

*You want to track each trickle back to its source,
And then scream at the faucet 'till your face is hoarse,
'Cos you're surrounded by a world's worth of things
you just can't excuse.*

Ani DiFranco, 'Your Next Bold Move'

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a great debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Mike Kenny, for balancing intellectually stimulating advice and rigorous attention to detail with freedom for independent development. Dr Graham Harrison also regularly provided insightful comments on drafts of this work. Thank you.

This research was only possible because a large number of activists, campaigners and assorted politicians willingly included me among their number. We lived through interesting times. Our experiences were by turns depressing, fraught and exciting. I am inspired by their passion, grateful for their openness and hopeful because of the noble motives and thoughtful actions of dedicated people. I am lucky to count many as friends and allies.

The unquestioning support of family and friends have been extremely important to me over the last few years. Many friends developed an uncanny knack of providing just what I needed, before I knew I did. I will only list a few. Gary offered inspiration for this PhD and Sue showed that it was possible. Tom was supportive in any number of ways, not least in offering useful comments on some of the most difficult drafts. Carissa frequently pointed me in the right direction and lent a number of good books to my study. James and Dan have both been subject to many lengthy rants, responding in kind and with enthusiasm. Rose I cannot possibly thank enough, for love, kindness and much else. To all of you, and those I haven't named, my love and thanks.

SUMMARY CONTENTS

Detailed Contents	2
Abbreviations	6
<i>Introduction</i>	8
Part I – Understanding the ‘Movement of Movements’	
1. <i>Understanding Social Movements: Towards a Theory of Interpretative Frames.</i>	16
2. <i>Identifying the Research Subject: The ‘Movement of Movements’ as Cycle of Contention.</i>	58
Part II – Three Frames in the Contemporary Cycle	
3. <i>Inside the Guiding Star: The Revolutionary Socialist Frame</i>	92
4. <i>Anarchy and Ecology Confront Authority: The Direct Action Frame</i>	121
5. <i>In Search of a Just Political Economy: The Radical Liberal Frame</i>	155
6. <i>Conflict and Convergence Between the Three Frames</i>	191
Part III – Two Instantiations: Sheffield Reflections of Global Movements	
7. <i>A Given Unity: The Anti-War Movement, 2001-2003</i>	214
8. <i>The Challenge of Diversity: The Social Forum Movement, 2002-2004</i>	249
9. <i>Conclusions</i>	290
Methodological Appendices	299
Bibliography	312

DETAILED CONTENTS

Abbreviations	6
Introduction	8
Plan of Work	13
 Part I – Understanding the ‘Movement of Movements’	
1. <i>Understanding Social Movements: Towards a Theory of Interpretative Frames.</i>	
1. Introduction	16
2. The Role of Ideas in Social Movements	17
Social Movements as Collective Behaviour	17
‘Supply Side’ Explanations	19
Interpreting Social Movements – A Preview	23
3. Identifying the Frame	26
Strategic Framing	26
The Social-Psychological Foundation of Interpretative Frames	31
4. Centring the Idea: A Definition of the Orientational Frame	34
Finding the Level	36
Frames Over Framing	39
Frames and Ideologies	40
5. An Ethnographic Methodology for Frame Analysis	49
Tracing the Hermeneutic Circle	49
The Benefits of Ethnography for Hermeneutics	53
6. Conclusions	56
2. <i>Identifying the Research Subject: The ‘Movement of Movements’ as Cycle of Contention.</i>	
1. Introduction	58
2. Old and New Social Movements	59
New Social Movements and the Post-X Society	59
Collective Identity and Collective Action	65
The Meluccian Challenge and the Cycle of Contention	67
3. What is the Alternative Globalisation Movement?	70
The Public Face of Alternative Globalisation	72
The Globalisation of Protest?	75
The Politics of Names and Dates	78
4. The Movement of Movements as Cycle of Contention	82
The Anti-War Movement	84

The Social Forum Movement	86
5. Conclusions	88

Part II – Three Frames in the Contemporary Cycle

3. <i>Inside the Guiding Star: The Revolutionary Socialist Frame</i>	
1. Introduction	92
2. The Long View: A Brief History of Trotskyism in Britain	93
Socialist Internationalism	94
Similarity and Difference	94
The Growth of UK Organisations	97
Trotskyism and the New Social Movements	101
3. The Revolutionary Socialist Frame: Class Struggle Under Advanced Capitalist Hegemony	104
The Marxist Base	104
Prospects for Revolution	109
Organising Revolution: The Variable Role of Democracy	113
4. Conclusions	119
4. <i>Anarchy and Ecology Confront Authority: The Direct Action Frame</i>	
1. Introduction	121
2. The Long View: Anarchy, Peace and Ecology	122
Direct Action and Anarchist Thought	122
Direct Action and Nuclear Disarmament	125
Environmental Direct Action	128
3. The Direct Action Frame: Process and Practice	135
Engaging Opposition	136
Multiple Targets and General Critiques	139
Organising Action and Space	143
Freedom, Consensus and Democracy	148
4. Conclusions	152
5. <i>In Search of a Just Political Economy: The Radical Liberal Frame</i>	
1. Introduction	155
2. The Long View: Approaches to Peace, Environment and Development	156
Lobbying for Peace	157
Politicizing Development	160
Professionalizing Environmentalism	164
Summary	169
3. The Radical Liberal Frame	171
The Critique of Neoliberal ‘Dogma’	171

