Climate Change and Global Justice:
Patterns of participation in the Stop Climate Chaos and Make Poverty History marches

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Abstract

There is abundant evidence of increasing public concern about climate change, but so far relatively little participation in demonstrations on the issue, certainly by comparison with the global justice and anti-war demonstrations of recent years. In order better to understand who does demonstrate against climate change, in November 2006 we surveyed 674 participants (and interviewed 256) in the I Count / Stop Climate Chaos march and rally in London. We then compared the results with those of a similar survey we administered to 563 participants in the July 2005 Make Poverty History march in Edinburgh (where we also interviewed 493). We discuss the similarities and differences between the patterns of participation, the overlap between participants in the global justice and climate change demonstrations, and the network links among the organisations and social movement sectors involved in each.

Introduction

One of the most remarkable protest mobilisations in this decade of remarkable protests in Britain was Make Poverty History (MPH) which culminated on 2 July 2005, the Saturday preceding the G8 summit meeting at nearby Gleneagles, when some 225,000 people marched through the streets of Edinburgh in the largest demonstration the Scottish capital had ever seen.

The MPH march was the culmination of months of effort stimulated by the belief that, with the UK hosting the G8 summit (at which poverty in Africa was a key theme) and holding the EU Presidency, 2005 provided an unprecedented opportunity to address trade, aid and debt issues. The participants, in a wholly peaceful demonstration that appeared to be more a procession of witness than a protest, came from all parts of the British Isles, more than half of them from beyond Scotland. During the following week, as the G8 leaders assembled and deliberated, numerous protests were staged in Edinburgh, in the immediate vicinity of the conference site, and at other locations in southern Scotland. These latter protests were coordinated by activists who, in contrast to the organizers of the MPH march, declined to negotiate routes and protocols with the police. The resulting uncertainty provoked the biggest policing operation in Scottish history as police, drawn from forces from all parts of the UK and often in full riot gear, massed to protect property and confront protesters. Yet these latter protests involved in aggregate probably no more than 5,000 participants (Rootes and Saunders 2007).

Our interest in MPH stemmed from the fact that it promised to be the largest and most all-embracing mobilization of the global justice movement (GJM) in Britain. And so it proved, even though, on the day, it was overshadowed by the wall-to-wall media coverage of the contemporaneous Live8 concert in London. As we shall see, MPH drew together supporters of a vast range of national and local organizations, and, in apparent testimony to the character of the GJM as a 'movement of movements', environmental movement organizations were prominent among them. As climate change loomed increasingly large on the global justice agenda, on 1 September 2005 an array of environmental and aid, trade and development organizations announced the formation of a new umbrella campaign organization, Stop Climate Chaos (SCC). On 4 November 2006, as the culmination of a long publicity and letter-writing campaign, SCC organized a march from the US embassy in London to a rally in

Trafalgar Square, an event that attracted some 30,000 people and has been hailed as the largest environmental movement demonstration in Britain.

Having interviewed and surveyed the participants in the MPH march (see below), we were intrigued to investigate the extent of overlap between the demographics, political affiliations and behaviour, and attitudes toward democracy of the participants in each, and so we undertook a comparable survey of and interviews with the participants in the SCC march and rally.

The Make Poverty History march: interviews and survey

MPH attracted activists from an unprecedentedly broad range of ideological persuasions and movement sectors (including, as well as aid, trade and development, peace, the environment, and women's rights). The MPH coalition with its three core demands – 'trade justice', 'more and better aid' and 'drop the debt' – consisted of over 500 groups and organizations including the Jubilee Debt Campaign and a host of other charities, campaigns, trade unions, faith groups and local organizations. Although some direct action groups regarded MPH as impossibly reformist and concentrated their efforts on organizing protests closer to the site of the G8 meeting at Gleneagles, they did not entirely dismiss MPH, and individual activists were not discouraged from marching. Moreover, Globalise Resistance actively encouraged supporters to participate in the MPH march and laid on transport to enable them to do so. Thus, although a single event can only offer a snapshot of (part of) a movement on a particular day, none to date has promised to attract a larger number of participants or as broad a cross-section of the GJM than the MPH march and rally in Edinburgh.

Because the G8 meeting was the focus for mobilization of all strands of the GJM in Britain, it provided a unique opportunity to assess the relative strengths of its various components. In the event, there was a massive disparity between the size of the MPH mobilisation and the modest number of participants in the various direct action protests during the following week. The tactically moderate supporters of MPH, a campaign coalition of an extraordinarily diverse range of humanitarian, aid, trade, development and environmental organisations, churches, trade unions and political parties, appeared by mid-2005 overwhelmingly to outnumber the supporters and practitioners of more confrontational forms of collective action.

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

As with the British surveys of participants in the 2003 anti-war demonstrations (Rüdig 2006), by comparison with those we interviewed the respondents to our survey were somewhat more likely to be female (though this difference was barely statistically significant), older (41% over 50, compared with 29% of interviewees), and (probably as a consequence) more highly educated (31% with higher degrees compared with 21% of interviewees). They were also more likely to have voted at the 2005 general election (86% as compared with 76% of those interviewed), but although they did not differ significantly in their party political allegiances, survey respondents were less dissatisfied with democracy in Britain than were those we interviewed (13% very dissatisfied compared with 21%). Although interviewees and survey respondents did not differ much in respect of the frequency with which they had in the past participated in demonstrations, survey respondents were much less likely to have participated in direct action (including illegal demonstrations, blockades and occupations of buildings): 84% had never participated and only 2% had participated more than five times, compared with 75% and 10% respectively among those we interviewed. Furthermore, whereas 37% of interviewees professed an intention to participate in other protest events associated with the G8, only 23% of survey respondents intended to (or had done so). They also differed in the extent to which they considered themselves to be part of the GJM; 76% of those interviewed considered themselves part of the GJM compared with just 60% of survey respondents. Survey respondents were also much more likely to identify closely with a religious group (30% compared with 11%).

In summary, those who returned our questionnaire were, by comparison with those interviewed, somewhat more female, older, more highly educated, more religious, less

dissatisfied with British democracy, more likely to have voted, less likely to consider themselves part of the GJM, and less likely to have much experience of, or disposition to engage in, direct action.

