy on the back of the success of the Genoa protest were both large and linked the issues of globalisation and war. In cities that had successfully mobilised large numbers of activists to travel to Italy for the July 2001 demonstrations, such as London, some commentators have argued it was similar (ibid). In Barcelona, activists were able to mobilise around the frame of 'No to a Europe of Capital and War', and the Barcelona Social Forum, itself a GJM body, called the major demonstration.

Although the anti-war protests in Australia, and in particular in Sydney, were large and vibrant, interviewees remarked that there was little of an anti-capitalist flavour to them, even if many of the same individuals who organised 9/11 were also involved in anti-war work. This failure to integrate the frames of global justice and imperialism was not

accidental, either, as the adoption of the narrower 'no war' frame was seen as necessary to build a broad-based anti-war movement that did not exclude those who did not agree with the anti-systemic critique developed within the GJM. As Luke reflected:

I think we made some mistakes, those of us who were involved in trying to get an anti-war movement going and did so successfully actually you know. Like in Melbourne where we basically adopted the line that we should say 'no war', basically our line was 'no war'. And we didn't, we quite deliberately [did that]. ...[T]he main focus of the protest movement against the war, we deliberately excluded any questions of global economic power, you know, and that was probably a mistake.

The anti-war movement also saw splits in the organising collective in Sydney, effectively isolating more radical elements of the GJM now working within the anti-war movement. On the other hand, the institutional elements felt that in the new geopolitical environment they were unable to continue their work in the same way as they had before 9/11. As one interviewee stated regarding the institutional elements of the GJM:

I think some people just went 'tactics, the times are different, the tactics are different', and in many ways that's a big chunk of what this movement is, those people, and so they went off and did other things.

While Ion Bogdan Vasi (2006: 140) has described the anti-war mobilisations as 'miscible', in that they resulted from the simultaneous mobilisation efforts of miscible movements (and not from a stand-alone peace movement), it appears in some countries and not others the GJM was more present within this new frame of 'no war'. In Australia, the activists argued it was largely absent.

This thesis, and the interviews with the research participants, has largely concerned itself with the period from Seattle (1999) to the second m1 in May 2002, but it is worth briefly considering the trajectory of the movement beyond that. As discussed, the interviewees viewed the period after 9/11 as one of decline for the GJM in a number of ways and most argued that, although the movement existed overseas at the time they were interviewed (in 2006), it did not exist in the same way in Australia. The number of protesters at s11, estimated as 15-20,000 by most sources, was a clear highpoint and not realised again⁸⁰.

⁸⁰ Because the interviewees involved in both GJM and anti-war organising argued that anti-war mobilisations were consciously not organised on a GJM frame but around a narrow frame of 'no war', and that the participants on the demonstration reflected this, I have set aside those demonstrations from the key protest events.

Table 5: Key protest events in Australia after 9/11 (excerpt from Appendix C)

Protest Target / Event	Date	Place	Size
CHOGM (joint with anti-war protest)	October 6 2001	Brisbane CBD	2500
Woomera	29 March 2002	Woomera Detention Centre, SA	1000
M1 2002	1 May 2002	Melbourne CBD Sydney CBD	500 1200
WTO	November 2002	Sydney CBD Homebush	Sydney: 1000 Homebush: 500
Forbes	30 August 2005	Sydney CBD	1000
G20	November 2006	Melbourne CBD	2000
APEC	8 September 2007	Sydney CBD	5000 ⁸¹

As Table 5 above details, after the GJM/Anti-War demonstration in October 2001 (which was originally to be a protest against the CHOGM summit cancelled in the wake of 9/11), it was not until the protests in Melbourne against the G20 in November 2006 that the GJM mobilised more than 1000 demonstrators at an explicitly GJM demonstration (see Appendix C for full chronology and references).

Additionally, the constituency of protests narrowed over time, causing a qualitative change to the nature of the GJM in Australia. Interviewees emphasised that the diversity of the movement at s11 and m1 2001, which saw unions and NGOs heavily involved in demonstrations, had dwindled. There were attempts, in particular by trade activists, to bring the institutional and extra/anti-institutional elements together for the anti-WTO protests in Sydney in November 2002, but internal demarcation was growing. The Forbes protest⁸² in August 2005 was of a slightly different character given the nature of the target, but by this point there was also very little cooperation between the institutional and extra/anti-institutional elements. By the time of the G20 protests in November 2006, the dynamic of cooperation between those elements had been lost. The splits in organising collectives over various protests were only one symptom of a dynamic of internal rupture, as the impact of 9/11 on the internal brittleness of the movement fundamentally altered its character. A number of the interviews for this thesis were conducted in the weeks prior to the G20 demonstration, and the Melbourne-based activists remarked that the protest organisation was significantly different to s11 and that it consisted almost exclusively of the more radical elements of the Australian GJM. While

⁸¹ Note that this protest was not explicitly a GJM mobilisation and the target was most significantly seen as George Bush, as opposed to APEC itself. The protests developed in this way from the anti-war movement, around the issues of the curtailing of civil liberties and the role of Bush and the intelligence around weapons of mass destruction.

⁸² The protests against the Forbes Global CEO Conference

happy to still be involved in organising, they lamented the loss of diversity and confidence that had operated within the GJM in the period from before s11 through to m1 2001.

As illustrated in Table 3 (in Chapter 4), media attention on the GJM in Australia had also significantly diminished. As Mary Kalantzis has argued, '[p]roductive big-picture doubt has quickly been displaced by race certitude' and in this environment 9/11 becomes 'less a turning point than an alibi to return to an old story' (2004: 583).

The moment of rupture

As has already been detailed, it was in the decade or so between the Cold War and the War on Terror that critiques developed revealing power relations intrinsic to global economic organisation in the epoch of neoliberalism. The alternative frames that emerged illuminated the more fundamental geopolitical relations inherent to capitalism. However as the Australian s11 and Al-Qaeda's 9/11 demonstrate together, counter-hegemonic movements do not develop along an orderly path. They are permeated by the ruling elites' ideas and agendas, and, as in the case of the GJM in Australia, susceptible to the whipping up of fear about violence in demonstrations and the consequences of wartime dissent. The GJM was subject to the impact of world events, and in this case its internal diversity struggled to cope with how to understand US imperialism and the involvement of the Australian state in the Coalition of the Willing.

Under the weight of 9/11, a multiplicity of factors came together to provide a moment of transition for the movement in Australia, from an offensive back to a defensive stance. While crucially this path was not pre-ordained, the contingent internal and external factors worked together to offer not a stepping-stone (taking the movement forward through its discussion and debate) but a paralysing and debilitating process (in the absence of internal democratic spaces and clarification of ideas), where the movement shrank and qualitatively narrowed in terms of its breadth and diversity. Importantly for this research, interviewees' understandings of this transition demonstrated that some understood this better than others.