Towards an Alternative Political Economy	177
Two Democracies	185
4. Conclusions	189
6. <i>Conflict and Convergence Between the Three Frames</i>	
1. Introduction	191
2. The United Front and its Discontents	192
Rituals and Tactics	192
The View from Outside	197
3. Appropriations and ‘Misapplications’ of Direct Action	199
Contagious Direct Action?	199
The View from Outside	201
4. Liberal Ambiguities: The Radical and the Mass	205
Radical Liberalism and Social Change	205
The View from Outside	209
5. Conclusions	211
Part III – Two Instantiations: Sheffield Reflections of Global Movements	
7. <i>A Given Unity: The UK Anti-War Movement, 2001-2003</i>	
1. Introduction	214
2. A Short History of the UK Anti-War Movement	215
From Afghanistan to Iraq	215
Towards 15th February and Day-X	218
Understanding the Anti-War Movement	223
3. Exploring Unity in the Anti-War Movement	224
Fundamentals	224
Three Frames Compared	226
Reinforcing Unity	232
4. Difficulties in Diversity: Direct Action versus ‘The Movement’	235
The Call to Direct Action	236
Identifying (with) ‘The Movement’	242
5. Conclusions	247
8. <i>The Challenge of Diversity: The Social Forum Movement, 2001-2005</i>	
1. Introduction	249
2. Global Inspiration: The Beginnings of the Social Forum Movement	250
Finding the Open Space	251
From the Global to the Local	254
3. Local Action: Towards a Sheffield Social Forum	258

First Impressions: Divisions and Commonalties	258
Setting Boundaries: SSF and SWP	261
What is the Sheffield Social Forum?	264
SSF Projects: Diversity in Action	268
4. From the Local to the Global	271
Connecting the UK Social Forums	272
ESF III: Horizontal versus Vertical	276
‘Another ESF is Possible’	279
Towards a New Orientational Frame?	284
5. Conclusions	288
9. Conclusions	
Political Economy, Change and Democracy	291
Ideational Shift in the Movement of Movements	294
Methodological Appendices	
1. Ethnography and Hermeneutics	299
Data Collection	300
Managing Research Relationships	303
Data Analysis	305
2. Example of Data Record from Field Notes	307
3. Outline of Primary Data Sources	309
Documentary Sources	309
Email Discussion Lists	309
Interviewees and Significant Contacts	310
Bibliography	
1. Primary Documents	312
2. Secondary Texts	319

ABBREVIATIONS

AWPN	Another World is Possible! Network, Hungary
BNP	British National Party
CAFOD	Catholic Fund for Overseas Development
CJA	Criminal Justice Act
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CPGB	Communist Party of Great Britain
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
DA	Direct Action (orientational frame)
DAAWN	Direct Action Against War Now
DAC	Direct Action Committee
EF!	Earth First! UK
END	European Nuclear Disarmament
ESF I	European Social Forum, Florence, Italy, November 2002.
ESF II	European Social Forum, Paris, France, November 2003.
ESF III	European Social Forum, held in London, England, November 2004.
EZLN	Zapatista National Liberation Army
FoE	Friends of the Earth, UK
GLA	Greater London Authority
IFI	International Financial Institution
IMC	Independent Media Collective
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IS	International Socialism (formally SRG)
ISO	International Socialist Organisation (USA section of the IST)
IST	International Socialist Tendency
FI	Fourth International
LFI	League for the Fifth International
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investment
MST	Brazilian Landless Workers' Movement
NCANWT	National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PGA	People's Global Action
PP	Political Process (approach to social movement theory)
PSC	Palestinian Solidarity Campaign (Sheffield)
RCP	Revolutionary Communist Party (merger of WIL and RSL)
RL	Radical Liberal (orientational frame)
RMT	Resource Mobilisation Theory
RS	Revolutionary Socialist (orientational frame)
RSL	Revolutionary Socialist League
RTS	Reclaim the Streets
SA	Socialist Action
SAW	Sheffield Against War (also known as Sheffield Stop the War Coalition)
SMO	Social Movement Organisation

SRG	Socialist Review Group (formally a faction within RCP)
SSF	Sheffield Social Forum
StWC	Stop the War Coalition UK
SUStWC	Sheffield University Stop the War Coalition
SWP	Socialist Workers' Party (formally IS; British section of IST)
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (1992 Earth Summit)
USFI	United Secretariat of the Fourth International
WDM	World Development Movement
WEF	World Economic Forum
WIL	Workers' International League
WP	Workers' Power (formally a faction within IS; UK section of LFI)
WRP	Workers' Revolutionary Party
WSF I	World Social Forum, Porto Alegre, Brazil, January 2001.
WSF II	World Social Forum, Porto Alegre, Brazil, January 2002.
WSF III	World Social Forum, Porto Alegre, Brazil, January 2003.
WSF IV	World Social Forum, Mumbai, India, January 2004.
WSF V	World Social Forum, Porto Alegre, Brazil, January 2005.
WTO	World Trade Organisation