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

The Stop Climate Chaos march and rally: interviews and survey

Like MPH, SCC is a coalition rather than a movement. Against the backdrop of the IPCC's Third Assessment Report (TAR) on climate change, which drew attention to the disproportionate effects of climate change upon the developing world (IPPC 2001), the Working Group on Climate Change and Development (WGCCD) emerged. WGCCD, established in October 2004, represents an 'unprecedented coming together of [sixteen] leading environment and development organisations with decades of experience working with poor communities across the world'[1] (International Institute for Environment and Development [IIED] 2004:2). R.K Pachauri, chairman of the IPPC wrote the foreword of their

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[1] The Working Group on Climate Change and Development consists of Action Aid, Christian Aid, Oxfam, Tearfund, NEF, Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, RSPB, WWF, Intermediate Technology Group, People and Planet, IDS, Columbian Faith and Justice, Operation Noah, Teri Europe and Water Aid.

first report on the environmental and developmental implications of climate change, and commented that:

> It is encouraging that organisations involved in development activities are taking a comprehensive view of climate change and its relationship with development strategies.

The report notes that poverty and climate change are 'inextricably linked' and that there is no 'either / or' approach possible (IIED 2004:2). The report also frames the issue of climate justice, stating that rich countries had far exceeded their per capita share of fossil fuels and that:

> Poor people and poor countries are least responsible for climate change, and yet, due to their vulnerability, are affected most by the consequences. Rich countries have an obligation to take a lead in climate change mitigation and adaptation, and to bear an equitable burden of the associated costs. (IIED 2004:3)

The report goes on to discuss the severe impact that climate change is already having in developing countries. 'Natural' disasters affect increasing numbers of people in poor countries[2], especially those dependent on rain-fed agriculture, which includes most of sub-Saharan Africa. Even a moderate prediction of future climate change suggests that by 2025 approximately six billion people (equivalent to the number of people currently alive on the planet!) will suffer significant water stress (p.13-14). It is not, however, all doom and gloom. The report also details successful adaptation strategies that members of the WGCCD have been promoting: micro-energy projects, post disaster economy plans, seed banks, water management strategies and storm and flood protection and warning schemes, to name a few. Disaster relief and adaptation strategies cost money, and the report stresses the importance of rich nations making equitable financial contributions so as not to jeopardise development efforts to date. The Group supports the Climate Impact Relief Fund proposed by Benito Muller of Oxford Institute for Energy Studies – for rich countries to make insurance funds available before climate disasters occur.

In September 2005, almost a year after the WGCCD's first report, the Stop Climate Chaos coalition (SCC) was launched. Initially calling itself the Climate Change Movement, its mass public campaign, I-Count, began in October 2006. Drawing on the IPPC's TAR and the WGCCD report, the coalition calls upon the UK government to take 'urgent and effective' action domestically and internationally to prevent the earth's atmosphere from warming by

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[2] The report quotes figures from Christian Aid claiming that 740 million were affected by disasters in the 1970s, compared to 2 billion in the 1990s, mostly in poor countries (IIED 2004:5).

more than two degrees Celsius, and to pressure for global reductions of greenhouse gas emissions in the region of 60-80%. This, it argues, involves the government setting emission reduction targets of 3% per annum, and actively advocating such targets in international policy arenas. The coalition insists that the UK government should help developing countries and biodiversity to adapt to climate change. In short, the three main strands of its demands are 'driving forward the international negotiation process', setting a UK carbon budget, and enabling the poorest countries and biodiversity to adapt (SCC 2006).

The SCC coalition consisted, in August 2007, of 59 organisations ranging from local carbon reduction groups to wildlife groups and multi-issue environmental organisations to aid, trade and development groups (the composition of the network will be discussed more thoroughly later in the paper). This coalition is significant because, whilst there have been several previous examples of coalitions in which environmental organisations have embraced aid, trade and development issues (most prominently: Jubilee 2000, the Trade Justice Movement, Make Poverty History), SCC is the first instance of aid, trade and development organisations (ATDOs) joining a broad coalition around a specific environmental issue (Rootes and Saunders, 2007).

We employed a similar combination of face-to-face interviews and mail-back questionnaires in our investigation of the Stop Climate Chaos (SCC) march and rally to those we had used in our exploration of MPH. Once again, very few of those approached declined to be interviewed, and we achieved 256 completed interviews with an effective response rate of approximately 97%. During the march, we distributed 1,883 questionnaires, of which 674 were returned completed, a response rate of 35.8%. However, compared with MPH, the discrepancies between the characteristics of the interview and survey samples were markedly greater.

Young people aged under 30, who comprised 55% of those we interviewed, comprised only 20% of those who completed questionnaires; conversely, those aged 50 and over, just 15% of the interviewees, comprised 41% of survey respondents. Perhaps as a result, whereas 20% of those interviewed had a higher degree, this was true of 35% of survey respondents. Survey respondents were less likely than interviewees to consider themselves members of the global justice movement (69% compared with 77%) and were markedly more likely to identify closely with a religious group (10% compared with 1%). Although survey respondents had

rather more prior experience of marches or rallies (only 12% had never previously participated, compared with 20% of interviewees), they were somewhat less likely to have participated in direct action more than five times (8% compared with 12%). In terms of their party political preference and their levels of satisfaction with democracy, there were no significant differences between interviewees and those surveyed, but whereas 81% of those surveyed claimed to have voted in the 2005 general election, only 54% of interviewees did so.

Thus in SCC, as in MPH, the principal differences between interviewees and those surveyed were the under-representation among survey respondents of the young, the less highly educated, those most experienced in direct action, and those who identified themselves as members of the GJM, and the over-representation among them of voters and the religious. Survey respondents were also somewhat more likely to be women than were interviewees, among whom women only very slightly outnumbered men.