Campaigners and Networkers

In analysing the activists' views about the impact of 9/11 on the GJM, two distinct patterns of activism within the movement emerged – those of **Networkers** and **Campaigners**. These two tendencies had influence on activists' views about the movement and the reasons for its decline. The views of participants are related directly to what activist role they played within the movement. The understandings of these individuals (and their grouping as a Networker or Campaigner) is largely unconnected to whether they could be described as more or less politically radical, or more or less involved in terms of their time commitments.

The Networkers had the most nuanced view of the movement's path and broader historical place. These activists had an encompassing view (they understood the whole movement as well as its constituent parts) as well as an encompassing approach (they wanted to bring the movement together but understood its contradictions and how they played in constituent sections). On the other hand, the Campaigners had a less nuanced view of the movement's place in history and of the constituent parts, at both an organisational and political level.

The Networkers had a more refined appreciation of the state of the movement and its trajectory, not just because they were in touch with wider sections of it but also because they were trying to give expression to a wider process of social change rather than just the narrow interests of their own campaigns. The Campaigners were more locked into their own campaigns, parties or even a partial sector of the movement, and in effect were 'sectarian' or 'sectoral', privileging their own section of the movement above the others and therefore unable to reflect or contribute to the wider process of social transformation the movement was giving expression to. The Campaigners were able to intersect with the 'moment', but unable to transcend that to be part of the whole process.

Such a distinction is important, both for this research and potentially for the wider process of anti-systemic struggle, because social movements are by definition partial features of the historical process, rather than encompassing the totality of human experience. Important insights about the social substrate on which movements develop may be lost if seen only from the prism of participants or sections, rather than a more generalised outlook. How, then, can someone theorise in a way that both takes into

account the viewpoint and needs of the historical players whose activity is shaping the future, and the wider social forces that give rise to and shape the struggles those players are involved in? In this circumstance, the **organic intellectual** concept described and theorised by Gramsci is useful.

The notion of an organic intellectual is useful as it allows us to appreciate how the development of ideas can occur, not only from within social movements and from their point of view, but also through articulating a broader vision regarding social change that is not reducible to movements or their participants. These individuals are ‘of’ a social movement, but also have horizons beyond it. They are able to fight for the broadest/largest movement possible at the same time as fighting for their own political vision within it. In Gramsci’s view, the solution to the problem, of how to theorise movement practice without either separation from the movement or reduction to its lowest common denominator, is solved through the intertwining of two processes. Firstly, the creation of a layer of activists developing theory but also remaining firmly rooted within the movement. Secondly, their agglomeration in a party in which they can discuss and debate ideas in the process of leading movement struggles. In an anti-systemic social movement like the GJM in Australia, it was not sufficient for this agglomeration to be simply the movement network itself, but necessarily involved a level of democratic organisation beyond that of a ‘party-like’ assembly.

If we understand social movements as organised expressions of societal contradiction engaged in self conscious and strategic activity, the ability of their tasks to be realised are linked to internal democratic discussion and dialogue when disagreements and challenges emerge. As discussed in Chapter 2, the activists interviewed for this research were chosen deliberately because they were ‘reflexive’ activists, involved in considering the intellectual questions of the movement and the ones that concern this research. Yet among the interviewees variegation emerged, and alongside this an acknowledgement from the Networkers that such reflexivity cannot be an individual experience and must be dialogical.

Contrary to the views of many activists and GJM theoreticians who explicitly reject ideas of party or movement organisation (Hardt and Negri 2001, 2004, 2009; Holloway 2002; Klein 2001; Sentas 2002), Gramsci sees such organisation as vital to strengthening the intellectual forces of oppositional movements and classes fighting for hegemony. This

question of the organic intellectual within counter-hegemonic movements, and the related question of organisation and spaces to debate movement activists, constitutes the next and final chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 6: Movement Networkers as organic intellectuals

The central point of the question remains the distinction between intellectuals as an organic category of every fundamental social group and intellectuals as a traditional category. From this distinction there flow a whole series of problems and possible questions for historical research. (Gramsci 1971: 15)

The work of Antonio Gramsci represents, if only superficially, the closest thing to an academically acceptable version of Marxist theory formulated in the wake of the mass working class struggles that followed the First World War. Written in a sometimes difficult and abstract style, under the watchful eye of fascist censors, his *Prison Notebooks* (1971) have been appropriated for a seemingly incommensurate range of projects. It appears that everyone from revolutionaries to Eurocommunists, and from radical pluralists to progressive educationalists, can locate a Gramsci that suits their particular needs (Davidson 2008) and in more recent years an entire school of international relations has coalesced around his ideas (R. W. Cox and Schechter 2002; Gill 1993). Despite these varied interpretations, it is difficult to ignore the unifying concern in Gramsci's theorising: to develop a sophisticated, historically informed appreciation of how social struggles and social movements develop inside advanced capitalist societies.

In this thesis Marxism, and in particular Gramsci's work, has offered a framework in which to consider how counter-hegemonic movements organise. This chapter considers a distinction that emerged between the activists interviewed (represented in the categories of Networkers and Campaigners) and how and why certain activists amongst the interviewees developed horizons beyond their location within the movement, to appreciate the overall movement dynamic as well as its ultimate trajectory and decline. Given all activists were chosen because of their reflexive approach to social movement activism, this demarcation requires further interrogation. The chapter focuses on the relevance of Gramsci's most widely known theoretical contribution of 'hegemony' and his interconnected concept of 'organic intellectuals', to establish a theoretical backdrop for these tendencies. Specifically, it argues that organic intellectuals comprise an intra-movement stratum that dynamically crystallises in a process of internal movement

differentiation. The analysis also interrogates Gramsci's notion of the 'Modern Prince' in the context of the Australian GJM, and it is argued that although the Networkers had an appreciation of the reasons for the decline of the movement they didn't have a clear agenda for overcoming the atomisation that developed. This points to Gramsci's notion of the Modern Prince as a collective intellectual, but one that can only be created through conscious effort.

Situating Gramsci

Gramsci analysed the use by the capitalist class of complex and interrelated mechanisms of consent to support coercive rule under capitalism. In analysing these mechanisms (in 'the West'), he contrasted this with the more naked use of state coercion against the Russian masses (in 'the East'), and termed this winning of consent 'hegemony' and the coercive aspect of rule 'domination'. Large sections of the *Notebooks* examine how these distinctions require the development of novel strategies to not only win the working class, but a broad coalition of all 'subaltern' groups to effect social transformation. He does this while incorporating complex insights into economic, political and ideological factors that intersect with these phenomena.

It is because Gramsci's prison writings represent such a rich, non-reductionist vein of social study that they have attracted theorists seeking to explain modern social movements. They have been posed as an alternative to the perceived limitations of both radical pluralist and orthodox Marxist explanations, in particular because Gramsci's ideas convey a deep understanding of the role of cultural processes, without abandoning the issues of economic and political power (Carroll and Ratner 1994). However, it has been argued by some that to successfully elevate Gramsci to the theorist *par excellence* of social movements characterised by cross-class alliances, with claims not reducible to traditional labour-capital conflicts, the Marxist core of his politics must be removed. As perhaps the most celebrated post-class appropriators of Gramsci's ideas, Laclau and Mouffe (2001: 3) state, their 'principal conclusion is that behind the concept of "hegemony" lies something more than a type of political relation complementary to the categories of Marxist theory. In fact, [they argue that Gramsci] introduces a logic of the social which is incompatible with those theories'. Effectively, they seek to privilege a cultural interpretation of hegemony over Gramsci's integration of the concept into a broader theory of social structure and agency.