The most striking difference between the two surveys was that the under-representation of the young was much greater among those surveyed in SCC than in MPH. Explaining this latter difference is necessarily speculative, but the relative scale and character of the two events may be a factor. MPH was very much larger than SCC and it drew participants from a great diversity of places, whereas SCC took place in London and appears to have drawn most of its participants from London and the south-east of England. In London at least, neither protest nor attempts to survey protesters are novel, and so it may be that cynicism about and resistance to co-operating with surveys may be greater among young people in London. The lower overall response rate to the MPH survey is perhaps explained by the content of the questionnaire, which focused upon issues and relationships among organizations, including radical organizations, that the rather less politicized moderates who made up the bulk of MPH marchers may have found alien. SCC, simply because it was so much smaller, may have included a higher proportion of the highly committed and politicized core members of the groups and movements from which its participants were drawn. We speculate, then, that SCC, because of its relatively more selective character, reveals especially starkly a generational divide among the politically committed in respect of their willingness to respond to surveys, but it is also possible that the discrepancy is an artefact of our methods. Whereas the questionnaires were distributed in the course of the march, the interviews were conducted once the march had reached Trafalgar Square, where the rally was entertained by bands and harangued by celebrity speakers. It is possible that it was disproportionately younger people

who stayed for the rally, and, indeed, that some of those who were drawn to the rally had not participated in the march.

We have begun elsewhere (Rootes and Saunders 2007a) to analyse the interview data, but here we focus upon the richer data derived from the surveys.

MPH and SCC compared

1. Shared concerns

To ascertain the extent to which SCC march participants shared concerns, we asked them to list, in their own words, what they thought should be the priorities of the GJM. The issues raised by respondents were coded if they were mentioned by at least five respondents (Table 1).

Table 1.
Key issues as mentioned as priorities of the GJM

Coded from an open response to the question 'What should be the priorities of the global justice movement?'

	MPH 2005		SCC 2006	
Issue	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Trade/aid/development	328	84.3	243	63.1
Human rights	60	15.4	14	3.6
Peace	51	13.1	64	16.6
Democracy	45	11.6	30	7.8
Health	37	9.5	22	5.7
Corruption	36	9.3	8	2.1
Environment	34	8.0	122	31.8
Climate	25	6.4	210	54.5
Workers rights	20	5.1	14	3.6
Race / immigrants	19	4.9	5	1.3
Total (n)	389	100%	385	100%

In the MPH survey, 412 march participants answered this question, and 376 mentioned at least one of the issues in Table 1. In the SCC survey, 497 respondents answered this question,

384 mentioning at least one of the issues in Table 1. In both cases, the percentages include only those who both responded to the question and mentioned at least one issue.

Although the SCC mobilization was specifically focused upon climate change, it is noteworthy that the majority of participants more frequently mentioned aid/trade/development issues as a priority of the GJM (61.3%) than climate change (54.5%) and environmental concerns more generally (31.8%). Perhaps the term GJM conjures up issues of social justice, but it is surprising that climate change was not the top issue given focus of the demonstration and the 'climate justice' theme that SCC has adopted (Saunders 2007). Less surprisingly, more SCC than MPH participants were concerned with climate change and the environment, and human rights and corruption were much less frequently mentioned by SCC participants (Table 1).

Table 2.
Coincidence of key issues as priorities of the GJM among SCC participants

	Aid/Trade	Climate	Environment	Peace	Human rights	Democracy	Health	Workers' rights	Corruption	Asylum
Aid / Trade	**243**	130	73	47	44	17	20	9	5	4
Climate	130	**210**	33	38	25	7	33	3	3	3
Environment	73	33	**122**	25	26	6	4	3	3	3
Peace	47	38	25	**70**	20	11	4	1	3	1
Human rights	44	25	26	20	**64**	7	7	3	3	3
Democracy	17	7	6	11	7	**30**	3	0	2	0
Health	20	33	4	4	7	3	**22**	0	1	0
Workers' rights	9	3	3	1	3	0	0	**14**	1	1
Corruption	5	3	3	3	3	2	1	1	**8**	0
Race	4	3	3	1	3	0	0	1	0	**5**

Of the 243 SCC participants mentioning aid/trade as an issue, 130 also mentioned climate change, 73 the environment, 46 peace, 44 human rights, 17 democracy, 20 health, 9 worker's rights, 5 corruption and 4 racial issues (including immigrants rights) (Table 2). Unlike the

network of overlapping issues for MPH, the resultant network from the SCC data is much less dense (Figure 1). The network diagram in Figure 1, which has been configured to show the network actors in social space using the Fructerman Reingold algorithm, aid/trade/development, climate change, environment, peace and human rights are the key issues that broker the networks of shared concern. Workers' rights, corruption, democracy and health are much more marginal issues that were less frequently mentioned in tandem with the key issues by our survey respondents. There is a clear tendency for some respondents to mention either workers' rights and race along with some of the key issues, or to mention democracy, corruption and health in tandem with key issues. But these two groups of issues (workers' rights and race on the one hand, and democracy, corruption and health on the other) tend not to mix.

Figure 1.
**Network of issues among SCC marchers**
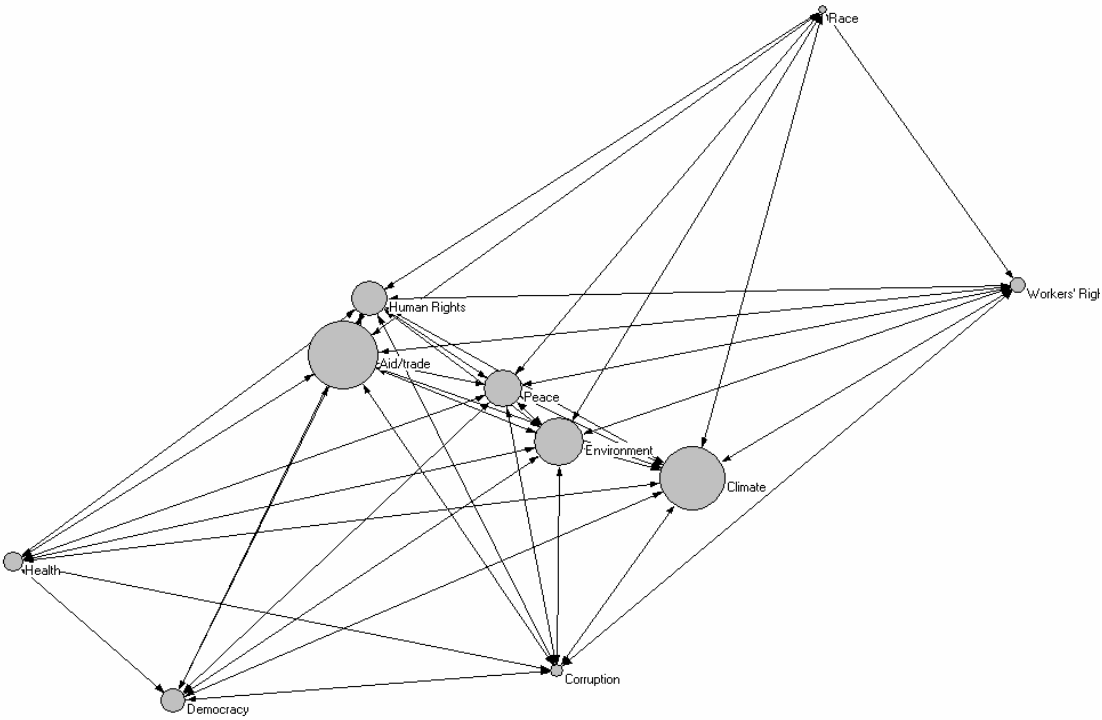
In order to see the most significant relationships between types of issues, a Phi measure of association was calculated. In the MPH data, we used the cut off point of Phi >0.4. However, using this measure of association on the SCC issue profiles yielded no linkages. Only once the threshold was dropped to 0.1 could we begin to see (very weak, but significant) relationships

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between issues. This shows that there is no strong tendency for any pair of issues to be mentioned in tandem (Figure 4).

Bearing in mind that the measure of association is very weak, we can see that human rights issues appear to be the brokerage issue – the type of issue that seems to be most frequently mentioned in tandem with other issues. The 'tolerant' and 'flexible' identities (della Porta 2005:186) apparently revealed by our analysis of the MPH data are considerably less obvious in the SCC data.

Figure 4.
Network of issues among SCC marchers, Phi >0.1
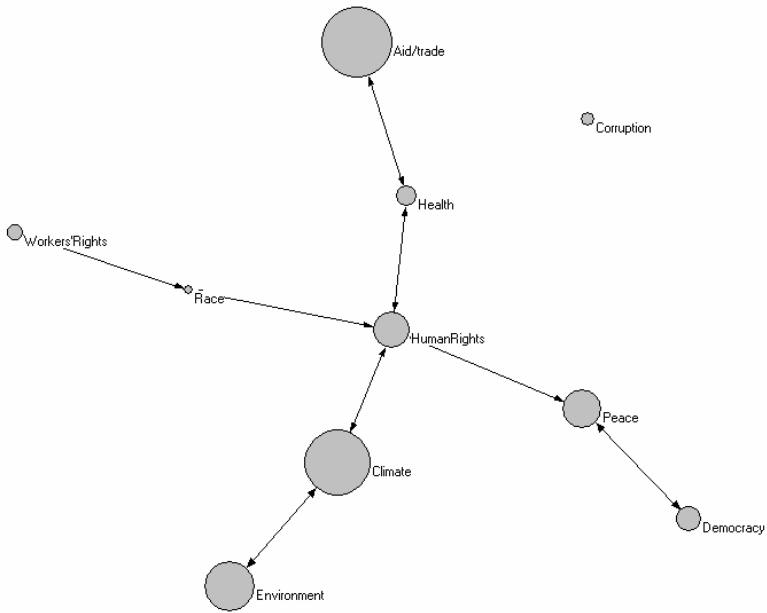
Collective action

SCC respondents appear to have been more versed in social movement activity – in both more 'conventional' strategies such as marches and rallies, and in direct action. Whereas three-quarters of MPH marchers had participated in marches or rallies before, almost 90% of SCC participants had done so. Under one-fifth of MPH participants had engaged in direct action, compared to just over one-third of SCC participants, the relatively high proportion among the latter probably being explained by the fact that the SCC rally took part in London and,

because it was very much smaller, probably included a higher proportion of more committed and veteran activists.

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

GJM Event	MPH 2005		SCC 2006	
	Frequency	Percentage		
Marches or rallies (generally)	417	75.0	589	87.8
Direct action (generally)	90	16.1	224	33.4
Anti-war march	264	47.5	455	67.8
Trade union march	116	20.8	142	21.2
Trade justice march	107	19.5	178	26.5
(Previous) MPH march	73	13.1	240	35.8
	9	1.6	34	5.4
Direct action protest on May Day				
Direct action against G7/8	6	1.1	39	5.8
Direct action against World Bank	5	0.9	17	2.5
Direct action against WTO / IMF	5	0.9	18	2.7
Precarious workers direct action	4	0.7	3	0.4
Direct action at DSEI[i] protest	4	0.7	20	3.0
'No borders' direct action or camp	2	0.4	7	1.0
Direct action at Climate Camp	Not asked		7	1.0

The fact that the SCC march took place in London might at least partially account for the larger numbers of SCC participants who had participated in an anti-war demonstration, since it is London is where most large anti-war demonstrations have taken place. Aside from this, and from SCC participants' greater tendency to have engaged in direct action, the types and frequencies of attendance at GJM events are very similar. It is striking that over one-third of SCC respondents (36%) claimed to have attended a MPH demonstration, very possibly the Edinburgh MPH demonstration given that other MPH mobilizations have been small, local and poorly publicised.

Table 4.
Coincidence of events attended by SCC participants

	SCC	War	Climate march	Env't march	MPH	TJM	Trade union march	Env't direct action	G8	May Day	DSEI	WTO	World Bank	Climate Camp	Borders	Precarious Workers
SCC	671	455	313	250	240	178	142	129	39	34	20	18	17	7	7	3
War	455	455	273	202	191	149	116	119	36	33	19	18	16	7	6	2