However, it is impossible to square their argument with Gramsci's painstaking critique of reformist strategy in which he emphasises the need for counter-hegemonic movements to understand capitalism as a totality, where the divisions between economic and political aspects of society are 'merely methodological' and not organic (Gramsci 1971: 160). Even so, such efforts have been the general trajectory of social movement research (which result from a split between the economic and political) and typically argue there is an inability within Marxist approaches to account for super-structural and dynamic factors that appear at least partly, if not wholly, disconnected from economic class relations (Aronowitz 1992; Hosseini 2010). Struck by how modern social movements have often been characterised by claims over identity or universal principles, both the dominant North American (non-Marxist) and European (post-Marxist) schools have essentially accepted pluralist conceptions of social conflict and change.

In Chapters 3 and 4, an emphasis was placed on two essential properties of the GJM, which stood in sharp contrast to the dominant pattern of social movement activity in the preceding two decades. Firstly, the GJM brought together numerous campaigns and struggles that raised claims against a perceived common global corporate and financial enemy. Secondly, it went beyond any of the individual issues it fought over, by making totalising anti-systemic claims (Callinicos 2003b: 15; McNally 2006; Wallerstein 2002). In light of this, the GJM appears to be a tailor-made example of a counter-hegemonic movement in Gramscian-Marxist terms.

Gramsci's theory of social change, as set out in the *Notebooks*, represents a thoroughgoing and systematic attempt to link Marxist conceptions of historical development – and hence class struggle (Marx and Engels 1998: 34-35) – with the nature of strategic questions raised by, and within, actually existing social movements in the advanced capitalist world. At one level, he highlights the differing relative importance of the state and civil society in different countries:

In the East the State was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous; in the West, there was a proper relation between State and civil society, and when the State trembled a sturdy structure of civil society was at once revealed. The state was only an outer ditch, behind which there stood a powerful system of fortresses and earthworks: more or less numerous from one State to the next, it goes without saying—but this precisely necessitated an accurate reconnaissance of each individual country (Gramsci 1971: 238).

Gramsci argues that with such an array of defences at its disposal, involving mechanisms of coercion and consent, the capitalist class will not be defeated through simple full-frontal attack by counter-hegemonic forces. Using a military analogy, Gramsci argues that such a 'war of manoeuvre' is an exception to the normal pattern of struggle. Instead, the contending forces will be forced into what he calls a 'war of position', which is 'concentrated, difficult and requires exceptional qualities of patience and inventiveness. In politics, the siege is a reciprocal one, despite all appearances, and the mere fact that the ruler has to muster all his resources demonstrates how seriously he takes his enemy' (Gramsci 1971: 239).

Gramsci's strategy for dealing with this reality within the working class is the development of a 'Modern Prince', or a party of the working class. Gramsci sees this party as both emerging from subaltern movements and playing a 'directive'⁸³ role within them. Indeed, he foregrounds the necessary development of what he calls 'The Philosophy of Praxis' – a theoretical summing up of the lessons of the movement that can then serve as a guide to action. As Peter Thomas (2008: 101-02) has pointed out, this terminology is consciously used: Gramsci is not merely talking about a historically frozen set of Marxist principles, but a theory that can only develop in living connection with the movement. Gramsci effectively contrasts the ideas that come from close connection to the struggle with those abstractions applied from outside. The idea of the Modern Prince ties in directly with Gramsci's view that, to become hegemonic, the working class must make alliances with other groupings in whose interests it is to oppose the existing order. The key question is how to forge a 'national-popular collective will' to be rid of the ruling class, for only then can the struggle go over into a war of manoeuvre (Gramsci 1971: 129-30). Again, the Modern Prince is not born whole but is bound up with a living process of social contestation: 'it can only be an organism, a complex element of society in which the collective will, which has already been recognised and has to some extent asserted itself in action, begins to take concrete form' (ibid: 129).

Contrary to caricatures of rigid forms of party organisation, Gramsci sees the creation of the Modern Prince in terms of the coming together of partial struggles and sectional organisations:

⁸³ The Italian word Gramsci uses is '*dirigente*', which can also be taken to mean 'leading'.

... the theoretical truth that every class has a single party is demonstrated, at the decisive turning points, by the fact that various groupings, each of which had up till then presented itself as an 'independent' party, come together to form a united bloc. The multiplicity which previously existed was purely 'reformist' in character, that is to say it was concerned with partial questions. (ibid: 157)

In parallel with these organisational developments, Gramsci sees mass consciousness needing to come to a 'global' (i.e. holistic and totalising) view of the world: 'One may say that no real movement becomes aware of its global character all at once, but only gradually through experience ...' (ibid: 158). On how this affects the relation of forces in the struggle, Gramsci maps out three 'moments'. Firstly, the subaltern group comes to a basic awareness of its relationship to the material forces of production. Secondly, it sees itself as a coherent and organised social class. Finally, it sees itself in a struggle for state power (ibid: 180-85). Although clearly for individuals in the movement these developments are not usually so linear and mechanical – the development of each is contingent – the movement as a whole must pass through these stages.

While Gramsci retains Marx's concentration on the central role of the proletariat or working class as the potential self-conscious subject of social transformation, his conceptualisation remains equally valid for the study of social movements. As was argued above, a Marxist approach to social movements sees them as mediated expressions of an underlying class struggle, not a mere reflection of these more fundamental processes. The Modern Prince arises organically from the needs of the subaltern groupings to unite their partial efforts into a common anti-systemic struggle and in the process become collectively self-conscious of their potential historic role. Therefore it cannot but emerge from within these mediated spaces of contestation, rather than spring forth (as some crude accounts would suggest) from within the ranks of a clearly defined working class bloc. In other words, the Modern Prince is nothing more than a particular product of, and potential directive force in, social movement dynamics.

But Gramsci goes even further than this in defining and analysing the Modern Prince's formation and function. By turning to his distinctive and pioneering analysis of intellectuals and their place in society, he is able to draw out these developments at a level of finer granularity, examining the emergence of a certain layer of individual social movement actors who together can play a conscious and active role in directing (leading) social movements towards more global (holistic and totalising) ambitions. It is to the significance of these movement participants that we now turn.