	SCC	War	Climate march	Env't march	MPH	TJM	Trade union march	Env't direct action	G8	May Day	DSEI	WTO	World Bank	Climate Camp	Borders	Precarious Workers
Climate march	313	273	**313**	160	168	134	91	95	35	29	18	16	15	5	4	1
Environmental march	250	202	160	**250**	109	88	67	103	27	27	14	14	12	4	5	0
MPH	240	191	168	109	**240**	136	64	62	31	22	12	13	11	3	4	0
TJM	178	149	134	88	136	**178**	78	54	29	22	10	16	14	4	4	0
Trade union	142	116	91	67	64	78	**142**	43	17	21	11	10	10	2	2	2
Environment direct action	129	119	95	103	62	54	43	**129**	22	26	13	14	12	4	6	0
G8	39	36	35	27	31	29	17	22	**39**	15	9	14	12	3	4	0
May Day	34	33	29	27	22	22	21	26	15	**34**	10	11	10	2	3	0
DSEI	20	19	18	14	12	10	11	13	9	10	**20**	6	5	2	1	1
WTO	18	18	16	14	13	16	10	14	14	11	6	**18**	14	2	1	0
World Bank	17	16	15	12	11	14	10	12	12	10	5	14	**17**	1	2	0
Climate Camp	7	7	5	4	3	4	2	4	3	2	2	2	1	**7**	0	0
Borders	7	6	4	5	4	4	2	6	4	3	1	1	2	0	**7**	0
Precarious Workers	3	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	**3**

Table 4 shows an affiliation matrix of the events that SCC survey respondents have been involved in. Of the 671 respondents, 255 had previously participated in an anti-war demonstration, 313 in a climate march, and so on. Looking at the second row, we see that of those who had previously attended an anti-war demonstration, 273 had previously attended a climate change march, 202 an environment march, 191 an MPH march, and so on. From a diagrammatic representation of these coincidences, we can see that there is a fairly dense network of co-attendance at these events, although it is less dense than the corresponding network among MPH marchers.

Figure 5.
**Network of events attended by SCC participants**

Key
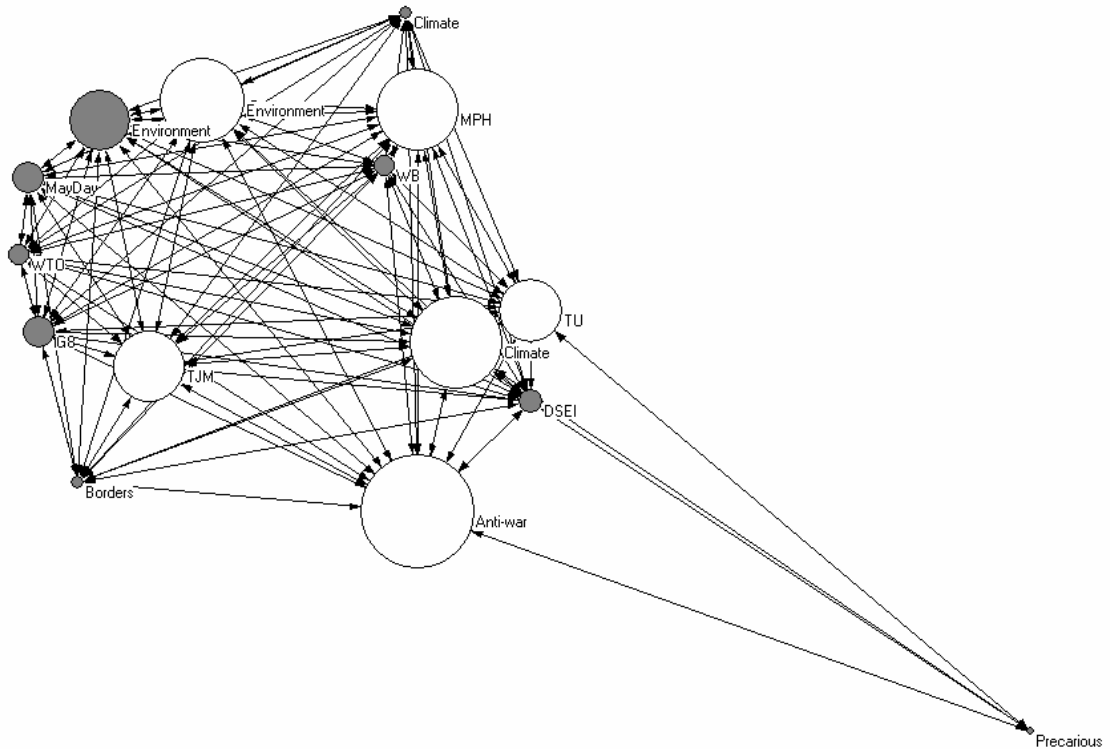
As the network is so dense, it pays to look at the network through the lens of moderately strong measures of association between demonstrations. Where Phi was >0.4 and the relationship was significant, a network link was drawn between two events. This is a fairly strong measure of association, which indicates to us that activists who participate in one event are likely to have participated in another. Looking at the network this way yields a fascinating result. It seems that what ties together the very broad range of activists who attend the SCC demonstrations is their attendance at marches or rallies on environmental issues other than climate change. These constitute the only brokerage point between the direct activists, who tend to participate in other direct action events, and those who engage primarily in marches and rallies (Figure 6).

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Figure 6.
Network of events attended by SCC participants, Phi >0.4
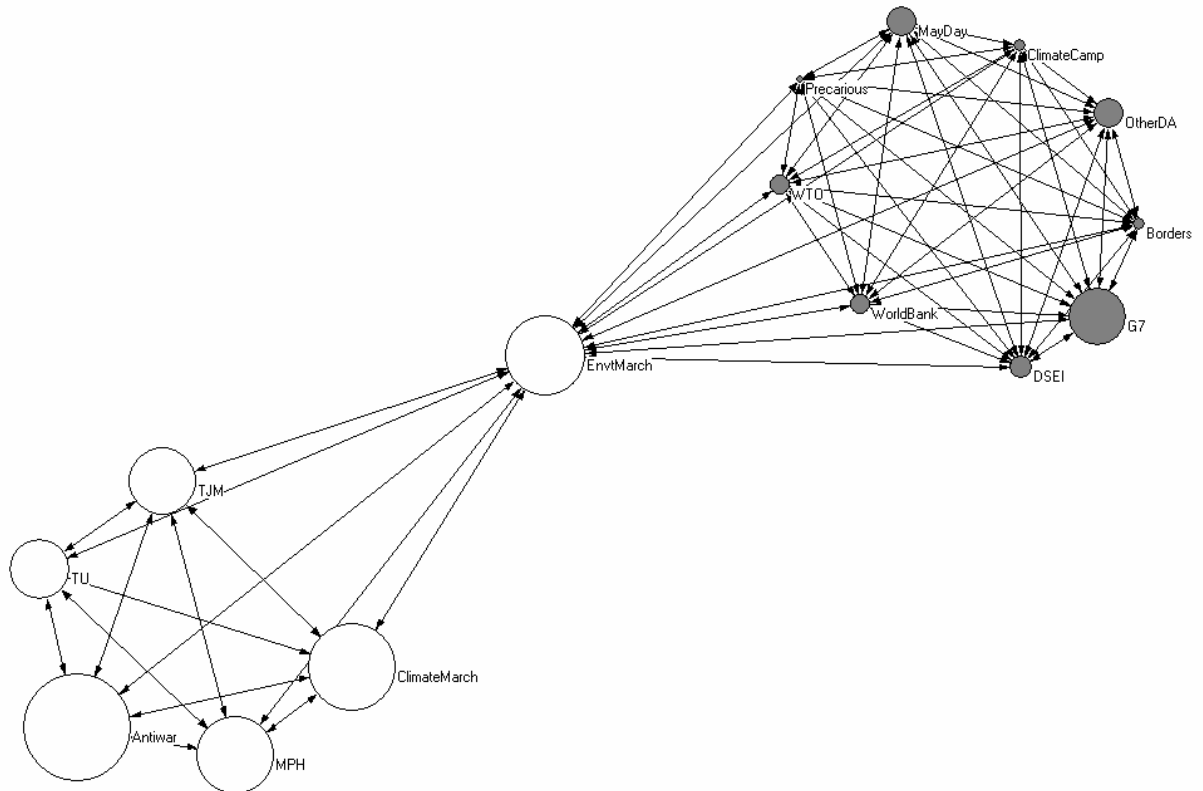
3. Networks of individuals and organisations

There are two main differences between the organisations mentioned by MPH respondents and the SCC respondents. Firstly, the degree scores of the organisations listed (as one of the top 5 organisations with which they most closely identify or are most involved) are considerably higher, and secondly, the list of important organisations is considerably different, with only the Green Party common to both.

The fact that the central organisations have degree scores that by far exceed their frequency (the number of times they were listed) suggests that participants in the MPH march who were members of, or identified with, one of the most central organisations tended to 'belong' to or identify with others as well. However, the high degree scores of organisations in the SCC survey do not imply higher degrees of membership overlap in the SCC survey; it is simply that certain organisations were mentioned by a considerably larger number of SCC participants than by participants in the MPH march.

To illustrate: in the MPH survey, the organisation with the highest degree score was Save the Children, which had a degree score of 49. This can be contrasted with the degree

score of 630 for Friends of the Earth in the SCC survey. Save the Children was listed by only 14 respondents, whereas FoE was listed by 240. On average, those listing Save the Children in the MPH survey listed another 3.5 other organisations. Those listing FoE in the SCC survey listed slightly fewer other organisations (3.1). In the case of the Green Party, the number of membership overlaps between SCC and MPH participants are very similar: SCC participants mention on average 3.2, compared to 3 for MPH participants.

Table 5.
Organisations named by participants in SCC with a degree > 70

Name of organisation	Frequency	Degree
Friends of the Earth	206	630
Greenpeace	164	480
Amnesty International	158	458
Oxfam	85	252
Green Party	67	215
CND	38	176
World Development Movement	56	175
WWF	46	111
Stop the War	35	102
Christian Aid	25	91
Environment	19	80
RSPB	20	70

Respondents' responses to the question asking them to identify the 'top 5 important organisations with which 'you are most involved or most closely identify' were recoded in order to see the overlap between movement sectors.[3] Four-hundred and forty respondents

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[3] The data was originally imported into UCInet using a DL edgelist format, which consists of a list of vectors and nodes. For example, if respondent 1claimed to be closely identified to Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, and respondent 2 claimed to be closely identified to their church, Christian Aid and Make Poverty History, the data would be inputted in the following manner:

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1 Greenpeace FoE
2 Church MPH ChristianAid
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To create the sector-by-sector matrix, the names of organisations were replaced with movement sectors, e.g.

listed at least one organisations from the environmental movement sector, 245 from the aid/trade/development one, 198 from the human rights sector, 61 from the animal rights, and a range of other types too (Table 6). 181 of the 441 who listed an organisation from the environmental movement sector also listed at least one aid/trade organisation, 150 human rights, 98 peace, 47 animal rights, 25 religious, 13 race / immigrants rights, 9 political parties, 8 trade unions, 4 socialist organisations, 11 women's rights and 6 pro-democracy organisations (Table 6).

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1 Environment
2 Religious AidTrade

These matrices were both then transformed into affiliations matrices in UCInet to give the coincidence matrices shown throughout this paper.

Table 6.
Sector members and coincidences among SCC participants

	Environment	Aid/trade	Human rights	Peace	Other	Animal rights	Religion	Race	Parties	Trade unions	Socialist	Women's rights	Democracy
Environment	**440**	181	150	98	72	47	25	13	9	8	4	11	6
Aid/trade	181	**245**	94	54	39	22	49	9	20	13	8	1	0
Human rights	150	94	**198**	47	32	20	25	13	9	8	4	6	2
Peace	98	54	47	**152**	34	15	20	18	13	14	15	3	4
Other	72	39	32	34	**114**	12	15	8	16	11	6	9	3
Animal rights	47	22	20	15	12	**61**	4	4	3	3	1	4	0
Religion	60	49	25	20	15	4	**98**	2	8	1	2	1	1
Race	21	9	13	18	8	4	2	**37**	5	5	7	2	0
Parties	25	20	9	13	16	3	8	5	**43**	4	2	1	2
Trade unions	23	13	8	14	11	3	1	5	4	**36**	3	2	2
Socialist	15	8	4	15	6	1	2	7	2	3	**27**	2	0
Women's rights	11	1	6	3	9	4	1	2	1	2	2	**15**	0
Democracy	6	0	0	4	3	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	**9**