Intellectuals: traditional and organic

Gramsci's analysis of how a 'collective will' can develop rejects the notion that collaboration between sectional subaltern groupings leads automatically to the development of a united counter-hegemonic movement represented by a single party. A trenchant critic of teleological and fatalist conceptions, who described the Philosophy of Praxis as 'absolute historicism', he introduces the conscious development of a layer of organic intellectuals as essential to a rising class winning hegemony (ibid: 342-43). He argues for the construction of certain types of organisation, and notes 'a human mass does not "distinguish" itself, does not become independent in its own right without, in its widest sense, organising itself; and there is no organisation without intellectuals, that is, without organisers and leaders' (ibid: 334). His analysis of intellectuals shows that, despite their apparent location as a separate social group, their formation and function cannot be separated from the class structure of society. For Gramsci, everyone is a philosopher; that is everyone thinks about ideas, but only some play a specific role in working with and disseminating them. Put another way, 'all men (sic) are intellectuals ... but not all men (sic) have in society the function of intellectuals' (ibid: 9). The layer of 'traditional intellectuals' includes persons of letters, philosophers, clerics or abstract thinkers, who appear at first glance to transcend the conflicts of any historical period and therefore stand above society. These layers indirectly represent the interests of the ruling elite, because they propose a trans-historical view of human activity that does not permit serious disruption of existing social relations – instead assigning eternal characteristics to what are in reality transient arrangements. As Peter Thomas puts it, 'these "traditional intellectuals" were in fact the organic intellectuals of a previously emergent and now consolidated and dominant social class, unwilling, at best, or, at worst, unable, to recognise their continuing political function' (Thomas 2008: 372).

In contrast, organic intellectuals form a very different type of social layer. Their practice consists in 'active participation in practical life, as constructor, as organiser, "permanent persuader" and not just a simple orator (but superior at the same time to the abstract mathematical spirit)' (Gramsci 1971: 10). Rather than only having specialised knowledge, organic intellectuals become directive – they have both particular comprehension and actively engage in politics. Thomas remarks:

The specificity of the organic intellectual is integrally linked to the specificity of the class project from which they emerge. There is not, that is, merely one type of 'organic intellectual'; different class projects presuppose and imply different forms of organisation, which thus require different types of organic intellectuals, whose role it is to elaborate such organisation in both ideological and practical terms. (2008: 371)

When Gramsci applies this category to his analysis of the struggle for hegemony, he argues:

One of the most important characteristics of any group that is developing towards dominance is its struggle to assimilate and to conquer 'ideologically' the traditional intellectuals, but this assimilation and conquest is made quicker and more efficacious the more the group in question succeeds in simultaneously elaborating its own organic intellectuals. (1971: 10)

While this appears to be portrayed as a spontaneous elaboration, the entire purpose of Gramsci's analysis is to make the process conscious or, indeed, self-conscious. He argues that any movement which aims to gain hegemony – to replace common sense and old conceptions of the world in general – must complete two tasks:

1. Never to tire of repeating its own arguments (though offering literary variation of form): repetition is the best didactic means for working on the popular mentality.
2. To work incessantly to raise the intellectual level of ever-growing strata of the populace, in other words, to give a personality to the amorphous mass element. This means working to produce elites of intellectuals of the new type which arise directly out of the masses, but remain in contact with them to become, as it were, the whalebone in the corset. (ibid: 340)

The Modern Prince represents the organisational product of this effort, in effect a 'collective intellectual' drawn from the movement but also taking on a directive function. Gramsci asks 'what is the character of the political party in relation to the problem of the intellectuals?' In response to his own question, he states the 'political party for some social groups is nothing other than their specific way of elaborating their own category of organic intellectuals directly in the political and philosophical field' (ibid: 15).

Organic intellectuals within movements

The issue of movement-relevant research discussed in Chapter 2 is sharpened when we consider it within the frame of Gramsci's theoretical system, as the development of mass consciousness and organisation in a challenge for hegemony is something that flows from the lived experience of the movement itself. While Bevington and Dixon (2005) want to

work around the ‘problem’ of theory development, in an escape to empiricism, Gramsci’s historical materialist approach does not seek to do this. Therefore, those academic approaches to the study of social movements that suggest apparently neutral and external points of view present researchers with a difficulty in being able to effectively describe the internal dynamics of change, precisely because they are disconnected from them. Such studies often have the effect of freezing particular moments of social movement dynamics and generalising them as apparently static realities. Movements stop moving/stop becoming and instead appear as preserved specimens under a microscope, as static anti-dialectical models. As argued in Chapter 1, understanding movements as mediated expressions of totality and adopting a dialectical methodology can provide the possibility of overcoming such difficulties.

The Gramscian insight into the connection of movement self-consciousness and direction with a layer of intellectuals, who engage in a theoretical-practical endeavour, suggests an ability to go beyond static conceptions. A similar approach can be found in the work of Carroll and Ratner (1996a, 1996b). They argue that an affinity exists between modern attempts to transcend fixed categories inherent in Resource Mobilisation Theory with analysis of cognitive framing and what they term their own ‘neo-Gramscian’ perspective. In exploring the ideological tendencies of Canadian social movement activists in the early 1990s, they found that despite the increasing weight of single-issue or identity based struggles, many activists were still driven by prominent ‘political economy’ views of injustice⁸⁴. Nevertheless, they noted that there was a significant disconnect between such general views and any conscious intention among activists to network across movements to develop a wider unity in practical terms. In other words, alliance building was to some extent hamstrung by the acceptance of more particularistic stances by many activists (Carroll and Ratner 1996a). However, by mapping cross-movement collaboration, they were able to demonstrate that those who held most strongly to political economy master frames⁸⁵ were also most likely to be involved in that movement networking process

⁸⁴ A ‘political economy’ view in terms of Carroll and Ratner’s research asserts an injustice frame, where power is ‘viewed as systemic, institutional, structural, and materially grounded’ as well as ‘concentrated, not disperse, and this concentration is fundamental to injustice’. See pp. 415-16 in William K Carroll and Robert S Ratner, ‘Master Frames and Counter-Hegemony: Political Sensibilities in Contemporary Social Movements’, *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 33/4 (1996a), 407-35.

⁸⁵ Framing concerns the process where ideas and beliefs are developed into movement concepts or dialogues, which create meaning and justification for participants and observers. Snow argues that master frames were originally envisaged as similar to ordinary frames, but which have expanded scope and influence to the extent that ‘they colour and constrain the orientation and activities of other movements within cycles of protest’. See David a Snow, ‘Framing Processes, Ideology and Discursive Fields’, in David a Snow, Sarah a Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Malden: Blackwell, 2004)..

(Carroll and Ratner 1996b). While the authors do not interrogate the role of organic intellectuals, there are compelling parallels between such individuals and the Canadian activists motivated by a totalising master frame, who also sought to build alliances that networked across struggles which were partial in character. In other words, the ability to see social struggle as part of a wider totality is closely tied with the motivation to universalise the struggle itself.