Looking at this visually in a network diagram, we can see that environmental groups are by far the most frequently mentioned, and that democracy issues are a relatively peripheral concern to SCC marchers. Despite the high frequency of environmental groups, they do not form a central node. Instead we see a rather clique-like diagram, with virtually all nodes connected to one another (with the exception of democracy) (Figure 7).
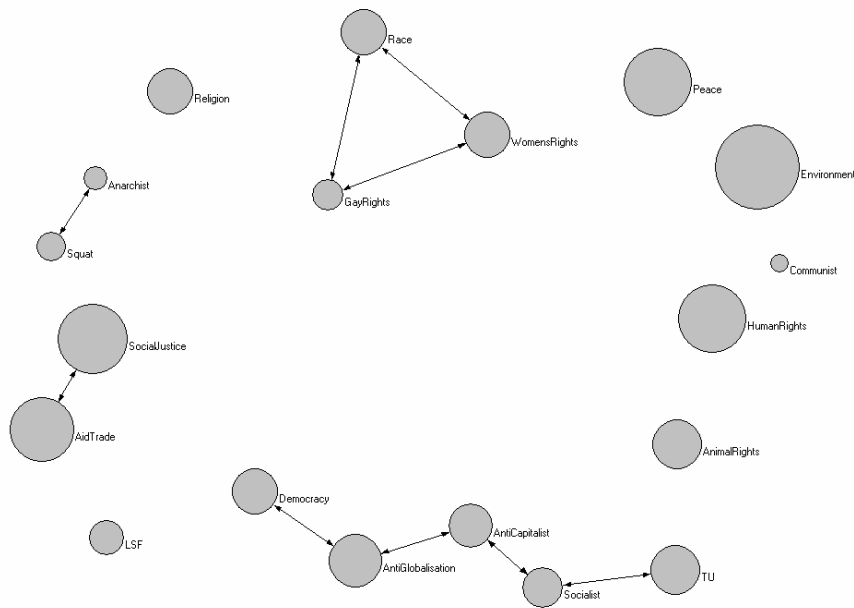
Figure 7.
Network of coincidences in sector membership of SCC participants
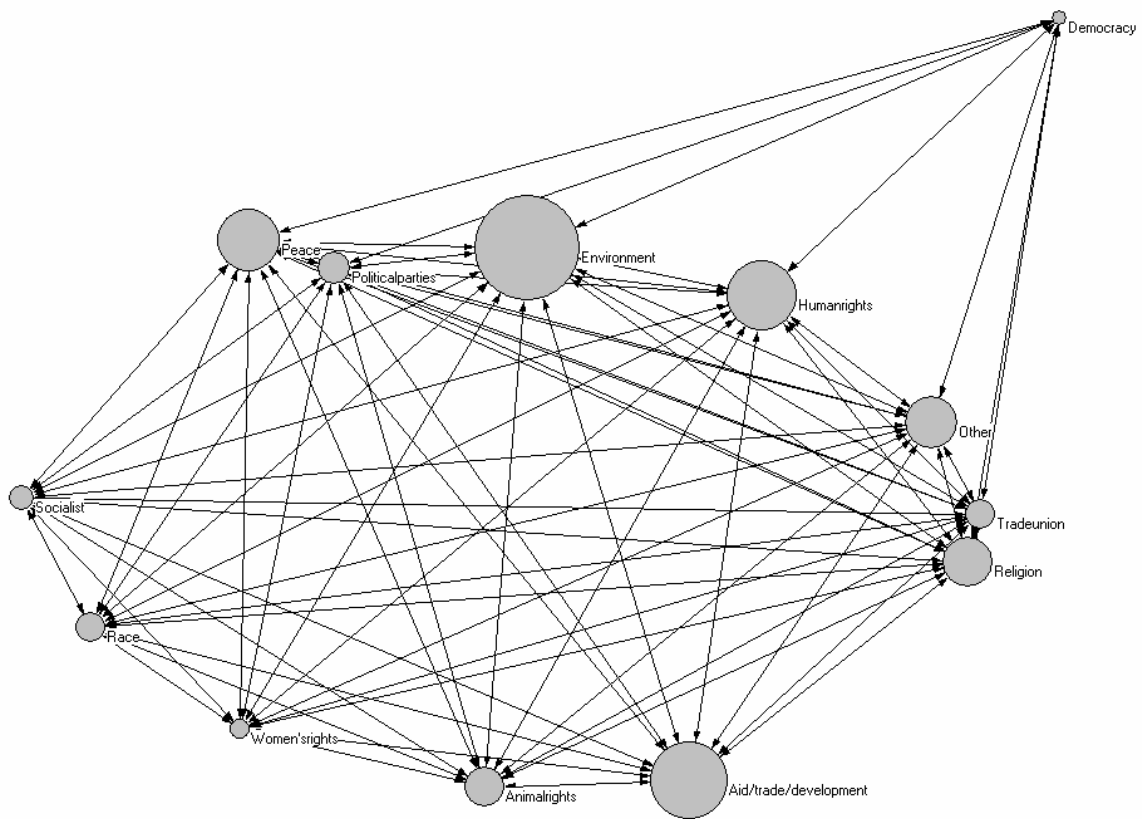
In order to see the most important links between organisational sectors, a vector was drawn between two nodes when Phi>0.4 (and was significant). This showed that there were actually very few strong measures of association between organisational sectors. As in MPH, the socialist, anti-capitalist, anti-globalisation and pro-democracy organisations are linked in a chain; but unlike in the MPH survey, they are not linked to anarchists and communists. Here, trade unionists are a part of the chain linked to socialists. Anarchists are linked to squats / social centres, aid/trade/development organisations to social justice ones, and minority rights organisations (gay, women's and race) are linked. Surprisingly, the environment, peace and human rights organisations are disconnected (Figure 8). Even more surprising is that the environmental organisations remain disconnected even when the measure of association is dropped to Phi>0.3 (Figure 9). Thus, it may simply be the case that those who list an environmental organisation tend to list *other* environmental organisations too, in preference to organisations from other sectors. Or it may be that the sheer number of environmental organisations listed meant that any measure of association would be low.
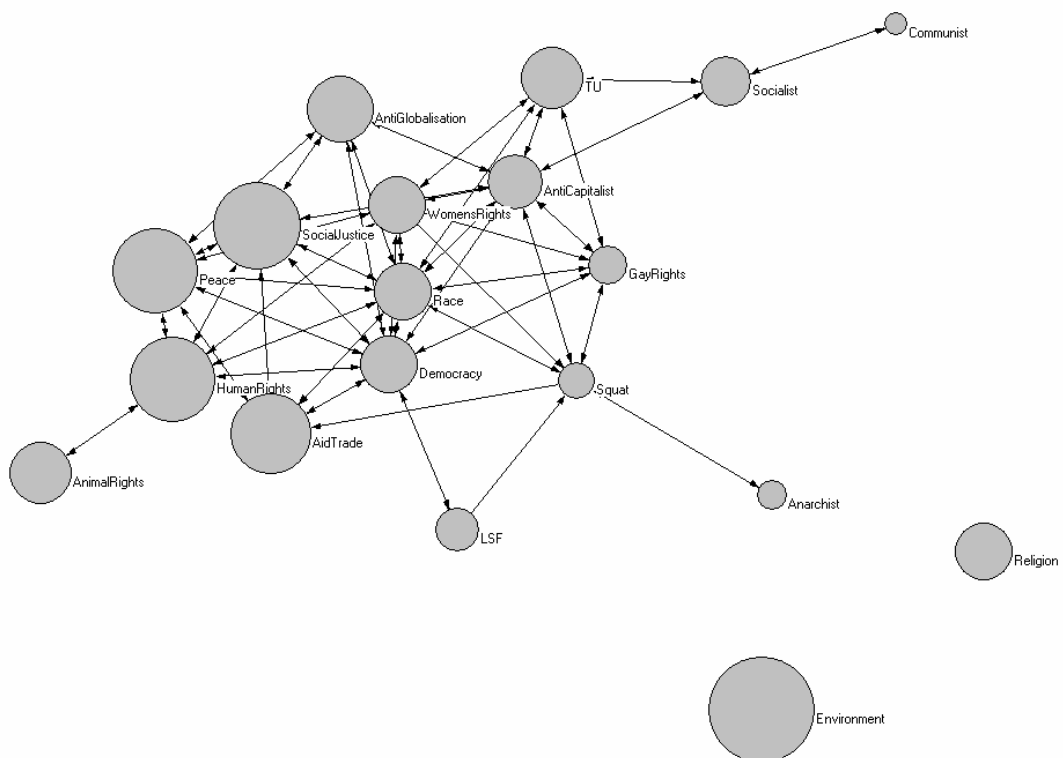
Figure 8.

Association network for past or present involvement in various social movement sectors among SCC participants (Phi> 0.4)

Figure 9.
Association network for past or present involvement in various social movement sectors among SCC participants (Phi> 0.3)

Conclusion

What are we to make of all this? If the results of our survey of MPH lent credence to the idea that the GJM was really a 'movement of movements' in which there were elaborate linkages among the various movement sectors, save only for the relative isolation of the left / socialist / anarchist strands, there is little evidence of that from our survey of SCC. Rather than being embedded in complex inter-organisational webs of association that link and transcend movement sectors, the pattern of participation in SCC looks more like the co-attendance of the separate movement strands at an event on an issue of common concern or, possibly, one that gave opportunities for voice to a wide variety of actors closely affiliated to organisations that had little to do with one another. Surprisingly, environmental organisations appear to form a separate and distinct rather than closely networked movement sector.

But perhaps we should not be so surprised. SCC was organised by a coalition of organisations most of which – especially the environmental organisations among them – have generally been regarded with scorn or antipathy by socialists and anarchists, and so frequent previous joint action is scarcely to be expected. [4] Moreover, street demonstrations have not generally formed a prominent part of the campaign repertoire of environmental organisations; SCC, relatively modest though it was, was claimed to have been the largest environmental demonstration ever seen in Britain, and, as a result, many environmentalists who took part in it are relatively unlikely to have had the opportunity to participate in such demonstrations before. Another major difference between the MPH and SCC marches was their sheer scale; the threshold of commitment preceding participation in MPH was probably lower than in SCC which, moreover, took place on a cold late autumn day, unlike MPH which took place on a sunny day in mid-summer.

MPH was a much broader and heterogeneous campaign coalition than SCC. Because each organisation within each coalition was able, to varying degrees, to mobilize its own members,

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[4] Socialists seem to ignore environmental mobilizations [and organizations] unless they think they can gain prominence or new recruits therefrom. Anarchists are more mixed: some of the 'anarchists' in Rising Tide, for example, were happy to work with FoE on the No New Oil coalition. Their limited co-participation in environmental demonstrations may simply be because such demonstrations are quite rare and local (e.g., along the route of an unwanted proposed road, or runway). (CS)

the broader focus and larger organisational base of MPH attracted a wider range of people (notably including large numbers of religious moderates) to the Edinburgh MPH protest than did the smaller coalition narrower remit of SCC.

A final major difference was the London effect. London and its immediate environs appear to have provided the great majority of participants in SCC, and London is a metropolitan city, large enough to sustain a wide variety of distinct organisations within each movement sector, and large enough too to make maintaining contact with people and groups outside one's primary circle of association difficult if not wholly impractical. MPH took place in a much smaller city with a much less elaborated specialisation of organisational labours, and attracted half its participants from outside Scotland, drawing them from a wide variety of towns and cities in England and beyond. Thus the very location of the protest event is likely to have contributed to the appearance of sectoral segmentation in the case of SCC, and to have militated against it in the case of MPH. The fact that SCC attracted only relatively modest numbers is likely to have preserved this effect whereas a much larger demonstration, such as MPH or the February 2003 anti-war march, would have mitigated it.

Nevertheless, despite the brave words about the integration of climate change into the global justice agenda of the GJM, at least in its most public manifestations in the streets, it appears to remain principally a concern of the supporters of environmental movement organisations who are not tightly networked with supporters of the other organisations that contribute to the GJM. This impression was reinforced by the Climate Chaos demonstration of 8 December 2007; although this was billed as a global day of action on climate change, it received only very limited support even from environmental movement organisations, and preliminary analysis of our survey and interview data suggests that supporters or aid, trade and development organisations were even thinner on the ground.

Street demonstrations are not, of course, the only or even an especially prominent mode of action for environmental or aid organisations. Doubtless a great deal of organising and lobbying on climate change goes on, and will continue to go on, behind closed doors. But at the level of public mobilisation, it so far looks like a case of two steps forward, one step back.

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