Given the GJM in Australia represented a break from social movement activity in previous years, in that it saw the development of an explicitly anti-systemic movement, it would make little sense to differentiate activists involved in cross-movement networking as a separate layer, since the GJM's existence lay precisely in its being networked across what were formerly individual campaigns. Furthermore, the movement's emergence as a response to the neoliberal project would likely make differentiation between political economy master frames and other views redundant. In effect, most organisers in the movement were anti-systemic and seeking to unite with others. It is such a reality that seems to have led Stephen Gill (Gill 2000), writing in the aftermath of Seattle, to propose that the GJM was itself a solution to Gramsci's problem of the Modern Prince. In arguing that the movement was a 'postmodern Prince', he was not adopting postmodern theoretical perspectives on social movements, instead arguing this was an organisational form for the postmodern age – meaning the age ushered in after the dissipation of 'old' social struggles, as well as the orthodox Marxist views of organisation that related to them. He notes that 'as such, the multiple and diverse forces that form the postmodern Prince combine both defensive and forward-looking strategies. Rather than engaging in deconstruction, they seek to develop a global and universal politics of radical (re)construction' (ibid: 131). He sees the movement as 'plural and differentiated, although linked to universalism', arising in the 'strategic context...of disciplinary neoliberalism and globalisation' (ibid: 137).

Yet, as Matthew D Stephen (2009) has argued, there are limitations to Gill's imposition of Gramsci's concepts on the GJM. When the post-Seattle trajectory of the movement is considered, Gill's optimistic picture of a plural space for resolving debates and taking the struggle forward doesn't stand the test of reality. Even before 9/11, there was 'growing evidence of ongoing ruptures and difficulties in negotiating differences in subjectivity' (ibid: 487). This was clearly argued by the interviewees in this project, as detailed in the previous chapter, who in the face of the Bush Administration's plan to invade Iraq sought

to switch its master-frame from a plural one of ‘global justice’ to a narrower one of ‘no war’ (ibid: 488) (not confident that such debates could be resolved or better understood via the movement as it stood).

The rapid collapse of mass protest after the Iraq invasion and the absence of a persistent peace or anti-imperialist movement thereafter speak to the inability of the once-confident GJM to continue to channel its aspirations on a global scale. The WSF project is often seen as expressing the potential for raising political consciousness and collective organisation transnationally, working as it did on an ‘open space’ model. Yet as mentioned in the previous chapter, in the post-Iraq period the WSF seemed to drift, its constitutionally-enshrined refusal to take political positions leading to significant doubts about its effectiveness, perhaps best exemplified by infighting over 2005 attempts by prominent activists to forge a *Porto Alegre Manifesto* (ibid: 489-91). In shoehorning a partial account of Gramsci’s theoretical system into his descriptions of the GJM, Gill misses that for Gramsci the purpose of the Modern Prince is to forge not just ‘unity’ but a ‘collective will’. Furthermore, the absence of any integrated consideration of the role of organic intellectuals in building unity and sustaining a collective counter-hegemonic will is a significant gap in Gill’s vision. Rather than simply celebrating unity in diversity – or ‘one no, many yeses’ (Kingsnorth 2003) – Stephen argues that this state of affairs represents only the first moment, discussed above, in the progress towards a new hegemonic force. This initial step is of the subaltern group coming to awareness of its own existence, in relation to the existing dominant group. As Stephen puts it, ‘a counter-hegemonic challenge depends not only on this moment of mutual exchange and expression of diversity, but also on a positive programme of contestation’ (Stephen 2009: 493).

Caught in moments of transition

The activists interviewed for this project argued that the trajectory of the Australian GJM saw a fragmentation of the diverse forces after 9/11, and a narrowing of the forces that cohered at s11 inspired by the example of Seattle. Yet this predicament for the Australian movement presented not just questions about why it had declined and altered so significantly – it also provided a snapshot of the transformation and differentiation that was taking place at the ‘micro’ level. The emergence of two poles of activist types in this research – of Campaigners and Networkers – suggests that the process of united struggle

was not just a passive process of acceptance of diversity, but also of the crystallisation of activists (the Networkers) who were already looking beyond such a situation.

As implied by Carroll and Ratner's identification of political economy master frames as being associated with cross-campaign collaboration, all the interviewees held such a political outlook. Yet this was not enough to explain the internal differentiation within the participant sample. Rather, there was a correlation between three factors: (1) The more clearly an activist described seeking to deal with the issues of overcoming the barriers and developing the widest possible collection of campaigns and groupings; (2) The more they were able to describe a far-reaching conception and map of the movement; and (3) The more clearly they were able to provide a nuanced and 'global' description of the trajectory of the movement and how that fit in wider social developments.

The Campaigners were at one end of this spectrum – tending to have more limited interest in negotiating across divisions, seeing the movement much more from their corner, and describing the GJM's trajectory in a more partial and in less integrated terms. The Networkers, on the other hand, tended to have been very concerned with the 'how' of building broad-based alliances and spoke of the movement very much as a (differentiated) whole and held nuanced views of movement dynamics and how they integrated with wider social developments.

It is important to note that the research indicates not two distinct 'types' but a continuum whose extremes help define its spread. This suggests that internal differentiation is not a clean break but a crystallisation. Interestingly, participants' surface-level radicalism was not correlated with these characteristics. Some who espoused a revolutionary political position were definitely Campaigners, while some apparently conservative activists were clear Networkers. These findings provide an alternative line of support to Stephen's critique of Gill and the WSF experience. Rather than the Australian GJM being in some way an updating of Gramsci's Modern Prince, it appears to be a rather more amorphous beast, in which there was a process of crystallisation of a layer of activists analogous to the organic intellectuals of the *Notebooks*. One must wonder whether such a formation is specific to, or more pronounced within, the network politics of an anti-systemic movement, as opposed to party politics or interest groups.

Such a process lies at the heart of Gramsci's theoretical project, in which there are moments of transition that can be captured and appreciated but which are part of a ceaselessly moving course of contestation – a so-called 'war of position'. That struggle is not to be conceptualised as the simple clash of two unchanging social forces, despite the basic antagonisms in operation under capitalism, but a much more complex route, whereby subaltern groupings spontaneously develop strata who can express an embryonic collective will, and consciously try to overcome the 'partial' character of the various sections of the movement.

The failure of the Australian GJM to survive the War on Terror with its size and diversity intact, despite the identification of a layer of activists who could be considered organic intellectuals, does however beg the question of the missing Modern Prince. Despite their individual efforts to hold the movement together and their relative clarity about the problems faced, when developments in wider society left the movement as a whole unable to respond effectively, they had not arrived at a point where they could (or wanted to) propose a political, party-like structure with whatever relevant form that might imply. The Networkers certainly continued to have an appreciation of where the various sections of the movement had 'gone'⁸⁶, but they didn't have a clear agenda for overcoming that atomisation. In one sense, they recognised that the primitive state of the movement in Australia before 9/11 meant that centrifugal forces threatened the break-up of tenuous alliances, but the process of crystallisation had not progressed far enough for a minority within the movement to come together to develop the collective intellectual. This parallels Gramsci's description of the limitations of the most basic moment of movement formation: lacking a party to carry out the 'active and constructive' phase of the political struggle there is the danger that collective will is left in a 'primitive and elementary phase' that can be 'scattered into an infinity of individual wills' when faced with a 'sudden confrontation' (1971: 128-29).

The inability of a dynamic anti-systemic movement to surmount these difficulties highlights the necessity and challenge to movements of how to strategise on a collective basis. Gramsci's conception of organic intellectuals – emerging from subaltern groupings

⁸⁶ Interviewees argued that of the key non/anti-institutional elements most activists had become involved primarily in the anti-war movement, the refugee solidarity movement (in particular more radical elements such as No One Is Illegal), independent media, and autonomous activists such as social centres. In regards to the institutional elements, they argued they became involved in the Workchoices campaign, Make Poverty History, and refugee solidarity (in particular more radical elements such as ChilOut).

but playing a directive (leading) role within them, having both knowledge and political skills, working among fragments but seeking to transcend the partial to develop the collective will – is a powerful theoretical elucidation to this problem. This is especially so when it draws on the imagery of a Modern Prince, able to bring together those organic intellectuals who want to work/organise within a wider movement towards a collective understanding and struggle for hegemony. In the struggles against neoliberal globalisation conducted by the Australian GJM, however, the form and character of the Modern Prince is not yet clear.

Conclusion: Learning in retreat

The challenge of modernity is to live without illusions and without becoming disillusioned.

Antonio Gramsci

The aim of this thesis has been to investigate the trajectory of the GJM in Australia and the impact of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. In particular, it has explored the question of whether the GJM in Australia collapsed in the wake of 9/11 and to what extent arguments about this being a ‘setback’ or ‘defeat’ provide an accurate assessment of the movement’s condition and circumstances.

The nature of social movements more broadly and the GJM specifically was overviewed in Chapter 1. It was argued that it is essential to view social movements as an arena of contestation and dialogical relations, with an emphasis on a dynamic internal space where the broader contradictions and tensions of society are articulated. Moreover, when movements are viewed as an expression of a wider totality and as containing within them those underlying conflicts (as an expression of a Gramscian counter-hegemony), the dynamic central to both movement agency and societal change becomes clear. This examination sat alongside a survey of historical understandings of social movements, which contended the current dominant approaches (of RMT, PPT and NSMT) were inadequate for considering the development and trajectory of the GJM. The thesis argued for the development of a new path with an emphasis on social ‘totality’, and where movements are understood as a differentiated unity and an active expression of discontent by dominated groups.

Chapter 2 overviewed the methods used in the research, and made the case for giving primary importance to the question of ‘movement-relevant research’. It argued that the widely-perceived disjuncture between activists and the academy is one that must be consciously acknowledged, and which can be addressed through a focus on the questions that confront movements and through methods that allow an ongoing dialogue with activists, to ensure relevance and usefulness of the research hypotheses and findings.

Chapter 3 explored the rise of the GJM internationally, with a focus on its trajectory in the developed world. It was argued that the movement emerged in the political space after

the collapse of the dichotomous geopolitical frame of the Cold War. The fall of the Berlin Wall saw the dominant frame of the East / West lose its relevance, and in its place a number of alternative explanatory frames regarding global capitalism emerged. It was argued these new frames highlighted questions of power and dominance, illuminating the more fundamental geopolitical relations of contemporary capitalism. Under the umbrella of ‘criticisms of neoliberalism’, the movement developed three distinct critiques: of the Washington Consensus; globalisation; and the commodification of identity. This political plurality was argued to have lasted until 9/11 and the War on Terror, when a new geopolitical binary of the so-called ‘clash of civilisations’ was introduced by global elites. The chapter explored the nature and coherence of the movement, based on relevant literature and the view of the interviewees, and it was argued that the movement is best described as anti-systemic and counter-hegemonic, motivated by a sense of the interconnection between various issues, concerns and injustices.

Chapter 4 used the contextual framework developed to assess the historical development of the GJM in Australia. The chapter argued that a series of campaigns over national issues were important in developing personal and political connections between activists and organisations that would play a key part in making the s11 blockades at the WEF successful. However s11 was also defined as a political ‘break’ in a longer trajectory of struggle around issues of justice, where a dynamic interplay between institutional and non/anti-institutional forces created a circumstance for success. s11 saw a qualitative shift in the shape and nature of the movement along three dimensions:

- The s11 protests led to movement self-awareness, a collective identity and a common project.
- There was an immediate impact on public debate as a result of the effectiveness and spectacle of the blockades, in turn giving the movement confidence.
- The movement came to view itself as one on the offence (for a better world) as opposed to defence (around particular issues or attacks from elites).

The final section of the chapter looked at how the movement progressed and flowered in the period after s11, and what debates took place within the differentiated totality of its composition.

In Chapter 5, the internal debates about the Australian GJM movement were considered alongside the impacts of the 9/11 terror attacks. In this chapter, an answer was proposed

to the question of whether the movement *collapsed* in the aftermath of the attacks. It was argued that such a position was an over-simplification, and that a combination of internal and external factors (some directly related to the attacks and others exacerbated by them but related to the brittleness of the movement) resulted in fundamental changes to the nature and shape of the movement in the wake of 9/11. It was also argued that the dynamic between the institutional and non/anti-institutional elements that led to the success of s11 in 2000 and m1 in 2001 had dissipated, and as a result the movement narrowed both quantitatively and qualitatively over time. An analysis of the GJM participants interviewed for the thesis revealed two patterns of thought and activism – those of Networkers and Campaigners. The final section of Chapter 5 argued that these two tendencies shaped activists' views about the movement and the reasons for its decline after 9/11. The views of the participants were related to what activist role they played within the movement, and it was argued that the Networkers had a more refined appreciation of the state of the movement and its trajectory, because they were both in touch with wider sections of it and were trying to give expression to a wider process of social change (rather than just the narrow interests of their own campaigns).

Chapter 6 followed on from this in exploring Gramsci's concept of the organic intellectual and its role within counter-hegemonic movements. It argued that organic intellectuals comprise an intra-movement stratum that dynamically emerges in a process of internal movement differentiation, and that within the GJM the Networkers provided a snapshot of the transformation and differentiation that was taking place at the 'micro' level. It was argued that the research indicates not two distinct 'types' in the Networkers and Campaigners but a continuum, whose extremes help define its spread, suggesting that internal differentiation is not a clean break but a crystallisation. In line with Gramsci's conceptions, there is a complex route whereby subaltern groupings develop strata, that can express an embryonic 'collective will' and consciously try to overcome the 'partial' character of the various sections of the movement. Chapter 6 also looked at the question — discussed within the academic literature — of whether the GJM is a (post-) Modern Prince, meaning whether the counter-hegemonic movement fits a (neo-) Gramscian framework of a party-like structure that can democratically cohere and direct/lead the movement in its struggle against domination. It argued that the GJM did not fit such a framework. Despite the individual efforts of Networkers in Australia to hold the movement together, and their relative clarity about the problems the GJM faced, when developments in wider society left the movement as a whole unable to respond

effectively they had not arrived at a point where they could (or wanted to) propose a party-like structure with whatever relevant form that might take. Given the inability of the GJM in Australia to surmount these difficulties, it was argued that this highlights the necessity and challenge of working out how movements can strategise on a collective basis. In light of this, the question of a Modern Prince within the movement remained unanswered.

Research contributions

This thesis extends the literature by addressing the breadth of previous studies, in part by providing a historical overview of the GJM in Australia from the perspective of activists, but in particular by analysing the impact of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the movement. A contribution to the literature has been made in the assessment of Gramsci's concept of the organic intellectual, and how such a distinction emerged at the micro level within the counter-hegemonic dynamic of the GJM in Australia. The thesis also contributed to the literature by developing a network map of the Global Justice Movement in Australia.

As noted in the literature discussion, relatively little has been written regarding the trajectory of the GJM in Australia, and even less regarding the impact of the 9/11 attacks. This thesis contributes to the literature by systematically tracing the theoretical context and historical rise and trajectory of the GJM in Australia. In most other studies, the focus was either on narrower aspects of the movement, or on particular actions, whereas this contribution looked at the broader sweep of the trajectory. In extending the work completed by Burgmann and Bramble & Minns in particular, the historical overview provided detailed analysis of the perspectives of key and leading reflexive activists in the movement. Findings in relation to the dynamic between institutional and non/anti-institutional elements provide a new way of considering the success of the s11 blockades and the path of the movement from that point. The discussion detailed new findings on the nature of s11, as a site of movement identity, coherence and confidence.

The thesis provides a detailed account of the impact of the 9/11 attacks on the longer-term trajectory of the GJM in Australia, contributing to the initial observations of Burgmann and Jen Couch. The analysis extended the established literature in relation to this complex dynamic, and was developed through close examination of the

understandings of movement activists. In assessing the impact of 9/11, the thesis developed findings related to the tendencies of movement activists, extending the literature by considering Gramsci's concept of the organic intellectual within the scope of a contemporary counter-hegemonic movement. In particular, the thesis extended the analysis of Stephen Gill and Matthew D Stephen as to whether the GJM is a (post-) Modern Prince, in regards to how organic intellectuals emerge at the micro level and its relationship to collective dialogical movement spaces (or party-like structures).

This thesis also makes a methodological contribution in employing a novel network mapping process, to better conceptualise what was at its high point a diffuse and short-lived movement. The mapping process allowed a clearer assessment of a network sample for the interviews and a conceptualisation of the movement in something approaching its whole. The choice of the Tinderbox program, in which to create the map, allowed it to exist in two dimensions – both as a map of key events, organisations and people, as well as a system of 'containers' that can hold within them data relevant to the map and thesis. This provided a system in which mapping and analysis was integrated.

Possible dimensions for further research

While there has been an examination of the key thesis questions of the trajectory of the GJM in Australia and the impact of 9/11, not every aspect of possible inquiry has been able to be pursued in the confines of this Master's thesis. The dynamic between the institutional and non/anti-institutional elements of the GJM in Australia had an enormous impact on the success of s11 and the transition of the movement from one on the defence to one on the offence. The ability of the non/anti-institutional elements to provide a break in social movement activity, while interacting with the broad memberships and long-term organising of the institutional elements, was of particular note. Further interviews with relevant activists and organisations could illuminate this dynamic more deeply, as might a comparative consideration of this dynamic (over a longer time period) within the Australian environmental movement.

The development of a map of the GJM in Australia is likely to provide further lines of inquiry regarding anti-systemic campaigning through the 1990s and early part of this century, and in fact its articulation may hopefully engender debate as to the conception of

the movement deployed in this thesis. There would also be enormous benefit in examining the GJM alongside other forms of resistance to neoliberalism in Australia in this time period, and in particular in comparison to movements organised around specific sectors, single issues or national grievances.

One particular avenue is the need to chart in detail the GJM's influence of, and direct connections with, the movements against the War on Terror, the Your Rights At Work campaign, continuing protests around refugee rights, the growth of solidarity with the Palestinian people, and the rapid electoral rise of the Australian Greens. In the case of the first four examples, the question of how 'single-issue' movements absorbed and reformulated the anti-systemic spirit of an earlier cycle of protests and ideas deserves detailed examination of movement composition, demands and trajectories. In the case of the last example, the ability of a party seeking mainstream institutional power for a progressive (and perhaps even radical) agenda speaks to the need to clarify the relations between differently mediated expressions of social conflict; between parties and movements, between intra- and extra-parliamentary campaigning, and between social change driven from above and from below. While some of these topics were touched on in the interviews, such analysis lies well beyond the scope of this study and yet is immediately suggested by the current work.

Additionally, this thesis has only made an initial intervention into how the Gramscian concept of the organic intellectual emerged in this particular movement and how it might arise and practise within anti-systemic movements today. From this thesis' point of conclusion, and in reflection of Carroll and Ratner's (1996a, 1996b) cross movement collaboration and political economy master frames, lies further research into the dynamics of counter-hegemonic movements. The related question of a strategic, party-like centre in an anti-systemic network, that is, of the Modern Prince, is also only initially examined within these pages.

In conclusion

Rather than seeing movement disintegration as failure or all 'bad', the reflexive processes of the activists interviewed for this thesis underline that movements and activists can

equally learn in retreat. As Flesher Fominaya argues in relation to the autonomous groups organising in the GJM in Madrid:

movement success or failure is often treated in the literature as an all or nothing proposition: either movements meet their objectives or they fail. These cases suggest that if our focus shifts from movement outcome to development, the relation between failure and success becomes more complex and raises the possibility that scholars should consider what seems to be an oxymoron: the possible benefits of 'failure' for social movements (2010: 400).

It is now ten years since the s11 protests and, while some activists interviewed were despondent at what they see as a lost opportunity, others look hopefully to new ruptures and openings. The interviewees often emphasised their appreciation that this research was being undertaken, underlining a feeling that their own intellectual consideration of the impact of 9/11 required a more 'collective' space. I can only hope that this shared desire, of theirs and mine, finds some clarity in this thesis.

This is in particular because the necessity of the Modern Prince remains a pressing political question in anti-systemic struggle, for many who aim to build an alternative to capitalist exploitation. It is a responsibility of great weight for many of those who claim that 'we have a world to win'.

Appendix A: Interview guide

	INTRODUCTION/WHAT IS THE MOVEMENT?
1.	When people talk about this global movement for social justice, they use different names. What do you usually refer to it as and why?
2.	Were you involved in the global movement in 2000 – 2002? What did you do? Why was that? What did you do before that? What created the movement?
3.	Who do you think makes up the movement?
4.	What do you think makes someone a member of the movement? Is there anything common to all members of the movement? You were involved in ... do you think that is an important part of the movement? Is that part more important than the (NGOs, Unions, Jubilee 2000, anti-capitalist elements, direct action activists, etc)
5.	What do you see to be the main concerns of this movement? What are members worried about, what motivates them? Are these the same things that concern you? How are you the same / different to what you think of as the general member of the movement?
6.	What do you see to be the main aims of this movement? Are these the same aims you have? Why are those aims different?
7.	Do you think this movement exists at the moment in Australia? [If not] When do you think of it starting and ending? In what form does it exist?
8.	Do you think it exists overseas? [If yes] Why do you think it exists overseas but not here?
	OTHER EVENTS
9.	What do you think were the important movement events in Australia? For example you have mentioned s11, but what else?
10.	What do you think about the CHOGM protests?
11.	Do you think there were other things that impacted on the movement? (e.g. the election of the Howard government...the Tampa election)
	THE IMPACT OF THE 9/11 ATTACKS
12.	What do you think was the impact on the movement of the events on September 11 2001 (in New York and Washington)?
13.	Why do you think there was this impact?
14.	Was there an impact on how the movement organised? Was the impact also at the level of ideas inside the movement?
15.	Did you find the attacks impacted on you [as an person/activist]?
16.	What do you think the movement should have done about the events of 9/11 and the War on Terror? Do you think the tasks for people who were leading activists in the movements changed after 9/11?
	VIOLENCE ON DEMONSTRATIONS / STATE REPRESSION
17.	Fatal shooting Carlo Giuliani, attacks on the Indymedia centre in Genoa, injuries to protestors at the Melbourne s11 demonstration ... What impact do you think these things had on the movement? Do you think the violence made people more afraid of being involved in civil disobedience or protest marches?
18.	Did it change the way you (and/or your organisation) felt about being involved in street protests? Did it impact on how you thought the movement should organise?

	THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT
19.	In the time after 9/11 there was a growing anti-war movement ... How do you believe this impacted on, or interacted with, the movement? How do you see the form of the movement and anti-war movement – are these movements made up of the same people? To what extent?
20.	Do you think the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan have impacted on how people understand the desires and actions of the US government?

	OFFICIAL ‘POLITICS’
21.	Do you think the movement has impacted on electoral or official politics in Australia? What about in other countries - the formation of electoral reformist parties in general, such as the new Left party in France and <i>Respect!</i> in the UK? Do you see these developments linked to the same dynamics that saw the growth of the ACM?

	INTELLECTUALS and IDEAS
22.	Are there movement intellectuals you find particularly compelling? Why? What about Australians? What about activists / non-activists?
23.	How do you think the movement developed its ideas? Was it done well/badly?
24.	How did the movement make decisions? How does the movement/you think things should be organised? Does the movement have leaders? What does being a ‘leader’ mean?

Appendix B: Key GJM protests and demonstrations (Global), j18 to the 4th World Social Forum

Protest Target / Event	Date	Place
j18 'Carnival Against Capitalism'	18 June 1999	London, also elsewhere
WTO	30 November 1999	WTO Ministerial Meetings in Seattle, USA
WEF	27 January 2000	Davos, Switzerland
World Bank, IMF	16 April 2000	Washington, USA
Global May Day Protests	1 May 2000	London, Berlin, elsewhere
Republican Party National Convention	29 July 2000	Philadelphia, USA
Democratic Party National Convention	11 August 2000	Los Angeles, USA
WEF	11, 12, 13 September 2000	Melbourne, Australia
World Bank, IMF	26 September 2000	Prague, Czech Republic
World Bank, IMF, UN	October 2000	Washington, USA New York, USA
G20	20 November 2000	Montreal, Quebec
EU Summit	7 December 2000	Nice, France
1 st World Social Forum	January 2001	Porto Alegre, Brazil
FTAA Second People's Summit	April 2001	Third Summit of the Americas in Québec City, Canada
Global May Day Protests	1 May 2001	London, Berlin, Sydney, elsewhere
EU Summit	15 June 2001	Gothenburg, Sweden
World Bank	25 June 2001	Barcelona, Spain
G8	20 July 2001	Genoa, Italy
World Bank, IMF / Anti War	29 September 2001	Washington DC
2 nd World Social Forum	February 2002	Porto Alegre, Brazil
WEF	1 February 2002	New York, USA
EU Summit	15 March 2002	Barcelona, Spain
Global May Day Protests	1 May 2002	Worldwide
G8	26 June 2002	Alberta, Canada
World Bank, IMF	27 September 2002	Washington, USA
1 st European Social Forum	4-10 November 2002	Florence, Italy
3 rd World Social Forum	January 2003	Porto Alegre, Brazil
Iraq War	15 February 2003	Worldwide
World Bank, IMF	April 2003	Washington, USA
Global May Day Protests	1 May 2003	
G8 Summit	29 May – 3 June 2003	Evian, Geneva and Lausanne, Switzerland
EU Summit	26 June 2003	Thessaloniki, Greece
WTO	September 2003	Cancun, Mexico
2 nd European Social Forum	November 2003	Paris, France
FTAA	November 2003	Miami, USA
4 th World Social Forum	January 2004	Bombay, India

* Information for this appendix was obtained from numerous sources including activist publications and websites, and academic literature.

Appendix C: Key GJM protests and demonstrations (Australia), j18 to Stop APEC

Protest Target / Event	Date	Place	Size
j18	18 June 1999	Sydney	500 ⁸⁷
s11	11-13 September 2000	Melbourne CBD	15-20 thousand
m1 2001	1 May 2001	Melbourne CBD Sydney CBD Brisbane CBD Perth CBD Adelaide CBD Canberra CBD Hobart CBD	3000 (+7000 at union rally) 5000 1500 500 400 300 300
CHOGM (anti war protest)	6 October 2001	Brisbane CBD	2,500 ⁸⁸
Woomera Detention Centre	29 March 2002	Woomera, SA	1000 ⁸⁹
m1 2002	1 May 2002	Melbourne CBD Sydney CBD Brisbane CBD Perth CBD Adelaide CBD Canberra CBD Hobart CBD	500 (+6000 at union rally) 1000 ⁹⁰ / 1200 400 700 100 150 70
WTO	November 2002	Sydney CBD rally Homebush protest	1000 500 ⁹¹
Forbes	30 August 2005	Sydney CBD	1000 ⁹²
G20	November 2006	Melbourne CBD	2000 ⁹³
APEC	8 September 2007	Sydney CBD	5000 ⁹⁴

* The information on protest size in this appendix was obtained from the sources as referenced in the footnotes. All figures for m1 2001 and m1 2002 that are not footnoted are from the independent newspaper *Green Left Weekly*, Issue 447 (2001 figures) and Issue 491 (2002).

⁸⁷ See James Goodman, 'Provoking 'Globalist Sydney': Neoliberal Summits and Spatial Reappropriation', *Globalizations*, 7/8 (2010), 347 - 57.

⁸⁸ See James Conachy, 'Anti-War Protests in Australian Cities', *World Socialist Web Site*, 20 October 2001.

⁸⁹ See Eds Notes from Nowhere (ed.), *We Are Everywhere: The Irresistible Rise of Anti-Capitalism* (London: Verso, 2003).

⁹⁰ See Goodman 2010, *ibid.*

⁹¹ See Goodman 2010, *op cit.*

⁹² See Goodman 2010, *op cit.*

⁹³ See Anonymous, 'G20 Protest Turns Violent', *ABC News Online*, November 18 2006.

⁹⁴ See Goodman 2010, *op cit.* Note that this protest was not explicitly a GJM mobilisation, and in some ways developed from the anti-war movement.

Enclosure A: Movement map

Enclosed is a full copy of the 'map' of the GJM in Australia 1999-2002, created for the purposes of this research and detailed in Chapter 2.

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